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CREATING COMFORT:  
SOCIAL SUPPORT COMMUNICATION AND  
CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION OF SOJOURNER WOMEN  

DISSERTATION  

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Graduate School of The Ohio State University  

By  
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*****  

The Ohio State University  
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This study explores the cross-cultural adaptation experiences of an often neglected sojourner population, sojourner spouses. Specifically, this study explores the features of support communication that facilitate the cross-cultural adaptation process of these women through a 2 year long ethnographic study of a support program for international wives. Through a series of in-depth interviews, it was revealed that the adaptational challenges of married sojourner women included uncertainty reduction, linguistic and discourse control, self-esteem sustenance, and social integration. While these needs can be met through emotional, instrumental, esteem and relationship support, less is known about the communication practices that enable these functions to work.

An analysis of naturally occurring discourse in weekly support group meetings, along with interviews with the volunteer facilitators as well as the women, revealed six types of talk exchanges that occurred frequently in the group sessions: greetings, teaching, personal elicitations, repairs, story-telling, and joking. Distinctive support moves were embedded within each type of exchange. For instance, in teaching exchanges, frequent
comprehension checks, explanations of language/cultural knowledge, repetitions of new knowledge and acknowledgments created on-going contexts for understanding and instant demonstrations of the women's added skill and knowledge. In personal elicitation exchanges, person-centered questions, continuers, signals of understanding, and positive assessments worked to sustain conversational opportunities for the women to talk about themselves.

A closer examination of the support moves across the talk exchanges revealed four overall categories of support: (1) enhancing the sojourner's own comprehension of ongoing talk, (2) collaborating with the sojourner in the construction of shared meaning, (3) eliciting the sojourner's involvement in the interaction, and (4) developing a positive interpersonal relationship. The first, second and third categories of practices helped facilitate the process of communication itself, thereby creating the communication condition for sojourner women to feel comfortable. These particular practices were important in this context where communication was problematic. By creating comfort through the construction of a safe, relaxed communication environment, these moves helped facilitate the enactment of general support functions.
Dedicated to my mother and father, who have always encouraged me and supported me.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all those who have provided support and assistance towards the completion of this project. Foremost, I would like to extend my profound gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Susan Kline for her guidance, assistance, patience and support throughout this process. She unselfishly gave so much of her time and provided invaluable contributions. She also tirelessly provided editing of the entire document. I also wish to thank the other members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Don Cegala and Dr. Laura Stafford, for their suggestions, advice and support.

I am grateful to all the INCH volunteers who allowed me the opportunity to conduct this research and who gave so much of themselves to share their experiences, passions and insights. They have been a source of inspiration to me. My life has been greatly enriched by my association with them. I am also grateful to the 12 Japanese married women who gave their time to share their personal experiences and feelings with me.

I also wish to thank my mother and father for their love and constant support and encouragement, without which I might never
have embarked on this endeavor. Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Doug Stratton, for his love and continued patience and support, without which I know I could not have completed this.
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Summary of the Perceived Causes and Outcomes of Female Sojourners' Emotions
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Moving to live in a foreign country is potentially a stressful experience. It involves a significant amount of sudden changes and disruptions in the routines of daily life. These changes are usually of such magnitude as to produce psychological and physical stress in sojourners, in and by themselves (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Moreover, newly arrived sojourners are "strangers" in the host culture (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988; Gudykunst & Kim, 1992; Kim, 1988). They usually lack the linguistic and sociocultural knowledge necessary to make sense of their new social environment (Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986) and thus are inundated with high levels of uncertainty and ambiguity in an alien culture. Furthermore, overseas relocation disrupts sojourners' longstanding social ties with family, friends and acquaintances (Adelman, 1988; Fontaine, 1986, 1996; Furnham, 1988; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Hayes & Lin, 1994; Ishiyama & Westwood, 1992; Kim, 1988; Sluzki, 1992; Walton, 1990), thus reducing their sources of social support at a time of transition when such supportive relationships may be needed the most. Hence living in
another country involves facing and coping with many radical, stress-causing changes that pose a real challenge.

In today's highly internationalized world, moving across cultural boundaries is becoming a prevalent phenomenon around the globe. Larger numbers of individuals each year are facing the challenge of living and learning to function effectively in a culture other than their own. For example, the number of sojourners who come to the United States for educational and professional opportunities has been steadily rising over the past three decades. According to the Open Doors report on international educational exchange (Davis, 1999), the number of international students studying in U.S. colleges and universities increased from approximately 82,000 in the 1964-65 academic year, to 154,000 in 1974-1975, to 343,000 in 1985-1986, and to a record high of over 481,000 in 1997-1998. In particular, Asians have comprised over half (57.3%) of the international student population in the United States, among which Japanese constituted the largest group (46,292 or 10%).

The past two decades have also witnessed dramatic increases in foreign direct investment in the United States (Black, 1990; Graham & Krugman, 1995; Taboul, Chen & Fritz, 1994). According to the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) (1988, 1993, 1997), for example, direct investment in the U.S. by Japanese companies have expanded from a little over $1 billion in 1982, to $10 billion in 1986, and to over $20 billion in 1995. The number of Japanese manufacturing facilities in the U.S. has rapidly increased
from 550 in 1987 to 1710 in 1996 (JETRO, 1988, 1997). At the same time, the number of expatriate personnel and their families residing in the United States has been steadily growing as well (Black, 1990). In 1995 there were a little over 166,000 Japanese nationals who were residing in the United States for more than 3 months, approximately 60% of which were business personnel and their families and 20% of which were students and scholars and their families (JETRO, 1997).

Given that living in a foreign country is problematic, the initial adaptation difficulties that many newcomers experience are normal, inevitable, and even expected (Schwartz & Kahne, 1993; Vogel, 1986). Yet these adaptation problems can have serious consequences for sojourning individuals as well as their families. For example, problems frequently reported by international students in the United States include language difficulties, financial stress, homesickness, social isolation, difficulties in dealing with a new educational system, and making friends with host nationals (e.g., Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Hayes & Lin, 1994; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Paige, 1990; Schram & Lauver, 1988). These common adaptation problems, if not properly dealt with, can lead to the continuation of high levels of stress and anxiety, feelings of helplessness, and alienation, psycho-somatic illnesses, depression, poor academic performance, and even suicide attempts (Brein & David, 1971; Brislin, 1981; Furnham & Bochner, 1986).
The consequences of poor adaptation affect not only individual sojourners and their families but also their affiliated organizations. For instance, the adaptation problems of expatriate employees can result in significant costs to corporations through personnel attrition, unsatisfactory performance, reduced productivity and efficiencies, and premature termination of the foreign assignment (Black & Gregersen, 1991; Naumann, 1993). In particular, high rates of expatriate premature turnover in international assignments and associated financial costs have been documented as one of the major problems that plague multinational corporations (Albert, 1994; Black, 1988, 1992; Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Black, Mendenhall, Oddou, 1991; Gregersen & Black, 1990; Naumann, 1993; Walton, 1990). The expatriate failure rates, as measured by early returns, have been estimated to range from 16% to 40% among U.S. multinational corporations (Black, 1988, 1992; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Black et al., 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Gregersen & Black, 1990; Tung, 1981), while the average failure rates among European and Japanese counterparts are estimated to be between 5% and 15% (Black, 1990; Black & Stephens, 1989; Tung, 1982). Further, the direct costs associated with each expatriate premature return are estimated to range from $55,000 to $200,000 (Black, 1988, 1992; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Black et al., 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Copeland & Griggs, 1985; Gregersen & Black, 1990; Naumann, 1992, 1993). Thus the financial costs such premature turnover incurs to companies are
quite significant, not to mention the substantial emotional and opportunity costs which they incur to individual expatriate employees and their families.

An extensive body of literature already exists on the cross-cultural adaptation of sojourners (Church, 1982; Furnham, 1988; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Weissman & Furnham, 1987). Numerous studies have been conducted on international students (e.g., Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Lysgaard, 1955; Nash, 1991; Parr, Bradley & Bingi, 1992; Redmond & Bunyi, 1993; Schram & Lauver, 1988; Searle & Ward, 1990; Selltiz & Cook, 1962; Selltiz, Hopson & Cook, 1956; Ward & Kennedy, 1991, 1993b; Weissman & Furnham, 1987; Westwood & Baker, 1990; Ying & Liese, 1991, 1994), and more recently on business people or expatriate employees (Birdseye & Hill, 1995; Black, 1988, 1990, 1992; Black et al., 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Clarke & Hammer, 1995; Dunbar, 1992, 1994; Gregersen & Black, 1990; Janssens, 1995; Naumann, 1993; Stening & Hammer, 1992; Torbiorn, 1982; Tung, 1981, 1982, 1988). However, until quite recently, the adaptation experiences of sojourner spouses have received little attention (de Verthelyi, 1995; Schwartz & Kahne, 1993). Since it is typically the female spouses who accompany their husbands overseas for academic or professional reasons, it is the voices and experiences of married women that are especially underrepresented in sojourner research.
Spouses may have been neglected in sojourner research, perhaps because of the very "accompanying" status they hold. For instance, it has been increasingly recognized in the expatriate literature that spousal adaptation is an important factor in the success or failure of expatriates in overseas assignments (Black, 1988; Black, et al., 1991; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Gregersen & Black, 1990; Harvey, 1985; Naumann, 1993; Torbiorn, 1982; Tung, 1981, 1982). Tung (1982) has found that the primary reason provided by American expatriates for their failure to function effectively overseas was the inability of the spouse to adapt to a foreign environment. Black (1988) has also found a positive relationship between spouse and expatriate adjustment for a sample of American expatriates in Japan. Yet these studies have relied only on the expatriates' opinions and perceptions of their spouse's adjustment and its effect on themselves, and thus may be biased (Black & Gregersen, 1991; Parker & McEvoy, 1993). Additionally, in these studies spousal adjustment has been treated as one of many variables affecting expatriate adjustment. However, given the ever growing number of foreign expatriate employees, graduate students, and their accompanying spouses for extended sojourn in the United States, research concerning the welfare and adaptational experiences of sojourner spouses is important in its own right. We need studies that systematically examine the cross-cultural adaptation experiences of sojourner spouses.
Recently, several researchers have turned their attention to this often neglected sojourner group, sojourner spouses. Three studies have focused on the adjustment of American expatriate spouses overseas. In a survey study, Black and Stephens (1989) collected data from both expatriates and their spouses and examined a relationship between the American expatriate adjustment and the spouse's adjustment overseas. They found that a favorable opinion about the overseas assignment by the spouse was positively related to the spouse's adjustment and that the spouse's adjustment was highly correlated to the expatriate's adjustment. In another survey study, Black and Gregersen (1991) examined the factors related to the cross-cultural adjustment of American expatriate spouses by collecting data from both expatriates and their spouses overseas. They found that the spouse's favorable opinion about the assignment, self-initiated predeparture training, the extent of social interactions with host nationals, and favorable living conditions were positively related to the spouse's adjustment. Briody and Chrisman (1991) conducted interviews with 15 American expatriates and their wives and examined differences in the ease and time frame of cultural adaptation among the expatriate couples. They found that the spouses experienced a more difficult and lengthy period of adaptation than their employed husbands.

Another four studies have focused on the adjustment experiences of international graduate students' spouses in the United States. Vogel (1985) described the adjustment problems of
Japanese wives in the Harvard University community. Based on a series of discussions, she concluded that severe communication difficulties and social isolation were the two major problems for Japanese wives at Harvard University. de Verthelyi (1995) conducted in-depth interviews with 49 spouses from 26 countries whose husbands were international graduate students at a large university in Virginia. She found that the loss of professional identity, the lack of purposeful activity, and communication difficulties were painful experiences for many international students' wives. Schwartz and Kahne (1993) described a university sponsored support program for graduate student and staff wives at M. I. T. that underscored the importance of providing the opportunity to become connected with others. Most recently, Uchida (1997) conducted an ethnographic study of support groups for international wives at a large midwestern university. Combining the observation of the support groups and interviews with 10 Japanese participants, she analyzed the support group introductions and demonstrated how participants created shared systems of meaning and social identities.

Together these studies have made important contributions to our understanding of the cross-cultural adaptation experiences of sojourner spouses, and they point to the importance of developing support systems for these women. Nevertheless, no study has yet examined how communication functions to engender social support for sojourner wives and how supportive communication plays a role in their cross-cultural adaptation process.
Social support issues are especially prominent during transition (Gottlieb & Todd, 1979) and thus are highly applicable to the radical changes sojourners undergo in adapting to life in a foreign country. Most researchers agree that social support serves vital functions in facilitating the cross-cultural adaptation process of newcomers (e.g., Adelman, 1988; Anderson, 1994; Briody & Chrisman, 1991; Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Fontaine, 1986, 1996; Furnham, 1988; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Hayes & Lin, 1994; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Kim, 1989, 1991; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Mallinckrodt & Leong, 1992; Schram & Lauver, 1988; Sluzki, 1992; Ying & Liese, 1994). Social support provides sojourners with information and feedback that potentially facilitates their adaptive learning and sense-making processes. It also provides sojourners with emotional support to help ease the loneliness, stress and difficulties sojourners may encounter in a foreign environment. However, most of the cross-cultural adaptation literature so far has been limited to social support defined as the number and pattern of social ties a sojourner possesses. Very few studies has examined the process and content of supportive communication in the context of cross-cultural adaptation. Thus, we still know little about what constitutes social support for sojourners, how social support is communicated, or how supportive communication plays a role in cross-cultural adaptation. This is particularly important to understand, however, because people from different cultures may hold different ideas and beliefs about what social support is, and how support should be provided.
and received, which may influence the way in which individuals give, receive and evaluate support (Jacobson, 1986).

The ultimate goals of this dissertation research are to gain some insights into the role of social support communication in the cross-cultural adaptation process of the often neglected sojourner population, sojourner spouses, and to identify the features of support communication that facilitate the cross-cultural adaptation of these individuals. To attain these goals, I explore the subjective experiences of sojourner women and examine the following questions through a case study of a support program for international wives in the United States:

RQ1: What are Japanese sojourner women's experiences of their adaptation difficulties?

RQ2: What support communication practices occur in support group meetings for international wives?

RQ3: What communication practices that occur in support group meetings for international wives do sojourner women find helpful?

Overview of the Study

A community sponsored, volunteer support program for international wives, called the International Neighborhood Coffee Hour (INCH), was selected as my research site based on its objectives, target group, and close proximity. INCH meets once a week for two hours at a local church near The Ohio State University and provides international married women with opportunities to meet American and other international women in the community,
as well as to learn and practice English. INCH provided me access to the wives of international graduate students, scholars and expatriate employees in the area, and gave me the opportunity to study their naturally occurring supportive interactions.

A long-term, qualitative-naturalistic, case study approach was employed to understand the sojourner women's intercultural communication experiences and to explore the communication processes that unfolded in the support program for international wives. The qualitative-naturalistic approach seeks to understand a naturally occurring phenomenon in its naturally occurring state holistically by gathering detailed descriptive data on multiple aspects of the setting under study (Patton, 1990). Qualitative inquiry also seeks to understand social phenomena from the "insider's" perspective by having direct and personal contact with people under study in their own environments (Patton, 1990).

The fundamental data-gathering techniques used for this study were participant observation and interviews. To learn about the program and people, and to experience personally how it feels like to be an insider in the setting, I conducted both direct and participant observation of the support group weekly meetings over a period of 2 years. To understand sojourner spouses' communication experiences in daily life and in the support program, I conducted in-depth, open-ended interviews with Japanese women in the support program. To gain an insight into the American volunteers' beliefs about their roles, objectives, and communication experiences in the program, I also conducted in-
depth, open-ended interviews with the volunteer tutors in the program. And finally, to discover the types and features of the support communication practices that occur in the support group, I tape-recorded the naturally occurring discourse at its weekly group sessions.

The data sources for my analyses included field notes, program documents, transcripts of tape-recorded discourse of 10 INCH weekly sessions, and transcripts of tape-recorded interviews with 12 Japanese women participants and 17 INCH volunteer tutors. The grounded theory approach (Glazer & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was used to analyze this material and develop grounded theory about social support communication in cross-cultural adjustment. The grounded theory approach is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop a theory that "is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 23).

In summary, the present study attempts to examine social support phenomena in the context of cross-cultural adaptation holistically by integrating the perspectives of a researcher, support providers, and sojourner women. By conducting an in-depth investigation of the subjective experiences of sojourner women, I hope to enhance our understanding of their difficulties in adapting to this culture, which can then inform us of ways to improve our intervention strategies. Further, by conducting a naturalistic observation of actual ongoing communication between sojourner women and members of the host society, I hope to inform us about
the process and quality of social interaction that is conducive to cross-cultural adaptation.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on cross-cultural sojourner adaptation, the adaptation problems of sojourner women, social support, and the role of supportive communication in the cross-cultural adaptation process of sojourner women. Chapter 3 describes the research design and procedures of the study. Chapter 4 provides an interpretation of the data to answer the first research question: what are the sojourner women's experiences of their adaptation difficulties? Chapter 5 provides an interpretation of the data to answer the second and third research questions: what support communication practices occur in support group meetings for international wives?, and what communication practices that occur in support group meetings for international wives do the sojourner women find helpful? Finally, chapter 6 summarizes the findings, discusses implications of the findings, and indicates the limitations of the study.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter is composed of two sections. The first section is an overview of the literature on the cross-cultural adaptation of married sojourner women. It is organized around a framework, called the "temporal-multifaceted-adaptation framework" (Chang, 1997). The second section of the chapter reviews the literature on social support and uses it to formulate a conception of the role of social support in the cross-cultural adaptation process.

Cross-Cultural Adaptation of Sojourner Spouses

In this section I will first provide definitions of key terms and a conception of cross-cultural adaptation. Second, I will present the temporal-multifaceted-adaptation framework (Chang, 1997) and use it to organize the studies of cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner spouses.

Basic Concepts

While an immense amount of literature on sojourner adaptation has been generated in the past four decades, the field has been plagued by a lack of consensus among approaches and a lack of agreement on conceptualizations of key constructs (Brein & David, 1971; Church, 1982; Kim, 1988, 1989; Searle & Ward, 1990;
The term cross-cultural adaptation has been used ambiguously or defined variously, thus leading to conceptual confusion (Ady, 1994; Black, 1990; Church, 1982). In order to avoid the conceptual ambiguity, I will first provide definitions of key terms.

**Sojourners**

Sojourners are individuals who temporarily reside in a country other than their own for specific purposes and who intend to return to their country of origin eventually (Berry, 1990; Furnham, 1988; Paige, 1990). The specificity of their purposes for being in another country, the temporary residence in the country, and the foreknowledge of eventually returning into their own country characterizes sojourners and distinguishes them from other migrant groups, such as immigrants and refugees. In this study sojourners specifically refer to international students and business expatriates. International students are "individuals who temporarily reside in a country other than their country of citizenship or permanent residence in order to participate in international educational exchange as students, teachers, and researchers" (Paige, 1990, p. 162). Expatriates are "those voluntary temporary migrants, mostly from affluent countries, who reside abroad for . . . business" (Cohen, 1977, p. 6). Sojourner spouses in this study specifically refer to the married women who accompany their husbands overseas for academic or professional reasons. Although the number of male spouses accompanying female students is gradually increasing, it still seems to be a rare exception.
Adjustment and Adaptation

The concept of adjustment was originally borrowed by psychologists from the concept of adaptation in biology (Atwater, 1987; Lazarus, 1969). While biological adaptation is concerned with changes evolved in an organism's structure or function in response to physiological demands placed by its environment, psychological adjustment is concerned with changes an individual makes in response to social and psychological demands. Thus the emphasis in biological adaptation is placed on individual as well as species survival in the physical world, whereas the emphasis in psychological adjustment is on an individual's functioning in the social world. Further, while adaptation generally suggests changes involved for long-term survival, adjustment suggest changes involved for relatively short-term satisfaction of basic needs or drives (Anderson, 1994; Shaffer & Shoben, 1956). Thus, adjustment and adaptation both refer to the processes by which an individual attempts to achieve a better person-environment fitness for dealing with the multitudes of internal and external demands of life (Anderson, 1994; French, Rodgers, & Cobb, 1974; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Ruben, 1983; Sawrey & Telford, 1967). Yet the terms differ in emphasis and time frame. The term adjustment has often been used synonymously and interchangeably with the term adaptation, yet I will follow the scholars who make a distinction between the two terms and regard adaptation as a higher order concept comprising numerous adjustment processes (e.g., Anderson,
Cross-Cultural Adjustment and Adaptation

Cross-cultural adjustment was originally conceptualized as a unidimensional phenomenon, mainly seen as the degree of psychological comfort/well-being individuals experience with their new cultural environment (e.g., Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1962; Klopf, 1987; Oberg, 1960; Torbiorn, 1982). In recent years, however, it has been increasingly seen as a multi-dimensional construct that encompasses affective, cognitive, and behavioral aspects (Ady, 1995; Anderson, 1994; Befus, 1988; Black, 1988; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Kim, 1988, 1989, 1995; Parker & McEvoy, 1993; Ruben & Kealey, 1979; Ward, 1996).

Following the logic used earlier to distinguish adjustment and adaptation, I regard cross-cultural adaptation as a superordinate category that subsumes cross-cultural adjustment. Cross-cultural adaptation is conceptualized here as a multi-dimensional and multi-faceted phenomenon that consists of numerous cognitive, affective, and behavioral changes that occur in individuals as they strive to achieve increasing levels of person-environment fit in an unfamiliar cultural environment (Ady, 1995; Anderson, 1994; Black, 1988; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989; Chang, 1997; Kim, 1995; Parker & McEvoy, 1993; Ward, 1996). It is an ongoing, dynamic and interactive process that involves constant interactions between individual and environment, each acting upon and modifying the other (Anderson, 1994; Kim, 1989, 1995).
An important feature of cross-cultural adaptation is that it takes place in the context of an alien culture where sojourners are "strangers" (Anderson, 1994; Brein & David, 1971; Gudykunst, 1988, 1998; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988; Gudykunst & Kim, 1992; Kim, 1988, 1995). Sojourners are strangers because they lack "intersubjective understanding," or an understanding of the social world inhabited by the members of the host culture (Gudykunst, 1988, 1998; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988; Gudykunst & Kim, 1992; Kim, 1988, 1995). As Herman and Schield (1961) stated (cited in Gudykunst & Hammer, 1987), "the immediate psychological result of being in a new situation is lack of security. Ignorance of the potentialities inherent in the situation, of the means to reach a goal, and of the probable outcomes of an intended action, causes insecurity" (p. 165). Further, sojourners are strangers because they are outsiders with very few relational ties to their new environment. They are uprooted from their social matrix in their home country in which they have developed and maintained their sense of identity and belonging. Being a stranger, thus, entails coping with one's social incompetence and uncertain social identity in the new cultural environment (Anderson, 1994; Weaver, 1986).

Cross-cultural adaptation implies adjustment, learning and personal development (Anderson, 1994). As an adjustment process, it consists of the acknowledgment of obstacles (e.g., language barriers, lack of environmental support), a motive to overcome the obstacles and thus goal-directed movement. Learning and adjustment are interdependent and operate reciprocally, as
sojourners devise coping strategies in response to obstacles they encounter in the new environment. Cross-cultural adaptation is also a process of personal transformation, through which sojourners develop a higher state of cultural- and self-awareness (Adler, 1975) and intercultural identity beyond the psychological parameters of the original culture (Kim, 1988, 1995).

An Organizational Framework

As already been mentioned, the lack of integration of the literature in cross-cultural adaptation has been a problem for the field. Past studies have typically focused on either one temporal phase or one adaptational domain of a sojourn (Ady, 1995; Chang, 1997; Church, 1981; Kim, 1989, 1990; Klineberg, 1980). The prevalence of this fragmentary approach in the field has resulted in only a partial understanding of the phenomenon. In an effort to address this problem, Chang (1997) recently developed an organizational framework, called a "temporal-multifaceted-adaptation framework," and used it to systematically analyze the immense body of research in the area of foreign student adaptation. This framework is useful for capturing a holistic picture of the experiences of sojourners because it considers cross-cultural adaptation to be a complex process that takes place across multiple domains over time.

The temporal-multifaceted-adaptation framework consists of two dimensions: a temporal dimension and a facets-of-adaptation dimension. The temporal dimension consists of antecedent, process and outcome phases. The antecedent phase is a period that begins
when the decision to go abroad to study, work or accompany one's spouse is made and ends at the point when the sojourner leaves for his or her destination. The **process phase** focuses on the adjustment dynamics and courses of action taken by the sojourner in the transition to the new environment and ends when the sojourn overseas is completed. The **outcome phase** focuses on the psychological and behavioral consequences of adjustment.

The second dimension of the framework deals with various facets of sojourner adaptation in the process phase, which includes tasks, relationships, self and ecology. **Tasks** are activities in which the sojourner is most often engaged in the host cultural environment. **Relationships** refer to the sojourner's interactions and relationships with others in the host culture. **Self** stands for psychological reactions and self-perceptions of the sojourner. **Ecology** refers to the social aspect of the host environment in which the sojourner is situated.

In the following section, I will organize the literature on sojourner adaptation by using the "temporal-multifaceted-adaptation framework" (Chang, 1997). This is not a comprehensive review of foreign student adaptation. Rather, it is a selective review of a major body of theories and research findings on sojourner adaptation that I believe is germane to understand the experiences of sojourner spouses. Given this purpose, I only included in this review the literature on student adaptation as well as expatriate adaptation that was particularly relevant to
understand the experiences of women who happen to be sojourner spouses.

The Process of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

The findings of studies that address the antecedent phase, the process phase, and the outcome phase of sojourn that are relevant to the experiences of sojourner spouses are discussed in this section. Since the literature on sojourner spouses is still relatively sparse, in each section I will first review the relevant and primary literature on international students and expatriate employees, followed by the studies that have been conducted on sojourner spouses.

The Antecedent Phase

Theorists have argued that the process of cross-cultural adjustment actually begins before sojourners leave their home country (e.g., Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Black et al., 1991; Church, 1982; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1962; Oberg, 1960; Torbion, 1982). Once the decision to go overseas is made, sojourners start making anticipatory adjustments to the new culture through means such as information gathering, expectation formulation, and pre-departure language and culture training. The frequently studied antecedent variables include motivation (Black, 1990; Black & Gregersen, 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989) and pre-departure preparation (Black, 1988, 1990; Black & Gregersen, 1991). Since these variables are relevant to the adaptation experiences of sojourner spouses, I will review each area of study.
Motivations. A sojourner's level of motivation has been regarded as a critical anticipatory factor in determining adaptation to a new cultural environment (Black, 1988, 1990; Black & Stephens, 1989; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1962; Oberg, 1960; Parker & McEvoy, 1983; Torbiorn, 1982; Tung, 1981). This line of research shows that the more motivated the sojourner is toward the overseas relocation, the more effort the sojourner is likely to put forth in trying to learn about and adjust to the new culture. For example, in a study of Japanese expatriates in the United States, Black (1990) found that the level of motivation about the international assignment was positively related to two facets of expatriate adjustment: adjustment to the general culture of the host country (such as food, housing and transportation) and adjustment to work roles, tasks and responsibilities.

As for sojourner spouses, Black and Stephens (1989) found that the favorableness of predeparture opinion of the spouses is positively related to the spouse's adjustment to the general culture of the host country as well as the spouse's adjustment to interacting with host nationals. In another study, Black and Gregersen (1991) found that favorable spouse opinion about their overseas assignment was positively correlated with the spouse's adjustment to interacting with host nationals. Black and Stephens (1989) further found that the spouse's general adjustment is positively related to all facets of expatriate adjustment. Together these findings suggest that the sojourner spouses' willingness to make the
transition has an important impact on their own level of adaptation as well as on their accompanying expatriates' level of adaptation.

**Preparations.** Knowledge of the host culture and host language proficiency are also associated with enhanced adaptation (Black, 1990; Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1966; Hull, 1978; Klineberg, 1980; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Sewell & Davidsen, 1961; Ward, 1996; Ying & Liese, 1991, 1994). Studies that have focused on preparations have examined predeparture preparedness, language proficiency, and cross-cultural training. This line of research shows that those who feel well prepared for their overseas living and those who report greater language facility become better adjusted than those who feel less well prepared or those who have less confidence in their language ability (Church, 1982; Klineberg, 1980; Ying & Liese, 1994). For example, Ying and Liese (1994) studied Taiwanese graduate students in the United States and found that self-rated pre-departure preparation level and self-assessed language ability were both positively correlated with initial adjustment (r= .31 and r= .36, respectively). In a study of Japanese expatriates in the United States, Black (1990) found that pre-departure knowledge of the host culture was positively related to all three facets of expatriate adjustment: work, interaction, and general adjustment.

As for expatriate spouses, Black and Gregersen (1991) found that the favorableness of the spouse's opinion about accepting overseas assignments was positively correlated to the extent of
self-initiated, pre-departure culture preparation ($r = .27$) and with adjustment to interacting with host nationals ($r = .24$). The more spouses were in favor of accepting the international assignment, the more the spouses undertook language and cultural preparation on their own prior to departure, and the greater was their adjustment to interacting with host nationals. This finding again suggests the importance of the sojourner spouse's motivation and preparation in determining her adaptation overseas.

The Process Phase

A great deal of the research on sojourner adaptation has investigated the process phase in sojourn. In particular, much of the research has focused on identifying the problems that international students experience and describing the stages that they go through in adjusting to an alien culture (Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Ward, 1996). The following discussion consists of a review of adaptation problems and stages that I believe are relevant to the experiences of sojourner spouses. Also included in this section are the findings of studies that address the facets of adaptation, which include tasks, relationships, self and ecology.

Adaptation problems. Many researchers have explored the typical concerns and difficulties encountered by foreign students during the sojourn (e.g., Church, 1982; Crano & Crano, 1992; Furnham, 1988; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Gunn, 1979; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg, 1980; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Pedersen, 1980; Schram & Lauver, 1988; Sewell & Davidsen, 1961; Ward, 1967).
Adaptation problems frequently reported by foreign students include: language difficulties (Church, 1982; Crano & Crano, 1993; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg & Hull, 1979), academic difficulties, such as dealing with pressure to succeed and adjusting to a new educational system (Church, 1982; Crano & Crano, 1993; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Parr et al., 1992), financial constraints (Church, 1982; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Parr et al., 1992), social problems, such as difficulties in making friends with host nationals (Church, 1982; Crano & Crano, 1993; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Parr et al., 1992), psychological problems, such as loneliness, homesickness and depression (Church, 1982; Crano & Crano, 1993; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Leong, Mallinckrodt & Kralj, 1990), somatic problems (Church, 1982; Gunn, 1979; Ward, 1967), and racial discrimination (Church, 1982; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Parr et al., 1992). In a comprehensive review of sojourner research, Church (1982) noted that these problems have remained almost the same over the past 30 years, although large variations exist in the degree to which students from different cultures experience these problems (Klineberg & Hull, 1979).

As for sojourner spouses, Vogel (1985) and de Verthelyi (1995) have identified some of the common problems experienced by the wives of international graduate students in the United States. By leading a series of discussions with groups of Japanese
wives on campus, Vogel (1985) found that language difficulties and social isolation were the two biggest problems among the Japanese wives in the Harvard University community. Many Japanese wives experienced severe communication difficulties and high anxiety on everyday matters because of their limited English skills. Many women, especially those with infants, also suffered from intense loneliness due to social isolation. de Verthelyi (1995) conducted in-depth interviews with 49 women from 26 countries whose husbands were international graduate students at a large university in Virginia. Although she found a great variability among her respondents, she reported that the lack of purposeful activity, loss of professional identity, language barriers, financial constraints, and homesickness were common problems among these women. Many experienced difficulty in dealing with the initial lack of clear-cut role or activity in their new environment, in contrast to their student-husband's busy schedule. Many women encountered language barriers, which entailed a loss of autonomy and increased feelings of frustration. All the spouses experienced homesickness and loneliness although with different degrees of intensity. The findings of these studies suggest that the major problems of sojourner spouses are related to their being institutionally unconnected and their role/status being contingent on their husbands' career commitments.
**Adaptation stages.** A significant number of scholars have identified and described the stages of adjustment that sojourners go through in their host culture (e.g., Adler, 1975; Coelho, 1958; Garza-Guerrero, 1974; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Lysgaard, 1955; Oberg, 1960; Sewell & Davidsen, 1961; Torbiorn, 1982). For example, Oberg (1960) provided a four-stage model of sojourner adaptation: a "honeymoon" stage characterized by fascination and elation with the new culture; a second stage characterized by a hostile attitude toward the host country; a third stage characterized by increased language knowledge and skills to get around in the new culture; and a fourth stage in which adjustment becomes about as complete as it can be and new customs are accepted as another way of living.

Adler (1975) proposed a similar five-stage model: contact, disintegration, reintegration, autonomy, and independence. He suggested that the confusion and disorientation of early culture shock are due to the disintegration of personality. Reintegration of personality begins with the rejection of the host culture. The individual becomes more autonomous, as he/she resolves the difficulties and frustrations encountered and gains more sensitivity, skill, and understanding of the host culture. Finally, the fully integrated person accepts cultural differences and similarities and gains an increased self- and cultural awareness. Garza-Guerrero (1974) has also proposed a similar model involving these stages: culture encounter characterized by threats to identity;
reorganization of identity based on selective identification with the new culture; and reintegration of a new identity.

Beyond these descriptive accounts, probably the best known model is Lysgaard's (1955) "U-curve hypothesis." Based on a retrospective interview study of 200 Norwegian Fulbright grantees who had studied in the United States, Lysgaard suggested that sojourners proceed through three stages of adjustment that takes the shape of a U-curve: initial adjustment, crisis, and regained adjustment. Lysgaard divided his respondents into three groups: those who had stayed in the United States for less than 6 months, those who had stayed there for 6 to 18 months, and those who had stayed there for more than 18 months. Using several items to index satisfaction on professional and personal matters, Lysgaard (1955) found that "good" adjustment was attained by the first and third group, whereas the second group became "less well" adjusted.

In another retrospective interview study, Sewell and Davidsen (1961) found a U-curve pattern of adjustment among 40 Scandinavian students in the United States. Torbiorn (1982) also found, in his survey study of 641 Swedish expatriates in 26 countries, that the development of satisfaction of expatriates in the host country followed a U-curve, with the lowest point reaching around the middle of the first year. Those who spent most of their time with host country nationals went through a deeper adjustment trough than those whose companions were mainly co-nationals, but their level of satisfaction after one year was higher and remained
significantly higher for the rest of their sojourn than those who associated only with co-nationals.

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) have further extended the U-curve hypothesis into a W-curve. Based on their retrospective data from 400 American students who had studied in France (1956) and 5300 American Fulbright and Smith-Mundt grantees who had studied around the world (1958, 1960), Gullahorn and Gullahorn suggested that sojourners often undergo a second U-curve after they return to their home county.

Although popular, the "U" shaped curve pattern is not supported in all empirical studies (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Nash, 1991; Ward, 1996). For example, not all sojourners begin with a period of psychological euphoria, nor do they all experience a period of depression. A major problem of the U-curve hypothesis testing is that most of the studies have been cross-sectional, when longitudinal studies would be more appropriate to examine an individual's curve of adjustment over time (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Nash, 1991; Ward, 1996). In a longitudinal study of foreign students in New Zealand, for example, Ward and Kennedy (1996) found that the greatest sociocultural problems occurred during the initial stages of transition, dropped sharply over the first 6 months, and continued to decrease during the second 6-months period. They also found that psychological adjustment difficulties peaked during the entry period and were more variable over time. A second problem in the U-curve hypothesis testing is the selection of dependent variables
Various researchers have used various criteria as indices of adjustment in testing the U-curve hypothesis, which has resulted in difficulties for developing any consistencies in the findings. In a thorough review of sojourner research, Church (1982) concluded that support for the U-curve is "weak, inconclusive, and overgeneralized" (p. 542).

As for sojourner spouses, the findings do not seem to support the U-curve hypothesis. Briody and Chrisman (1991) interviewed 15 American expatriate employees and their wives after the completion of their assignment abroad and studied variation in the ease and time frame of cross-cultural adaptation among the expatriate couples. They found high agreement among the couples (80%) that the spouses had experienced a more difficult and a more lengthy period of adjustment to the host culture than their employed husbands. The spouses experienced difficulties particularly during the initial period following the overseas assignment and this most difficult period lasted, on average, about 3 to 4 months. Briody and Chrisman (1991) suggested that the spouses' more difficult adaptation was due to their initial lack of organizational affiliation and social networks. de Verthelyi (1995) also found that feelings of initial elation were rare among the international student spouses, and that sadness, loneliness, self-doubt, frustration and depression were the more prevalent feelings in the first several weeks and months of their sojourn. A positive change of mood only happened within the first 3 to 6 months from arrival. The findings of these studies suggest that the initial period
following the overseas relocation is the most difficult time for most sojourners and that this difficult initial period is prolonged for sojourner spouses because of their social isolation.

**Adaptation Regarding Tasks**

Tasks are activities which sojourners are most often engaged in and which tend to structure the majority of the sojourner's waking hours. School-related academic tasks, such as participating in class discussions and writing essays, have been reported as the major activities of foreign students (e.g., Chang, 1997; Church, 1982; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986).

In their study of expatriate couples, Briody and Chrisman (1991) found that the majority of the expatriates' daily routines involved work, which usually entailed frequent and regular interaction with host nationals. On the other hand, the day-to-day activities of the spouses centered on tasks related to household maintenance, personal interests, and child rearing, which did not involve extensive interaction with host nationals. Furthermore, while expatriates had the advantage of having a pre-established and well-structured organizational context in which to perform their work tasks and form work-related social relations, the spouses initially had few established activities or social networks. Briody and Chrisman (1991) indicated that the unstructured daily schedule of the spouses and their initial lack of organizational affiliation were the major factors that made their adaptation more difficult and lengthy than their employed husbands.
Adaptation Regarding Relationships


Relationships with host nationals. The development of positive social relationships with host nationals (i.e., individuals of the host country) has been regarded as a critical factor in determining the degree of adaptation to a new cultural environment (Black, 1988, 1990; Brein & David, 1971; Briody & Chrisman, 1991; Church, 1982; Furnham, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Hull, 1979; Kim, 1987, 1988, 1991; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Oberg, 1960; Searle & Ward, 1990; Selitiz et al., 1963; Sewell & Davidsen, 1961; Torbiorn, 1982; Ward & Kennedy, 1992, 1993; Ying & Liese, 1994). Contact with host nationals offers sojourners opportunities for
culture learning through observation, participation, and explicit communication. First, host nationals can provide information that helps newcomers better interpret the communication behaviors of host culture members (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988), which may help them reduce their uncertainty and anxiety. Second, host nationals can provide feedback that helps sojourners learn and acquire culture-specific knowledge and skills (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Kim, 1987, 1988), which can facilitate the development of social relationships with hosts. And third, host nationals can serve as "local guide" to introduce the sojourners to various aspects of life in the host society (AmaraSingham, 1980; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986), which can facilitate a more in-depth understanding of the culture. Thus, friendship formation with host nationals can serve to facilitate newcomers' understanding of their "new" culture and their integration into the host society, thereby facilitating cultural adjustment (Ying & Liese, 1994).

A number of researchers have investigated the frequency and satisfaction of the social contacts and relationships of sojourners with host nationals (Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Searle & Ward, 1990; Stone Feinstein & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1993a, 1993b; Ward & Searle, 1991). For example, Klineberg and Hull (1979) found that increased social interaction with host nationals is associated with better personal adjustment and general sojourn satisfaction in foreign students. Searle and Ward (1990) found that both the amount and satisfaction of contact with host nationals were negatively correlated to depression in
foreign students in New Zealand. Ward and Kennedy (1993a, 1993b) also found that the quantity of interaction with host nationals was negatively related to socio-cultural adjustment problems. Heikinheimer and Shute (1986) categorized 46 foreign students at a Canadian university into four groups based on the degree of their social adaptation: isolated, isolated with dissatisfaction, somewhat integrated, and merged. Isolated students (38%) had practically no interaction with host nationals and yet were not motivated to change the situation. Isolated and dissatisfied students (12%) had almost no contact with host students and were frustrated with this situation. Somewhat integrated students (34%) had some contacts and merged students (16%) had considerable interaction with host nationals. Isolated students reported more academic, cultural, and social problems than those who had interactions with host nationals. Isolated and dissatisfied students expressed even more cultural and social adjustment problems than isolated students. Further, Selltiz and Cook (1962) found that sojourners who had at least one close host-national friend experienced fewer difficulties than sojourners with no host culture friends.

As for sojourner spouses, Stone Feinstein and Ward (1990) examined 195 American expatriate women in Singapore and found that the quality of both superficial encounters and deep encounters with host nationals were negatively related to mood disturbance. Black and Gregersen (1991) found a moderate sized correlation between the frequency of social interaction with host nationals and
the spouse's adjustment to interacting with host nationals (r= .38). These findings suggest that sojourners who have more opportunities for social interaction with hosts feel more comfortable in interacting with hosts and feel more satisfied with their sojourn than those who have few such opportunities.

**Relationships with co-nationals.** With respect to relationships with co-nationals (i.e., people from the same country), there is some controversy in the findings of different studies. On the one hand, studies have suggested that co-national relations play a vital role in providing social support to sojourners, particularly during the initial phase of their adaptation process (Adelman, 1988; Briody & Chrisman, 1991; Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Kim, 1987, 1989; Ying & Liese, 1991). First, co-national support networks allow sojourners to use their native language and maintain familiar values and belief system while minimizing psychological and behavioral adjustments. Thus co-national support networks serve a protective function whereby psychological security and a sense of belonging are provided, and anxiety and feelings of powerlessness are reduced (Church, 1982; Kim, 1987). Second, co-national networks serve as reference groups with whom one's experience can be discussed and compared (Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982). In comparing experiences and performances with similar others, social comparisons can affirm self-evaluations or produce self-enhancement (Adelman, 1988). Third, since such co-nationals are coping with similar situations themselves, they can better understand the problems and

On the other hand, extensive or exclusive reliance on the co-national support system is regarded as dysfunctional for the long-term adaptation of sojourners and their spouses because it limits the opportunities for interaction with host members, reinforces language and cultural barriers that preclude socialization to the new environment, and retards the development of their host communication competence (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Gudykunst & Kim, 1992; Kim, 1987, 1988, 1989). For example, Briody and Chrisman (1991) found that the initial period of adjustment of American expatriate spouses was eased by the development of relationships with other expatriate spouses, who provided practical information, guidance, social opportunities, friendship, and emotional support. Yet their social involvement with host country nationals remained limited throughout their sojourn.

Similarly, AmaraSingham (1980) studied two Indian sojourner spouses in the United States and found two distinctive styles of friendship formation: a "boundary-emphasizing" style and an "outward-reaching" style. The former was characterized by an attempt to create strong and exclusive relationships with co-nationals, while the latter was characterized by efforts to create relationships with Americans. AmaraSingham (1980) found that the woman who maintained a small circle of co-nationals who lived nearby experienced security, reciprocity and continuity in her new
environment, yet her social network kept her separate from the surrounding social environment. On the other hand, the other woman who did not have initial access to co-nationals nearby instead reached out to Americans for friendship. While she experienced more stress and disappointment and less security at the beginning of her sojourn, the relationships that she developed with Americans eventually brought her into a richer active involvement with her local American environment. Such findings suggest that gaining access to both expatriate and host national networks may be important for facilitating cross-cultural adaptation.

Adaptation Regarding the Self

Studies of sojourner adaptation with regard to the dimension of the self have examined the sojourner's identity issues and psychological reactions to his or her changed environment.

Psychological reactions. The concept "culture shock" has been widely used to explain some of the cross-cultural adaptation difficulties and the psychological disorientation sojourners experience when exposed to an alien environment for an extended period of time. Culture shock refers to the feelings of strain, deprivation, confusion, frustration, anxiety, and helplessness that sojourners experience as a result of losing the familiar signs and symbols of social interaction in their native culture (Befus, 1988; Brislin, 1981; Church, 1982; Furnham, 1988; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Kim, 1989; Oberg, 1960; Paige, 1990; Torbiorn, 1982). Bock (1970) described culture shock as primarily an
emotional reaction that results from not being able to understand, control, and predict other people's behavior. Thus sojourners stay anxious, confused, and disoriented until they develop a new set of behavioral assumptions that help them understand and predict the social behavior of host members. In similar work, Weaver (1986) has shown that culture shock occurs due to the loss of familiar social cues and reinforcers, the breakdown of interpersonal communication, and identity crisis.

Beyond the descriptive accounts of culture shock, researchers have examined the psychological reactions of sojourners during cross-cultural transition (Chiu, 1995; Leon et al., 1990; Schram & Lauver, 1988; Ward & Searle, 1991). For example, Schram and Lauver (1988) studied alienation in foreign students at an American university and found social contact to be the key predictor of alienation. Ward and Searle (1991) identified loneliness as the most powerful predictor of psychological distress in foreign students in New Zealand.

As for sojourner spouses, Vogel (1985) reported that many Japanese student wives experienced high anxiety and loneliness. de Verthelyi (1995) found that all the international student spouses in her study experienced homesickness, loneliness and depression.

Identity issues. One's identity and self-image are often threatened in a new cultural environment (Anderson, 1994; Garza-Guerrero, 1974; Ishiyama & Westwood, 1992). Coelho, Yuan and Ahmed (1980) point to the importance for the uprooted individual to maintain a positive self-image. de Verthelyi (1995) reported
that many international student spouses experienced feelings of frustration and resentment and lowered self-esteem at the loss of autonomy. Some student spouses experienced the feeling of loss at the disruption of their own career. Not being able to work in the States due to visa restrictions, was a painful experience for some of the spouses who had to give up their own career to accompany their husbands; as a result they reported the loss of an important aspect of their identity and lowered self-esteem. Identity issues are particularly relevant for the cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner spouses, given that their role and status is often perceived as contingent on their husbands' academic or career plans (de Verthelyi, 1995; Schwartz & Kahne, 1993).

Ward and her colleagues (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward, 1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1994; Ward & Searle, 1991) argue that there are two interrelated but conceptually distinct, dimensions of cross-cultural adjustment: psychological and sociocultural adjustment. While the former refers to psychological well-being and satisfaction in a new culture, the latter relates to social skills or the ability to negotiate interactive aspects of the host culture. For example, in a study of New Zealand expatriates and their spouses, Ward and Kennedy (1994) found that sojourners with strong co-national identification experienced less depression while overseas, while those with strong host national identification experienced less social difficulty. Further, low co-national and high host national identification was linked to enhanced sociocultural adjustment but to diminished psychological well-being, while high
co-national and low host national identification was positively related to effective psychological adjustment but was not associated with sociocultural competence. These findings suggest that for overall cross-cultural adaptation, maintaining a sense of one's cultural identity through connections with co-nationals is as important as developing host communication competence.

**Ecological Aspects of Adaptation**

Relatively few researchers have investigated the influence of the host environment conditions on sojourner adaptation (Chang, 1997; Kim, 1989, 1995). Some of the environmental factors suggested in past research as related to sojourner adaptation are living conditions and the size of expatriate community.

**Living conditions.** A number of researchers have suggested that the quality of living conditions or standard of living is an important determinant of cross-cultural adaptation. For example, Mallinckrodt and Leong (1992) found negative correlations between the quality of physical living condition and depression in married international graduate students in the United States. In a study of American expatriates, Birdseye and Hill (1995) found that material life satisfaction was the chief predictor for expatriate's intent-to-leave the location and intent-to-leave the job. Further, Diggs and Murphy (1991) found that a higher standard of living, lower cost of living, and slower pace of living were some of the contributing factors to the overall high life satisfaction of Japanese sojourners in Dayton, Ohio.
More specific to sojourner spouses, Black and Gregersen (1991) found that favorable living conditions were positively related to expatriate spouse general adjustment ($r= .43$). Black and Gregersen (1991) suggested that the quality of living conditions might be a particularly important factor for the adaptation of expatriate spouses to life overseas because most spouses do not work during the overseas sojourn and tend to spend a significant amount of time at home.

The size of the expatriate community. A number of researchers have suggested that the size of the expatriate community is a moderating factor that affects the adaptation processes of sojourners (e.g., Black, 1990; Tung, 1982). For example, Brewster and Pickard (1994) studied British expatriates and their spouses and found a negative correlation between the size of the expatriate community and the extent of social activity with host nationals ($r=- .54$). They indicated that larger expatriate communities, where considerable levels of support are available, led to lower levels of interaction with host nationals and easier adjustment to the local expatriate community, but not necessarily to the host environment. Smaller expatriate communities, where social interaction with host nationals is available and possible, led to greater adjustment to the host environment, although the process of adjustment was more difficult.
The Outcome Phase

Some studies have assessed the extent of adaptation achieved by sojourners in the host environment by focusing on the outcome phase of their sojourn. A variety of indices have been used to measure sojourner adaptation, among which are task achievement, the extent of social interaction with the host nationals, and sojourner satisfaction (Church, 1982). The following reviews each area of study.

Task achievement. Sojourner outcome is usually task related and measured by task achievement. In the case of foreign students, whose primary goals are academic (Church, 1982; Helkinheimo & Shute, 1986; Klineberg, 1980; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Westwood & Barker, 1990), various indices of academic achievement, such as GPAs, degree awarded, and retention and attrition rates, have been used to measure sojourn outcomes. For example, Westwood and Barker (1990) investigated the relationship between academic achievement, drop-out rates, and contact with host nationals among first-year international students in a Canadian university. They compared, over a three-year period, groups of first-year international students who participated in the peer-pairing program and those who did not. Those who participated in the peer program and thus were paired with a host student had significantly higher year-end grade averages than those who were not participants. Those who participated in the peer program also had lower drop-out rates from academic programs than non-participants. These findings suggest that the academic achievement
of international students is related to their social adjustment, which is facilitated through increased contact with the host culture.

In the case of expatriate employees, some researchers have used work performance as a measure (e.g., Clarke & Hammer, 1995; Earley, 1987; Parker & McEvoy, 1993), while others have used failure or premature turnover rates (e.g., Tung, 1981). For example, in a survey study of 80 U.S. multinational corporations, Tung (1981) found that 7% of the firms had a failure rate of 20-40%, 69% had a recall rate of 10-20%, and the remaining 24% had a recall rate of below 10%. Tung (1981) also found that the inability to adapt to a different cultural environment and family-related problems were important contributing factors of American expatriate failure overseas. Fukuda and Chu (1994) also found that family-related problems and the inability to adapt to foreign environment were the two most important contributing factors of Japanese expatriate failure in Hong Kong and Taiwan. However, both of these studies have relied on the opinions of expatriates about the adjustment of their spouses and its effects on themselves, and thus may be biased (Black & Gregersen, 1991; Parker & McEvoy, 1993). To better understand the dynamics of cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner families, the spouse's perspectives need to be more directly and systematically explored.

Unlike student or employed sojourners, sojourner spouses have no specific instrumental goal or task clearly outlined for them. Hence there is no study that has objectively assessed the adaptation of sojourner spouses by their task achievement.
Social contact or interaction. Many researchers consider the extent of social contact or interaction with host nationals a chief indicator of the sojourner's adaptation in the host environment (Brein & David, 1971; Briody & Chrisman, 1991; Church, 1982; Hull, 1978; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Sewell & Davidsen, 1961). For example, Ward and Searle (1991) found a positive relationship between favorable attitudes toward host nationals and amount of contact with host nationals (r=.44) in foreign university students in New Zealand. In another study of New Zealand students abroad, Ward and Kennedy (1993a) found a positive correlation between language fluency and frequent contact with host nationals.

As for sojourner spouses, Briody and Chrisman (1991) examined social interaction patterns between American expatriate couples. They found that employed husbands had contact with both the host country national and expatriate communities and that they interacted to a greater extent with host nationals on a daily basis. By contrast, the spouses interacted primarily with members of the expatriate community and far less frequently with host nationals. They also found that those who had more social interaction with host country nationals typically had some language skills at the outset of their assignments.

Satisfaction. Another commonly adopted indicator for cross-cultural adaptation are the feelings of well-being or satisfaction with one's general environment (Diggs & Murphy, 1991; Dunbar, 1992; Lysgaard, 1995; Ruben & Kealey, 1979; Sewell & Davidsen, 1956; Torbiorn, 1982). For example, Sewell and Davidsen (1961)
found a significant positive relationship between the amount of social interaction students had with host nationals and their satisfaction with their sojourn. In their study of American Fulbright grantees, Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) found a significant positive relationship between the number of professional contacts the grantees had with their hosts while abroad and their degree of satisfaction with their sojourn experiences. In his study of Swedish expatriates, Torbiorn (1982) found that those who spent most of their time with host nationals were more satisfied on average than those who spent most of their time with their co-nationals. In a study of US expatriates, Dunbar (1992) found that those who reported having more culturally appropriate skills and awareness were more satisfied with their overseas assignment ($r= .52$). Diggs and Murphy (1991) studied 66 Japanese (26 male and 40 female) sojourners in Dayton, Ohio and found that the great majority (83%) were either satisfied or very satisfied with their lives in the United States. Some of the reasons mentioned as contributing to their satisfaction with life in the States included: higher standard of living, lower cost of living, slower pace of living, more time spent with family together, and the friendliness of the local people. Together the findings of these studies suggest the importance of relationships with hosts, host communication skills and favorable living condition in bringing about sojourner satisfaction.
As for sojourner spouses, Stone Feinstein and Ward (1990) reported that the quality of relationship with one's husband and loneliness were the most significant predictors of psychological well-being among American expatriate women in Singapore. Ward and Kennedy (1992) also noted that marital satisfaction was one of the most significant predictors of psychological adjustment of New Zealand sojourners in Singapore. Together the findings suggest the importance of spousal support during cross-cultural transition. Further, de Verthelyi (1995) noted that the degree of satisfaction that the spouses experienced with their sojourn depended basically on the type of personal project each spouse had formulated and the congruence between the initial expectations and the accomplishment of the project. This suggests that to better understand their sojourn experiences, it is important to explore the personal goals of the spouses and their assessment of their accomplishments.

**Summary of Adaptation of Sojourner Spouses**

The preceding review suggests that there are three related sets of adaptation problems, emotions, and desired outcomes that may characterize the experiences of sojourner spouses. A first challenge of cross-cultural adjustment for sojourner spouses is uncertainty reduction and language/discourse control. The high levels of uncertainty that surround sojourner women in the new cultural environment, coupled with their lack of linguistic and sociocultural skills and knowledge, can lead to increased feelings of anxiety, decreased autonomy and personal control, and lowered
self-esteem. Sojourner spouses tend to experience severe communication difficulties, partly due to their relative lack of training in the target language and culture (de Verthelyi, 1995; Vogel, 1985). Hence one of the crucial tasks for sojourner women is to acquire a sufficient level of language and cultural skills, which will help them better make sense of their new environment, reduce anxiety, and restore their sense of control and self-esteem.

A second challenge of cross-cultural adjustment for sojourner spouses is social integration. Due to the disruption of their old social networks and their lack of organizational affiliation in the new surroundings, sojourner spouses tend to be socially isolated (Briody & Chrisman, 1991; Schwartz & Kahne, 1993; Vogel, 1985). Social relationships are essential for psychological well-being and the absence of such social bonds can lead to increased feelings of loneliness, vulnerability and alienation and lowered self-esteem (Cutrona, 1996; Lepore, 1997; Rook, 1984; Rook & Peplau, 1982). Hence another crucial task for sojourner women is to develop social relationships in their new environment, which will help them connect to community resources, and overcome their outsider status.

A third challenge of cross-cultural adjustment for sojourner spouses is the sustenance of positive self-esteem. Frequent communication difficulties that sojourner spouses experience in the new cultural environment can threaten their self-confidence (Ishiyama & Westwood, 1992; Weaver, 1986). The stress and loneliness they experience in an alien land can also undermine their
self-identity (Gaza-Guerrero, 1974; Ishiyama & Westwood, 1992). Hence another task for sojourner women is to restore threatened self-esteem and identity, which will help them persist in their efforts at overcoming obstacles in the continuous and lengthy process of cross-cultural adaptation.

As already been mentioned, three studies have so far examined the adaptation experiences of sojourner spouses. Vogel (1985) reported the adaptation difficulties of Japanese student wives in the Harvard University community. Yet her study was anecdotal and lacked an analytical examination. Briody and Chrisman (1991) examined the variation in the ease and time frame of adaptation among American expatriates and spouses. Although their findings are provocative, the objective of their study was a comparison of adaptation patterns between expatriates and their spouses and was not an in-depth exploration of the experiences of the sojourner spouses. de Verthelyi (1995) explored the factors related to the early adjustment of international student wives from 26 countries at a university in rural Virginia. Although her findings are informative, her study did not explore a dimension of social relationship in these women's adjustment experiences.

Given these studies, the first objective of this study is to gain a better understanding of the cross-cultural adaptation experiences of Japanese married sojourner women by examining their adaptation difficulties in depth. Hence my first research question asks the following:
RQ1: What are Japanese sojourner women's experiences of their adaptation difficulties?

Given these problems and desires, the cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner spouses is conceived, following Anderson (1994), as a continuous, interactive process in which women generate responses to the behavioral, cognitive and affective obstacles they encounter in their new cultural environment. Overcoming these obstacles, the essence of adaptation, means developing communicative effectiveness, insider awareness, self-confidence, and sense of belonging. Anderson (1994) contends that a sojourner's ability to overcome obstacles depends upon the willingness to open oneself up to new cultural influences and face obstacles by the use of instrumental coping strategies, and that what reinforces the sojourner's motivation to continue adjusting is the support of peers. As she puts it: "Securing or carving out a supportive environment by a steady concentration on expanding social interactions is the central task of outsiders working their way in" (Anderson, 1994, p. 313).

The view taken here is that supportive communication plays an important role in facilitating the cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner spouses. Yet this view does not conceive support as one-way acts of help from support providers, or as teaching the basics of social skills. Rather at its ultimate best sojourners and their interactional partners build shared systems of meaning, acceptance, and understanding through communication (Uchida, 1997). Interaction that overcomes cultural obstacles for sojourners
involves both participants attempting to build an awareness of their
differences as well as shared meanings and understandings, which
may form the basis for a relationship and community.

Given, then, the claim that social support may play an
important role in the cultural adaptation of sojourner spouses, I
turn next to a review of the social support literature. In the
following section, I will first discuss the definitions, functions,
mechanisms, and features of supportive communication. Then I
will discuss social support in self-help groups and support groups
for sojourner spouses.

Social Support Communication

Social support has been the subject of much research and
time over the last twenty years. Back in the 1890s Durkheim
(1897/1951) suggested that a lack of social relationships increased
the probability of suicide. However, it was much later when the
interest in the association between social relationships and health
was fueled (Sarason, Sarason & Pierce, 1990). The impetus for the
study of social support originated in the fields of community
psychology and epidemiology (e.g., Cassel, 1976), in which it was
suggested that social ties had significant health-protective effects
(Albrecht, Burleson & Goldsmith, 1994; Burleson, Albrecht,
Goldsmith & Sarason, 1994; Gottlieb, 1983; 1985). Ever since,
considerable research on social support has shown that supportive
relationships and interactions have beneficial effects on
psychological and physical health and well-being. For example,
numerous studies have provided evidence of a positive correlation

**Definitions of Social Support**

The concept of social support has been defined in various ways by researchers across fields (Albrecht & Adelman, 1984, 1987a; Hobfoll & Stoke, 1988; Sarason et al., 1990; Thoits, 1982). Earlier definitions referred to the individual's perception of acceptance and caring (Albrecht et al., 1994; Burleson et al., 1994). For example, Moss (1973) defined support as "the subjective feeling of belonging, of being accepted or being loved, of being needed all for oneself and for what one can do" (p. 237). Cobb (1976) defined support as information leading one to believe that one is cared for, loved, esteemed and valued. It has been increasingly seen as a multidimensional construct (Albrecht et al., 1994; Duck, 1990; Gottlieb, 1983, 1985; Sarason et al., 1990; Thoits, 1982). The amount, types and sources of support and the structure of the support network are all important dimensions of support (Thoits, 1982).

I believe that the fulfillment of both ongoing basic social needs and immediate needs engendered by particular stressful life events are critical aspects of social support. Human beings have
ongoing fundamental interpersonal needs (e.g., needs for acceptance, affiliation, recognition, validation, and guidance), whose fulfillment by others is crucial for well-being (Caplan, 1976; Cutrona, 1996; Cutrona & Russell, 1987; Jacobson, 1986). Humans also experience ad hoc needs engendered by various personal or environmental circumstances, whose fulfillment help them better cope with the stressors at hand (Cutrona, 1996). Here, I will employ Cutrona's (1996) conception of social support: "acts that reflect responsivity to another's needs" (p.11), or more specifically, "acts that communicate caring; that validate the other's worth, feelings, or actions; or that facilitate adaptive coping with problems through the provision of information, assistance, or tangible resources" (p. 10).

The conception of social support used here follows in the tradition of a number communication scholars (e.g., Albrecht & Adelman, 1984, 1987; Albrecht et al., 1994; Barnes & Duck, 1994; Burleson et al., 1994; Goldsmith, 1994; Zimmermann & Applegate, 1994), all of whom focus on social support as a communication process that occurs between people. As a communication process, social support is often seen as a dynamic, transactional, and symbolic process in which providers and recipients mutually influence one another's affective, cognitive, behavioral, and/or relational states. Supportive communication is also transformative, in that it involves the negotiation of meaning, the coordination of actions, and the production and interpretation of messages (Goldsmith, 1995). Social support, thus, "can affect both persons'
feelings and cognition, the state of the relationship and future message exchange sequences" (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987, p. 20). Hence the consequence of the supportive interaction process contributes to the relational development of the interactional partners (Adelman et al., 1987; Albrecht & Adelman, 1987). A communicative approach to the study of social support also recognizes that the seeking, giving, and receiving of support are symbolic processes in that "the effects of received support do not come about mechanistically through the mere issuance of a supportive act (e.g., advice) but rather through participants' interpretations of acts and their implications." (Goldsmith & Fitch, 1997, p. 455).

Although most researchers on social support have tended to focus on the special instances of social support delivered at times of stress or crisis, social support also arises from the mundane, routine interactions of normal daily life, irrespective of problems, troubles or crises (Barnes & Duck, 1994; Leatham & Duck, 1990). Leatham and Duck (1990) argue that social support is embedded in the daily process of social life and is generated through everyday activities and conversations that implicitly convey messages about acceptance, liking, commitment, and involvement. Such routine transactions are important psychologically and emotionally because they provide individuals with feelings of the availability of support and create and perpetuate individuals' sense of being in a relationship (Leatham & Duck, 1990).
Functions of Social Support

Albrecht and Adelman (1987) have described engaging in supportive interactions as a search for human contact as well as a search for meaning to make sense of one's life circumstances. According to uncertainty reduction theory (Berger & Calabrese, 1975), people are motivated to communicate with one another in order to understand another's behavior. Albrecht and Adelman (1984, 1987) argue that supportive communication helps individuals reduce uncertainty, and thus functions to decrease the anxiety and stress caused by the experience of the unknown. Supportive communication also helps individuals enhance their perceptions of mastery and control over their circumstances, and thus functions to empower those in everyday activity.

Generally, the functions that social support provide are classified into five categories: informational, tangible, emotional, esteem, and social integration support (Cobb, 1979; Cutrona, 1996; Cutrona & Suhr, 1994; Cutrona, Suhr & MacFarlane, 1990). Informational support includes advice, guidance, factual input, appraisals of situations, and feedback on actions. Tangible aid includes offers to provide needed goods and services. Emotional support includes expressions of caring, concern, empathy, and sympathy. Esteem support refers to expressions of regard for one's skills and abilities, validation of one's thoughts, feelings, or actions. Social integration support entails a sense of belonging among people with similar interests and concerns (Cutrona & Suhr, 1994; Cutrona et al, 1990). These support types can be further divided into two
broad categories: instrumental and nurturant support (Cutrona et al., 1990). Instrumental support (e.g., information and tangible aid) is associated with a feeling of mastery and control over one's environment, and nurturant support (e.g., emotional, esteem, and social integration) is crucial for feelings of personal coping, enhanced self-esteem, and needs for affiliation (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987).

Besides differentiating the types of social support, scholars have also differentiated support functions by communicative intent. For example, Barnes and Duck (1994) maintain that everyday communication has not only manifest functions but also latent functions. Manifest functions are primary communicative objectives enacted by participants in an interaction, such as instrumental, identity, or relational goals, while latent functions are outcomes that occur as a function of a particular interaction or series of interactions, whether intended or not. Barnes and Duck propose that there are six such latent supportive functions performed by everyday talk: information, detection, ventilation, distraction, perpetuation, and regulation. First, everyday conversation provides background information about the potential supportiveness of others. Second, routine conversation provides baseline information about typical communication patterns that enable one to detect changes in patterns that may signal difficulties. Third, routine discourse provides an opportunity to vent grumbles and complaints regarding routine stressors. Fourth, everyday talk provides a temporary distraction and respite from existing...
stressors. Fifth, everyday talk functions to perpetuate or maintain relationships, which in turn serves to sustain a person's sense of being supported. And sixth, everyday communication functions as a regulation mechanism for face needs within relationships by reducing the risks associated with the dilemmas inherent in support seeking and provision.

At first glance it would appear that all of these social support functions may be relevant to the adjustment demands of sojourner spouses. For example, given the women's limited linguistic and cultural knowledge, informational support that contributes to the reduction of uncertainty about their new cultural environment should be perceived particularly supportive. This sort of informational support helps facilitate their language and culture learning and sense-making processes, and thus enhance their perceived control over their new environment (Adelman, 1988). Given the sojourner women's social isolation in the new environment, social integration support that helps them develop sense of acceptance and belonging should also be perceived supportive. Given their lowered self-confidence in an alien land, esteem support that helps restore their positive self-concepts should also be perceived supportive. All these functions have certainly been cited, at least in anecdotal accounts, in cross-cultural adaptation. It remains to be seen if these functions surface in the support discourse studied here.
Mechanisms of Social Support

Although there is considerable evidence of a positive relationship between support and well-being, there has been disagreement about the process through which social support has a beneficial effect on well-being (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Hobfoll & Stokes, 1988; Rook, 1984). One view, or the buffering model, holds that social support benefits primarily individuals undergoing stressful life events by moderating the potentially harmful impact of stress, and that the lack of social support is problematic only for those undergoing high levels of stress. An alternative view, or the main effects model, proposes that social support has positive influences on people's health regardless of the presence of absence of stressors in individuals' lives and that lack of social support is, in and or itself, a source of stress (Albrecht et al., 1994; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Gottlieb, 1983; Rook, 1984). Instead of casting it as an either-or proposition, many believe that it is more reasonable to expect both buffering and main effects and see each model as representing a different process through which social support may affect well-being (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Rook, 1984).

Cohen and Wills (1985) claimed that support has buffering effects when individuals perceive that the support available is adequate to meet the needs elicited by particular stressful events; social support has main effects on well-being when the support is taken to be the person's degree of integration in his/her social network. According to appraisal theory (e.g., Lazarus, 1991), stress
arises when an individual appraises a situation as threatening or
demanding, and does not feel that he/she has an appropriate coping
response. In the buffering model, the perceived availability of
support operates by affecting one's interpretation of the stressors
or knowledge of coping resources, and thus, alleviating the impact
of stress appraisal. In this sense, the buffering qualities of social
support are cognitively mediated. On the other hand, social
network integration operates to maintain feelings of well-being and
stability, the lack of which can become a source of stress of
considerable import in one's life (Cohen & Wills, 1985).

So far research on the buffering role of social support has
received considerably more attention than the main effects model,
and has specifically been used by Anderson (1994) in her model of
cross-cultural adaptation. She contends that sojourners' appraisals
of their situations guide their behaviors in their adjustment process.
Hence, assisting sojourners in reappraising their circumstances,
goals and/or resources should be helpful. At the same time,
sojourners are uprooted from their social matrix in which they have
developed and sustained their sense of identity and belonging. As
AmaraSingham (1980) pointed out, for sojourners "the very fact
that social support is no longer a given of the social world, but must
actively be sought, is a source of stress (p. 421). The importance of
reconstructing a new support network in a new environment for
the emotional well-being of sojourners suggests that the main
effects model of social support may be relevant to the lives of
sojourner spouses, too.
Features of Social Support Communication

Although the various effects and functions of social support have been investigated extensively for the past twenty years, it is not until quite recently that scholars started to pay attention to the actual process of supportive interactions: how support is sought, how it is communicated, and how it is received (Albrecht, Burleson & Sarason, 1992; Burleson et al., 1994; Hobfoll & Stokes, 1988; Leatham & Duck, 1990). So far relatively few studies have examined specific features of the messages through which people attempt to express support (Burleson et al., 1994). Yet in order to further our understanding of the communicative dynamics of social support, more research is needed that focuses on actual supportive strategies and practices produced by people in interaction.

Burleson (1985, 1990, 1994) has maintained that comforting is a significant form of social support in that it helps improve the quality of people's life by alleviating mundane emotional upsets arising from the hassles and disappointments of everyday life. Burleson has suggested that person-centeredness, or the extent to which a message acknowledges, elaborates, and legitimizes the feelings and perspective of others, is a critical feature of effective comforting messages.

Goldsmith (1992, 1994) has maintained that face needs and face threats are also fundamental to supportive interactions and has applied politeness theory as a framework for analyzing supportive messages. Goldsmith suggests that helpful supportive behaviors convey regard for "positive face" (the desire to be liked and
accepted) and "negative face" (the desire to be free from constraint and imposition), while unhelpful behaviors threaten positive face (e.g., criticism) or negative face (e.g., interference, advice). Thus, Goldsmith argues that facework strategies that convey acceptance and respect and mitigate criticism and imposition are also important features of supportive messages.

In an effort to better understand the mechanisms through which comforting messages bring about emotional change, Burleson and Goldsmith (1998) developed a reconceptualization of the comforting process from the perspective of appraisal theory. They maintain that distressed emotional states are products of appraisals of events and that they can be altered only through the reappraisals of the events. They identified three features of effective comforting messages: those which focus on the emotions of the distressed other, that are descriptive and explanatory in orientation, and that are sensitive to the other's face concerns. Burleson and Goldsmith (1998) argue that "messages exhibiting these properties help constitute a supportive conversational environment, aid in focusing the discussion on emotions and coping efforts, and encourage the distressed other to elaborate on these topics through detailed narratives" (p. 273), and thus are more likely to help people with the reappraisal process. They further argue that the narrative construction process, or the process of expressing one's thoughts in words and then producing coherent utterances about a stressful event, helps the distressed individual get some cognitive distance and new perspectives on the event and
make better sense of the situation. Thus, they point to the importance of the role of narratives in facilitating the cognitive reinterpretation process.

Besides the message features discussed by Burleson and Goldsmith (1998), other scholars have stressed the need to express caring and empathy to be supportive (e.g., Rogers, 1959). Expressions of concern convey a sense of caring for the other and affirmation of the other's roles and aspirations. Burleson (1990) contends that expressing concern towards a person in stress contributes to their feelings of well-being, acceptance, and control over events. Empathizing with the other to show that one understands their thoughts and feelings is also considered a key component in the provision of social support (Barbee & Cunningham, 1995; Cutrona & Suhr, 1994; Gottlieb, 1985; Rogers, 1959).

Given the specific adjustment demands of sojourner spouses, some message features might be particularly important in providing a sense of support. For example, given the sojourner women's limited language and cultural knowledge of the host society, a message that explains the meaning of unfamiliar words or that provides some background information to aid their comprehension of ongoing conversation might be perceived particularly supportive. Such a message not only helps reduce uncertainty, but also it conveys a sensitivity to their needs and a sense of caring. Given the women's lowered self-esteem and confidence in a foreign country, a message that acknowledges their
neglected competence and accomplishments and positive personal qualities should be perceived supportive. Such a message conveys a positive regard and helps restore their self-esteem. Given their outsider status in their new environment, a message that expresses mutual interests and shared identities should also be perceived supportive. Such a message conveys a sense of solidarity and contributes to their feeling of acceptance and belonging.

Social Support in Self-Help Groups

Self-help groups are typically composed of people with a common problem or predicament who have come together voluntarily for mutual assistance (Katz & Bender, 1976). The literatures on social support and self-help groups have shown that support group interaction can be highly functional for those undergoing life changes and transitions (e.g., Adelman, 1988; Albrecht & Adelman, 1984; Arntson & Droge, 1987; Cluck & Cline, 1986; Droge, Arntson & Norton, 1986; Fontaine, 1986; Gartner & Riessman, 1977; Katz & Bender, 1976, 1990; Levy, 1979; Medvene, 1989; Rappaport, 1994; Silverman, 1980, 1992).

Levy (1979) identified some of the most frequently occurring communication activities in self-help groups: "empathy, mutual affirmation, explanation, sharing, morale building, self-disclosure, positive reinforcement, personal goal setting and catharsis" (p. 264). Consistent with Levy (1979), several lines of work have shown that self-help groups provide people with opportunities to express their feelings and concerns, exchange practical information, receive guidance, learn about themselves through social comparison, learn
from each other through role modeling, interact socially, network, and exchange social support (Katz & Bender, 1976; Medvene, 1989; Silverman, 1980, 1992). Self-help groups also provide people with opportunities to become both helper and helpee, which can increase their sense of self-efficacy and thus empower them (Arntson & Droge, 1987; Cluck & Cline, 1986; Droge et al., 1986; Silverman, 1980, 1992). Thus, self-help groups "fill needs for a reference group, a point of connection and identification with others, a base for activity, and a source of ego reinforcement" (Gartner & Riessman, 1977, p. 7).

Other researchers have examined the reasons why social support is facilitated effectively in groups. Some contend that perceptions of similarity of experiences among members can generate member credibility and contribute to ease of identification, which functions to reduce the feeling of social isolation (Cluck & Cline, 1986). The perceptions of similarity can also promote the reciprocal communication of empathy, acceptance and understanding and the activation of social influence processes that can lead to personal change (Cluck & Cline, 1986; Medvene, 1989).

Several studies indicate that the narrative mode of communication is one of the key characteristics of self-help group interactions (Arntson & Droge, 1987; Droge et al., 1986; Rappaport, 1994). A narrative is "a story that tells a sequence of events that are significant for the narrator and his or her audience" (Denzin, 1989, p. 37). Arntson and Droge (1987) maintain that the narrative
mode of communication functions to empower both narrator and auditor. A narrative orders experience in a temporal and causal sequence, gives coherence and meaning to events and provides a sense of the past, the present and the future (Rappaport, 1994). For the narrator, telling one's story enables him/her to explore a personal meaning system, make better sense of his/her experience, and develop a functional language for talking about him/herself (Arntson & Droge, 1987). For the auditor, listening to stories about how others have dealt with problems provides him/her with an opportunity to receive advice nondidactically, which increases feelings of freedom and decreases feelings of imposition (Arntson & Droge, 1987).

The narrative mode of communication also facilitates the development of reciprocal social-emotional relationships among group members (Arntson & Droge, 1987). Rappaport (1994) suggests that self-help groups can be viewed as narrative communities which provide their members with social contexts for identity transformation through the processes of social communication by means of shared narratives (Rappaport, 1994).

**Support Groups for Sojourner Spouses**

A number of scholars have underscored the importance of developing a support system for international student wives and expatriate wives to facilitate their adaptation process in their new cultural environment (e.g., Briody & Chrisman, 1991; de Verthelyi, 1995; Fontaine, 1986, 1996; Schwartz & Kahn, 1993; Vogel, 1985). In particular, three studies described existent support programs for
sojourner spouses. Vogel (1985) described a discussion group for international wives held at the University Health Service, and reported that their discussions provided these women with an opportunity for learning, social comparison, and anxiety reduction. Schwartz and Kahn (1993) described a university sponsored, self-help support program for wives of international and American graduate students at MIT. They reported that the program was successful in assisting these women in building social networks that connect them to community resources. They also discussed the importance of a professional who can act as a facilitator, information resource, link to diverse services, counselor, and advisor. While Schwartz and Kahn (1993) described a successful program, their study really took the role of communication for granted and did not examine the communication practices that brought about the success of the support program. A third study on spousal support groups has been conducted by Uchida (1997). She examined the communication practices in support groups for international student wives at a midwestern university. While her analysis is theoretically motivated, it is limited to the discourse of introductions and not on the supportive practices engaged in at the meetings.

In cross-cultural encounters between native speakers and non-native speakers with limited host language skills, communication is particularly problematic and thus understanding cannot be taken for granted. Therefore, in order to help these sojourning individuals adapt better in their new cultural
environment, it is important for us to gain a better understanding of how communication functions to facilitate the adaptation process of these women.

In this study I attempt to enhance our understanding of the role of social support communication in the cross-cultural adaptation process of sojourner women by examining communication activities in a support group for international spouses. Studying communication activities and practices in the support group provides an excellent opportunity to examine naturally occurring supportive interactions between native and non-native speakers of English. Hence I ask the following question to discover the features of social support communication in the context of cross-cultural adaptation, about which little has yet been explored:

RQ2: What support communication practices occur in support group meetings for international wives?

Although the literature on social support and cross-cultural adaptation suggests that certain communication activities and practices foster more effective support, we do not know how the sojourner spouses might perceive or experience them. Hence I will also ask the following question to gain the perspectives of the sojourner women on the benefits of supportive interactions:

RQ3: What communication practices that occur in support group meetings for international wives do sojourner women find helpful?
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will first describe the research design and procedures for data collection and analysis. Then, I will discuss the issues of trustworthiness and ethics.

Research Design

My objective for conducting this study was twofold. First, I wanted to obtain an in-depth understanding of the sojourn experiences of Japanese married women in the United States. Second, I wanted to better understand the role and features of social support communication in the adaptation process of sojourner spouses in this country. The primary design of the study was an ethnographic field study.

The ethnographic approach aims at a holistic understanding of people's cultural behavior through an extended period of fieldwork. It seeks to obtain an understanding of social phenomena from the "insider's" perspective by having direct and personal contact with them in their own environments (Patton, 1990; Philipsen, 1989; Saville-Troike, 1982). As Conquergood (1991) points out, "ethnography is an embodied practice; . . . The embodied researcher is the instrument" (p. 180).
The predominant methods were participant observation, interviews, and discourse analysis. As Jergensen (1989) states, "the methodology of participant observation seeks to uncover, make accessible, and reveal the meanings (realities) people use to make sense out of their daily lives" (p. 15). The methodology of participant observation requires the researcher to "become directly involved as a participant in peoples' daily lives. . . . Through participation, the researcher is able to observe and experience the meanings and interactions of people from the role of an insider" (Jergensen, 1989; p. 20-21). The long-term immersions in the field allowed me to get to know the program participants and staff personally and to experience what they experienced in the setting. In addition, interviews enabled me to understand the social actor's perspective and learn about things that could not be observed directly by other means (Lindlof, 1995; Patton, 1990). The interviews allowed the program participants to reconstruct their sojourn experience and describe the subjective meanings of the experience in detail and in their own words. Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that the major advantage to the interviewing method is that "it allows the respondent to move back and forth in time - to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future" (p. 272). Finally, discourse analysis methods were also used to discover patterns and structures of naturally occurring interactions in support group meetings for sojourner wives (Jackson, 1986; Silverman, 1993).
Research Procedures

In this section I will describe the research procedures: gaining access, the research site, data collection, and data analysis. 

Gaining Access

Fieldwork for this study was conducted in a support program for international women, called the International Neighborhood Coffee Hour (INCH), from January 1995 to December 1997. I first learned about the program from a small brochure that I found at the Office of International Education at The Ohio State University when I was looking for a way to interview Japanese women. I contacted the coordinator of the program through the telephone and explained my research interest and objective and asked her whether I could conduct observations of INCH weekly meetings for a class project, with which she had no problem. In this way I obtained permission to participate in their weekly meetings. The fact that the program is for international women and is open to any woman who is interested, and that I am an international woman myself made it very easy for me to gain access to the setting.

Description of the Research Site

International Neighborhood Coffee Hour (INCH) is a community-based, volunteer support program for international wives. The objectives of the program are to provide the international women with opportunities to meet American and other international women in the community, make new friends, and learn or practice English. Although it was originally organized to assist the wives of the international members of The Ohio State
University, it is open to any woman in the area who wants to come. INCH meets weekly on Wednesday mornings for two hours during the academic year and bi-weekly in the summer at a Baptist church adjacent to the University campus. It offers free small group English conversation classes as well as some group activities such as crafts. There are no obligations or fees involved.

Participants. The participants of the program were international married women from all over the world, who had come to the United States to accompany their husbands for various reasons. The length of their sojourn in the U.S. varied from a couple of months to several years. They were all non-native English speakers with varying degrees of English proficiency.

INCH usually has the attendance of 70 to 100 women and 20 to 40 pre-school children from over 25 countries. However, the majority (approximately 65%) of women were from four Asian countries: Japan, Korea, China and Taiwan. On average, there were approximately 15 to 20 Japanese women attending each week.

The proportion of wives of international members of the University to wives whose husbands were at other organizations was approximately 2 to 1. The university wives learned about the program from the information their husbands received from the Office of International Education at the University, while the corporate wives learned about it by word of mouth from friends who had participated in the program. There was a constant flow of newcomers throughout the year, although it was usually the
beginning of quarters when a large number of newcomers joined
the program, with Autumn quarter the largest.

Staff. INCH is staffed by approximately 40 volunteers (30
regular and 10 substitutes), most of whom are American women
over the age of retirement. These unpaid volunteers do everything
to keep the program running, including arranging the room, driving
carpools, teaching English and crafts, playing with the women's
children, preparing for snack time, and cleaning up after the weekly
meetings. Some of the tutors who teach the small group English
classes were trained initially by the Columbus Literacy Council.

History. INCH started out in 1962 as a weekly coffee social
for a group of 20 American and international married women, all of
whom were members of the University Baptist Church.
Accommodating the growing number and needs of international
members in the community, INCH has changed its format over the
years and opened itself up to women with any religious affiliation.
Although INCH is considered to be an outreach program of
University Baptist Church and is held at the church, it emphasizes
that there is no religious content to the meetings and that the
program is open to women of all ages, religions, cultures, race and
nationalities.

INCH has been in continuous operation for the period of 39
years since its inception and has grown into a group of 150. While
INCH keeps recruiting and adding new volunteers every year, more
than half of their 30 regular volunteers are old-timers who have
been with the program for over 10 years, including a few original
initiators of the program. I believe that both the longevity and the
growth of the program over the years are evidence that INCH has
been successful in responding to the needs of the growing number
of international women in the community.

In addition, over the years tutors and administrators at INCH
have won various awards from local organizations for their service
to the community and contributions toward international
understanding. Some of the awards they have received include:
the International Volunteers of the Year Awards from the
1996), the Community Service Awards from the Office of
International Affairs at The Ohio State University (1988, 1991,
1992, 1994, 2000), the Pavey Award from the University
Community Association (1995), the Community Service Award from
The Columbus Dispatch (1994), the Mayor's Awards for Voluntary
Service (1978, 1988), the Outstanding International Volunteer
Award from the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program (1992), and
Jefferson Center Grant Award from the Jefferson Center for
Learning and the Arts (1993).

The physical setup. The INCH weekly sessions are held at the
large fellowship room on the ground level in the church. There are
20 rectangular tables in the room, around which the participants sit
in groups of four to eight members. INCH provides a free child care
service for women with small children. A varying number of pre-
school children, from 20 to 50, play with toys and games in the
same room under the care of volunteers while their mothers attend
the program. Infants stay with their mothers at their group tables. The noise level in the room is constantly very high, with small children crying and screaming, which can sometimes make talking difficult. Yet the arrangement of keeping the children in the same room within the sight of their mothers reflects the program coordinators' cultural sensitivity as well as their effort to accommodate to the needs of their constituents.

On her first day, a newcomer is assigned to one of 20 groups, based on her self-evaluated English level (i.e., beginning, intermediate, or advanced), and her interest area (e.g., conversation, grammar, writing, craft). Each group consists of four to seven international women and a tutor. Once assigned, the participant returns to her group every week, which allows her to develop more personal relationships with her tutor and group members.

The length of the women's sojourn varied from a couple of months to several years. Thus there was a constant movement of people in and out of the program throughout the year, reflecting the constant population turnover in the university community. Still, there were usually a few old-timers in each group who had been in the program for more than a year or two. Some women stayed in the program for the entire period of their sojourn. There was always a combination of old-timers and newcomers in each group.

The INCH program as a whole is highly structured in that it has a well-established and well-coordinated weekly schedule to follow. Each session starts at 9:15 am and ends at 11:15 am. A few minutes before 9:15 am the room starts to fill up with the women.
and some small children. Most of the women know which group they belong to and head for their own table. The first 90 minutes are spent on conversations and language lessons, followed by announcements and a snack time. People leave their table, group by group, to get some snacks, such as crackers, cookies, fruits, homemade cakes or ethnic snacks. Coffee and tea are also served. After getting some snack foods from the table, participants return to their own group to enjoy the snacks and some more informal conversation with their group members. All the participants take turns bringing snack foods to share every ten weeks or so and thus have opportunities to share finger foods from their own countries if they wish. In a way, the snack time is the highlight of the weekly session to which everybody looks forward. Sampling various American and ethnic snacks and talking over a cup of coffee make the sessions more enjoyable for everybody.

At the group level, each group has its own procedure and format with varying degrees of organization, depending upon the philosophy, interest, and style of the tutor and the English proficiency level of the members in each group. Some groups use a textbook while others do not. Some groups use a textbook on idioms, while others primarily use a textbook on conversation.

**Data Collection**

The predominant methods of data collection for this study were long-term participant observation and semi-structured, open-ended interviews. The data sources included field notes, program documents, transcripts of tape-recorded conversation of the INCH
weekly sessions, and transcripts of tape-recorded interviews with Japanese women and volunteer tutors. All methods and procedures were reviewed and approved by the OSU Human Subjects Review Committee.

**Participant Observation.** I was involved in the INCH program as a participant observer as well as a volunteer myself over the period of three years, from the beginning of 1995 through the end of 1997. I participated in 47 INCH weekly meetings and over the period of three years, from the beginning of 1995 through the end of 1997 spent a minimum of 3 hours at the site each week, conducting both direct and participant observation of the weekly sessions, engaging in informal conversations with all of the participants before, during and after the sessions, and helping out with small chores, such as cleaning up the room after the meetings. I also attended monthly "brown-bag lunch" meetings for volunteer tutors where they discussed their concerns.

I took detailed notes on what occurred in the meetings. I always recorded the date of the observation, the name of the tutor and the number and the nationality of the members of the group that I visited, the activities they engaged in, the procedures they were following, and the topics that were brought up or covered. I also recorded incidents, questions, comments, or exchanges that I found interesting, and I jotted down some of the casual conversations I had with tutors and international women after the meetings. I used my field notes at every stage of analysis to ground my interpretation of the interactions and the interviews.
For the analysis of the INCH weekly group sessions, I employed a criterion sampling strategy to identify and select information-rich-cases (Patton, 1990). After having engaged in participation observation of all 20 groups over the period of Winter and Autumn quarters of 1995 and Winter quarter of 1996, I selected four groups for the in-depth analysis of communication activities and practices during the sessions, based on the language proficiency level of the group members and the focus of the tutoring sessions. Specifically, I selected groups of intermediate or advanced English level whose focus was not on strict language instruction, as I believed that analyses of these group sessions would make it easier to capture communication phenomena beyond basic language training.

Since the membership of the groups was not consistent, I decided to rotate among four groups regularly in order to keep familiarizing myself with new members as well as the old-timers. I visited each of the four groups two or three times every quarter, usually in consecutive weeks. On the first visit I fully participated in the session just as everybody else in the group in order to give the group members an opportunity to get to know me and feel comfortable with me. On the second visit I tape-recorded the session with the permission of the tutor and the group members. I always explained the purpose of my study, although very simply, and then asked for their permission to tape-record the session. I always guaranteed them the anonymity and confidentiality of the data so that everybody in the group knew who I was and what I
was doing. In this way I acquired 10, 90-minute, tape-recorded sessions of 4 groups during Spring and Autumn of 1996 and Winter of 1997.

**Interviews.** I conducted semi-structured, open-ended interviews with 12 Japanese women who had been regular INCH participants. I decided to employ a homogeneous sampling strategy (Patton, 1990) and interview only Japanese women, based on my belief that conducting interviews in the native language of the interviewees would facilitate the interviewing process and the acquisition of accurate and in-depth information. This is particularly so because some of the newly arrived international wives had limited English skills. I initially approached Japanese women whose INCH participation I had had the opportunity to observe when I had visited the 20 groups for participant observation. Since I had been to their tables once or twice as a participant observer before I approached them for interviews personally, I was not a stranger to them. They were from 10 different groups of various English proficiency levels.

The interviews were conducted in Japanese from April, 1997 to June, 1997 at my apartment, which was a 5-minute walking distance from the church where the INCH meetings were held, at a convenient time for the interviewees. The interviews lasted from 1 hour and 15 minutes to 2 hours, with an average of 1 hour and 30 minutes. All but one of the interviews were tape-recorded with the women's permission and were transcribed by me. One woman
expressed her discomfort with recording but agreed to let me take notes.

I guaranteed them the anonymity and confidentiality of the data. The interview questions (See Appendix A) were designed to discover their cross-cultural adaptation experiences and views on helpful supportive communication practices. The first set of questions asked for background information including age, educational background, purpose and length of sojourn and INCH affiliation; the second set of questions explored their general cross-cultural experiences; the third set of questions explored their perceptions about the immediate effects of support interactions at INCH; and the final set of questions explored their perceptions about the cumulative effects of their INCH affiliation. I composed the interview questions in English and then translated them into Japanese. Further, I pre-tested the interview guide to see whether the questions were easily understandable and to decide whether some of the questions were redundant.

I also conducted semi-structured, open-ended interviews with 17 INCH volunteers (1 administrator and 16 tutors). The interviews were conducted in English either at the interviewee's house or my apartment, at their convenience. The interviews lasted an average of 1 hour and 30 minutes. All the interviews were audiotaped with the women's permission and transcribed by me. No one objected to the use of a tape recorder. The questions (See Appendix B) were designed to discover the tutors' motivations for engaging in sustained support provision for international women, as well as
their views on helpful supportive communication practices for the international women and the effects of supportive communication on their own lives as well as the sojourn lives of the international women. The first set of questions asked for background information including age, educational background, purpose and length of involvement in INCH; the second set of questions explored their extent of and motives for their involvement with INCH; the third set explored their insights into cross-cultural adjustment; the fourth set explored their insights into social support; and the final set of questions explored their personal experiences at INCH. Again, I pre-tested the interview guide to see whether the questions were easily understandable and to decide whether some of the questions were redundant.

Data Analysis

I transcribed all the tape-recorded interviews and group sessions. The interviews were transcribed broadly. I included exact words used, repetition and laughter, but did not attempt to capture details such as vocal emphasis and pauses. The group sessions were transcribed more in detail, roughly following the transcription system developed by Jefferson (see Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). Through repeatedly listening to the recordings, I attempted to capture details of the interaction, such as laughter, stress, loudness, sound stretching and overlapping talk, as well as the exact words used and the length of pauses (See Appendix C for transcription symbols).
The transcribed data was initially analyzed inductively. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), two essential subprocesses involved in inductive analysis: unitizing and categorizing (p. 203). Unitizing involves a process of breaking down the raw data into units which permit precise description of relevant content characteristics (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Categorizing is a process of sorting units into "categories that provide descriptive or inferential information about the context or setting from which the units were derived" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 203).

The purpose of the interviews with Japanese women was twofold: to obtain an in-depth understanding of the difficulties they experience in their sojourn and to gain an insight into helpful supportive communication practices from the recipient's perspective. A grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was used to develop categories of cross-cultural adaptation difficulties of these women. First, all distinct elements in the interview data in response to the questions of sojourn experiences and support group experiences were identified. The unit of analysis was an "idea unit" (Saeki & O'Keefe, 1994). Then, through the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the elements were sorted into categories based on similarity of meanings. Once sorting was complete, the elements in each category were examined to develop labels for the subthemes. The subthemes were then examined to determine commonalities and develop labels for the themes of adaptation problems these women
experienced. The elements were also categorized for the kind of support that the international women valued and the kind of connections that the women made between what happened communicatively at INCH and how they felt about themselves. The analysis of the connections made by the women about communication practices at INCH and their feelings about themselves were used to make sense of the patterns of support-relevant moves which emerged from the analysis of INCH sessions.

The purpose of analyzing discourse at INCH weekly sessions was to discover the types and the characteristics of support communication practices that occurred at these sessions. Discourse analytic methods and a grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) were used to analyze the audiotapes and transcripts of INCH sessions and develop a conception of social support communication in the cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner spouses. The unit of analysis was the exchange, or pattern of moves. A conversational move is a functional unit, or line of action, (Goffman, 1981) in a goal-directed interaction sequence (van Dijk, 1986) and is a more commonly used unit for discourse analysis than a sentence or utterance (Coulthard, 1977; Hatch, 1992). A pattern of moves consisted of three moves at minimum: an initiating move, a responding move, and an acknowledging move, although the second or third move may not come immediately after the first or second move, but may occur later in the conversational sequence. First, I broke down each session into patterns of moves, and then decided whether or not each pattern of moves was
support-relevant or related to cross-cultural adaptation. If the pattern of moves was support-relevant, I then described it. In deciding its support-relevance I relied on my knowledge of social support and cross-cultural adaptation, my experiential knowledge of the INCH participants, and the observed response of its recipient. Support-relevant moves were compared one against another and sorted into categories on the basis of "look-alike" characteristics (e.g., semantic or functional features); (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Through the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) support-relevant moves were categorized for the types of support moves and the descriptions of the communicative nature of moves that purport to bring about cross-cultural adaptation. As I generated and developed categories through the constant comparative method I kept revising the categories until no more negative cases were found. This process of continually refining working hypotheses until they account for all known cases is called negative case analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It not only provided a way to develop an interpretation and verify it (Lindlof, 1995), but also it had great utility as a test of trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The purpose of the interviews with INCH volunteers was to gain an insight into what transpires at INCH sessions from the support provider's perspective. First, all distinct elements in the interview data in response to the questions of experiences with international women at INCH was identified. Again, the unit of
analysis was an idea unit (Saeki & O'Keefe, 1994). Then the elements were categorized for the kind of support that the tutors believed were helpful to the international women. The elements were also categorized for the kind of connections that they made between what happened at INCH sessions and what they felt about themselves and the cross-cultural adaptation of the international women. Any discrepancies between their interpretations and my evaluations were described and discussed to gain a better understanding about how social support works in the INCH weekly meetings.

To provide anonymity for those involved in this study, pseudonyms are used for all the names of the international women and tutors in the data presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Establishing Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) posed a question of trustworthiness, "how can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of?" (p. 290).

Validity and Reliability

In traditional quantitative research the central criteria for judging the rigor of inquiries are validity and reliability. Validity refers to the extent to which a research instrument measures what it is intended to measure (Kerlinger, 1986). There are three types of validity that need to be considered: content validity, criterion-related validity and construct validity (Kerlinger, 1986). Content validity is the representativeness of a measuring instrument
Criterion-related validity is the extent to which the scores on a measuring instrument are related to an independent external variable (criterion) which is believed to measure the attribute under study. Construct validity is the extent to which scores on a measuring instrument of a construct are related in logical ways to other established measures (Kerlinger, 1986).

Validity is also characterized by its internal and external dimensions. Internal validity is the extent to which the variation of an independent variable results in a pattern of variation in a dependent measure. To establish the internal validity of an experimental study, intervening variables that could confound the effects of the experimental stimulus need to be controlled. External validity is the extent to which an observed pattern can be generalized to other times, settings, and populations.

Reliability refers to the accuracy of a measuring instrument as well as its stability across time (Kerlinger, 1986). It also means "the relative absence of errors of measurement in a measuring instrument" (Kerlinger, 1986, p. 405). Reliability, thus, can be improved by minimizing error variance, for example, by writing the items of an instrument unambiguously, adding more items of equal kind and quality, giving clear instructions, and administering the instrument under standard and similar conditions (Kerlinger, 1986).

Over the past 10 years the increased legitimacy and proliferation of qualitative research has engendered a lot of discussion on standards or criteria for judging the adequacy of qualitative inquiry (e.g., Guba & Lincoln, 1989, 1994; Howe &
Eisenhart, 1990; Kvale, 1995; Lather, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Lindlof, 1995; Patton, 1990; Silverman, 1993). Some qualitative researchers maintain that the standards for judging quantitative studies are somewhat inappropriate to qualitative studies and that they need to be redefined to fit qualitative research, the aim of which is to understand the complexities of social phenomena (e.g., Guba, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lather, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Lindlof, 1995; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For example, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed alternative methodological criteria which maybe more appropriate to the assumptions and logics of qualitative inquiry: credibility, transferability, and dependability. I will define each below and then discuss the techniques I employed in this study to increase the likelihood of producing trustworthy findings.

Credibility

Credibility is the extent to which the findings represent the respondents' views of constructed reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I employed the following techniques to increase the credibility of the findings: prolonged engagement, triangulation, negative case analysis, and progressive subjectivity.

Prolonged engagement and persistent observation were made at the research site over the period of 3 years. Prolonged engagement involves substantial involvement at the site of inquiry in order to established rapport, build trust, facilitate understanding of the context's culture, and overcome the effects of reactivity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As Glesne and
Peshkin (1992) note, "time is a major factor in the acquisition of trustworthy data" in that time spent at a research site observing, listening, talking, and building sound relationships with respondents all contribute to trustworthy data, thereby enhancing content validity. The prolonged engagement helped me not only learn the setting, the history of the program, the culture of the group, and its people and their experiences, but also learn what goes on behind the scene. The prolonged engagement also helped me establish rapport, build trust, and maintain trustful relationships with the program participants and volunteer staff. Further, it provided them with ample opportunities to learn who I was, what kind of person I was, and what I was doing, which helped them become used to me, thus reducing the effects of reactivity. I was accepted as an insider and was also granted freedom to move around, observe and participate in any activities I liked for my research purposes.

Through the use of triangulation of methods and data sources, I tried to overcome the bias that comes from single-method studies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Lindlof, 1995; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Patton, 1990), thereby strengthening construct validity. Triangulation of data sources and perspectives enabled me to check out the consistency of the findings from the three different data sources: the researcher, the international women participants, and the American tutors. The methods triangulation (observation, interviewing, discourse analysis, and document analysis) enabled me to check out the consistency of findings generated by the use of
observation field notes, transcripts of weekly sessions, interview transcripts, and program documents. In particular, the use of transcripts of naturally occurring discourse in the weekly sessions compensated the limitation of the field notes, and vice versa. As Heritage (1984, p. 238) pointed out,

> the use of recorded data is an essential corrective to the limitations of intuition and recollection. In enabling repeated and detailed examination of the events of interaction, the use of recordings extends the range and precision of the observations which can be made. It permits other researchers to have direct access to the data about which claims are being made, thus making analysis subject to detailed public scrutiny and helping to minimize the influence of personal preconceptions or analytical biases.

Through the use of negative case analysis, I kept revising working hypotheses with hindsight until there were no more negative cases to account for (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As Kvale (1995) maintains, validation is inherently built into the research process in the grounded theory approach with its "continual checks of the credibility, plausibility and trustworthiness of the findings" (p. 8).

Progressive subjectivity involves the process of monitoring the researcher's own biases and subjectivity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). As Peshkin (1988) noted, subjectivity, or personal interests and values, is inevitable and invariably present in any kind of research, whether qualitative or quantitative. Thus, in order to make myself aware of my personal thoughts and feelings and their effects on the research process and findings, I tried to monitor my
own feelings and reactions during the fieldwork and documented them when they were aroused (Peshkin, 1988). For example, at the end of my very first day in the field, I noticed that I felt very comfortable in the setting. So, asked myself why I was feeling the way I did and what that meant. One of the major factors of the comfort I had experienced in the new setting was the warm, friendly and welcoming atmosphere of INCH as a whole group. It was quite exhilarating to see such a large group of women from all over the world gathering in one room and communicating in English. The fact that I was an international woman myself made me feel fit right in as one of them. Another factor of my comfort was that I was assigned to one of the small groups where I found it easier to talk to individuals and get to know them better. What all this meant is that what I experienced as a newcomer on my first day in INCH probably is not too different from what many other international women experience on their first day as well.

During the fieldwork I made a conscious effort to shift back and forth between the participant role and the observer role and be mindful not to forget my purpose of being there as a researcher. As Ball (1990) pointed out, "maintaining the research self is a deliberate process quite unlike most social interactions. It requires careful planning and sensitive and reflective involvement with actors in the field. It requires a studied presentation of self (or selves) and the adaptation of the research self to the requirements of the field" (p. 158). By reflexively observing my own behavior as well as the behavior of others in the field, I tried to weigh the
impact and effects of my presence and behavior on others in the field.

Finally, in this particular study the fact that I am both a bilingual and bicultural international woman gave me an advantage as an insider researcher and also added to the credibility of the study. First, the mere fact that I am a female Japanese graduate student made me fit in the setting as one of them from the very beginning. Second, the fact that I actually had gone through the process of cross-cultural adjustment in this country myself also helped me establish rapport and trust with the INCH participants. Third, that I shared the context of living in the United States as a sojourner with the INCH participants enabled me to better understand the intensity of their stressful situation and better relate to their feelings and experiences, which in turn facilitated their willingness to share their personal experiences with me. Fourth, speaking Japanese when interviewing Japanese respondents helped develop rapport with them and also enhance the accuracy, depth and thus validity of the data.

Transferability

Transferability refers to the extent to which a study provides a sufficient descriptive data base necessary for the reader to make judgments about the applicability of the findings to other situations (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Because qualitative research is time- and context-bound, the applicability of its findings depend on local contextual factors. By providing a thick description of the time, place, and context of the study, I tried to establish a
degree of transferability (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

**Dependability**

Dependability is the extent to which the research process is followed systematically and is made to be an explicitly traceable process for the reader to review (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). By providing a detailed description of how I carried out the analysis, I tried to make it possible for the reader to judge the adequacy, or reliability, of the research process and the resulting product (Patton, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

**Ethical Issues**

I was very concerned about ethical issues involved in conducting this study because as a researcher I was fully responsible for the welfare of my research respondents. I will discuss some of the ways in which I assumed my ethical responsibility in conducting this study.

First, I was always open and honest about who I was, why I was in INCH and what I was doing. I repeatedly told the tutors and women participants the purpose of my study and always asked for their permission whenever I wanted to tape-record a session. Second, I tried my best to protect their physical, social and psychological welfare by respecting their rights, feelings and privacy, and preserving their anonymity. Third, I also tried to reciprocate their favors in some way. Glazer (1982) defines reciprocity as "the exchange of favors and commitments, the building of a sense of mutual identification and feeling of
community' (p. 50). There are several ways I tried to do this. For example, I spent extra 15 to 20 minutes after every INCH session helping putting the tables and chairs away. I sat in for a tutor as a substitute at one time when I was asked to. I thanked all my interviewees sincerely for their time and contribution, encouraged them to ask me questions if they had any, and gave each one of them a small gift as a token of my appreciation. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) state that "the interviewing process particularly provides an occasion for reciprocity. By listening to participants carefully and seriously, you give them a sense of importance and specialness. By providing them the opportunity to reflect on and voice answers to your questions, you assist them to understand some aspect of themselves better" (p. 123). This is something I believe I was able to accomplish to some extent. One of my Japanese interviewees told me after the interview, "I felt flattered by being asked for an interview." Another Japanese interviewee said, "This was a very interesting experience for me. It gave me a good opportunity to reflect on my experience at this point of my sojourn."
CHAPTER 4

CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION EXPERIENCES OF JAPANESE SOJOURNER WOMEN

The purpose of the first part of the study is to examine sojourner women's accounts of their cross-cultural adaptation experiences in depth and detail. The analysis of data is based on the in-depth interviews with a group of Japanese sojourner women as well as ethnographic field notes. First, I will describe the characteristics of the interviewees. Second, I will examine the major adaptation difficulties that these women have experienced in the United States.

Characteristics of the Interviewees

The sojourner women in this study represent a distinct and unique group of women who come from one culture, Japan, and who were experiencing sojourn at a particular time and place. They all shared the experience of living temporarily in Columbus, Ohio, between 1995 and 1998 and participating in the support group for international wives, INCH.

As already been mentioned, open-ended interviews were conducted with 12 Japanese sojourner women who had participated in INCH for at least 2 months prior to their interviews in 1997. The
average length of their involvement with INCH was 11.6 months, ranging from 2 months to 2 years. The husbands of three women were associated with the University. Only one of them was a graduate student proper, while the other two were employed in Japan and their academic sojourn in the United States was sponsored by their companies in Japan. The husbands of the other nine women were expatriate employees of various Japanese corporations in the area. Three university affiliated wives learned about the program through the literature sent to their husbands by the Office of International Education. All of the corporate wives learned about the program from other women in the program.

The mean age of the women was 35.75 years and ranged from 24 to 49 (SD = 8.01). For nine women this was their first sojourn in the United States, while for two corporate wives this was their second sojourn in the same area. For one university wife who relocated from another state, this was the second site as part of an extended sojourn. The average length of their sojourn in the United States up to the point when the study was conducted was 2.5 years and ranged from 3 months to 6 years. The anticipated length of the rest of their sojourn in this country ranged from 6 months to 4 or 5 years. The expected length of their entire sojourn ranged from 1 year to 8 or 9 years. Although all of them expected to go back to Japan eventually, only four out of the 12 women knew the exact length of their sojourn from the beginning. The rest were less certain about the exact number of years they would be in the United States.
The average length of marriage was 9.67 years, and ranged from 1 to 26 years. Four were couples without children; eight have one to three children, ranging from 1.5 to 17 years in age. Three women completed only high school, seven held associate degrees, and two held bachelor's degrees. Eleven out of the 12 spouses had worked full time at one point or another in Japan. Seven stopped working when they got married and two stopped working when they had their first child. Two left their jobs in order to accompany their husbands in the United States. None of the women can work in this country because of the visa restriction.

Adaptation Problems and Experiences of Japanese Sojourner Women

My first research question asked about the major difficulties that these Japanese women experienced during their sojourn in the United States. The answer to this question was mainly drawn from the following interview questions: "How do you like living in the United States?; Is there anything that makes your life here difficult, inconvenient, or stressful?" and "Is there anything about your life here that you wish were different?" Analyses of these women's experiences were also gleaned from the entire interview data as well as from my field notes.

The following three broad themes emerged from the analysis of the accounts of the 12 Japanese sojourner women: difficulties in communicating with Americans, affective reactions to communication difficulties, and difficulties in developing satisfactory social relationships. The difficulties in communicating
with Americans involved three types: linguistic, sociolinguistic, and interactional. The affective reactions to communication difficulties involved three types: frustration, anxiety, and timidity. The difficulties in developing social relationships involved two types: lack of opportunities to develop relationships with Americans, and connections to co-national networks.

**Difficulties in Communicating with Americans**

All 12 Japanese women reported that their inability to communicate effectively with host members of American society was a source of major stress in their sojourn life. The communication difficulties with Americans that these women experienced involved three types: linguistic, sociolinguistic, and interactional. These subcategories were not mutually exclusive, but were interrelated and overlapped.

**Linguistic Difficulties**

All 12 Japanese sojourner women felt that their limited oral English skills was the main source of their communication difficulties. Although all the Japanese women had studied English as a foreign language for at least 6 years, from the seventh grade on, and thus had a basic grammatical knowledge of English prior to their sojourn, none of them felt comfortable with speaking English upon arrival. English education in Japan has traditionally placed great emphasis on grammar and written English and has neglected oral training until quite recently. Consequently, many Japanese learners of English tend to be weak in speaking and listening. The sojourner women in this study were no exceptions. With little prior
training or experience in oral and aural English, the Japanese women had difficulties in expressing themselves and understanding their interlocutors while conversing in English.

References to their lack of oral communication skills appeared frequently and repeatedly in their accounts of their sojourn. For instance, a 25-year-old university wife, Mika, who had been in the States for 13 months, and whose English I observed was very limited, said:

My low English ability is a big problem for me. For example, when I receive an unexpected phone call, I don't know what to do because I don't understand what the other person is saying and I don't know how to respond. When somebody starts talking to me in the (apartment) elevator, I can't engage in small talk... And I can't go to see a doctor alone, so I need my husband to come along with me... (1)

Mika's limited English skills hampered her daily functioning in the host environment, which increased her dependence on her husband and limited her opportunities to interact with others. Another 32-year-old university wife, Kyoko, who had been in the States for 3 months, stated:

When I came to the States 3 months ago, my speaking ability was really poor. I couldn't express myself (in English) nor did I want to speak (English). I was too embarrassed to speak broken English and I was afraid of appearing crude or inappropriate. My listening ability was also very poor and I couldn't understand my interlocutors at all, especially when they spoke very quickly. So, for the first one month or so, I just kept silent and smiling... (After 3 months in the U.S.) I'm getting a little better. Now, at least I try to say something just to get started (even if it's not a grammatically perfect sentence).... (2)
In addition to the lack of oral communication skills, Kyoko initially had a psychological barrier to speaking English. She was overly concerned with how she might appear in the eyes of native English-speakers. Thus she felt too embarrassed to speak broken English and was unwilling to engage in conversation. In fact, it took her three months to overcome her perfectionist tendencies and inhibitions and shift her focus from linguistic forms (grammaticality) to message content (meaning).

That these women discussed their difficulties speaking and listening with their American hosts is completely consistent with the findings of many other studies (Church, 1982; de Verthelyi, 1995; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Kim & Paulk, 1994; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Vogel, 1985). For example, in an interview study with Japanese expatriate employees, Kim and Paulk (1994) found that the problem was further exacerbated by Americans' preference for verbal specificity, clarity, and detail. Vogel (1985) has found that language difficulties was one of the biggest problems for Japanese wives in the Harvard academic community. de Verthelyi's (1995) study has also shown that communication difficulties was one of the most prevalent problems for international student wives. Uchida (1997) has also documented the concerns by Japanese student wives about their perceived English inadequacies.

The women's lack of command of English not only hindered them from expressing their thoughts and feelings, and obtaining the information they needed, but also it hampered them from
developing relationships with host nationals. For instance, Mika said, "I would like to make friends with Americans, but my English is not just good enough." As my earlier review indicated, many studies support the finding that the sojourner's limited host language ability is a major inhibitor to becoming socially involved in the host society (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Okazaki-Luff, 1991). In studies of the development of Japanese-North American relationships, Sudweeks, Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey, and Nishida (1990) and Gudykunst, Gao, Sudweeks, Ting-Toomey and Nishida (1991) both found that lack of English ability among the Japanese partners was a barrier to developing relational intimacy in the acquaintance relationships. These findings suggest that some level of second language competence is necessary for intercultural relationship development.

The women's limited English ability also hindered them from satisfying their intellectual curiosity and presenting their true selves. Seiko, a 30-year-old wife of a graduate student, who had been living in the States for 4 1/2 years, and whom I had observed as being confident and quite fluent in English, stated:

One of my problems is that I can't express complex ideas or thoughts of mine. I mean, there are many things that I want to express but I can't. For example, I can engage in a simple conversation without too much difficulty. But when I'd like to find out a little more about one of the subjects that has come up in the conversation, I don't know how to say it right away. So, I (miss the timing and) always end up not being able to bring up little questions I have . . .  (3)
Seiko had reasonably good English skills and was able to manage simple conversations. Yet she was unable to express complex meanings fully and timely in conversation, which prevented her from taking advantage of conversational opportunities with native English speakers to expand her knowledge and satisfy her curiosity. Her limited English skills also prevented her from presenting herself as an intelligent person with complex thoughts and ideas.

The women's limited English skills also hindered them from achieving an understanding. For example, a 43-year-old corporate wife, Noriko, who had been here for 3 3/4 years and yet whose English I observed was very limited, said:

> I have great difficulty in making myself understood (to Americans), and so I've half given it up . . . I'm aware that my pronunciation is bad . . . but even when I make a conscious effort to pronounce words correctly, they still wouldn't try to understand me. So, I don't know what I can do about it. Another problem is that when I sense what I said was not being understood in the way I meant it, I cannot correct the misunderstanding (due to my limited English ability). (4)

Noriko had great difficulty in making herself understood in English, which she attributed to her inaccurate pronunciation as well as the unwillingness of her American interlocutors to understand her. But it may also have been due to other factors, such as strong foreign accent, inadequate grammar, wrong lexical choice, and unidiomatic expressions. She also had difficulty in repairing misunderstandings when she detected them. In general, thus, she did not feel understood by Americans. Moreover, she perceived a lack of
willingness on the part of Americans to work toward an understanding. She believed that she lacked the language skills to change the negative outcomes (non-understanding and misunderstanding) on her own, which resulted in the loss of any motivation to communicate, as she said she had "half given up."

Sociolinguistic Difficulties

In combination with linguistic difficulties, 10 of the 12 Japanese women talked about communication difficulties related to their lack of knowledge of appropriate sociolinguistic behaviors in American society. The acquisition of knowledge of sociocultural rules for situationally appropriate use of a language, or sociolinguistic competence (Canale, 1983; Canale & Swain, 1980; Schmidt, 1983), is an integral part of communicative competence that an individual needs to have to be a functional member of a speech community (Hymes, 1971, 1972, 1974, 1986).

For example, several women reported having difficulties in engaging in English small talk, which made it difficult for them to converse with Americans. For instance, a 40-year-old corporate wife, Hiromi, who had been in the States for 3 years, said:

When I see an (American) acquaintance, we say "Hi" to each other. After that, there is always a long, awkward silence. I feel uncomfortable because I can't speak English well and I can't talk much. I know the other person feels uncomfortable, too. But, I just don't know what to talk about . . . (5)

Similarly, Hanako, a 41-year-old corporate wife, who had been in the States for 3 3/4 years, said:
Occasionally we have (my husband's work-related) parties I need to attend with him, which I really hate. It is very painful for me to go to these parties (where everybody else is a native English-speaker) because I can't have anything beyond elementary exchanges. I want to be able to talk about something more substantial, but I just can't. My English is not good enough. Also, I don't know what to talk about... (6)

In both these cases, their difficulties in engaging in small talk were not only due to their limited English language skills, but also due to their lack of knowledge of the role of small talk (i.e., establishing a pleasant atmosphere) and appropriate topics for small talk in English-speaking speech communities in the United States.

In her interview, Kyoko commented on her lack of communicative strategies for conveying politeness:

I wish I had a better command of English so that I would know how to say what I want to say... For example, when I make a request or thank somebody, I don't know how I sound to the other person. Since I can only speak simple English, I may be saying things too directly or too bluntly and may appear rude or crude to others. I don't know, but it concerns me and makes me rather hesitant to make a request... (7)

Due to the lack of sociolinguistic knowledge in the host language, Kyoko was unable to make a judgment about the appropriateness of her own utterances when making requests and expressing gratitude. She was not sure as to the extent to which, if at all, her intended degree of politeness or gratitude was represented in the simple grammatical forms and style of which she had control. Her concerns about the possibility of offending others by saying something too directly and being perceived as a rude person,
contrary to her own self-conception, made her hesitant to make requests.

Hiromi talked about her lack of knowledge of appropriate address terms in English:

I've never addressed my tutor (at INCH). I don't know whether I should address her by her last name or first name. Well, by Japanese standards, it's not polite to call her by her first name because she is older than me . . . (8)

Her uncertainty about appropriate address terms in American culture deterred her from addressing her tutor at all.

Sometimes the women's deeply held cultural values prevented them from enacting communication behaviors that they knew to be culturally desirable in American culture. For example, most of the Japanese women had knowledge of the appropriate address terms in American culture, yet many initially had difficulty in using them. For instance, Noriko said:

I still don't feel comfortable calling my tutor by her first name. It just feels disrespectful to address one's teacher or senior by her first name or her name without using any honorific title . . . I know that's what we're supposed to do here in this country, but it's still very difficult for me to do . . . so I rarely address my tutor. (9)

Noriko knew that using a person's first name was the desirable cultural way of addressing people in local U.S. society. Yet, she could not bring herself to call her American tutor, who was a lot senior to her, by her first name because that would violate one of her own cultural values, which was to show politeness or respect to
one's teacher or senior. She was experiencing discomfort due to the conflicting values between the two cultures. So far, she had been dealing with her uncomfortableness by avoiding to address her tutor. As Spradley and Phillips (1972) pointed out, "difficulties in cultural readjustment often arise from the feeling that individuals in the new culture are violating norms learned in one's native land" (p. 526). Culturally valued patterns of behavior are difficult to change because a sense of identity and interpersonal relationships are often dependent upon them (Coelho, Yuan & Ahmed, 1980).

In the case of the practice of using first names, most Japanese women seemed to become used to it over time and eventually became comfortable with it, although at varying rates, depending upon their age, personality, self-concept, attitude toward the English language, and the relationship with particular Americans. Three out of 12 women said that they did not have any problem calling their tutors by their first name from the beginning. Four women said that they initially felt uncomfortable, but that they became used to it over time. For instance, a 24-year-old corporate wife, Kazuko, who had been in the United States for 3 1/3 years, stated, "At first I felt hesitant to call my tutor by her first name. But after a while I got to used to it and now I don't mind it at all." But five women said that they still felt uncomfortable addressing their tutors by their first name, as Noriko expressed in excerpt (9). Uchida (1997) has also documented Japanese women's initial hesitancy in following the American first name norm, but also
found that women eventually adopted the norm and used it to connect with their support group members.

**Interactional Difficulties**

Seven out of the 12 Japanese women talked about difficulties in managing social interactions, such as initiating and sustaining conversations and managing turn-taking. These difficulties are related to an individual's ability to manage interactional aspects of conversation, which has been referred to as conversational competence (Scarcella, 1983) or interactional competence (Schmidt, 1983). For example, several women experienced difficulties in speaking up in the group sessions. Maki, a 29-year-old corporate wife, who had been in the States for 3 months, said:

> I wish I could say what I want to say (in English) right away like everybody else (in my group at INCH). But while I am translating what I want to say from Japanese into English, other people start talking about something else. So, I always miss an opportunity to say something timely and end up not being able to say anything at all. Repeated experiences of this makes me feel all the more discouraged and diffident. (10)

The problem here can be differentiated from not understanding others or not being able to express oneself in English. Rather, the problem is not being able to produce utterances in English quickly enough to participate in a conversation. Maki, a newcomer, required extra time for the production of utterances in English because she planned her utterances in Japanese first and then translated them into English. This planning and translation process
took so long that she lost opportunities to actually verbalize it and participate in group conversation.

Many women experienced difficulties in joining a group of conversation of Americans. For instance, Seiko said:

At the Child Care Center (where I have been volunteering three times a week for two hours for the past three months), I often see other American teachers chatting and laughing in a group. I always wish I could join them, but I just can't. For one thing, my English isn't good enough to keep up with the fast pace of their conversation. They speak so fast that I simply can't follow them. Another thing is that I don't quite know how I'm expected to behave in the setting. So, I feel uncomfortable... and I feel like an outsider...

Although Seiko had reasonably good English skills and high motivation to learn and use English, she did not feel comfortable interrupting and joining a conversation where all of the participants were native English-speakers. First of all, as a newcomer and foreigner, she was an outsider who was trying to become accepted, and yet she was not sure whether her entry into the group would be seen as valuable. Second, the fast tempo of the conversation made it difficult for her to follow the conversation itself, which made it difficult for her to join the conversation. And third, the fast conversation pace also made it difficult for her to gain a speaking turn among the native English-speakers who not only spoke fast but also self-selected quickly one after another without much pause in between. It seemed that she was not familiar or comfortable with English turn-taking rules and norms. She just waited, politely and patiently, hoping that someone would speak to her and engage
her in conversation, following Japanese conversational rules, which unfortunately did not help her overcome her outsider status in this context.

That these women discussed their conversational difficulties (e.g., difficulties in entering into a conversation and securing a speaking turn in a group conversation) is consistent with the position of some theorists in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics (e.g., Canale & Swain, 1980; Savignon, 1983; Scarcella, 1983; Schmidt, 1983). These theorists argue that conversational competence is an important component of communicative competence and that its acquisition is as important a task as the acquisition of linguistic and sociolinguistic competence for second language learners. Scarcella (1983) also argued that the ability to manage conversations in a second language increases with overall second language proficiency.

For these Japanese sojourner women, not being able to communicate effectively with members of local American society was a most prevalent problem, which constituted a major source of stress in their sojourn life. The women particularly had difficulties in understanding their interlocutors, expressing their thoughts and feelings, and engaging in conversations with Americans in English. These communication difficulties, in turn, evoked various intense negative emotions in the women, which I will discuss in the next section.
Affective Reactions to Communication Difficulties

When the Japanese women experienced difficulties communicating with Americans, they reported experiencing various affective reactions, such as frustration, anxiety, fear, and timidity. From the women's perspectives, these different feelings had slightly different causes and produced slightly different outcomes.

Frustration

Frustration was one of the most prevalent feelings that the Japanese sojourner women experienced. All 12 respondents reported frequently experiencing frustration during and after interacting with native speakers of English. Frustration involved "feelings of intense discomfort stemming from the blockage of paths toward goals" (Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Yong, 1986, p. 250).

The women's frustration stemmed mainly from their inability to communicate freely in English, which often led to discouragement, loss of self-confidence, and decreased persistence in communicating with their interlocutors. For example, a 39-year-old, corporate wife, Yumiko, who had been in the States for 2 2/3 years, stated:

Not being able to speak English well is very stressful all by itself. First of all, it is very frustrating not to be able to say what I want to say on a given occasion when I think I know how to say it. It is also frustrating not to be able to respond when somebody talks to me because I can't understand him or her. In Japanese I don't have any problem expressing myself, or asking questions even when I don't understand something. But in English it's just so hard . . . After a while, I start to feel it's too bothersome (to try to make myself
Yumiko felt frustrated because she was not able to do what she used to do easily, naturally, and competently back in her own country, which is to communicate freely. Her feeling of frustration was accentuated by her constant comparison of her English speaking ability to her Japanese speaking ability and the perceived wide gap between them. The difficulties she experienced communicating in English posed a threat to her positive self-concept as an intelligent and competent woman. Furthermore, the difficulty and stress that accompanied her effort to communicate in English resulted in decreased persistence. Because it required her to expend tremendous amount of effort to understand others and make herself understood in English, she tended to give up easily when she encountered an obstacle. She felt the constant need to struggle to make herself understood too burdensome to make the conversation worthwhile. In excerpt (3), Seiko also expressed her feeling of frustration at not being able to talk about complex ideas. She also felt unfulfilled because she was not able to take advantage of the conversational opportunities with native speakers of English to expand her knowledge and satisfy her curiosity. Kumiko, 33 years old and a second sojourner had similar feelings:

The first couple of years of my first sojourn were a lot more difficult. . . . . . After 5 years of living in the States (in total), I don't experience too much inconvenience in day-to-day living any more, but I still have this constant feeling of irritation with myself about not being able to speak or
understand English well. I feel frustrated and irritated with myself because I still cannot make myself understood fully in English when I don't have any difficulty in Japanese. For example, describing my physical condition in detail when I go to see a doctor, or talking about my child's personality or emotional condition at a parent-teacher conference are still difficult for me . . . Also, whomever I talk to, whether it's a doctor, repairman or neighbor, I cannot understand him or her completely. So, I always have to excuse myself by saying, "I'm sorry, but I don't understand." (13)

Having learned how to deal with routine instrumental interactions, Kumiko was now able to handle various daily living tasks without too much difficulty, which made her life a lot easier, compared to the first couple of years of her first sojourn. Yet she still had difficulties in understanding others fully and expressing herself freely, which led to constant feelings of frustration and irritation.

All of the women expressed their frustration with their lack of progress in English. For example, Maki said:

I feel frustrated with my lack of progress in English. It's been already 2 months (since I came to the States), but my English hasn't improved much . . . I feel pressure, for example, when I receive letters from friends in Japan in which they ask me whether I have made improvement in English or whether I have made lots of American friends . . . (14)

Maki's frustration was based on the wide gap between her expectation about where she should be in terms of her English proficiency after two months in the States and the reality, which was interfering with the achievement of that expectation. Brislin (1986) calls this phenomenon, disconfirmed expectancies. That
feelings of frustration were noted by all of the Japanese women is completely consistent with Anderson's (1994) model of cross-cultural adaptation, in which sojourners are seen as continually overcoming types of obstacles, many of which create feelings of frustration because they delay sojourners' ongoing activities. The feeling of frustration with one's lack of progress in English seemed to be aggravated by a widely held myth in Japan that one will soon become fluent in a foreign language, once he or she starts living in the country where the language is spoken. Seiko also said:

Before I came to the States, I used to believe that I would become fluent in English once I came here. Now I know it's not true, but everybody around me in Japan had said that I would and so I used to believe it myself... (laughs) (15)

The feelings of frustration which the Japanese women expressed were mostly related to their inability to communicate freely due to their limited English proficiency. Yet some women also expressed frustration at the lack of efforts on the part of their conversation partner to bridge the linguistic gap that existed between them. For example, Yumiko stated:

Some Americans are interested in what I have to say and they try hard to understand me even though my English isn't perfect. But there are other Americans who are unwilling to understand you unless you speak perfect English. For example, I have had several Americans who kept asking me "What? What?" when I failed to pronounce a word or two correctly. I felt very frustrated because I didn't think it would have been too difficult for them to guess what I was trying to say from the context, only if they had tried a little harder... With that kind of individuals I don't feel like engaging in further conversation in the future... (16)
Yumiko felt that some of her American interlocutors were not making enough efforts to understand her imperfect English and bridge the linguistic gap between them. The lack of perceived effort and contribution of her conversation partner led to dissatisfaction and frustration, which further led to decreased motivation to engage in further communication.

**Anxiety**

Anxiety was another prevalent feeling that the Japanese sojourner spouses experienced. All 12 respondents reported experiencing feelings of anxiety, uneasiness, and tension when they interacted with Americans or when they anticipated interacting with Americans. Anxiety refers to the feelings of uneasiness, tension, insecurity, or discomfort that individuals commonly experience in an unfamiliar situation (Brislin et al., 1986; Gudykunst, 1987, 1988, 1993). Pettigrew (1986) suggests that affective reactions, such as fear and anxiety, are one of the major by-products of intergroup communication.

The women's anxiety mainly stemmed from their inability to understand their interlocutors and offer appropriate responses. For example, eight out of the 12 women expressed feelings of anxiety about answering the telephone. Maki said:

*Answering the phone is a big problem for me. I once received a phone call for some kind of donation, but at that time I didn't know what "donation" meant... and when I don't understand something, not being able to see the face of my interlocutor doesn't help, either. I just get real nervous and panicky... Making a phone call is a little better because at least I can prepare what to say in advance and I can...*
somewhat anticipate what the other might say. But when I receive an unanticipated phone call, I have no time to prepare and I get really nervous and panicky... (17)

The abruptness of the summons, uncertainties of the identity and intentions of the caller, absence of time for mental preparation, and total absence of visual cues to aid the interpretation of the caller's utterance all contributed to high anxiety. These factors all contributed to the women's difficulties in concentrating and understanding their interlocutors and thus, intensified their sense of anxiety and urgency, which developed into fear. The feelings of anxiety and fear toward answering an unanticipated telephone call were shared by many others, especially at the early stage of their sojourn. For instance, Seiko stated:

At first, I was too afraid to pick up the phone because I wouldn't be able to understand (what the person on the other end of the line would be saying) at all and I didn't know what to do. So, I used to get terrified every time when the phone rang. (After 4 years) now I feel much better about answering the phone. Now I think it's not a big deal even if I don't understand it and I will give it a try anyway. Still, even now I don't like talking on the phone... If I need to obtain some information about something, I'd rather go talk to someone face-to-face, rather than pick up the phone... (18)

With time and experience, Seiko developed a more relaxed attitude toward answering the phone, and her initial feeling of intense fear subsided. Nonetheless, she reported she still had uneasiness about using the telephone as a means of communication. The eight spouses who expressed their anxiety at talking on the phone preferred face-to-face conversation.
High levels of anxiety often led to fear, loss of self-confidence, and social withdrawal or/and avoidance. Particularly individuals with limited English skills tended to experience high levels of anxiety about anticipated social interaction with Americans. For example, Mika stated:

For the first 6 months or so, I didn't feel like getting out of the house much because my English was very poor and I was afraid of being spoken to by a stranger (on the street) . . . (19)

In order to reduce high anxiety, Mika completely withdrew herself from social situations for the first six months to minimize contact with Americans. Hiromi also said:

For the first one year or so I was afraid of interacting with Americans because my English was very poor. When somebody talked to me, I couldn't carry on conversation. When I asked a simple yes/no question, they often gave me a long-winded answer, which just went over my head. For me it was more confusing than it was helpful to talk to Americans. So, for the first one year I avoided interacting with them as much as possible. (20)

Hiromi made a conscious effort for the first year to avoid situations that would have required interacting with Americans. In both cases, high levels of anxiety resulted in the avoidance of social contact and interaction with hosts, which just became cyclical and perpetuated interactional anxiety. Vogel (1985) has also documented the pervasive anxiety Japanese women experienced in their daily social interactions.
The feeling of insecurity, time pressure, and performance pressure also contributed to high anxiety, which, in turn, interfered with English language performance and led to a loss of self-confidence. For example, Maki said:

I sometimes feel I am looked down on here (in the States) because I don't speak English well. So, whenever I need to talk to Americans, I try extra hard not to make mistakes and try to speak good English. But then, that makes me very nervous and I have even more difficulty expressing myself in English . . . (21)

Seiko also said:

At the Child Care Center (where I volunteer) everybody speaks so fast that I can't follow their conversation. So when somebody talks to me all of sudden, I can't respond . . . After a couple of incidents like this, I've become afraid to talk to people (at the Child Care Center). I just feel very nervous and (when I'm nervous) I have (even greater) difficulty speaking (grammatically) coherent English and recalling even easy words. Then, I feel really discouraged and it's like, oh, why couldn't I say something so simple . . . Another thing that makes me uncomfortable at the Child Care Center is that everybody looks busy there. So, I feel this pressure to hurry and speak quickly myself if I want to talk to somebody, which makes me even more tense and nervous . . . and so I rarely talk to anybody there. (22)

As Seiko expressed earlier in excerpt (11), as a newcomer and the only non-native volunteer, she did not feel comfortable in this context. She felt overwhelmed by the fast pace of the conversations that took place among other teachers, which intensified her insecurity. Seiko's inability to fully understand the conversations prevented her from joining in them as she did not feel comfortable
enough to interrupt and ask questions. Furthermore, high anxiety, intensified by time pressure, interfered with Seiko's normal level of English language performance, resulting in a loss of self-confidence and self-esteem, which caused her to retreat totally. Kim and Paulk (1994) have also found that Japanese employees find Americans' fast speaking rate to be intimidating. Gudykunst (1989, 1993) has argued that high levels of uncertainty and anxiety inhibit effective communication.

Stephan and Stephan (1985) have pointed out that "anxiety stems from the anticipation of negative consequences. People appear to fear four types of negative consequences: psychological or behavioral consequences for the self, and negative evaluations by members of the outgroup and the ingroup" (p. 159). In the case of the Japanese women, it seemed to be the negative consequences for their self-concepts that they particularly feared. In interacting with Americans, the women feared feeling incompetent, awkward, and embarrassed by not being able to speak English grammatically, understand their interlocutors, or respond appropriately.

**Timidity**

Linked to anxiety was timidity, another prevalent feeling that the Japanese sojourner spouses expressed. All 12 respondents reported feeling timid and diffident when interacting with Americans in English. Timidity refers to a state of fearfulness which results from a lack of self-confidence. The women's feelings of timidity stemmed mainly from a lack of confidence in their
English ability, which led to hesitation, passivity and inaction. For example, Hanako stated:

I wish I could get to know my neighbors a little better. Whenever we see each other, we say "Hi," but that's all. I would like to have a conversation with them, but I feel diffident (to initiate one) because I cannot speak English as freely as Japanese and I know I won't be able to carry a conversation very long... So, I feel frustrated because I would like to talk to them, but I can't... I occasionally see some of my neighbors chatting together outside their houses. I used to wish I could join them, but nowadays I don't care anymore... (23)

Hanako would have liked to converse with her neighbors if they had shown some interest in talking with her by initiating conversation. Also, she would have liked to join a group of chatting neighbors if they would ask her to join them. She felt timid and was hesitant to initiate a conversation with them because of a lack of confidence in her ability to carry it on. She was also uncertain as to whether her entry into the group would be valued. Similarly, Seiko expressed her feeling of timidity about initiating conversations with Americans:

I'm not a very outgoing type... So, well, I guess I can talk to Japanese whom I meet at INCH or people in the same group at INCH whom I see every week, but without this kind of context I don't think I can get to know people at all.... Of course I see lots of Americans in a grocery store, but I can't just start talking to strangers. Anyway, I know it's rather passive, but I tend to just wait until someone talks to me. (24)
In both of the above cases, the women were having an internal struggle between a desire for connection and inclusion and a disinclination for taking initiatives for fear of failure and rejection.

Uncertainty about the appropriateness of one's sociolinguistic behavior tended to lead to hesitation, as Kyoko and Hiromi expressed in excerpts (7) and (8) respectively. Maki explained her hesitation about asking questions:

In Japan I would ask questions without hesitation whenever I wonder about something. But here I feel very hesitant . . ., er, well, I don't know how to say what I want to say in English right away (so I have to think hard first) and sometimes I feel it's just too much trouble to try to express it (in English). I also feel timid because I don't know what people might think of me if I ask a lot of questions. I mean, I don't want to be seen as a stupid or annoying person . . . So, I only ask important questions and keep other unimportant questions to myself . . . (25)

Having to speak English, which required her extra effort, caused her to assess the cost of asking questions. That is, she needed to find out first whether it was within her ability to express certain questions in English and, if so, how much effort it was going to require her. If Maki felt that it would require too much effort for her to express what she wanted to say in English, then Maki would abandon her contribution because it would have been too burdensome. Uncertainty about the appropriateness of a question and concern about possible negative evaluations by others further contributed to her hesitation. The findings on timidity and uncertainty are also consistent with those reported by Kim and
Paulk (1994). Anderson (1994) also considers anxiety and minimal involvement to occur in host-sojourner encounters.

In summary, the Japanese sojourner women frequently experienced intense negative emotions when communicating or anticipating to communicate with Americans: frustration, anxiety, and timidity (See Figure 1.1). From the women's perspectives, these feelings had slightly different causes and produced slightly different outcomes that corresponded to current models of cross-cultural adaptation. Frustration, mainly stemming from their own inability to express themselves freely in English, tended to lead to discouragement, loss of self-confidence, and decreased persistence to communicate what they had in their mind. When frustration stemmed from the perceived lack of contribution on the part of the conversational partner, it tended to lead to decreased motivation and disengagement. Anxiety, stemming mainly from the women's inability to fully understand their interlocutor, tended to lead to fear, social withdrawal, and/or avoidance. Timidity, stemming mainly from a lack of confidence in their English language skills and a lack of security, tended to lead to hesitation, passivity, and inactivity.
Figure 1.1 Summary of the Perceived Causes and Outcomes of Female Sojourners' Emotions

Difficulties in Developing Satisfactory Social Relationships

Eight out of the 12 Japanese women reported that they had experienced a lack of satisfactory social relationships, with either Japanese or Americans, as a source of major stress, at one time or another, in their sojourn. Lack of satisfactory social relationships included two subcategories: lack of opportunities to develop host-relationships, and connection to co-national networks.
Lack of Opportunities to Develop Host Relationships

Most of the Japanese sojourner women had very limited personal contact with Americans. Eleven out of 12 women reported that they had few contacts with Americans. Of the 11 women who had few contacts with Americans, six expressed feelings of frustration and disappointment at not being able to make American friends. Three women talked about difficulties in developing relationships with neighbors. For instance, Seiko stated:

It's very hard to meet people here. I don't even know who our neighbors are. People don't seem to greet one another around here. . . . I think it's very difficult to get to know a person unless I see the person frequently or engage in some kind of common activity together . . . and so I remain a stranger to even those who live in the same apartment. (26)

Maki also said:

It's a lot more difficult to meet people here. For example, in Japan whenever I take my 3-year-old son to a neighborhood park during the daytime, I would find other children playing with their own mothers. So I can have my son play with the children and I can talk with their mothers. But here there's nobody in the neighborhood park (to talk to). Also, I live in an apartment building, but I seldom see other residents. (27)

Maki's comment suggests that Americans may not spend as much time as Japanese in public spaces, such as parks, conducting activities that might permit cross-cultural contact. Or it may be that there are far less stay-at-home mothers in this country than in Japan, which would reduce a likelihood of seeing American women with young children around in the neighborhood during weekdays.
These differences in lifestyle between Americans and Japanese might be a factor that made it more difficult for the Japanese women to develop relationships with their neighbors in this country than in Japan. Further, both Seiko and Maki lived in apartments, where more single working people would probably choose to live than families with children. Thus, their particular housing situation might have been another contributing factor to the difficulty that they experienced in developing relationships in their neighborhood.

In addition to the relative lack of opportunities to interact with Americans in their neighborhood, the women's social diffidence and passivity was another factor that prevented the relational start-ups. For instance, Hanako, who lived in the suburbs, mentioned earlier (see excerpt 23) that she would occasionally see her American neighbors chatting together outside their homes and that she wished she could have joined them. In her case, the opportunity to start up a conversation was right there in front of her eyes. Yet she was hesitant to take advantage of this opportunity for several reasons. First, her lack of confidence in her English created a self-presentation dilemma for her. Although she wanted to interact with her neighbors, she was afraid of presenting herself as incompetent. Second, she was not sure whether they would be willing to converse with her, or welcome her into the group. Without an encouraging sign from her American neighbors (e.g., a verbal invitation to join their conversation), she was hesitant to initiate the first move. The women's lack of confidence in their
English tended to make them socially diffident and passive, which further contributed to their relationship difficulties.

Some women did make an effort to create opportunities to form social relationships with Americans. For instance, Seiko stated:

I want to make friends (with Americans) and I try, but it's not easy. I guess I don't quite know how to make connections ... For example, I have taken some continuing education classes at a nearby community center, hoping that it would help me meet people and make some friends. But the classes met once a week for 8 weeks and that was it. I really didn't get to know anybody there. Or nobody invited me to their home or suggested that we get together or anything ... So, no relationship has come out of it ... (28)

Yumiko also stated:

I try to make opportunities to interact with Americans by taking craft classes and golf lessons, and so I do have quite a few American acquaintances with whom I exchange greetings every week. But that's all ... No one has ever invited me out for lunch or suggested that we get together to do something. So, things don't develop any further than mere acquaintanceship ... My lack of English proficiency, of course, is the biggest obstacle, but I know that my lack of assertiveness is a problem, too ... I can talk when people talk to me by asking me questions, but initiating a conversation (with Americans) is not easy for me. It just requires me a tremendous amount of courage ... (29)

Both Yumiko and Seiko had taken the first step to create interactional opportunities by putting themselves in a situation where they would regularly engage in activities of common interest with a group of Americans over a period of time. What was missing
here was the next step: showing a desire and willingness to interact with these Americans by starting up a conversation. Both Yumiko and Seiko had great difficulty in taking the initiative to start a conversation with Americans. The lack of their confidence in their English, lack of their knowledge of how to initiate a conversation and make small talk in American society, and their uncertainty about the American's desire to engage in conversation with them all contributed to their social diffidence and passivity. Thus they just waited for the Americans to take the initiative to start a conversation or extend an invitation, which unfortunately rarely happened. However, the total lack of the initiative on the part of the Japanese women might have been interpreted by these Americans as a lack of their interest in engaging in conversation. These findings are consistent with Ward and her colleagues' (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward, 1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1992, 1993, 1994; Ward & Searle, 1991) findings that satisfying relations with host-nationals are related to less social interaction difficulties. Anderson (1994) further points out the difficulty of the sojourner's status as both newcomer and marginal person, a person who must work to conform and adjust to the majority group's culture.

The difficulty in making friends with Americans had a more negative impact on the women who did not have close connections to other Japanese sojourner women in the area than those who did. For instance, Yumiko, who was well-connected to local Japanese networks, did not seem to experience too much loneliness. She stated, "Since I have Japanese friends here, I don't necessarily feel
lonely. But I wish I had American friends with whom I can go out and do things and whom I can invite home. That's something that I feel is missing in my life here . . . " In contrast, Seiko, who did not have close ties to either Americans or Japanese locally, experienced loneliness quite intensely:

I feel very isolated. I mean, I feel very detached from the society. In Japan I had always belonged to some kinds of organization, such as school, club, company, and was always surrounded by people with whom I engaged in the same activities. But here, I belong to nothing. So, I feel totally alone and lost. . . . . (30)

Much of Seiko's feelings of loneliness and alienation derived from the sharp contrast between her isolation here and her life in Japan, where she had had close ties to a wide network of friends, colleagues, and family.

Of the 12 Japanese spouses, Kyoko was the only one who had an opportunity for personal contact with Americans on a regular basis. In her case, her husband's academic adviser, with whom he had established contact before having come to the States, provided them with various tangible assistance upon their arrival and network support later on. Kyoko said:

My husband had met an OSU professor at a conference in Japan 3 years ago and maintained contact with him through e-mail. This professor, who is now his academic adviser, has been very kind to us and helped us out a lot. He came to the airport to pick us up, and helped us find an apartment and get a social security number, etc. If we hadn't had someone like him to help us initially, I know it would have been a lot more difficult for us. . . . . . Also, we moved into an apartment next to the professor's mother and she's been very kind to
me. She drops in our apartment to chat with me or calls me at least a couple of times a week to see how I'm doing. She has given me some English lessons and shown me how to bake a pie, how to knit, etc. So, it's been very nice. (31)

Their first local contact led to another. Not only was the immediate help available from the professor upon their arrival, but also ongoing support was provided by the professor's mother, who lived next door to them. The professor's mother took upon herself to look after Kyoko and took the initiative to keep in contact with her. Due to this regular contact, Kyoko did not seem to experience the feelings of loneliness or isolation. This is consistent with the finding of Selltiz and Cook (1962), who reported that foreign students who had at least one close host national friend experienced fewer problems than those with no close host national friends.

Connections to Co-national Networks

Anderson (1994) posits that what facilitates the sojourner's willingness to continue adjusting to obstacles life in another culture presents is the security and esteem that results from interacting with one's peers. Consistent with her model, I found that the connection to co-national networks played an important role in the sojourn lives of the Japanese women, by filling the void in their social relationships and providing them with a sense of security and continuity in their new environment.

Early connections. The women who had immediate access to other Japanese in the area tended to experience a relatively easier transition into the new culture than those who had to explore their
new environment totally on their own. For example, some corporate spouses whose husbands worked for a large local Japanese company had immediate access to a company-sponsored support structure for its employees and their families, which provided them with services, such as an orientation, interpreters, and English conversation classes. The interpreters would accompany the women, upon request, to doctors, dentists, etc. However, the benefit these women received from such a program was not limited to the practical information and language assistance they received. The program also offered the women opportunities to get connected to the existent Japanese network. Hanako commented on how helpful the company-sponsored support program was:

We (Honda employees and their families) are very fortunate. On arrival in Columbus, the company offered an orientation for all the family members at the Honda Family Center (in Japanese) and provided information on health care system, local school system, etc., which was a great help. Whenever I had a problem or concern, I went to (bilingual) coordinators at the Family Center for assistance, who would then handle the matter for me. The company also offered us spouses English conversation classes. So, I would go to the Family Center for English classes twice a week and the coordinators whom I had met before would talk to me or ask me how I was doing or how my daughter was doing, which I found very comforting. If it hadn't been for the Family Center, I know it would have been very difficult for me. (32)

Further, women who moved into the Japanese expatriate community also benefited from receiving help from other Japanese
sojourner women who had been living in the area longer. For example, Hiromi said:

When we came to Columbus, I was pleasantly surprised to find many Japanese families in the area and a variety of Japanese foods that were easily available here. There were 3 other Japanese families right in our neighborhood, who helped us out a lot when we moved in. (33)

On the other hand, women who did not have any initial contact or immediate access to the Japanese expatriate community tended to stay isolated longer and experienced more loneliness and alienation. For example, Mika, who lived in an apartment near campus where there were very few Japanese, said:

For the first 6 months or so, I didn’t have any friends here. My husband was gone to school all day and I was left alone with my 2-year-old son every day. I didn't feel like getting out of the house much because my English was very poor and I was afraid of being spoken to by a stranger (on the street). So, at first, I was lonely and making lots of phone calls to Japan because I had lots of concerns and anxieties about child rearing, etc. ..... Also, probably due to the change of climate and environment, both my son and I got sick repeatedly for the first 6 months or so, which made me worried all the more about the whole thing ... (34)

Mika spent the first six months of her sojourn in almost total social isolation, during which she suffered not only from loneliness but also from somatic problems. Her initial lack of connection, living situation, lack of confidence in her English skills, and social anxiety all collaborated to intensify and prolong her social isolation. Unfortunately, this experience mirrors Ward and Kennedy's (1993)
finding that the sojourner's lack of a co-national support network is associated with depression and psychological disturbance. Stone Feinstein and Ward (1990) have also found that loneliness is the primary predictor of psychological adjustment of expatriate women. Further, this finding is consistent with AmaraSingham's (1980) interviews with Indian women, who found the living situation of sojourner spouses related to relationship formation patterns in the new environment.

Network advantages. One of the advantages of having a connection to co-national networks is that it enabled the women to obtain information in their native language, which helped reduce their anxiety, feelings of powerlessness, and social stress. For instance, Hiromi stated:

There were about 30 Japanese pupils in my children's elementary school and there was a well-developed network of Japanese parents, which was very helpful for me. It's just like living in Japan. You could really do without speaking English here if you wanted to. Probably that's why my English is still poor (even after living here for 3 years). (35)

Another advantage is that the co-national network served as a reference group the women used to compare and discuss their experiences. For instance, Mika talked about how joining a group of Japanese women, after 6 months of isolation, helped reduce her anxiety:

After I joined a craft group of Japanese women that met once a week, I naturally started to meet more people and make friends. Through this group I got to meet other young Japanese mothers with small children, with whom I was able
to discuss my concerns about child rearing and compare my son's development with their children's. That was very helpful and I started to feel more relaxed and more positive about things. (36)

Getting together with a group of Japanese women weekly and engaging in an activity of common interest created interactional opportunities for Mika to develop friendships. Also, talking about common concerns about child rearing and comparing notes with other young Japanese mothers with young children helped her reduce her anxiety.

The connections to the co-national networks also played an important role in enhancing social opportunities. Old-timers often acted as facilitators for the newcomer's social involvement with the host environment. For example, Yumiko said:

A (Japanese) friend of mine invited me to join a volunteer group, called Honda Women's Club, so I joined the group with her. We go to the Riverside Hospital once a month and sew floor cloths. Through this group I get to meet more Japanese women and gather information. (37)

Hiromi also said:

Many of the (Japanese) mothers (at my children's school) were doing some volunteer work at school. So, I just joined them and learned from them what to do and how to do it. At other elementary schools where there are few Japanese, it seems that one ends up doing nothing for school unless she is very outgoing. (The volunteer experience at school) gave me a chance to see what my children's school is like. I also feel now it's less threatening to go to school to attend some events. If I hadn't done any volunteer work at school, I would still feel hesitant to go to school because I wouldn't know anybody there. (38)
By virtue of their being part of co-national networks, these women were able to obtain information about available opportunities to take part in American society and take advantage of these opportunities rather easily. By participating in network activities, such as volunteering at a school or hospital, they gained an opportunity to see, experience, and learn about an aspect of American society with the comfort of being in the company of other Japanese people. By contrast, those who were not well-connected to a Japanese network had difficulty in obtaining similar kinds of information. For instance, Seiko said:

Not knowing how and where to obtain information is very frustrating. For example, I would like to join a circle or club of my interest or take up some volunteering activities. But I don't even know what kind of circles, clubs, or volunteering opportunities are available out there. I don't know where to look, how to look, or to whom to ask. So, I remain unattached and lonely . . . (39)

Because of her unattached status, information was not something that got passed on to her automatically. Rather, it was something that had to be actively sought for. Yet as a sojourner, she was ill-equipped even to know how to look for the needed information in American society. This facilitative role of the expatriate community has also been documented by Briody and Chrisman (1991), who found that the expatriate community often acted as a facilitator for expatriate spouses' interaction with the host country community although these interactions were far less frequent than the interactions within the expatriate community.

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In general, university spouses tended to experience more difficulty in becoming connected to the Japanese network than corporate spouses because there were far fewer university spouses than corporate spouses and the former usually did not live in proximity to one another or to the expatriate community. For instance, it took Mika six months to become connected to a group of Japanese women, as she expressed in excerpts (34) and (36). Kyoko, who lived in a suburban neighborhood where there was no other Japanese, also commented:

I don't know too many Japanese here. I just don't meet any Japanese in the neighborhood, nor is there any in my husband's lab at OSU. I know we were very fortunate that we had an American professor and his wife to help us initially, but I think information exchange among Japanese here is also very important. Well, just because they're Americans doesn't necessarily mean that they know everything about what's available in this country. ....... Ordinary Americans just don't know what Japanese sojourners would need. In certain areas, Japanese who have been living here for a while can provide more helpful information. (40)

Kyoko had regular contact with Americans, but did not know too many Japanese in the area. While she was generally satisfied with her sojourn life and was very grateful to have Americans who provided her with ongoing support, she also felt the need for connections with other Japanese sojourner women. She felt that it would be helpful to have an easier access to people who were going through the same experience as her so that they could share and exchange information about their experiences in this country. This
suggests that host-national and co-national social relationships are both important in the cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner women.

The women who had school-aged children seemed to have more opportunities available to become connected with others through their children's school, as Hiromi commented in excerpt (38). Hiromi, who had two school-aged children, also said:

Almost all my friends are (Japanese) mothers whose children go to the same school as my children and are about the same age as mine. It's easier (to make friends with them) because we have common concerns and interests about children and their school. We also have opportunities to see one another regularly and spend time together about school-related matters, which makes it easier to maintain the relationships, too. (41)

Having common concerns and interests about children and school and engaging in common activities together on a regular basis (e.g., attending school events and volunteering at school) created reasons for these women to initiate conversations about topics of mutual interest. Mutual bases of interest generate interactional opportunities for creating friendships. On the other hand, those without any children had more difficulty in finding opportunities for connection. Seiko remarked:

If I had a school-aged child, ... I would need to volunteer at school, go to school to talk to teachers or to attend school events, all of which would provide me with opportunities to get connected to other mothers in the community. But, (since I don't have any children), I have no such opportunity that would help me get connected to the community. So, I remain an outsider and feel the stress of loneliness ... (42)
Further, having resources (e.g., money, time, one's own car) to enable the women to engage in common activities with other Japanese on a regular basis helped them develop and maintain close relationships. For instance, Seiko said:

I wish I had more (Japanese) friends here to go out with or to do things with. Since my husband came here as a graduate student proper, I don't know too many Japanese here. Also, unlike most of the Japanese here, who are sent by their companies, we're (financially) on our own. So, our financial situation is very different from that of most of the Japanese wives here . . . I cannot afford to participate in the activities many of them (whom I met at INCH) enjoy, such as going to a fancy restaurant for lunch or playing golf every week, etc., which makes it difficult for me to develop relationships with them. Of course, there are some Japanese wives here whose husbands are graduate students, but most of them are sponsored by their companies. So, even their (financial) situation is different from ours. (43)

Seiko, whose husband was the only graduate student proper in this study, was the only one who brought up the issue of economic means affecting relationship development with other Japanese expatriate women. Her limited economic means also meant restricted opportunities for her to engage in some of the common activities with other Japanese expatriate women in the area. The majority of the Japanese sojourner women in the area were corporate wives or company-sponsored student wives who did not have the same financial concerns as her. Thus Seiko's economic means constrained her relationships with these women to flourish.
Restrictive effects. Although the existence of and an easy access to a large expatriate community helped ease the adjustment of these sojourner women, exclusive reliance on a co-national support system tended to insulate the women from Americans and limit their opportunities for interaction with Americans, which then impeded the development of their English skills. For example, Hiromi stated:

I haven't experienced much loneliness because I have always had quite a few Japanese friends here. My problem is that everybody here goes back to Japan after 3 to 5 years. For example, in the past 3 years, almost 10 people with whom I became good friends have gone back to Japan. So, I need to make an effort to keep making new friends (with new Japanese), otherwise I will be left alone. (44)

Hiromi expended most of her energy in creating and maintaining ties with other Japanese expatriate women. Although the periodic population turnover in her network presented her a problem, she managed to keep adding new members to her small circle of friends, and thus had little need to reach beyond the expatriate community for social contact. It seemed that she experienced less stress, less disappointment, and more security, compared to those who sought to develop relationships with host-nationals, such as Seiko and Yumiko. At the same time, confining her social relationships within the expatriate community inhibited her language learning. Although she had been living in the States for three years, her English remained very limited, as Hiromi acknowledged herself in excerpt (35). AmaraSingh (1980) has
also documented the protective and insulating effects of an exclusive co-national network.

All of the women who had easy access to the expatriate community had very limited English skills. By becoming immersed in the expatriate community and creating and maintaining a home-like atmosphere, these women were able to make their sojourn lives less stressful. At the same time, however, there were some restrictive effects from becoming immersed in the expatriate community. The longer these women confined themselves in this environment, the harder it became for them to get out of it. For instance, Noriko said:

Dublin is a very tight-knit Japanese community. If you live in Dublin, you can easily lead a life as if you were living in Japan. It's very easy to interact only with Japanese, speaking only Japanese every day. Unless you make an extra effort, you have little opportunity to speak English here. When you come to the States for the first time, you don't know anything about your surroundings nor do you know what to do and how to do things here. So, you join the circle of Japanese expatriate wives in the neighborhood, who will help you and guide you in various aspects of life here. At first that's very helpful and comforting, but it's a big trap (that's hard to get out of once you are in). (45)

As long as one was satisfied with the environment, as in the case of Hiromi, it was not necessarily seen as a problem. But it became a problem when it became too confining, as in the case of Noriko. It should be noted that the restrictive effects of co-national networks has been also documented by Ward and Kennedy (1993), who found that supportive relations with co-nationals predict
psychosocial adjustment, but that satisfactory relations with host-nationals predict sociocultural adjustment.

In summary, the Japanese sojourner women in this study often experienced feelings of loneliness, isolation, and alienation due to a lack of satisfactory social relationships in their new cultural environment. There were two factors that helped alleviate their adjustment difficulties: initial local contact and connections to co-national networks. The women who had initial local contact, to either Japanese or Americans, tended to experience less loneliness and alienation in the new culture than those who had no initial contact and thus had to explore their new environment totally on their own.

The co-national networks played an important role in the sojourn lives of the Japanese women. The connection to Japanese networks provided the women with a sense of security and continuity in their new environment. The connection to co-national networks also helped ease their adjustment through the provision of information, guidance, emotional support and companionship. As AmaraSingham (1980) and Briody and Chrisman (1991) pointed out, most sojourner spouses are restricted to the context of home and family to develop their relationships. This was also the case for the Japanese women who participated in this study. Living in proximity to other Japanese women, having school-aged children, and having resources that enabled them to engage in common activities with other Japanese sojourner women, all helped strengthen ties to co-national networks. However, exclusive
reliance on the co-national support system tended to limit the opportunities for interaction with host members.

Most Japanese women had very few contacts with Americans. Their lack of social opportunities, lack of confidence in English, lack of sociocultural knowledge, and lack of assertiveness all contributed to their difficulty in developing personal relationships with Americans. Although some women experienced this more acutely than others as a source of stress, all the women were aware of the importance of improving their English conversation skills and developing relationships with Americans to improve the quality of their sojourn in the United States. As a matter of fact, it was their desire to improve their English and meet Americans that motivated these women to participate in the International Neighborhood Coffee Hour (INCH). In the next chapter I will examine features of communication activities and practices that typify INCH meetings.
CHAPTER 5

SUPPORT GROUP MEETINGS FOR SOJOURNER WOMEN

The purpose of the second part of the study is to examine the communication practices that typify support group meetings for international wives and the perspectives of these sojourner women on the supportive communication practices. The analysis of data is based on the transcripts of tape-recorded discourse in the INCH weekly sessions, field notes, and interviews with the Japanese women participants and American tutors. First, I will describe the objectives of the INCH meetings. Second, I will describe the types of talk exchanges that frequently occurred in the group sessions at INCH. And third, I will present the tutors' insights about the INCH sessions.

Objectives of INCH meetings

The INCH group sessions are naturally shaped by the objectives of the program and its participants. As indicated in the program brochure, the objectives of INCH are to provide international women with opportunities to meet American and other international women in the community, to make new friends, and to learn or practice English.
Characteristics and Objectives of the Tutors

As already presented in Chapter 4, the Japanese sojourner women had two main objectives for participating in INCH: (1) to practice and improve their English and (2) to meet people and make friends. These two objectives were mentioned by all 12 Japanese women. Just as the international women had objectives for participating in INCH, the tutors, or the American women who facilitated the group meetings, also participated with a set of distinct objectives and beliefs about their role. These are easily understood from the open-ended interviews I conducted with 17 INCH volunteers (16 tutors and 1 administrator). First, I will briefly describe the characteristics of these volunteers. Then, I will describe their objectives of the INCH sessions.

Characteristics of the tutors. All the INCH tutors were female, except one. All the tutors were native speakers of English, except one. The average length of their involvement with INCH was 11.3 years, ranging from 1.5 years to 37 years (SD = 8.7). The mean age of the volunteers was 66.7 years, ranging from 49 to 84 years (SD = 9.51). Twelve were married, and five were widowed or divorced. Two had completed high school, eight held bachelor's degrees, six held master's degrees, and one held a doctorate degree. Seven had teaching experience either at the elementary school, high school, or university level. Many had extensive volunteer work experience throughout their adult lives.
The majority had experience interacting with people from different cultures than their own. They had either studied foreign languages, grew up in an ethnic neighborhood, had international pen-pals, hosted exchange students, or had lived or at least extensively traveled abroad. About one third cited a particular empathy with the international women, having been in a similar situation overseas.

Objectives of the tutors. I asked the tutors about the goals they wanted to accomplish in the INCH sessions. Most indicated that their overall goal was to help the women become "functionally literate in English." They listed a number of practical activities (e.g., going to the store, library, or doctor), which they believed the women should be able to negotiate in comfortable fashion. But other tutors believed their goal was to help the women "to be able to express themselves in English and understand English when spoken to" so that they could go out and make friends. As one tutor put it, "It's hard for them to make friends when they can't speak."

While skill development and culture learning were often mentioned by the tutors, one overall goal was discussed by nearly everyone: namely, the tutors believed that their objective was to help the women "feel more comfortable in different situations" so that they would be more willing to "go out and tackle American society." The tutors wanted their students to feel comfort and happiness, which they believed would result with increased conversational abilities. To accomplish this objective, the tutors'
more immediate objective was to help the women feel comfortable with them. As one tutor said,

I try to make them feel comfortable. I say, "You can ask any questions you want to. If I feel it's too personal, I'll just say that's too personal. But you don't have to be afraid of having to ask questions." I say, "There are no dumb questions. The only dumb thing is the question that you don't ask. Nobody knows everything."

Another tutor said, "I always want to accomplish that we'd be better communicators, better friends every time we meet, and that we know more about each other and feel comfortable with each other."

Given these objectives, the tutors named a variety of roles they said they adopted during the group meetings. Many of the tutors said they thought of themselves as a teacher, cultural guide, or resource person. Some viewed themselves as an American cultural representative. But most of the tutors commented that they thought their role was to instill "confidence" by being somebody "comfortable to talk to."

Types of Talk Exchanges

My second research question asked what support communication practices occurred in the support group meetings for international wives. The answer to this question was drawn from the transcripts of discourse in the INCH sessions and my field notes. I used the interviews with the tutors to validate my observations and interpretations. My third research question asked what communication practices that occurred in the support group
meetings for international wives that the sojourner women found helpful. The answer to this question was mainly drawn from the following interview questions with the Japanese women: "How do you feel about speaking English at INCH, compared to how you feel about it outside INCH?; Why do you feel that way?; and Can you think of specific things your tutor or other group members do or say to make you feel that way?" Analyses of these women's perceptions were also gleaned from the entire interview data as well as from my field notes.

The analysis of the discourse in the INCH meetings revealed six types of talk exchanges that occurred frequently: greetings, teaching, personal elicitations, repairs, story-telling, and joking. It was in these talk exchanges that general support functions were enacted. In each type of the talk exchanges mentioned above, I will first provide a structural description, and then present a description of distinct support moves, the Japanese women's interpretations of the moves, as well as the tutors' interpretations of the moves.

**Greeting Exchange**

One type of talk exchange that routinely occurred in the INCH meetings was the greeting. The greeting exchange occurred every time a participant arrived at her table on Wednesday mornings. Usually the tutor would be there first, and the women would show up one by one between 9:10 and 9:15 a.m. As a woman walked up to her own table, she would exchange glances, smiles and verbal salutes with the tutor first, and then, with other women in the group as she sat down. Greetings between the tutor and the
individual women in her group would usually occur 3 to 6 times, depending on the number of attendees in the group.

**Structural description.** The typical greeting exchange between the tutor and the women would consist of a greeting-greeting adjacency pair, a personal inquiry-response adjacency pair, and an acknowledgment. While the greeting pair (e.g., "Hi," "Hi.") was almost equally initiated by both the tutor and the women, the personal inquiry pair (e.g., "How are you?," "Fine.") was mostly initiated by the tutor and this was usually followed by an acknowledgment by the tutor (e.g., "Good"). Thus, the typical pattern was either S-T-T-S-T or T-S-T-S-T.

Although most of the greetings occurred before the session began, sometimes a participant came late, arriving in the middle of the session, in which case, the tutor would stop what she was doing for a moment to exchange greetings with the woman who had just arrived. In the following example, a Japanese woman (T) arrived late and greeted the tutor (G) who was in the middle of talking:

```
01 T: ((smiling)) Good // morning.
- 02 G: ((smiling)) // Hi, how are you, Takako?
03 T: ((giggle)) Fine.
- 04 G: ((smiling)) Good to see you!
((6 speaker turns omitted))
- 05 G: Uh (.) we're talking about dressing (1.0) French
dressing (.) Thousand // island
07 T: // Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah
(4/10/1996) (46)
```

In this exchange, T provided the first part ("Good morning") and G the second part ("Hi") of the greeting-greeting adjacency pair.
Immediately following this was the personal inquiry-response adjacency pair in which G provided the first pair part ("how are you, Takako?") and T the second pair part ("Fine."), which was followed by an acknowledgment by G ("Good to see you!"). Both of them had big smiles on their faces while they were exchanging these verbal greetings. Then, G took a moment to fill in T on the topic of the conversation they were having before T arrived ("Uh, we're talking about dressing. French dressing, Thousand island" (lines 5-6), which was followed by an acknowledgment by T ("Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah").

**Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications.**

There were several support related moves in the above exchange, moves that are typical of all greetings in the INCH sessions. First, as soon as the tutor recognized the woman's presence, G interrupted her own talk, displayed happiness affect, made a personal inquiry, and called the woman by her first name, all of which conveyed sincere, personal interest. Then, G made an acknowledgment of T's reply, which added a positive appraisal and affirmation of the woman. These practices, continually repeated in the presence of the other group members, helped construct a warm, welcoming environment of mutual attention and interest. Further, G filled the woman in on the topic of the conversation which was already under way, to help her align with the group. This practice helped integrate the late arrival into the group by making it easier for her to follow and participate in the conversation. It also helped make the late arrival feel welcome there.
The greeting sequence here was more than positive politeness; rather, it facilitated social integration and created a continual sign of caring and regard for the welfare of the women in the eyes of each other. It dispelled any uncertainty the women might have had as to whether they were welcome here. Kyoko mentioned in her interview: "Our tutor is very good at making us feel welcome. When she says, 'I'm so happy to see you,' or 'Please come back next week again,' I feel happy to be here."

Most of the tutors believed that smiles, laughs and other overtly friendly behaviors were important features of greetings because they helped the women feel comfortable and "drew them out." One tutor commented, "I think a smile is always welcoming and that goes across cultures," while another stressed her attempt to create equalizing first-name friendships, "I try to be friendly and I try to treat them as friends, not as a teacher and student. I always say, 'You can call me Bonnie,' because that's my name and we're friends." Most tutors also mentioned that they tried to create a context of continual affirmation and reassurance from the very first greeting. "I praise a lot," one said. The tutors took a personal interest in the women that they role-modeled for the rest of the group. Whenever a new member joined their groups, the tutors had their groups introduce themselves to the newcomer as soon as she was seated. In this way a welcoming context was continually created.
Table 5.1  Summary of the Greeting Exchange

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Greeting-greeting sequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal-inquiry-response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support moves</td>
<td>Happiness displays (smiles/laughs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal-inquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive appraisal, affirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calls S by her first name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fills late arrivals in on the topic</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Teaching Exchange

Another type of talk exchange that frequently occurred in the INCH meetings was teaching, the goal of which was to impart or obtain new knowledge. There were two types of teaching exchanges: the tutor-initiated informing sequence and the student-initiated information solicitation sequence. In the tutor-initiated informing sequence tutors introduced and imparted linguistic, sociocultural or practical information to the women. In the student-initiated information solicitation sequence the women requested linguistic, sociocultural or practical information. These teaching exchanges were embedded within larger interactional activities throughout the session, such as idiom exercises, fill-in-the-blank grammar or vocabulary exercises, descriptions of cartoons, and discussions about newspaper articles, current affairs or cultural events.
The Tutor-Initiated Informing Sequence

The tutor-initiated informing exchanges occurred, on average, eight times a session, in which tutors introduced and imparted linguistic and/or sociocultural information. The typical topics of this type of sequence were explanations of lexical items, or cultural customs and traditions in the United States. The tutors often brought up new words, colloquial expressions, and idioms for the purpose of teaching them to the women. The tutors also used timely cultural topics for discussion and teaching, such as "Valentine's Day" in February, "Easter," in April, "Halloween" in October, and "Thanksgiving" in November.

Structural description. There were two typical patterns of tutor-initiated teaching exchanges. The first pattern was T-T-S-T: a tutor introduced a new piece of information, provided an explanation, the women showed understanding, and the tutor repeated the explanation. The second pattern included an insertion sequence (question-answer pair), after the introduction of new information, in which the tutor checked the women's knowledge or understanding (e.g., "Do you know X?," "Do you know what X is?," "Do you know the meaning of X,"). When the woman's response indicated non-understanding (e.g., "No," or silence), the tutor provided an explanation (e.g., "X means such and such"), the woman showed understanding (e.g., "Oh, okay"), and then the tutor gave an acknowledgment and often repeated the explanation (e.g., "Yeah, X means such and such"), producing the pattern T-T-S-T-S-T. When the woman's response to the first pair part of the insertion
sequence indicated understanding (e.g., "Yes," "Uh-huh"), the tutor acknowledged the response (e.g., "Okay"), but provided no explanation, producing the pattern T-T-S-T.

The following is an example of the typical tutor-initiated informing sequence that occurred in Group A. There were usually three to five women from Korea, Japan, and Egypt in this group. The tutor, P, was a cheerful and friendly lady in her late fifties who had been an INCH tutor for 18 years. Group A used a textbook on American idioms and followed a routine procedure in their composition-writing-and-sharing activity. Their procedure was that the tutor first introduced a new idiom by reading the idiom and an example sentence from the textbook, explained the meaning of the idiom, and asked the women whether they had any questions. Then the women worked for the next several minutes individually to compose a sentence or two using the idiom. They wrote it down on their notebook, showed it to the tutor, and had their grammar and spelling checked. After the tutor went through this process with every woman in her group, the women shared their, often revised, sentences with the group by reading them aloud. They would repeat this process four to five times a session. The following excerpt is the very first part of the routine procedure just described, in which the tutor (P) introduced an idiom, "hocus-pocus," to the group:

01 P: The first idiom is hocus-pocus. Hocus-pocus.
02 ((Reading out of the textbook)) "Don't try to use any
03 of your hocus-pocus on me to get me to buy a new
04 sofa. Don't try to use any of your trickery on me to
05 get me to buy a new sofa."
06 So, hocus-pocus means trickery.
-> 07 Uhm (.) do you know what a magician is? (.) A
-> 08 magician? (0.5) Someone (.)uh, uh (.) who (.) uh, is a
09 professional magician, someone who does tricks, card
-> 10 tricks, or pulls a rabbit out of the hat (.) does magic?
11 Y: Ah, yeah.
-> 12 P: Okay, when a magician is doing a trick in this country,
13 he goes "Hocus-pocus," and then he does this trick.
14 Y: Ah:
-> 15 P: So, that's where the word hocus-pocus comes from.
16 Y: Mmm. (11/13/1996) (47)

The tutor, P, introduced the new expression "hocus-pocus" by reading it twice, and then read two sentences out of the textbook: an example sentence containing the idiom and the other utilizing the same meaning with a different word. She then explained the meaning of the idiom with a synonym ("So, hocus-pocus means trickery."). She then used a presequence to check the knowledge of the participants, "Do you know what a magician is? A magician?" (line 7). After a pause, she gave a description of a "magician" by using some examples ("someone who does tricks, card tricks or pulls a rabbit out of a hat"), to which one of the women (Y) responded by indicating understanding, "Ah, yeah." P acknowledged Y's utterance ("Okay.") and then went on to explain the usage and origin of the expression, hocus-pocus.

The following is another example of a typical tutor-initiated informing exchange in Group B. There were usually four to seven women mostly from Asian countries: Japan, Korea, China, and Taiwan in this group. The tutor, G, was a friendly, lively, and
outgoing lady in her mid fifties who had been an INCH tutor for 7 years. She usually used the first half of the session on informal conversation about upcoming events, current topics, or personal experiences. She then spent the latter half working on some language exercises that she prepared, such as idiom exercise, fill-in-the-blank vocabulary exercises, or descriptions of a series of cartoons. In the following excerpt the tutor, G, explained the meaning of "trick-or-treat" to her group at a meeting one week before Halloween:

01 G: Next Wednesday will be Trick-or-Treat night.
-> 02 Do you know trick-or-treat? Have you been here for Halloween before?
04 T: Yes, but I don't understand trick-or-treat.
-> 05 G: Yeah. Well, trick-or-treat means "if you don't get me a treat, I will do a trick." A trick maybe, when I was a young girl, you know, many, many years ago, we would turn over somebody's garbage can, then we would use wax, you know wax, and put on people's car windows.
11 T: Oh, wow
-> 12 G: Or soap (.) or um on a store windows we would put soap (.) or uhm (.) things like that, things like that.
-> 14 But you must give me a treat, then I will not do anything bad. ((Explanations continue))

The tutor, G, introduced a new lexical item "trick-or-treat night" (line 1) and then checked the participants' knowledge and experience by asking them "Do you know trick-or-treat? Have you been here for Halloween before?" (lines 2-3). After a woman from Korea (T) responded, "Yes, but I don't understand trick-or-treat." (line 4), G offered the explanation of "trick-or-treat" (line 5). In
explaining the word, "trick," G gave a few personalized examples in lines 6-10 ("A trick maybe, when I was a young girl, you know, many, many years ago, we would turn over somebody's garbage can, then we would use wax, you know wax, and put on people's car windows.") and in lines 12-13 ("Or soap on a store windows we would put soap things like that"). Then she repeated the explanation of "trick-or-treat" in lines 14-15.

**Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications.** It is in the teaching sequence that members participated directly in language and culture learning, an objective these women had for participating in the group. In excerpt 47, the women learned the meaning and usage of an idiom "hocus-pocus," the usage of the expression "hocus-pocus" by a magician, and the origin of its meaning. In excerpt 48, the women learned the meaning of trick-or-treat and some examples of tricks American children used to play some 40 years ago or so.

In both the above cases, instead of assuming that the women knew or did not know the word, the tutors first inquired about the participants' knowledge, before using it to explain something else (in excerpt 47) or providing its explanation (in excerpt 48). The practice of checking the interlocutors' knowledge and understanding is a strategy that the tutors often used to construct mutual understanding proactively. Not only did it help prevent understanding problems later on, but also it helped establish more active involvement from the participants in the exchange. In the interviews the tutors noted that they asked more questions with
the international women than in interactions with Americans. Some of the tutors reported that it was difficult to be sure that they were actually being understood, because some women "are too polite to say that they didn't understand." The practice of checking one's interlocutor's comprehension, then, explicitly helped create a common system of meaning and understanding, which is at the heart of building a common culture (Uchida, 1997). The practice also displayed caring and created a safe context for the women to practice their English. By frequently checking the women's knowledge and understanding, the tutors made it easier for the women to express their non-understanding as a conversation unfolded. The tutors also communicated to the women that they valued constructing understanding and thus helped create an atmosphere in which the women felt comfortable asking questions themselves.

Besides checking the women's understanding, the practice of providing explanations of lexical items and cultural forms (see excerpt 47) helped the women gain new linguistic and sociocultural knowledge, or confirming their existing knowledge and facilitated their local understanding of conversation. Also, providing personalized examples (in excerpt 48) further helped the women acquire knowledge and learn about the tutor as an individual person. The accumulation of such personal knowledge about one another over time became a basis for mutual understanding and closeness in INCH relationships.
The tutors reported that they used more explanations and personalized examples in INCH conversations than in interactions with Americans. Most believed that their goal was to explain the meaning of basic words, idioms, and cultural forms important in American conversations (e.g., "If you want to try to talk to an American and if you don't know these things, the Americans are probably not going to want to talk to you."). So the tutors used newspapers, for instance, to teach terms about weather and money, textbooks to teach grammar, idioms and legal terms, and picture dictionaries to teach names of common things.

The challenges and distinctive features of the INCH meetings are perhaps crystallized in the tutor teaching exchanges. In my interviews all of the tutors reported that they altered their normal American speaking style significantly to facilitate teaching and learning at INCH. All said, for instance, that they tried to speak more slowly and clearly. Rather than talk louder they tried to speak more quietly (e.g., "Some teachers think that if they talk loud, people are gonna understand them. And it's not true."). Most also reported that they tried to speak more distinctly with more gestures and facial expressions. The tutors also said they tried to choose their vocabulary more carefully, avoiding a lot of American slang and idiomatic expressions and instead choosing common or simple words. Many of the tutors reported that these changes in their speech style were often remarked upon as enhancing understanding (e.g., "I have often been told (by my students), 'I can understand every word you say.'"). Yet just as many acknowledged
that these practices were physically tiring and difficult to maintain (e.g., "And you know, it's very difficult to try to avoid American idioms and slang.").

In my interviews all the Japanese women commented that they found it easier to follow conversations at INCH, mainly due to the speech alterations that the tutors made. This practice not only helped facilitate the women's comprehension of on-going conversations, but also it helped boost their comfort level and enhance their self-esteem. At INCH the women experienced less perplexing incident involving native speakers who just jabbered over their head. For instance, Kumiko stated:

Bonnie is used to interacting with foreigners and so she knows that we don't understand everything. So, she speaks slowly and distinctly, choosing words for us, which I find very helpful. Ordinary Americans don't seem to understand that I don't understand everything they say and they just keep chattering whether or not I understand . . .

While the support moves in the tutor teaching exchanges seem straightforward, the tutors reported that there were several specific challenges embedded in them. First, while one of their goals was to teach knowledge about English and American culture, the other often conflicting goal was to encourage students to talk (e.g., "What I think is my job now, I try to foster conversation, get them talking to each other, so I'm not doing all the talking. I just try to keep the conversation going so that they're sharing with each other."). While the tutors often began with a topic to teach, they recognized the value of flexibility (e.g., "Sometimes I let go of my
plans and go with their enthusiasm because my job is to get them to talk and get to know each other."). And while their students typically expected to learn the answers from their tutors, several tutors said they make it a point to show their own vulnerability and desire to learn (e.g., "They see me using my dictionary. They see me struggling as part of the process that they're going through. So it's a recognition that we're all trying to do the same thing, which is to understand and talk with each other.")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>T introduces new concepts with explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S issues understanding receipt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T repeats explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Contingent query sequence sometimes added)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support moves</td>
<td>T checks S's knowledge &amp; understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T explains linguistic &amp; cultural forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T provides (personalized) examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T repeats explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T alters her speech (pace, diction, lexical choice, volume, nonverbal behavior)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Summary of the Tutor-Initiated Informing Sequence

The Student-Initiated Information-Solicitation Sequence

The student-initiated information-solicitation exchanges occurred, on average, 5.3 times a session, in which the women solicited linguistic, sociocultural, or general information from their tutors. The typical topics of this type of sequence were the usage of

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English language, American culture, and general everyday matters. 
The most frequently asked questions were related to the English 
language. The women typically asked about the meaning of a word 
or expression (e.g., "What does X mean?", "What's the meaning of 
X?", "I don't know the meaning of X," or "I can't understand X.")
the
spelling of a word (e.g., "Could you give me the spell of X?", "How is 
it spelled?"), a distinction between two words (e.g., "What's the 
difference between X and Y?"). Another type of question the
women asked was related to American culture (e.g., "Do you know 
about Halloween origin?", "On Halloween day why do children do 
trick-or-treat?"). The third type of question was related to general,
day-to-day practical matters (e.g., "Where do you buy X?", "Where 
should I go to have engine oil changed?").

Structural description. The basic pattern of the student-
initiated elicitation sequence was S-T-S: The woman asked a 
question, the tutor answered the question, and the woman either 
repeated or acknowledged the tutor's response. Sometimes the 
tutor inserted a confirmation request immediately after the 
woman's question, followed by confirmation by the woman, before 
providing an answer to the question, in which case the pattern 
became S-T-S-T-S. Other times the tutor repeated her answer at 
the end, in which case the pattern became S-T-S-T or S-T-S-T-S-T.

The following is an example of typical student-initiated 
information-solicitation sequence, in which a Korean woman (T) 
asked the tutor (G) the meaning of a colloquial expression:


T: What does it mean by okey-dokey?

G: Okey-dokey?

T: Yeah.

G: Just like okay.

T: Oh! Okay.

G: Yeah, okey-dokey. The same thing, just like okay.

T: // Ah.

G: // Okey-dokey. (2/26/1997) (49)

T asked for the meaning of the expression which the tutor, G, just used ("What does it mean by okey-dokey?") initiating the first pair part of a question-answer adjacency pair (line 4). Immediately following this was an insertion sequence: its first pair part was a confirmation request by G ("Okey-dokey?") and its second was the confirmation by T ("Yeah"). G then gave the meaning of the expression "Just like okay," providing the second part of the original question-answer adjacency pair (line 7), which was followed by an acknowledgment by T ("Oh. Okay."). G repeated the expression and explanation again "Yeah, okey-dokey. The same thing, just like okay" (lines 9 and 11).

The following is another example of the student-initiated information-solicitation sequence, in which a Japanese woman (B) asked the tutor (G) a question about the origin of the words:

G: So it's very confusing (.). but the point is (.). none of these things are foreign. London broil, English muffin, French dressing, Swiss Steak, Swiss chard, Russian dressing, French fries, or German chocolate cake are all (.). only American.

B: So how those things got (.). their names?
G: Well, the French fries is the only one (. ) that uh- (. )
maybe (0.5) although (. ) when you when you have a
potato (0.3) and you cut it to make French fries, those
strips (. ) that's called (0.3) frenching.
M: Frenching . . .
G: Have you ever had a (. ) uh (0.3) chef salad?
M: Uh, American food?
G: Yeah, American food. It's a lot of (. ) lettuce and
greens and they'll have (. ) a section of ham, a section
of turkey, have you ever had this?
B: Uhm m .
G: = a section of cheese and they are all cut in that style
of strip. And that is actually, you call it, I call it
strips, but they call it (. ) frenching, that kind of
cutting. That's how French fries are cut. So (. ) maybe
they were (. ) frenched fries. ((laugh))
B: Uhm m .
G: Anyway that's all American. (4/10/1996) (50)

In the above exchange the tutor (G) summed up the theme of the
color by telling the group that certain foods with foreign
names are really American, when a Japanese woman (B) asked a
question about the origin of the names of these foods ("So how
those things got their names?") and initiated the first pair part of a
question-answer adjacency pair (line 6). G selected French fries,
one item out of eight, for an explanation and provided a definition
of the term, frenching ("when you have a potato and you cut it to
make French fries, those strips that's called frenching.") in lines 8-
10. Another Japanese woman (M) repeated the term to try it out.
To further elaborate her explanation by giving another example of
"frenching," G inquired about her interlocutor's experience and
knowledge ("Have you ever had a, uh, chef salad?"), initiating the
first pair part of an insertion sequence (line 12). Immediately
following this was another insertion sequence (line 13-14): a
confirmation request by M ("Uh, American food?") and a
confirmation by G ("Yeah, American food."). Then G gave a
description of a chef salad and repeated the question in the first
insertion sequence ("It's a lot of lettuce and greens and they'll have
a section of ham, a section of turkey. Have you ever had this?") in
lines 14-16. After B answered in the affirmative ("Uh-huh"),
providing the second pair part of the first insertion sequence, G
returned to answer B's original question, how "French fries" might
have gotten its name, ("and that is actually, you call it, I call it
strips, but they call it frenching, that style of cutting. That's how
French fries are cut. So maybe they were frenched fries."),
providing the second part of B's original question. B then gave her
acknowledgement, "Uhmm."

**Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications.** In
both the above examples, the tutors provided an answer to the
women's questions, supplying new knowledge relevant to their
daily lives. In excerpt 49 the women learned the meaning of the
colloquial expression, "Okey-dokey." The Korean woman, T, who
had heard the expression on TV and wondered what that meant,
was able to take advantage of this opportunity to ask the question
when she heard the tutor, G, use the expression. In excerpt 50 the
women learned that some familiar foods with foreign names, such
as French dressing, Russian dressing, and German chocolate cake,
are not foreign at all, but actually American. They also learned
what "frenching" means, what a chef salad is like, and why French
fries might have gotten their name. Not only is this new linguistic knowledge to the women, but also it is knowledge relevant to their daily lives, which is likely to be of interest to them.

Informational support is widely recognized as a general support function, which was occurring here. In this context descriptions and explanations of relevant linguistic and sociocultural knowledge helped facilitate the women's general language and culture learning and sense-making processes and brought about uncertainty reduction and reappraisal. The women enjoyed learning new English words or expressions that they could use in daily conversation. For example, Yumiko said in her interview, "Americans use lots of idioms in conversation. So, learning idioms is very useful, although it's hard." The women also enjoyed learning about various aspects of the American culture. They found it intrinsically satisfying to learn something new. As Chikako said in her interview:

I enjoy learning about American cultural events, such as Thanksgiving and Easter, and why and how they celebrate these events, etc. I also enjoy learning simple, practical, colloquial expressions which you don't learn at school.

A byproduct observed here is that the teaching sequences also produced enjoyment. Enjoyment is a state Anderson (1994) has associated with overcoming the obstacles and stress related to sojourner life. Enjoyment signals the state in which adjusting and learning has become less stressful.
Furthermore, the tutors always responded to the women's questions willingly and explained their answers painstakingly, which carried relational implications. It conveyed a message to the women that the tutors welcomed the women's questions, took them seriously, and would do their best to answer their questions. The women appreciated having a place where they could bring their questions, as it provided them with a sense of comfort and security. Also, knowing that they could ask any questions without having to worry about a negative assessment by their interlocutor brought about enhanced control. As Seiko said in her interview:

When I came to Columbus, I knew nobody here. But by joining in INCH, they have provided me with a host friend whom I could turn to whenever I have a question or problem. I've been very grateful. It's reassuring to know that I have somebody I can ask questions whenever I don't understand something.

Nearly all of the tutors indicated that a primary desire was to create a context for the international women to feel free to ask questions. Creating a context for asking questions typically started in the first meeting. For instance, a tutor said, "Who wants to say, 'I don't understand, I don't understand.' It's hard to do. So I try to say at the beginning, 'if I use a word and you're not sure what we're talking about, stop me. Ask questions. If I don't understand you, I will stop and ask you.'" All the tutors asked lots of questions, especially when they did not understand their students, and some believed that their own questions helped create a relaxed learning context. As one tutor explained: "I believe in a very friendly, easy-
going, non-formal way. If they gradually come to feel that I am the kind of person that they can say anything to, that is the best thing that I can do."

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S asks information question</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T answers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S acknowledges/repeats response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(confirmation request-response sometimes added)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support moves</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T describes/explains relevant new linguistic/sociocultural knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T checks S's knowledge &amp; understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T repeats explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T provides question-asking context</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 Summary of the Student-Initiated Information-Solicitation Sequence

Personal Elicitation Exchange

In addition to imparting linguistic and sociocultural knowledge, the tutors also tried to create opportunities for the women to speak by asking them questions about their lives. The goal of the personal elicitation exchange was to learn about the individual women and their cultures and to assist the women to take part in the conversation.

The personal elicitation sequences occurred, on average, 9.6 times a session. The typical topics in this type of sequence included the women's children, families, hobbies, cooking, vacation, and daily
life (e.g., "How many children do you have?,", "How old is your
daughter?," "What did you cook last night?", "What did you for the
holidays?"). Tutors also asked the women about their life style,
customs, traditions, special foods, and religious practices in their
countries (e.g., "Do you have X in your country?", "Do you do X in
your country?", "How about in your country?").

Structural description. The typical pattern in this type of
sequence was T-S-T: The tutor asked a question, the woman
answered the question, and the tutor acknowledged the woman's
response. A set of specific practices typified elicitation sequences:
the tutor requested more information, acknowledged the most
minimal responses, issued confirmation and clarification questions,
and used continuers to encourage the women to tell their stories.
When the women spoke, tutors followed with multiple partial
repeats and positive appraisals.

The following example is a typical personal elicitation
exchange, in which a tutor (D) asked a woman from Japan (J), a
relative newcomer to the group, about her winter vacation:

->  01  D: Now, what did you do for the vacation?
  02  J: We went to: (.) Washington, D.C.=
->  03  D: =Did you? (0.5) And what did you do? (0.5)
  04    The usual?
  05  J: Yeah, usual.
->  06  D: Okay, which was?
  07  J: (0.5) which was, the Aero Museum.
  08  D: Aero- in the Smithsonian?
->  10  D: Capital.
  11  J: and Lincoln Memorial
  12  D: (1.0) well (. ) and what?
In the above exchange D initiated the first question-answer adjacency pair by asking J about her vacation, "Now, what did you do for the vacation?" (line 1). J's response contained minimum information, ("We went to: Washington, D.C."). D acknowledged her response ("Did you?") and after a pause, she initiated the second question-answer adjacency pair by requesting more information, "And what did you do?" After another pause, D asked "The usual?," to which J agreed, "Yeah, usual." Instead of giving up here, D persisted in requesting J to provide more information, "Okay, which
was?," which led J to produce more detailed information ("Which was, the Aero Museum."). Immediately following this was an insertion sequence: its first part was a confirmation question by D ("Aero- in the Smithsonian?") and its second was the confirmation by J ("Uh-huh"). Then J produced another name of the place which she had visited, ("Capital"). By repeating J's utterance, "Capital" (line 10) and not taking a full talk turn, D returned speakership to J, which allowed her to take an immediate next turn and continue with her list ("Lincoln Memorial"). Thus, D's repetition of J's prior turn functioned as continuers (Nofsinger, 1991; Schegloff, 1982). Immediately following this was another insertion sequence: a clarification question by D ("well (.) and what?") and the clarification by J ("Lincoln Memorial."). D repeated J's utterance ("Lincoln Memorial"), signaling a successful message reception this time. Again, by using continuers ("Lincoln Memorial" in line 14 and "Jefferson Memorial" in line 16), D encouraged J to continue to enumerate the name of the places she had visited, until she was all done. When J announced the end of her list ("That's all,") in line 24, D responded with a positive assessment ("That's a- that's a lot."). Hereafter we see a series of question-answer adjacency pairs initiated by D. The first pair was a question by D ("How many days?") and an answer by J ("Uh (. ) three nights."), which was followed by another positive assessment and affirmation by D ("That's an awful lot to see. You did very well. Wow! I can't believe that! You did- yeah, you did very well."). The second pair was a question by D ("So, you enjoyed it?") and an answer by J
distinct support moves, interpretations and implications. In the above exchange, the tutor, D, asked the newcomer, J, a series of easy questions, trying to create an opportunity for her to speak and share her experience with the group. One of the problems here was that J gave only minimal answers to D's questions, rarely expanding or elaborating her responses, which resulted in an exchange that looked more like an interview than normal conversation. Being a newcomer to the group, J did not look quite comfortable or confident in this small group context yet; she was quiet, rarely asked a question, or voluntarily offered information, and she only spoke when she was directly spoken to. She also seemed to be unsure as to what to say or how much to say when asked a question, and thus tended to say only the minimum. In fact, this is a common problem among beginning English learners, which contributes to their difficulty in sustaining conversation with native speakers. Ordinary Americans would probably have given up on
this kind of exchange much quicker. Here, however, the tutor maintained conversational involvement with J. By repeating J's utterance ("Capital," in line 10, "Lincoln Memorial," in line 13, and "Jefferson" in line 16), D demonstrated that she was listening, paying attention, and understanding, and thus encouraging her to continue. By not taking a full talk turn and repeating J's utterance, D returned speakership to J, which allowed J to take an immediate next turn and continue. Thus, the practices of asking questions persistently, using continuers, signaling understanding, and using positive assessments and affirmations all helped sustain the conversation, which allowed J an opportunity to take part in the extended interaction with a native speaker that could facilitate language and culture learning.

In their interviews the Japanese women talked about some of the practices that appeared in the above exchange as helpful. For example, the women felt encouraged to open up and speak when their interlocutor showed an interest by asking them questions. As Yumiko commented: "When Americans show an interest in me and ask me questions, such as 'Where are you from?' or 'How long have you been here?,' then I can talk. But otherwise it's hard (to talk with them)." The women also felt encouraged to keep engaged in an interaction when their interlocutor signaled their understanding. As Kyoko said:

When I am struggling to express myself, if the other person looks puzzled or confused, then I feel discouraged and feel like giving up. But if she indicates to me that she understands
Further, the women found it easier to engage in group conversation when their tutor allocated speaking turns. Newcomers to the group particularly had difficulty in getting a turn to speak and participate in group conversations. So, whenever the tutor allocated the turn by using their name, or making eye contact, it made it easier for them to speak. As Kyoko commented in her interview:

There are always assertive and vocal persons in the group who jump at every opportunity to speak up (when the tutor throws a question to the whole group). So, I find it very helpful when the tutor addresses us individually to make it easier for quiet shy ones, like us, to talk.

In the exchange (51), the tutor first addressed to the whole group, and then designated J as the next speaker by talking to her directly. In my interviews the tutors told me how difficult it was to get the women to converse, especially at first, and so how crucial these communication practices were to the creation and enactment of social support. Most of the tutors told me that they spent a lot of time encouraging the women to talk, and the primary vehicle was to "ask questions." Asking questions meant asking person-centered questions, clarification, and extension questions, and also seemed to include the use of continuers and signals of understanding, too. The tutors used questions at the very start to help the women introduce themselves to the group, "even though they are very shy," and didn't speak very well. At the beginning the tutors said they asked
easy questions (e.g., "I would say, 'What do you call that color of your blouse? Is that red? Does it have another name?'"), or they asked open-ended questions (e.g., "I use the technique, 'What do you think about . . .?'"). They also encouraged the women to talk about topics that they already knew about and that they knew would be interesting to the other women (e.g., "I think talking about your family makes you feel pretty good, usually"), which helped the women become more assured and connected. That the tutors initiated person-centered questions created a caring orientation.

When the women disclosed personal problems, the tutors legitimized the women's feelings, empathized, and showed their understanding. The tutors commented that the others in the group often helped, too: "Everyone in the group participates and maybe helps the other person solve the problem or just get rid of their emotional feelings."

All of the tutors told me that they used reassurance, affirmations and positive assessments to help the women feel comfortable and encourage them to converse. The tutors often conveyed reassurance (e.g., "I tell them, 'don't worry if you don't speak English. If you speak English very well, you wouldn't be here.'"). The tutors constantly encouraged the women (e.g., "Some of them were already good but they didn't know it, so I encouraged them to know it by saying 'Oh, you're great!' 'Oh, your English is improved so much!'". Perhaps most importantly, the tutors continually praised the women for their contributions (e.g., "I praise
a lot. Everything they do, I praise. I do not criticize. I try to give them tools with which to succeed.

In sum, these practices were frequently used by the tutors to facilitate English conversation and worked together to create a comfortable supportive context for the women. Persistent question-asking, continuers, and signals of understanding invited self-disclosure and enacted English practice, cultural learning, and interpersonal connections, which further functioned to convey information, esteem and emotional support, as well as social integration. Positive assessments and affirmations facilitated self-expression, confidence, and assurance, which further functioned to convey esteem and emotional support.

The following exchange, between an old-timer and a tutor, is a contrasting example to the previous exchange. A Korean woman, K, had been in INCH for four years and she just told the group that she was busy getting ready to go back to Korea. The tutor, P, asked her a series of questions, related to K’s utterance:

-> 01 P: Do you- are you- will you be taking more stuff (.)
02 home than you brought here?
03 K: Yes. Of course. ((laugh)) Yeah, of course.
04 Nowadays I'm very busy to buy another //
05 P: // Oh! ((laugh)) You're buying more!=
06 K: =Yeah, yeah. ((laugh))
07 ((Everybody laughs))
-> 08 P: Okay, are you buying more (.uhm things (. that are
09 presents?=
10 K: =Kitchen stuff, or presents (0.2) presents (. for our
11 relatives.
-> 12 P: Uh-huh. And you-I know you always said that you
13 wanted things for your kitchen.
14 K: Yeah. ((laugh))
P: Now, *why, why* are you buying *American* things for your kitchen?
K: Because uhmm kitchen things (. ) more chea-cheaper than Korea.
P: Oh, okay.=
K: =Yeah, new machine like (1.0) I like new machine, like espresso or cappuccino //maker.

P: You're buying that?=
K: =Yeah. Yeah-I already (. ) I already bought (. ) I'm using them.

P: Espresso machine //and cappuccino.
K: //Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Very good! //Delicious. ((laugh))

After K told the group that she was busy getting ready to move back to Korea, P expanded the topic and asked her a series of relevant questions. P initiated the first question-answer adjacency pair by asking, "Do you- are you- will you be taking more stuff (. ) home than you brought here?," to which K answered, "Yes. Of course. ((laugh)) Yeah, of course." K then elaborated her response by adding a new piece of information "Nowadays I'm very busy to buy another." P responded to this with a laugh and a newsmark "Oh!" plus a partial repeat of J's prior turn, "You're buying more!" (line 5). Note here that P modeled K's utterance into a more grammatical form without pointing out the grammatical error ("You're buying more!"). K gave an acknowledgment ("Yeah, yeah.") with a laugh, after which others in the group joined in the laughter. Then P initiated the second question-answer adjacency pair by asking a person-centered question, "Okay, are you buying more (. ) uhmm things (. ) that are presents?," to which K answered, "Kitchen
stuff, or presents, presents, for our relatives." After acknowledging K's response ("Uh-huh.") , P referred to an item of shared personal knowledge between P and K and shared it with the group ("And you-I know you always said that you wanted things for your kitchen.") , which K acknowledged ("Yeah"). This statement of the shared knowledge by P and K's acknowledgment is a presequence, which led to P's next question. The presequence prepared P to initiate the third question-answer adjacency pair by asking another person-centered question ("Now, why, why are you buying American things for your kitchen?") , to which K answered, "Because uhm kitchen things (.) more chea-cheaper than Korea." P acknowledged K's response ("Oh, okay") in line 19, again overlooking her minor grammatical mistakes. Here, K further elaborated her prior response, "Yeah, new machine like (1.0) I like new machine, like espresso or cappuccino maker." With this new piece of information, P initiated the fourth question-answer adjacency pair ("You're buying that?") , to which K answered, "Yeah. Yeah-I already (.) I already bought (.) I'm using them." P partially repeated the prior utterance of K, "Espresso machine and cappuccino," (line 26), probably for other members in the group, again, overlooking the minor grammatical mistakes. K responded with an acknowledgment and personal opinion, "Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Very good! Delicious," which led to shared laughter.

Distinct support moves, interpretation, and implications. The above exchange between the old-timer, K, and the tutor, P, (excerpt 51) is a good contrast to the previous exchange between the
newcomer, J, and the tutor, D (excerpt 52). K had been in P's group for 4 years, while J had been in D's group for a couple of months. Naturally, K had had more opportunities to practice speaking English and interacting with the tutor and had developed a personal relationship with her. It is evident that K and P had accumulated quite a bit of shared knowledge about each other over the 4 years. K was not only more competent communicatively than J, but she was also more confident in this group context, and more comfortable in her relationship with the tutor. Whenever P asked her a question, K supplied an answer to the question and then elaborated her response by adding a new piece of information, which led the tutor to ask another question. P's persistent question-asking indicated her genuine interest in learning about K. In this exchange the pattern looked more like T-S-S-T-S: the tutor asked a question, the woman answered the question, she elaborated it, the tutor gave an acknowledgment, and the woman gave an acknowledgment. The tutor contributed to the development of the conversation by asking person-centered questions, and K contributed by answering P's questions and also offering new information. This mutual contribution allowed the exchange to develop more like normal conversation, through which the interaction partners accumulated shared knowledge and developed a personal relationship.

Besides building upon shared knowledge, two other sets of conversation practices are noteworthy here for their support implications. As the women got to know each other and learn
English, they ended up having conversations on a variety of controversial or social issues. Sometimes the tutors initiated the "hard" questions, as labeled by this tutor: "Then, we get into a big discussion about all kinds of things. 'Are the women happy in your country to stay at home?', 'Do you know anybody who is a boss of a company?'" Sometimes the topics came from the women: "For instance, today a woman was asking me about the care of the elderly in this country and her country which is Korea, it's a hot topic. So I think they're finding out the way Americans deal with problems." Some tutors believed that expressing their own opinion and encouraging the women to express their opinions in these exchanges helped the women think differently about their roles as wife and homemaker.

A last set of support practices that deserves comment is that in this last excerpt the tutor, P, overlooked K's grammatical error and instead just modeled the correct form. These practices were face-saving ways for the women to gain information about English rules. Several of the tutors commented that they carefully designed the manner and extent of their grammar lessons. Unless a woman asked to be corrected, or the group was engaged in a specific grammar exercise, the tutors usually overlooked grammatical and pronunciation mistakes and simply modeled the appropriate utterance form for the group. As one tutor said, "I don't care how you pronounce it necessarily as long as you're communicating. I know what you mean."
The personal elicitation exchanges created opportunities for the sojourner women to practice speaking English and interacting with a native speaker. The exchanges also created opportunities for the tutor and women to learn about the individual women in the group and their culture. The tutors' persistent question-asking behavior conveyed to the women that they valued what they had to say and that they valued them as a person of social worth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Q-A sequences</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Support moves**

- T asks person-centered questions
- T uses confirmation & clarification questions
- T uses continuers
- T signals understanding
- T uses positive assessments/affirmations
- T uses shared personal knowledge
- T overlooks grammatical mistakes
- T models appropriate utterance form

---

Table 5.4 Summary of the Personal Elicitation Exchange

**The Repair Sequence**

Another type of verbal activity that was frequently observed at INCH was the repair sequence. Conversational repair is one of the practices called "aligning actions" (Stokes & Hewitt, 1976) which participants use to deal with problems of understanding that arise in conversation. A repair sequence is a special case of a "side
sequence" (Jefferson, 1972), in which conversational parties detour from ongoing talk to deal with some side issue raised by that talk. Although the repair sequence is common in any conversation, it is even more common in conversations involving language learners (Hatch, 1992). It can be further said that INCH is a context in which the repair sequence is even more expected and encouraged because the sojourner women are here to learn how to communicate.

Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) described the repair as having a two-part sequence: the initiation of repair (marking a trouble source) and the accomplishment of repair. Although a repair may be initiated or completed either by self or by other, Schegloff et al. (1977) argue that there is a systematic preference in the conversational system for self-repair over other-repair. Here, I will examine four types of repair sequences: the tutor-initiated repair sequence, student-initiated repair sequence, peer-initiated repair sequence, and collaborative clarification sequence.

**The Tutor-Initiated Repair Sequence**

In general, most tutors were very adept at understanding the utterances of their non-native interlocutors, despite the phonological, syntactic, and/or semantic errors involved. Still, there were instances of mishearing, misunderstanding, or non-understanding that the tutors tried to resolve as soon as they detected them. The tutor-initiated repair sequences occurred, on average, 4.5 times a session, when the tutors tried to clarify unclear utterances.
Structural description. The tutors often tried to clarify unclear utterances by asking the women to repeat the word or phrase which she failed to understand, using wh-interrogatives, such as "What?," "Who?," and "Some what?" Ochs (1988) has called this as the minimal-grasp strategy, which exhibits minimal grasp of what the speaker has said and which relies on the speaker to repeat the utterance. This strategy tended to be used by a tutor first when she believed the cause of the unintelligibility to be not having heard an utterance properly, due to poor articulation or acoustic inadequacy. In this case, the basic pattern was T-S-T: the tutor asked for repetition, the woman provided the repetition, which the tutor then acknowledged or repeated. The tutor also tried to clarify unclear utterances by reformulating the unclear act into a question that invited the women to respond with a "yes" or "no" (e.g., "Do you mean X?," or "Does it mean X?"). Ochs (1988) has referred to this as the expressed-guess strategy. This strategy tended to be used by the tutor when the unclarity remained unresolved after the use of the first strategy or when the tutor believed the cause of the problem to be the women's limited articulation abilities. In this case, the basic pattern was T-S-T: the tutor offered a reformulation, the woman confirmed it, and the tutor gave an acknowledgment. If the woman disconfirmed the tutor's first reformulation, the tutor tried it again until she received a confirmation from the woman.

In general, the tutors were not too concerned with the grammatical form of the utterances of the women, but with the interpretation of their messages. They often let grammatical and
phonological errors and mistakes of the women go unrectified as long as they understood what the women were trying to say. It was mostly the unintelligible or uninterpretable utterances of the women that triggered clarification sequences. For instance, in the following excerpt, a nonidiomatic word, "housemaker," which a Japanese woman (Y) used in her composition, triggered the initiation of a repair by the tutor (P):

```
01 P: When we were buying the house, my father helped
02 with (0.5) the money. We decided to get down to
-> 03 brass tacks to talk about the- (1.5)
04 Y: The housemaker.
-> 05 P: The what?
06 Y: Housemaker.
-> 07 P: House (1.0) builder?
08 Y: Ah, builder.
09 P: Okay (0.5) with the builder (4/9/1997) (53)
```

While reading Y's composition aloud, P broke off in the middle of the second sentence and then paused, signaling some sort of trouble, thereby initiating a repair (line 3). Sensing that something was wrong with the sentences which she had composed, Y made the first clarification attempt by reading the word aloud for P herself ("The housemaker"). P requested another repair through an interrogative query, "The what?," signaling that she still had not understood the trouble source. Y responded to the second request for repair by repeating the word again. P repeated the first part, paused, and then formulated a guess at Y's intended meaning with
rising intonation ("House (1.0) builder?"), to which Y agreed ("Ah, builder,"). Then P gave her acknowledgment ("Okay").

**Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications.** In this exchange, there are 3 sets of attempts to clarify the trouble source: silence, the minimal-grasp strategy, and the expressed-guess strategy. After having used the first two strategies and realized that the cause of the problem was not illegibility or mishearing, P used the third strategy by articulating her guess at the meaning of the unclear word. Then P elicited Y's response to confirm or disconfirm her guess, thus involving Y in the negotiation of the meaning of the word. Being aware of Y's linguistic limitation, P took on more of the burden of clarifying Y's utterance, instead of expecting Y to articulate her own intended meaning. These practices created a non-threatening context for the women to converse. Giving the women time to respond conveyed a caring and assistance orientation that helped the women improve their speaking skill. The minimal-grasp and expressed-guess strategies also conveyed assistance and instrumental support.

These practices occurred regularly in the sessions. Rather than relying on the women to articulate their often unclear contributions, tutors actively tried to create mutual understanding through their educated guesses. Then eliciting confirmations from the women further induced them to build locally shared understandings and interactional relationships.
Elements  | T asks for repetition/clarification  
|---|---
|  | S responds  
|  | T acknowledges  

Support moves  | T gives time for S to respond correctly  
|---|---
|  | T expresses minimal grasp of S's utterance  
|  | T articulates her guess at S's meaning  

Table 5.5 Summary of the Tutor-Initiated Repair Sequence

The Student-Solicited Repair Sequence

The student-solicited repair sequences occurred, on average 2.4 times a session, in which the women initiated repair by soliciting help or correction from their tutor in the middle of a turn. Most of the invitations for repair were for vocabulary searches. The typical pattern for this type of exchange was S-T-S: the woman solicited a vocabulary correction, the tutor supplied the lexical item the woman seemed to be searching for, after which the woman ratified or acknowledged it.

The women with limited English skills tended to solicit help indirectly, by using a pause or hesitation, while the women with more advanced English skills tended to ask for help more directly, (e.g., "What do you call X?"). In the following example, a Japanese woman (T), whose English was very limited, told the group that her daughter-in-law lived in Columbus and the tutor (G) suggested that she bring her to INCH:
G: You should bring her.
T: Yeah, yeah.
G: Sure. Good idea. She could come.
T: Yeah.
G: She could see it. If she doesn't like it, she doesn't
have to come back. Yeah, we would like to have her
some time.
-> T: But every day uhm- (1.0) woke up very (1.5) uhm-
-> G: Late?
T: Yeah, late, late late, yeah. I don't know. (laugh)
-> J: Young people (0.5)
-> J: Young people need a lot of sleep.
((Everybody laughs)) (10/23/1996) (54)

T was having difficulty in retrieving a word, "late." She broke off in
the middle of the sentence and used a pause and a pause filler
"uhm" (line 8), indirectly inviting the tutor to help her supply the
word. The tutor, G, catching T's solicitation signal of help,
articulated her guess at the word T was searching for, with rising
intonation, "Late?" (line 9), which T ratified emphatically, "Yeah,
late, late, late, yeah." Here, note that G began with "Young people,"
which overlooked the ungrammatical form of T's prior utterance.
After a pause another member in the group completed the turn
collaboratively ("Young people need a lot of sleep."), which initiated
shared laughter in the group.

The women with more advanced English skills tended to ask
for help more directly. In the following example, a woman from
India (M), who was quite fluent, solicited a repair from a tutor (V)
directly:
M noticed in the middle of her storytelling that she had forgotten an English word and so initiated a repair by inviting V to help with her vocabulary, "what do you call the place you go wash your clothes?" (lines 4-5). V responded to her solicitation by articulating the word M was searching for, with rising intonation, "Laundromat?" (line 6). M acknowledged the response by repeating it and returned to her storytelling.

Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications. In this type of repair sequence, catching sometimes subtle solicitation signals and articulating guesses at the solicited item in the form of a collaborative completion were key ways tutors provided assistance and instrumental support to the women. Noticing communication troubles but overlooking grammatical errors protected the women's face needs, and collaborating in meaning construction helped to reduce uncertainty and actively build immediate local understandings and relationships.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>S solicits correction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T supplies correct item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S acknowledges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support moves</td>
<td>T catches solicitation signal of help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T articulates her guess at solicited item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T completes turn collaboratively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T overlooks grammatical errors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6 Summary of the Student-Initiated Repair Sequence

The Peer-Initiated Repair Sequence

The peer-initiated repair sequences occurred, on average, 1.4 times a session, in which one of the group members initiated a repair by identifying a trouble source and then stepped in to help resolve the misunderstanding or non-understanding problem.

When there were a couple of women from the same country in one group, it was not uncommon to see the one with more advanced English skills use code-switching to help the one with more limited English skills align with the ongoing conversation. The typical pattern for this type of exchange was T-S-P-S-T: the tutor asked a question, the woman answered the question in a way that indicated that she misunderstood the question, the peer initiated repair by translating the tutor's question, the woman answered the original question correctly, and the tutor gave an acknowledgment. In the following example, the tutor (G) asked a Japanese woman (T) a question about her trip, which T answered. Yet it is rather
obvious that she did not understand the question correctly, when another Japanese woman (F) stepped in and initiated the repair:

01 G: How will you go from London to Italy? (0.5) How will you go, fly or (.) // train?
02 T: // Only fly (.) and hotel.
03 -> 04 F: Chigau, chigau. Ano, London kara Italy ewa hikouki de ikunoka, densha de ikunokatte. (No, no. How do you go from London to Italy, by plane or train?)
05 T: Ah:::, I don't know.
06 G: Yeah.
07 ((Everybody laughs)) 4/10/1996 (56)

The tutor, G, asked T a question about her upcoming trip, "How do you go from London to Italy?" After a pause, G rephrased her question to make it even easier for T to answer, ("How will you go, fly (.) or train?") in line 2. T responded to G's question, yet it was obvious, from her response ("Only fly and hotel"), that she had not understood G's question correctly. Here, another Japanese woman, F, initiated a repair by pointing out the misunderstanding. She used code-switching and translated G's question into Japanese for T (lines 4-5). T acknowledged her misunderstanding and answered G's original question ("Ah:::, I don't know."), to which G gave an acknowledgment ("Yeah").

**Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications.**

Several practices in these repair sequences that appeared to convey support to group members: peer-initiated repair, code-switching, opportunity for self-correction, and tutor acknowledgment. That the women used code-switching for each other to help the woman locate the source of interactional trouble created a cooperative
caring context in the group. In the above exchange, F's stepping in at the first sign of misunderstanding allowed T to align herself immediately back to the conversation and thus helped move the conversation along. F's translation also allowed T to provide self-correction in English. Providing the opportunity for the women to self-correct and acknowledging the self-correction also facilitated the women's speaking practice and conveyed instrumental support. The tutors welcomed the interpretive efforts of the group (e.g., "The others in the group all help me. If I don't seem to be helping the individual, the others will say, 'Well, that is so and so.'"). In a minimal sense, social integration is directly enacted as all group members participated in constructing a state of mutual understanding. Code-switching actively created the possibility to the local alignment of meaning. Self-correction provided the test of local alignment and involvement of the women in creating a community understanding. Hence support was conveyed in the management of interactionally emergent and local understandings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Q-A sequences</th>
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<tr>
<td>P translates</td>
<td>S answers correctly</td>
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<tr>
<td>T acknowledges</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support moves</th>
<th>P uses code-switching</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creates opportunity for self-repair</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>T gives acknowledgment</td>
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</table>

Figure 5.7 Summary of the Peer-Initiated Repair Sequence
The Collaborative Repair Sequence

The collaborative repair sequences occurred, on average, 0.5 times a session, in which a tutor and other group members collaborated jointly to resolve a rather complex problem of understanding that occasionally arose in the conversation. This type of exchange typically consisted of a series of clarification request-clarification adjacency pairs. The typical pattern for this type of exchange was T-S-T-S-P-S-T: the tutor asked a clarification question, the woman answered the question unsuccessfully, the tutor asked for another clarification question, the woman answered unsuccessfully again, the peer asked a clarification question, the woman answered the question, after which the tutor signified understanding and reformulated the original utterance with the trouble source into a more grammatical form.

The following is an example of an extended clarification sequence involving the whole group. The tutor (P) initiated a clarification sequence in an effort to understand sentences a Korean woman (L) composed:

((P is reading L's composition in silence)

-> 01 P: Okay, when he says sell me, sell me, does he, does he mean that you're saying buy me gifts buy me gifts?

02 L: (Giggle) No.

03 ((Everybody laughs))

-> 05 P: You mean, you mean (2.0) does it mean that when he goes to the store, they're trying to sell things?

06 (1.0)

-> 08 K: Sell my body, you mean, sell my body.

09 L: But it's (. ) it's very:: (0.5) different, (0.5) has a different meaning. Sell my body (1.0) uh, nuance is very different in Korean and in English.
P: Oh, oh (0.5) Okay, can you translate this?
K: //Okay
P: //Do you understand what she means?
K: The situation is like that, if you, if you, uh, want
something, but your husband don't any money, so (.).
he says, "I have only my body, so, if you really want
some money, you, you (.).//
L: // (Laugh)
K: // (Laugh) yeah (1.0) you (.)
yeah (1.0)
P: Oh, so in in in the United States, if you say that, it
means prostitution.
L: So that is the word?
P: No (0.5) the idea (.). uh when you say "sell my body"
means prostitution. You understand prostitution?
L: It's like ((in audible))? P: It's very bad. It's very bad.
A prostitute makes money (.). by selling her body to
men, for selling . . .
K: That's not what she means=
P: =That's not what you mean.
L: Yeah. (1.0) It's it's a little kidding.
P: Okay, it's kidding and it means, it means "sell (.). sell
me" means that (1.0) Oh, it's hard, I can see how it
changes . . .
K: Yeah, it's a kind of Korean expression.
P: But that means that you will have to sell me as a
person (.). sell off my hair, sell my glasses, //
//((Everybody laughs))
P: // sell my clothes, a kind of like that? (.). Is that what
you mean?
L: Uh, it's (.). It's dificu::lt (.). like a joke.
P: Yeah, I understand it's a joke.
But what part (.). would you sell?
K: Maybe, maybe you can, you can my body for a sail
worker, sailboat worker.
P: For a sailboat worker?
P: I still don't understand. (laugh)
J: So, it's like (.) you're saying, uhm, (0.5) selling your service, not really your body=
P: =Oh, yeah.
J: Like you will work for, I mean, so many hours=
K: =//Yeah, yeah, yeah.
J: //for washing dishes, or washing cars
K: Yes, yes.
P: Okay (.) I got it. Sell me like I'm a, I'm a (.) a worker,
K: =//Yeah, yeah.
P: That's what you // said, a sale boat worker.
K: // Yeah, yeah.
P: Yeah, okay, sell me to an employer who pays me money.
K: Yeah, yeah, that's right.
P: Oh, okay.
((Everybody laughs))
J: So, I would say, I would say, maybe the way we would say that in English is, "send me out to work harder to make more money."
((laugh))
K: That's long!
P: Yeah, but in your country this is a kind of an idiom, a Korean idiom. "Sell me, sell me," okay . . .
((Everybody laughs)) (5/15/1996) (57)

The tutor P initiated a clarification sequence, by articulating her guess at K's intended meaning ("when he says, 'sell me, sell me,' does he mean that you're saying 'buy me gifts, buy me gifts?'"), which was greeted with a giggle and then disconfirmed by L ("No."). P offered another guess, "does it mean that when he goes to the store, they're tying to sell things?" which did not receive any response from L. After a pause, another Korean woman with more advanced English skills, K, stepped in and expressed her guess at K's intended meaning. "Sell my body, you mean, sell my body." (line 8),
which was rejected by L again, ("But it's (. ) it's very: different, (0.5)
has a different meaning. 'sell my body' (1.0) uh, nuance is very
different in Korean and in English."). P responded to this with "Oh,
oh," indicating that this was new information to her. Then P turned
to K and asked for her ability to translate L's sentence ("Okay, can
you translate this?"), which K took as a request and agreed
("Okay, "). K reformulated what L intended to convey by explaining
the context, "The situation is like that, if you, if you want something,
but your husband don't any money, so, he says, 'I have only my
body, so, if you really want some money, you, you,' " which was
interrupted by the laughs initiated by L. It was evident from the
shared laughs between L and K (lines 19 and 20), that K's
understanding was well aligned with L's intended meaning. Yet,
since K did not finish her explanation of L's sentence, everyone else
was left still guessing K's intended meaning. After the pause, P
offered her interpretation of what K had said would mean in this
country, "Oh, so in in in the United States, if you say that, it means
prostitution." (lines 22-23). P checked L's understanding ("You
understand prostitution?"). After a pause, L tested her
understanding of the word. Yet it did not seem that L knew what
prostitution meant. P then explained the word by giving its
definition, "A prostitute makes money by selling her body to men,
for selling," (lines 31-32). Here, K stepped in and rejected P's
interpretation by saying "That's not what she means" (line 33),
which P acknowledged by repeating, "that's not what you mean." L
also acknowledged K's rejection. After a pause, L offered a new bit
of information that shed light on the way in which this particular expression should be interpreted, "It's it's a little kidding," to which K added, "Yeah, it's a kind of Korean expression" (line 39).

Instead of settling for the women's contributions and giving up there, P persisted in the sequence to obtain a full understanding of the meaning of the expression by expressing another guess of hers: ("But that means that you will have to sell me as a person, sell off my hair, sell my glasses, sell my clothes, a kind of like that? Is that what you mean?"). Without really responding to P's question, L basically repeated what she said in line 35 again ("Uh, it's (.) it's difficult (.) like a joke."). P, still being caught up in the literal meaning of the expression, insisted on untangling the word, "sell" used in the expression ("Yeah, I understand it's a joke. But what part (.) would you sell?") in lines 46-47. L stepped in again to try to help explain here by giving an example. "Maybe, maybe you can, you can my body for a sail worker, sailboat worker," which did not quite help resolve the puzzle for P. P voiced her continued lack of understanding ("I still don't understand."). After a pause, a Japanese woman (J) stepped in and expressed her guess, trying to confirm her own understanding ("so, it's like, you're saying, uhm, selling your service, not really body," in lines 54-55, ("Like you will work for, I mean, so many hours") in line 57 and ("for washing dishes or washing cars." in line 60, which received strong confirmation from K ("Yeah, yeah, yeah"). Finally P signaled her comprehension and offered a formulation, displaying her understanding ("Okay, I got it. Sell me like I'm, I'm a worker.").
which was followed by K's confirmation ("Yes."). P referred back to the comment which K had made earlier, "That's what you said, a sailboat worker," (line 63), demonstrating that now she is retrospectively making sense of it, which K acknowledged, "Yeah, yeah." P then acknowledged K's acknowledgment, demonstrating the alignment between them, and further elaborated her reformulation ("Yeah, okay, sell me to an employer who pays me money.") in lines 65-66, which received confirmation from K again ("Yeah, yeah, that's right."). P acknowledged K's confirmation of her understanding ("Oh, okay."), signaling the resolution of the problem and everybody engaged in shared laughter. P then modeled a more culturally appropriate form ("So, I would say, I would say, maybe the way we would say that in English is, 'send me out to work harder to make more money" in lines 70-72. And then everybody in the group engaged in a series of prolonged shared laughter, which marked the end of the extended collaborative repair sequence.

**Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications.** In the above exchange, through active engagement and persistent clarification attempts, the tutor and these sojourner women succeeded in collaboratively resolving a rather complex problem of understanding that centered around the meaning of a particular lexical item, which carried culturally peculiar meanings. The tutor and group members struggled to understand one another and make themselves clear through the use of the expressed-guess strategy. By sharing and testing their interpretations repeatedly, they
worked through the negotiation of shared meaning. After the shared understanding was accomplished, the tutor remodeled K's original sentence into a more culturally proper form, which also served an instructional purpose. In this exchange, everybody learned that the literal translation from the Korean expression, "sell me, sell me," when used in this context, is likely to be interpreted as prostitution in English. Everybody also learned how to express the idea behind the Korean idiom in English.

Although this clarification sequence required the devotion of a considerable amount of interactional time and attention from all the participants, it did not affect the interaction negatively. Rather, it had a positive effect in bringing the group members together. At the end of this extended clarification sequence, everybody experienced a sense of relief, accomplishment, and satisfaction. At the same time, they all had good laughs together, seeing how the translated version of an idiomatic Korean expression carried an unintended and totally different meaning and triggered a miscommunication in English. They saw how hard it was for them to untangle the trouble source and how long it took them to sort it all out. Further, the tutor's persistence in clarifying L's utterance communicated to everybody her genuine interest and sincere desire to understand what her student had to say.

In their interviews the Japanese women mentioned the following practices the tutors used as particularly helpful: giving them plenty of time to respond, asking for clarification and confirmation questions in the form of expressed guess strategy,
overlooking minor grammatical or phonological errors, and modeling the correct form. As Yumiko said:

Compared to ordinary Americans, I find my tutor a lot easier to talk to. He always listens to me attentively and he tries hard to understand me even when my English is not grammatically perfect or my pronunciation is not perfect. He gives me plenty of time to talk and waits for me when I search for a word, which indicates to me that he is interested in listening to what I have in mind and that psychologically makes a big difference. He also helps me find a right word by asking, "You mean this or that?"

Kyoko also commented:

My tutor makes corrections in my English, but in a subtle manner (which I find very helpful). For example, at one time when I called her at home, she asked me, "Have you already asked her about it?" And I said, "No I didn't." And she said, "Oh, you haven't asked her yet." And I thought, "Ah, that's how you use a past perfect."

Further, Seiko commented:

I recently noticed that I feel comfortable speaking English at INCH. I also noticed that I can speak English better at INCH. Actually INCH is the only place where I don't feel inhibited to speak English. Well, probably that's because I have this feeling of security here that the tutor and other members in the group listen to me . . . They always listen to me patiently and attentively, no matter how slow I am or how broken my English is. They try hard to understand me, and when they don't understand me, they ask me questions and help me articulate myself, by saying "You mean such and such?" Anyway, the supportive atmosphere at INCH makes it psychologically a lot easier for me to speak English here and the positive experience here has given me an illusion that my English is not so bad (laugh).
The above comment of Seiko is consistent with Powell's (1986) study of participant satisfaction in second-language conversations, who found that an individual's perception of the partner's contribution to the conversation was a primary predictor of satisfaction. Because understanding is a cooperative and joint activity (Roberts, 1996), Powell's (1986) finding has implications for intercultural interactions. Roberts (1996) further points out that since native speakers have greater resources with respect to language competence and power, they have a bigger share in the negotiation of understanding when a problem arises. Given the non-native speaker's limited language abilities, the relative success of a particular interaction may depend largely upon what the native speaker does to bridge the gap.

The Japanese women thus felt safe and comfortable speaking English at INCH because they perceived their audience as supportive and interested. They felt that they were interested in what they had to say, listened to them attentively and patiently, and tried hard to understand them, irrespective of their inadequate grammar or pronunciation. As a result, not only did the women found it easier to speak English, but also they found themselves trying harder to express themselves in English at INCH. Noriko mentioned:

I think I try harder to make myself understood here at INCH because people here are interested in what I have to say, and they listen to me patiently and attentively no matter how bad my English is. But ordinary Americans are not like that. There are some Americans who refuse to understand me because my English is so poor.
As Gardner (1985) argued, "self-confidence . . . develops as a result of positive experiences in the context of the second language and serves to motivate individuals to learn the second language" (p. 54).

In sum, in these repair sequences, both the tutor and the women collaborated to make the unclear utterances of their own or others much clearer. When a member had difficulty in retrieving English vocabulary in the middle of her conversational turn, the tutor tried to help her by supplying the lexical item she seemed to be searching for. When a member had difficulty in articulating her thoughts, the tutor and the other group members all tried to help her by asking clarification questions. To help lighten the burden on the learner, they often used the expressed-guess strategy by articulating a guess at what the woman was trying to say and then asking her a question that invited confirmation or disconfirmation. These practices conveyed assistance and instrumental support, which enabled the women to express themselves more clearly through a joint negotiation of meaning. By persisting in their clarification efforts, the tutors also communicated to the women their genuine desire to understand what each woman wished to say. By signaling their understanding and providing formulations, the tutors actively constructed a state of mutual alignment. Further, the tutors protected the women's face needs by overlooking grammatical errors and focusing on the interpretability of their messages. At the same time, they provided instrumental support with the women by modeling the correct utterance form.
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<td>T models appropriate utterance form</td>
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Table 5.8 Summary of the Collaborative Repair Sequence

**Storytelling**

Another type of verbal activity that occurred frequently at INCH was storytelling. Studies of narratives have shown the importance of storytelling in everyday life as a means of socialization (Miller & Moore, 1989), identity development (McAdams, 1993), problem solving (Feldman, 1989; Mitroff & Kilmann, 1975), and the production and reproduction of social organization and culture (Boje, 1991; Wilkins, 1983). In research on social support narratives help distressed individuals to make sense of their situations and facilitate the cognitive reinterpretation process (Burleson & Goldsmith, 1998); in group contexts narratives facilitate the development of reciprocal social-emotional relationships and identity transformation (Arntson & Droge, 1987; Rappaport, 1994).
Sacks (1974) proposed that in conversation stories have three linearly ordered subsections: the preface sequence, the recounting sequence, and the closing sequence. The story preface usually contains an offer or request to tell a story (Sacks, 1974) or some characterization of the story (McLaughlin, 1984; Nofsinger, 1991; Sacks, 1974), such as the source of the event, and the time of occurrence of the event to be narrated. The recounting sequence is "the delineation of some event, usually requiring a number of utterances tied together by some developing course of action" (Ryave, 1978, p. 125). The closing sequence usually contains the gist or upshot formulations that serve to close down the story and display the point of the story from the teller's perspective (McLaughlin, 1984).

The Tutor-Initiated Story-telling Exchanges

The tutor-initiated story-telling exchanges occurred, on average 7.8 times a session, in which tutors told stories about their personal lives. The narratives usually described an incident or an experience that occurred in the past, a routine practice they engaged in, or an event they anticipated would happen in the near future. Their stories usually included themselves, their husband, children, grandchildren, in-laws, friends, or neighbors as the main or side characters. Typically the tutor would pick up a topic for further development from the preceding talk, relate it to herself, and launch right into the story without soliciting a responding turn from her audience.
The following excerpt is a typical tutor-initiated story-telling exchange, which was preceded by a story by a Korean woman (K) about how she got upset with her husband:

-> 01 P: Well, I got mad at my husband last night. He, he was
  02 trying to do a nice thing
  03 J: //((giggle))
  04 P: //Because I (. ) I went to teach, uhm (0.5) two classes
  05 and then I got home and he had made dinner. He
  06 made so much food.
  07 K: Oh::!=
  08 P: =He did that last week, last Tuesday when I went to
  09 (. ) work. I came home and I think I told you he had
  10 SO much food, too much food. So I talked to him then,
  11 you know, I said "this is too much food for two
  12 people." So before I left, (. ) he said "what should I
  13 cook for dinner?" //
  14 J: //((giggle))
  15 P: //and I said, "potato, meat, and corn." (0.5)
  16 And so when I came home, he also had big salad (0.5)
  17 and bread, you know, just too much food. And so, I
  18 (0.5) I, uh (. ) said "this is too much food. I already
  19 told you last week." //
  20 J: //((giggle))
  21 P: //I kind of got mad, angry with him.
  22 L: Oh ((giggle))
  23 P: He was trying to be nice, but uh (0.5) I said "do you
  24 know you use all this food and I was gonna take this
  25 food and use it for this recipe on another day." (1.0)
  26 So men (. ) they don't know what they're doing. (. )
  27 Right?
  28 E: //((laugh))
  29 P: //They just don't know what they're doing.
  30 ((Everybody laughs)) (5/15/1996) (58)

The tutor, P, prefaced the story with the characterization of the projected story, indicating the sources and occurrence of the event, ("Well, I got mad at my husband last night. He was trying to do a
nice thing") in lines 1 and 2. In addition to orienting the audience to the forthcoming story, these utterances served to demonstrate the direct parallelism of the story to the preceding story by K who had reported becoming upset with her husband, who had also tried to do something nice. This was greeted with a giggle from the Japanese woman, J, an encouraging backchannel signal. In overlap with this turn, P launched into the body of the story about her irritation with her husband. K then produced an appreciation token ("Oh::!") in line 7, another encouraging backchannel signal. In overlap with this turn, P told a similar event that had occurred a week earlier, providing another reason for her irritation. P continued with her story, giving out more details of the event that occurred the night before: what she had told him to cook for dinner, what he had ended up cooking for dinner, and what she had told him (lines 15-18), and then repeated the significance statement, "I kind of got mad, angry with him" (line 20). Although she acknowledged his good intention ("He was trying to be nice"), she went on to complain about his lack of planning. Then P concluded the story with an upshot formulation. "So, men, they don't know what they're doing. Right?" (line 26), to which E, an Egyptian woman, responded with a laugh. In overlap P repeated her point, "They don't know what they're doing." (line 28), which initiated shared laughter in the whole group. The women also collaborated with P's story-telling by withholding turns and displaying appreciations, such as giggles and "Ohs".

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Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications. In the above story-telling sequence, by telling a story about the similar experience K had just told, the tutor P indirectly provided K with emotional support. P conveyed empathy and created a bond of solidarity with K through display of shared identity as a wife who needs to deal with a husband who does annoying things. By talking about her personal life, P shared facets of her life with the women and allowed them to get to know her as an individual person. By building upon mutual knowledge the tutor also created a common history for the group members. Her story also contained a description of an American family/social life, which enabled the women to learn about American culture indirectly (e.g., "So before I left, he said "what should I cook for dinner?" and I said, "potato, meat, and corn."). By joking about absent others ("So men, they don't know what they're doing." (in line 26), P displayed their shared identity as women and wives who know better, which established even more bonding and rapport with the group. By displaying appreciations and engaging in shared laughter, the women fostered self-acceptance and intimacy.

The tutor-initiated personal narratives, then, enabled the general functions of sharing cultural information, esteem support, and integrating social bonds among the group. Reappraisal of views may occur indirectly as members learn about American culture through their tutors' stories. Through story-telling the women learned how to preference and view gender, work and home-life. Stories, then, were simultaneous acts of person-construction and

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positive inclusive relationship-creation amongst the group members.

The INCH groups' use of story-telling was similar to the use of narratives studied in other types of support groups, with feelings of inclusion, pleasure and contentment created through the act of story-telling. All the Japanese women I interviewed mentioned that they enjoyed listening to their tutors' personal stories. In addition, the frequent occurrence of the tutor-initiated story-telling sequence helped create a safe environment in which the women felt comfortable talking about themselves. For example, Maki said in her interview, "I enjoy listening to personal stories our tutor tells us. I believe that she feels comfortable enough to share personal aspects of her life with us, which also makes me feel comfortable sharing mine with her."

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Table 5.9 Summary of the Tutor-Initiated Story-telling Exchange

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The Student-Initiated Story-telling Exchange

The student-initiated story-telling exchanges occurred, on average, 6.6 times a session, in which the women told stories about their personal lives, which usually included themselves, their husband, children, parents, in-laws, friends, and/or neighbors as the main or side characters. Some of the stories were triggered by prior utterances in the conversation, while other story-telling was embedded in their language exercise activities.

In case of Group A, story-telling was incorporated into their routine idiom-learning and composition-writing activity. Their task was often to write a sentence using a newly learned idiom and then share it with the group. Yet the women often wrote multiple sentences about various aspects of their lives, which typically made up a story. In the following example, a Korean woman (L), one of the longtime members in Group A, shared her story with her group, in which she used an idiom, "lay it on the line":

01 L: One day somebody called my husband. She was, she
02 wanted to talk to him about their class. And I gave
03 advice to my husband, "Don't be friendly with her."
04 But my husband was upset because he thought I
05 couldn't believe him. I'll TRY forEver not to lay it on
06 the line with him.
07 (0.5)
08 P: Because he thought you were jealous.
09 L: (laugh)//
10 P: // (laugh)
11 L: Yeah, I-I'm really, really jealous. (laugh)//
12 P: // (laugh) Oh,
--> 13 I think- I don't think that you were wrong. (laugh)
--> 14 You were right.
15 J: (laugh)
-> 16  P: You can't always trust (. ) other women. You can trust
17  your husband, but you can't always trust the women.
18  // (laugh)

L prefaced her story by introducing information pertinent to the
setting and sources of the event, ("One day someone called my
husband. She wanted to talk to him about their class."). thereby
orienting her audience to her story. She then sequentially
described the course of action she had taken and her husband's
reaction to it and ended her story with a conclusion which she had
drawn from this episode by using the idiom, ("I'll try forever not to
lay it on the line with him."). After a pause, a sign of the end of the
story, the tutor P responded by providing the first pair part of a
confirmation sequence, ("Because he thought you were jealous."). L
responded to this with a laugh, to which P joined. Then L provided
the second pair part of the adjacency pair, her confirmation, "Yeah,
I-I'm really, really jealous," and added a laugh. P laughed
immediately following L and then responded to her by showing
sympathy and legitimizing her feelings ("Oh, I don't think you were
wrong. You were right.") in lines 12-13 and by showing
understanding and explicating feelings and context ("You can't
always trust (. ) other women. You can trust your husband, but you
can't always trust the women.") in lines 16-17. Right after
completing her utterance, P initiated shared laughter by producing
a laugh, which L joined in rapid succession.

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Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications. In the student-initiated story-telling sequence, the tutors usually responded with person-centered questions or positive assessments, which conveyed their interest to the story-teller and helped create an encouraging environment for the women to tell about themselves. In the above excerpt the tutor P provided K with emotional support through legitimizing and validating her feelings, and showing understanding and sympathy, which conveyed acceptance and helped create a safe environment for these women to self-disclose. Also, reassurance was promoted by the group members' attention and interest, and positive assessments.

Most tutors considered student story-telling to be a challenge, because many of the women were shy and afraid to test their English conversation abilities. Nevertheless the tutors encouraged the women to "share with one another" by telling stories about themselves. Besides the idiom learning and composition sharing activities described above, some tutors used articles from newspapers or magazines for discussion. Others had their students bring in their photo albums to tell about their wedding, or maps to talk about trips they had taken, or recipes to talk about foods from their own country. Many of the tutors encouraged the women to talk about their families or jobs they had had, or their country's customs or holidays. When the women did tell stories, the tutors routinely acknowledged their understanding of the story and praised or affirmed the story-teller (e.g., "And I try to affirm them always, like 'Oh, that's great!'; "You were able to express yourself so
well!'; 'Thank you for that.'"). When appropriate, tutors said that they legitimized feelings, expressed empathy, and/or gave other types of emotional support.

The student-initiated narratives enacted support in much the same way as indicated in the literature (e.g., Albrecht & Adelman, 1987; Arntson & Droge, 1987; Burleson & Goldsmith, 1998). First, story-telling gave the international women an opportunity not only for practicing English, but also for self-expression and self-disclosure in a non-threatening environment, where acceptance was conveyed. As Arntson and Droge (1987) note, "the opportunity to talk to other people who are expecting to listen can be self-affirming" (p. 155). Second, it provided the women with an opportunity to vent their minor daily frustration or occasional negative feelings they experienced in their sojourn life, which helped them relieve their internalized pressures (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987) and which facilitated their reappraisal process (Burleson & Goldsmith, 1998). Third, it provided them with an opportunity to respond to one another with similar feelings and experiences, which facilitated the development of reciprocal social-emotional relationships among the group members (Arntson & Droge, 1987).

All the Japanese women I interviewed mentioned that they enjoyed listening to the personal stories of the women in their group. As Chikako said:
I enjoy listening to women from different countries and learning about their cultures, lifestyles, customs, foods, etc. I realized that I know very little even about our neighboring countries, such as Korea and China, let alone European and Middle Eastern countries. So, I find it very interesting to learn about other cultures.

Many of the tutors observed that it was through story-telling that the women ended up sharing facets of their lives with one another, which enabled them to create personal relationships with the rest of the women in the group.

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<td>T asks person-centered questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T legitimizes feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T shows understanding/sympathy</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>T uses positive assessments and affirmations</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Audience appreciation/collaboration responses</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Laughing and joking</td>
</tr>
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Table 5.10 Summary of the Student-Initiated Story-telling Exchange
Joking Exchange

A final type of talk exchange that was frequently observed at INCH was joking. Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) define conversational joking as "a play frame created by the participants, with a backdrop of in-group knowledge" (p. 277) and distinguish it from joke telling, which is "a highly conventionalized and socially bound speech behavior" (p. 277). Norrick (1993) also notes that "conversational joking grows out of foregoing talk and much plays on it directly" (p. 5). Conversational joking encompasses various forms of verbal humor including joking, teasing, banter, and wordplay (Boxer & Cortes-Conde, 1997; Norrick, 1993). Studies of conversational joking have shown the function of joking in everyday life as a means of socialization (Miller, 1986; Schieffelin, 1986), social control (Eisenberg, 1986), and identity display and relational identity development (Boxer & Cortes-Conde, 1997).

Conversational joking is typically made up of a number of particular speech activities, including bantering and teasing. Webster's (1981) Unabridged Dictionary defines banter as "good-natured and usually witty and playful teasing." Wingard (1999) defines a tease as "a humorous comment or action which has the effect of highlighting some aspects of the target's actions/opinion/words/stance/state of affairs for the audience" (p. 6). Wingard (1999) proposes that teasing carries an evaluative implication about a target's identity. Several researchers have also pointed out the dualistic nature of teasing, that of seriousness and playfulness (Alberts, 1992; Boxer & Cortes-Conde, 1997; Drew, 1987; Norrick, 207
1993; Pawluk, 1989). Because of its inherent ambiguity, teasing can either "bite or bond" (Boxer & Cortes-Conde, 1997).

Joking or bantering occurred, on average, 1.8 times a session, in which tutors used good-natured verbal humor to tease a particular individual, which usually initiated shared laughter in the group. In the following excerpt, an Egyptian woman (E) was reading aloud the sentence which she composed by using an idiom "pay through the nose," in which the tutor (P) found humor and decided to share it with the group:

   01 E: On my husband's birthday I paid through the nose for
   02   his present.
   03 P: I paid through the nose for his present (0.5)
-> 04   and you bought him (0.5)
   05 E: A new suit.
   06 P: A new suit for his birthday. (0.5)
-> 07   ^Okay, now (.) this is funny, too, because when we say,
   08   "I'm wearing my birthday suit," it means I have no
   09   clothes on.
   10 ((Everybody laughs))
-> 11 P: ((laugh)) So she paid through the nose for nothing.
   12 // ((laugh))
   13 //((Everybody laughs))
   14 K: Does it mean naked?
   15 P: Yeah, //yeah.
   16 K:  //Yeah, yeah.
-> 17 P: That's the way I was born.
   18 ((Everybody continues laughing))
-> 19   It's very funny because you- you told us that you (.)
   20   made a smooth move and made your husband marry
   21   you
   22 //((Everybody laughs))
-> 23   //and now she bought him a birthday suit.
   24 ((Everybody continues laughing))
-> 25 P: This is one clever lady! ((laugh))
   26 ((Everybody continues laughing))  (5/15/1996) (60)
In the above excerpt, E shared her composition with the group by reading it aloud ("On my husband's birthday I paid through the nose for his present."). The tutor, P, repeated E's sentence to make sure that everybody else in the group heard it, since this was the first chance for the group to hear E's composition. Then she asked E to elaborate her statement ("and you bought him . . . "), the answer to which she already knew. P had already read E's sentence when she worked with her individually earlier and also had a chance to ask E what she had bought for her husband. E supplied the answer by completing P's sentence, "A new suit," which P repeated with elaboration ("A new suit for his birthday.") in line 6. Then, after a pause, P supplied a formulation, introduced a new idiom (the teasable), and explained its meaning ("Okay, now, this is funny, too, because when we say 'we're wearing a birthday suit,' it means we have no clothes on") in lines 7-9, which initiated laughter in the group. Then she supplied a reformulation ("So she paid through the nose for nothing") in line 11, which elicited another shared laughter. Immediately following this was an insertion sequence (lines 14-15): a confirmation request by a Korean woman, K, ("Does it mean naked?") and a confirmation by P ("Yeah, yeah"). Overlapping with this was K's acknowledgment ("yeah, yeah"). P further elaborated her prior statement ("That's the way I was born.") in line 17, which elicited more laughter. Instead of stopping here, P supplied a formulation, used mutual personal knowledge ("It's very funny because you-you told us that you made a smooth move and made your husband marry you") in lines 19-21, and reformulated the
teasable ("and now she bought him a birthday suit for his birthday") in line 23, which elicited more shared laughter. Then P positively altercast E to be a calculating and shrewd woman ("This is one clever lady!"), which elicited further shared laughter in the entire group.

Distinct support moves, interpretations, and implications. In the above exchange, P found humor in E's composition and decided to share it with the group. P requested her interlocutor to elaborate her prior statement to highlight the teasable, then introduced and explained new linguistic/cultural knowledge to align the audience with her about the teasable. P also used self-denigrating humor ("That's the way I was born") to elaborate her prior response, making herself the target of a laugh. P then used mutual personal knowledge and explained the second implicit humor in E's composition. Further, P teased E by using positive altercasting and contextualization cues, such as exaggerated intonation and laughs, to signal the play frame that has been set up.

The general support functions of information, social integration, and self-esteem, are all deployed in bantering. P's bantering moves brought about new linguistic/cultural knowledge, enacted an affectionate and caring relationship, conveyed liking and closeness, and brought about rapport in the group. By using self-denigrating humor, P made herself the target of a laugh and allowed herself to be seen as approachable, which directly contributed to conversational rapport. By teasing E with the use of contextualization cues, P demonstrated playfulness and affirmed
closeness. Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) maintain that, in joking and teasing, interlocutors both display and develop the intimacy of their identities as friends and members of an in-group. The tutors engaged in conversational joking only with the women they knew well and had established a personal relationship. The evidence for this is that the tutors often used shared personal knowledge with particular women to tease them, just as P did with E in lines 19-21 in the above excerpt. Using mutual knowledge not only displayed a relational identity, but also helped build a common history, a common culture that, in bantering, further developed identities and friendship through the further exploration of personal views, foibles, and attributes.

Since most of the tutors reported that their students lacked self-confidence, and were shy and ill at ease at first, one of their continuing goals was to help their students feel comfortable, and a primary way to accomplish this goal was to simply be funny. As one tutor put it, "I think we laugh. It's a powerful thing to be able to figure out something that's funny so that everybody can laugh. Just a little giggle, I mean... It's such a relief to understand something enough to have it to be funny or silly and I don't mind being a clown." At least 25% of the tutors believed that their outgoing, light-hearted natures and sense of humor helped them (e.g., "the thing my students like about me is humor"). Some recognized, though, that joking and bantering was difficult to achieve, since both telling and "getting jokes" require cultural knowledge the women usually hadn't acquired yet.
Still, most of the tutors used joking and bantering complete with smiles, eye-contact, and laughing to help the international women feel more comfortable. Many of the tutors' activities involved humor. The tutors identified, defined, and discussed words that sounded funny or that had funny double meanings. The tutors poked fun at their husbands and themselves, and they looked for opportunities to comment on the humorous aspect of the women's contributions, all of which often brought about laughs. Laughing together, which displays like-mindedness towards the laughable, helped create a bond of solidarity and bring the group members closer together. Laughing together also helped create a relaxed atmosphere in the group, which in turn could facilitate learning as well. As Hiromi said in her interview: "One of the reasons I come back to INCH every week is that it's enjoyable. We laugh together at small matters . . . I like being able to learn something useful and practical in a relaxed atmosphere."

The joking and bantering sequences were seen as supportive acts by both the women and the tutors. The overwhelming implication of conversational joking is that it drew the women together. One tutor concluded this way, "Humor and laughing at things . . . It makes it a lot easier. If you can laugh at yourself and laugh at the others, it brings the group together."
| Elements | T issues a tease or its context  
| Audience response | (Confirmation request-response sometimes added)  
| T issues/repeats the tease |  
| Support moves | T introduces/explains new linguistic/cultural knowledge  
| T uses self-denigrating humor | T uses mutual personal knowledge  
| T teases S (with the use of contextualization cues) | Shared laughter  

| **Table 5.11 Summary of the Joking Exchange** |

**Summary of Support Moves**

The analysis of discourse in the INCH meetings revealed six types of talk exchanges that frequently occurred: greetings, teaching, personal elicitations, repairs, story-telling, and joking. In each talk exchange support moves and functions were identified. In greetings the continued repetition of personal inquiries and positive appraisals, coupled with happiness affect displays, created a welcoming environment for everyone. In teaching exchanges, frequent comprehension checks, explanations of language/cultural knowledge, repetitions of new knowledge and acknowledgments created on-going contexts for understanding and instant demonstrations of the women's added skill and knowledge. In personal elicitation exchanges, person-centered questions, continuers, signals of understanding, positive assessments and
affirmations all worked to sustain conversational opportunities for
the women to talk about themselves as well as try out their skills.
In repair sequences, persistent clarification and confirmation
questions in the form of the expressed-guess strategy served to
create a collaborative context for the negotiation of shared
meanings and understanding. In storytelling and joking exchanges,
self-disclosures, person-centered questions, acknowledgments,
positive assessments, appreciation tokens and shared laughter
created a relaxing atmosphere for the women to share about
themselves.

It was in these talk exchanges that the general support
functions (Cutrona, 1996; Cutrona & Suhr, 1994) discussed in
Chapter 2 were enacted. The greeting exchange enacted
affirmation, general esteem support and social integration. The
teaching exchange provided assistance and informational support.
The personal elicitation exchange provided assistance, esteem
support and social integration. It also provided opportunities for
emotional support. The repair exchange provided assistance,
informational support and esteem support. The storytelling
exchange enacted esteem support and social integration. It also
provided opportunities for emotional support. The joking exchange
provided informational and esteem support and social integration.

Emotion-focused talk exchanges, or direct discussions of
feelings, did not occur frequently in the group sessions. When
emotion-focused talk did occur, it was usually embedded in the
personal elicitation and story-telling sequences. In this context,
emotional support was enacted indirectly through other communication activities and practices, rather than through direct discussions of feelings.

A closer examination of the support moves across the talk exchanges revealed four overall categories of support: (1) enhancing the sojourner's own comprehension of ongoing talk, (2) collaborating with the sojourner in the construction of shared meaning, (3) eliciting the sojourner's involvement in the interaction, and (4) developing a positive interpersonal relationship.

The support moves in the first category functioned to enhance the sojourner women's own comprehension of the immediate conversation: speech alterations, explanations of language/cultural knowledge, frequent uses of examples, and repetitions of new knowledge. These moves helped the women reduce uncertainty and anxiety about the immediate situation and enhance the women's perceived personal control through the comprehension of linguistic/cultural forms (Adelman, 1988; Albrecht & Adelman, 1984, 1987).

The support moves in the second category functioned to make the sojourner women's contribution clearer through active participation in the negotiation of shared meaning: comprehension checks, clarification questions, confirmation questions, collaborative completions, acknowledgments, formulations, signals of understanding. These moves facilitated the joint construction of shared understanding of situated meaning (Nofsinger, 1991; Stokes & Hewitt, 1976), which enhanced the women's ability to express
their thoughts and ideas more fully and clearly, and thus contributed to conversation satisfaction and enhanced self-esteem.

The support moves in the third category helped elicit the sojourner women's active participation and involvement in the interaction: personal inquiries, person-centered questions, continuers, acknowledgments, signals of understanding, appreciation tokens, affirmations, positive appraisals, and happiness affect displays. These moves helped create and sustain conversational opportunities for the women, which enhanced their willingness and ability to talk about themselves.

The moves included in the fourth category functioned to develop positive interpersonal relationships: the use of self-disclosures, mutually shared knowledge, and self-denigrating humor, joking about absent others, teasing with contextualization cues, and shared laughter. These moves facilitated interpersonal connections and a bond of solidarity and thus contributed to social integration (Arntson & Droge, 1987; Barnes & Duck, 1994; Leatham & Duck, 1990).

In summary, the cross-cultural adaptation tasks of host communication competence, self-esteem enhancement, and relationship development identified in Chapter 2 were also reported to be the goals of the INCH sessions. In order to accomplish these adaptation tasks all of the general support functions appeared readily in INCH discourses: informational, esteem, and emotional support, assistance, and social integration. Numerous support communication practices identified by support group researchers.
(narratives, joking, and personal disclosures, for instance) (e.g., Arntson & Droge, 1987; Droge et al., 1986; Rappaport, 1994) also appeared in the INCH sessions. Yet the analysis of the INCH sessions, and the tutors' perceptions of those sessions, indicates that three sets of supportive communication practices were not designed to provide comfort through emotional support, but to create comfort through the construction of a safe, relaxed communication environment. The moves in the first, second and third categories helped facilitate the communication process itself, thereby creating the communicative condition where sojourner women felt comfortable. These types of support practices were important in this intercultural communication context where communication was problematic. By creating comfort, these moves helped facilitate the enactment of general support functions. These support practices have not been documented or discussed until now, primarily because the social support literature has not addressed intercultural communication contexts of the sort studied here.

Tutors' Insights about INCH sessions

Finally, I will present the tutors' insights about what happens in their INCH sessions. In my interviews with the tutors, I asked about the changes they saw in their students as a result of their INCH experiences. There were four main changes the tutors observed in the international women over time: improved English speaking ability, increased self-confidence, increased comfort, and openness to new experiences. The responses of the tutors were quite similar.
While it was recognized that the international women usually did not become perfect English speakers (after all, as one tutor put it, "It takes a lifetime to learn a language"), all the tutors said that the women significantly improved their ability to speak English. Their English "becomes more accurate," and "more fluent," progress that the tutors loved to see. As one tutor said, "I can see the differences in their ability to speak and read. So, that tells me that something is working and that maybe we've had a part in that. That's exciting. It's rewarding."

Improved English speaking ability was tightly connected to a set of other important changes. All the tutors reported increased self-confidence to be a definite change in the women. The tutors said the women gained confidence in the ability to speak English and relate to other people. The tutors said it shows in the way they "physically carry themselves" and "smile more." The women also "begin to discuss things with women from other countries, and go from this table to socialize with others." As one tutor put it: "

They just appear happier, more relaxed, more sure of themselves; Their English has improved and their confidence has improved. It shows because they will talk. In the beginning they were shrinking. Now if I ask something, it comes back naturally. They are much more at ease."

Along with greater confidence, the tutors said the women became more comfortable in their new environment. Nearly every tutor described how the women were typically shy and reserved at first. But eventually they became more comfortable and "talked more with each other," "asked more questions," and "initiated more
in-depth discussions with the other women." Tutors observed that with the ability to speak English came the discovery of common interests and the formation of friendships that often lasted well beyond INCH. As one tutor mentioned:

(One of my students) is feeling more comfortable in using English. Like today she asked me a lot of questions about what I do on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. She's becoming more like a friend. When they first come, they are quiet, not used to the exchange of conversation. But they become more outgoing, more friendly, not afraid to talk.

Friendships, of course, between the women and the tutors did form, so many that INCH now has an alumni network that generates both referrals and hospitality for the tutors in their international travels.

Finally, tutors noted that with confidence and comfort, the women became more open to new experiences and "more willing to try new things." Simple tasks, such as ordering some material over the telephone, were reported on with great pride. One tutor noted that some women had just stayed home and had not gone to any place before INCH. Now the women reported doing more things outside of class.

While the tutors didn't take credit for their students' greater confidence and improvement in English, they often responded like this tutor: "I don't think I can take credit for that, except for providing an atmosphere that involves other people whom they are comfortable with. Yeah, we feel good about that. We never put any pressure on them to be here every week."
The tutors observed that not only did their students change as a result of INCH, but they, too, changed as a result of their INCH experiences. I asked the tutors what kind of changes they saw in themselves as a result of their involvement with international women and other INCH volunteers. I also asked the tutors how interacting with international women in INCH affected how they felt about themselves. Finally, I asked the tutors why they kept returning to INCH. The tutors answered in similar ways.

Overwhelmingly the tutors said they felt happy, satisfied and more confident about themselves as a result of their experiences at INCH. Many said it was "always a joy to be there" and that it is a most "stimulating," "challenging," and "interesting" volunteer experience that made them feel very good. As some of them put it: "It makes me feel good because I think I'm making them feel good"; "After each lesson I feel as though I am achieving something. I love to see the progress. And it is there, definitely. I'm always driving home feeling very happy, very satisfied."

The tutors also reported learning from the international women as well as learning more about themselves. As several tutors put it: "They have taught me an awful lot, like their enthusiasm for learning, their attention to details," "I meet people who teach me through their incredible attitude of loving and giving and sharing." The tutors also reported that they feel useful and believe they are making a contribution. As some noted: "I'm useful. I mean, what's the better feeling than that . . . than to be useful?"; "It's satisfying to feel as if you have a small part perhaps
in their learning about the United States of America." A few called their INCH their most powerful volunteer experience:

This is by far the most powerful volunteer experience I've ever been involved with because the tiniest bit of effort makes such a difference in someone's life, in whole families. I feel that I can almost watch people just kind of stand up straighter and smile more and it's not because of something I did, but it's because of the circumstance that I was involved with that helped that happen.

The tutors' work, though, appeared to take a toll. About one third of them reported feeling drained and exhausted after the sessions: "After every session I feel drained, completely drained"; "My mind feels drained, I can't think too well because I concentrated so much on drawing things out from them." The work also required a lot of patience.

The tutors also noted larger, long term changes in themselves as a result of their volunteer experiences with INCH. All of them said they had become "more world conscious," "more sensitive to other cultures," and "more understanding of different cultures." International news matter more now to the tutors. All of the tutors also described the long term satisfaction they receive from their work. They saw their work to be stimulating, making them happier and healthier, and supplying opportunities to learn more. One tutor disclosed that the work fulfilled an individual need to do something valuable in society and for people, while others acknowledged that it gave them a chance to grow, learn and broaden their thinking: "It
has broadened my horizons and widened my field of interest, as life has become less boring (laugh)."

Finally, the tutors noted the continuing friendships and community contacts they received as a result of INCH involvement. INCH gave the tutors interesting material to talk about with their friends and helped the tutors become more networked in Columbus, as they represented the organization in public. Many of them also mentioned that they continually returned because the other tutors were so interesting (e.g., "It's also rewarding to know the other teachers, because they have so many talents, they all do something valuable. I think it brings out the best in all of us."; "I admire the American volunteers so much in what they're doing. Some who are in that group you would think are in their 60's, but they really are in their 80's. It's really astonishing."). Hence INCH gave the tutors friendships with each other and, of course, with the international women who participated in the sessions.
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

In this study I have attempted to gain a better understanding of the cross-cultural adaptation experiences of Japanese married sojourner women through in-depth interviews. I have also attempted to obtain a better understanding of the role of supportive communication in the context of cross-cultural adaptation through a case study of support group meetings for international wives. In this chapter I will first summarize the findings from the research questions and discuss the significance of the results. Next, I will indicate the limitations of the study. Then, I will discuss the contributions and practical implications of the study. And finally, I will indicate directions for future research.

Summary and Significance of the Findings

This section discusses the findings obtained from the analyses of adaptation problems of Japanese sojourner women, supportive communication practices in the support group meetings, and the sojourner women's perspectives on supportive communication practices.
Cross-Cultural Adaptation Problems of Japanese Sojourner Women

My first research question asked what Japanese sojourner women's experiences of their cross-cultural adaptation difficulties were. The analysis of the accounts of the 12 Japanese sojourner women revealed three major adaptation problems: linguistic, sociolinguistic, and interactional difficulties in communicating with Americans, affective reactions in the form of frustration, anxiety, and timidity to these communication difficulties, and difficulties in developing satisfactory social relationships.

Not being able to communicate effectively with Americans was the most salient problem for the Japanese sojourner women, which constituted a major source of stress in their sojourn life. This finding is consistent with those of Church (1982), de Verthelyi (1995), Furnham and Alibhai (1985), Heikinheimo & Shute (1986), Kim and Paulk (1994), Klineberg & Hull (1979) and Vogel (1985). Language/communication difficulties have long been documented as a major problem for various groups of sojourners. However, instead of treating sojourners' communication difficulties simply as a language problem as most cross-cultural adaptation research has done, I broke the general category of communication difficulties down into three, interrelated yet distinct, subcategories: linguistic, sociolinguistic, and interactional.

All of the women reported that their lack of linguistic knowledge and skills (syntax, lexicon, semantics, phonology) hindered them from understanding their interlocutors fully, expressing their thoughts and feelings freely, and thus presenting
their true selves. Their limited English also prevented them from interacting and developing relationships with Americans.

A second communication difficulty the Japanese sojourner women had was sociolinguistic. Their lack of knowledge about appropriate communication behaviors (speech acts, address forms, small talk) in American society deterred them from enacting culturally desirable behaviors that could facilitate interactions with Americans. The women lacked knowledge of different types of communicative strategies for performing speech acts appropriately in American society. The women also had difficulties in engaging in small talk due to their lack of knowledge of its role and the appropriate topics for small talk in American society. These sociolinguistic difficulties of non-native speakers have been documented in the fields of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1983; Canale & Swain, 1980; Hatch, 1992; Schmidt, 1983).

A third communication difficulty Japanese sojourner women had was interactional. The women had difficulties in managing social interactions, such as initiating and sustaining a conversation with Americans and securing speaking turn in a group conversation. These interactional difficulties of non-native speakers have been also reported in the fields of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics (e.g., Canale & Swain, 1980; Richards, 1983; Scarcella; 1983).

Due to these communication difficulties, the Japanese sojourner women frequently experienced intense negative emotions when interacting or anticipating to interact with Americans,
including frustration, anxiety, fear and timidity. The women's feeling of frustration stemmed mainly from their inability to express themselves freely in English and often led to discouragement, loss of self-confidence, and decreased persistence to communicate. When their frustration stemmed from the perceived lack of effort and contribution on the part of the conversational partner, it led to decreased motivation to engage in further communication. The women's feeling of anxiety, stemming mainly from their inability to fully understand their interlocutor and offer appropriate responses, often led to fear and social withdrawal and/or avoidance of social interaction. The women's feeling of timidity stemmed mainly from a lack of confidence in their English skills and a lack of security and often led to hesitation, passivity and inactivity.

Although the feelings of frustration, anxiety and fear have been documented as affective reactions that sojourners commonly experience (e.g., Anderson, 1994; Church, 1982; de Verthelyi, 1995; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988; Oberg, 1960; Vogel, 1985), this study extended the findings of the prior research by identifying timidity as another affective reaction that results from the communication difficulties that sojourner spouses experience. This study also extended the prior research by identifying the patterns that show how particular communicative inabilities bring about particular affective reactions and particular interactional consequences.
Frequent experiences of frustration, anxiety, and timidity that accompanied the linguistic, sociolinguistic, and interactional difficulties the women experienced in communicating with Americans tended to form a vicious cycle. The women tended to give up their efforts to make their ideas clearer when they experienced frustration with their own limited English. The women tended to lose motivation to keep engaged in conversation when they experienced frustration with their American interlocutors whom they perceived were not making enough efforts to understand them. The women tended to avoid interactions with Americans due to their high interactional anxiety. And finally, due to their timidity, the women tended to stay passive and just wait for Americans to take the initiative to start up a conversation. The lack of positive social interactions with Americans perpetuated their interactional anxiety and timidity, which hindered them from seeking interactional opportunities that could help them develop linguistic, sociocultural and interactional skills these women needed to develop relationships with Americans.

My analysis also revealed that for these Japanese women the first several months of their sojourn was a particularly stressful period of time. The intensity of these emotions only gradually subsided with time and experience in the new environment. Contrary to the U-curve hypothesis (Lysgaard, 1955), the experience of an initial period of elation followed by a "trough" of adjustment was rare among these Japanese sojourner women. Rather, my findings were consistent with those of Briody and
Chrisman (1991) and de Verthelyi (1995), who found that the initial period following the overseas relocation was the most difficult time for sojourner spouses. Similarly, it took most of these Japanese women in my study a few difficult months to learn how to get around, make friends, establish new routines, and settle into the new environment. It took them even longer to get used to speaking English and interacting with Americans and somewhat lose their timidity and vulnerability.

A third major problem that the Japanese sojourner women experienced was a lack of satisfactory social relationships in their new cultural environment. Most Japanese women had very limited personal contact with Americans. The lack of opportunity to meet and interact with Americans, the women's limited English skills, social diffidence, and passivity all contributed to their difficulty in developing relationships with Americans. Some experienced frustration and disappointment at not being able to make American friends, while others accepted it as a way of life and instead concentrated on creating and maintaining relationships with other Japanese expatriate women.

The Japanese women who had initial local contact tended to experience a relatively easier transition into the new culture as they were able to obtain information, tangible assistance, and opportunities to become connected to local co-national networks from their contact. On the other hand, those who did not have any initial contact, with either Japanese or Americans, had to expend a lot more effort in obtaining needed information and finding
opportunities to become connected with others. These women tended to stay socially isolated longer and experience intense feelings of loneliness and alienation, partly because they did not have institutional connections that would help them develop relationships.

Thus consistent with the findings of AmaraSingh (1980) and Briody and Chrisman (1991), the expatriate community played an important role in the sojourn lives of the Japanese married women in this study. The connection to the expatriate community helped ease the women's adjustment through the provision of information, guidance, tangible assistance, emotional support, companionship and friendships. However, while the benefits of the connection to co-national networks have been documented (e.g., AmaraSingh, 1980; Briody & Chrisman, 1991; Vogel, 1985), this study extended the prior research by identifying particular factors that facilitated the sojourner women's connection to co-nationals. My analysis revealed three factors that helped strengthen ties with co-nationals: living in proximity to other Japanese, having school-aged children, and having resources (e.g., time, money, one's own car). Having easy face-to-face contact, having common concerns and interests, and having resources which enabled the women to engage in common activities on a regular basis with other Japanese expatriate women helped them develop and maintain friendships.

In general, I found that the Japanese women who confined their social relationships within the expatriate community tended to experience less stress, less disappointment and more security,
compared to those who sought to develop relationships with Americans. However, although a reliance on co-national networks provided the women with security and comfort, I also found that it limited their opportunities for interaction with Americans and impeded their language and culture learning. This is consistent with the findings of AmaraSingham (1980), Briody and Chrisman (1991), Church (1982) and Furnham and Bochner (1982).

As mentioned before, most of the Japanese sojourner women in this study did not have opportunities for personal contact with Americans on a regular basis until they joined INCH. The only woman who had initial contact with Americans received practical information, tangible assistance and companionship from the beginning, which made her initial adjustment to her new environment easier. She experienced initial difficulties in communicating with Americans and strong negative affective reactions, just the same way as the rest of the women, which inhibited her from actively engaging in conversation with Americans. Yet, due to the regular contact with the American who was patient, and interested in helping her and looking after her, she gradually overcame her initial inhibitions toward speaking English and developed comfort in using English for interacting with interested Americans. After having joined INCH, all the Japanese women gained a regular opportunity to interact with patient, interested Americans. It was in this context that most of the women gradually started to overcome their interactional anxiety and timidity and develop comfort in speaking English.
Consistent with the findings of Briody and Chrisman (1991) and Stone Feinstein and Ward (1990), the findings of this study suggest that co-national and host national relationships are both important for the cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner women. While co-national relationships are important in providing the women with psychological security and a sense of belonging, host national relationships are important in providing them with a sense of acceptance and belonging as well as opportunities for overcoming their interactional anxiety and timidity, and thus developing comfort in using the host language for communication.


Gudykunst (1987, 1988, 1998) and Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) have argued that cross-cultural adaptation is a function of sojourners' abilities to manage their uncertainty and anxiety. Gudykunst (1988) contends that sojourners will feel comfortable in the host culture when they can reduce uncertainty about the attitudes, beliefs, feelings, values and behaviors of hosts and manage their anxiety when communicating with hosts. The finding
that Japanese women's lack of linguistic/cultural knowledge of the American society prevented them from communicating with Americans effectively and comfortably partially corroborated Gudykunst's (1982, 1988, 1998) model. Yet this study extended his model by identifying frustration and timidity as other affective reactions that sojourners experience when communicating with hosts and that need to be managed for them to feel comfortable in the host culture.

Kim (1987, 1988, 1991, 1995) has argued that cross-cultural adaptation is an interactive and continuous process of individual transformation toward an increasing level of host communication competence and relationship development with host culture members. Kim (1987) has further argued that the development of host communication competence and interpersonal relationships occur side by side and reciprocally reinforce each other in the ongoing process of sojourner adaptation. The Japanese women's lack of host communication competence that prevented them from developing relationships with hosts corroborated Kim's (1987, 1988, 1991, 1995) model. Yet this study extended her model by identifying the importance of affective factors involved in sojourners' communication processes with hosts that influence the development of their host communication competence and host relationships.

Finally, Anderson (1994) has argued that cross-cultural adaptation is a continuous, interactive and cyclical process of encountering environmental and internal obstacles in a foreign
culture that lead to the generation of cognitive, affective and behavioral responses. The Japanese women's accounts of the communicative, affective and relational problems they encounter in their new cultural environment and that they strive to overcome fits Anderson's (1994) model. Yet Anderson's (1994) model presents an enormous variety of affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses that play a role in the adaptation process, including exhaustion, a drop in self-confidence, and fear, among others.

While the model claims cyclical interactive relationships in handling obstacles in cultural encounters, it does not specify which affective, cognitive, and behavioral obstacles interrelate and how they interrelate. This analysis, however, suggests that particular communicative inabilities bring about particular affective reactions and negative interactional consequences. Frustration produces a loss of confidence, discouragement, and dissatisfaction, which leads to apathy and disengagement. Anxiety produces fear which leads to further social withdrawal and avoidance; timidity produces hesitation and passivity and inactivity. Hence the analysis is able to show particular patterns that prevent easy adjustment.

**Supportive Communication Practices in Support Group Meetings**

My second research question asked what support communication practices occurred in support group meetings for international wives. The analysis revealed six types of talk exchanges that occurred frequently in the INCH meetings: greetings, teaching, personal elicitations, repairs, story-telling, and joking. The greeting exchanges occurred repeatedly at the
beginning of a session between a tutor and each woman in her group. In teaching exchanges tutors imparted and the women solicited linguistic, sociocultural or general/practical information. In personal elicitation exchanges tutors asked women a series of questions in order to learn about them and assist them to take part in the conversation. In repairs exchanges tutors and group members asked a woman a series of clarification questions to resolve a problem of mishearing, misunderstanding or nonunderstanding. In story-telling exchanges tutors and women told stories about their personal lives. In joking exchanges tutors used good-natured verbal humor to tease a group member they knew well.

It was in these talk exchanges that the general support functions (Cutrona, 1996; Cutrona & Suhr, 1994) discussed in Chapter 2 were enacted. The greeting exchange enacted affirmation, general esteem support and social integration. The teaching exchange provided informational and esteem support. The personal elicitation exchange provided assistance, informational and esteem support. It also provided opportunities for emotional support. The repair exchange provided assistance and informational and esteem support. The story-telling exchange enacted social integration and esteem support. It also provided opportunities for emotional support. Finally, the joking exchange provided social integration, and informational and esteem support.
The social support literature reviewed in Chapter 2 has documented a number of message types and features that are seen to be helpful in providing emotional support. Such message features include person-centeredness (Burleson, 1985, 1990, 1994), descriptive and explanatory focus on emotions, opportunities for target narratives, and politeness forms (Burleson & Goldsmith, 1998), and expressions of caring, concern and empathy (Burleson, 1990; Cutrona & Suhr, 1992; Rogers, 1959). Some of these and other message types and features appeared throughout the sessions, embedded within the different types of talk exchanges. Greetings displayed positive face support, and teaching contained explanations of linguistic and cultural information. Repairs provided collaboration. Personal elicitations and story-telling contained person-centered messages and provided narrative opportunities. Story-telling also contained expressions of shared identities, understanding and empathy. Joking contained expressions of affection and acceptance.

Although Burleson and Goldsmith (1998) maintain that direct discussions of feelings facilitate reappraisals of a stressful situation, emotion-focused talk exchanges did not occur frequently in this context. The women simply did not spend a lot of time talking about their distressed feelings or stressful circumstances. Emotional support was enacted indirectly through other communication activities and practices, rather than through direct discussions of feelings. Still, when an opportunity for emotional support, often embedded in the personal elicitation and story-
telling exchanges, arose, tutors provided reassurance, understanding, and validation of their thoughts and feelings.

The talk exchanges, thus, relied less on the explicit use of talk about the women's anxieties or the direct attempt to help the women reappraise their stress or appraise situations differently. Rather, the talk exchanges were more designed to provide the women with opportunities for English practice, knowledge acquisition and self-expression. To facilitate these communicative tasks in this context, creating communication conditions where the sojourner women felt comfortable became particularly important.

**Social Support in the Context of Cross-Cultural Adaptation**

The communication practices identified as support moves in Chapter 5 served as supportive acts for the international women because of the particular difficulties and needs these individuals had. For example, understanding each other is often a taken for granted aspect of communication in intracultural interaction. Yet in intercultural interaction that involves a non-native speaker with limited host language skills, establishing a basic understanding is often problematic and cannot be taken for granted. Given sojourner women's difficulties in following their conversations with native speakers, enhancing their comprehension of the immediate conversation becomes a fundamental type of support, without which any meaningful conversation may not be possible. Also, given the sojourner women's limited host language abilities to express themselves fully, assisting them to make their contributions clear by taking an active role in the negotiation of understanding
becomes an important type of support, without which shared understanding might not be possible. Further, given the sojourner women's outsider status in relation to their hosts, actively creating conversational space and interpersonal interest for the women are other type of support in the context of cross-cultural adaptation.

The findings of this study suggest that in the context of cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner spouses, support involves (1) enhancing the sojourner's own comprehension of their ongoing talk, (2) collaborating with the sojourner in the construction of shared meaning, (3) eliciting the sojourner's involvement in the interaction, and (4) establishing a positive interaction relationship.

First, enhancing sojourner women's own comprehension of their ongoing talk facilitated the women's ability to participate in the immediate conversation. The support practices included in this category are speech alterations, explanations of new language/cultural knowledge, repetitions of new knowledge, and uses of examples. These practices helped the sojourner women reduce uncertainty and anxiety about their immediate conversation situation and thus enhance their perceived personal control through the comprehension of linguistic/cultural forms (Adelman, 1988; Albrecht & Adelman, 1984, 1987). These practices also displayed the interlocutor's sensitivity and responsivity to the sojourners' greater need for clarity and understanding, which conveyed caring (Cutrona, 1996) and contributed to conversation satisfaction. The teaching sequences in the INCH sessions were
primarily designed to enhance the women's linguistic, sociolinguistic, and cultural comprehension.

Second, collaborating with sojourner women in the construction of shared meaning enhanced the women's ability and willingness to express their thoughts and ideas more fully and clearly. The support practices included in this category are comprehension checks, clarification questions, confirmation questions, collaborative completions, acknowledgments, formulations, signals of understanding, code-switching, catching solicitation signals of help, and giving the other plenty of time to respond. Through active participation in the negotiation of meaning, these practices facilitated the joint construction of shared understanding (Nofsinger, 1991; Stokes & Hewitt, 1976), which helped women reduce uncertainty and thus contributed to enhanced self-esteem and confidence. These practices also displayed the interlocutor's desire to achieve clearer understanding and willingness to cooperate, which facilitated assurance and contributed to conversation satisfaction. The repair sequence in INCH sessions was primarily designed to help the women construct shared understandings.

Third, eliciting sojourner women's involvement in the interaction helped the women stay actively engaged in the extended interaction with native speakers. The support practices included in this category are personal inquiries, person-centered questions, affirmations, positive appraisals, continuers, and appreciation tokens. These practices helped create and sustain
conversational opportunities for the women, which enacted English practice and interpersonal connections. These practices also displayed the interlocutor's interest in and willingness to listen to the women, which helped them reduce uncertainty and facilitated assurance and self-expression. The greeting sequence and the personal elicitation sequence in INCH sessions were primarily designed to encourage the women to participate and become involved.

Fourth, establishing a positive communication relationship helped the sojourner women develop a sense of acceptance and belonging. The practices included in this category are using one's first name, joking about absent others, joking about self, teasing with contextualization cues, using shared knowledge, happiness affect displays, self-disclosures, affirmations, and shared laughter. These practices helped create a friendly and relaxing atmosphere which facilitated language practice, interpersonal connections and a bond of solidarity. These practices also conveyed liking and acceptance and thus contributed to self-esteem enhancement and social integration (Arntson & Droge, 1987; Barnes & Duck, 1994; Leatham & Duck, 1990). In INCH sessions telling stories and joking were key ways the women formed interpersonal bonds with one another.

The first, second and third categories of practices helped facilitate the process of communication itself, thereby creating the communication condition for sojourner women to feel comfortable. These practices were important in this particular context where
communication was problematic. By creating comfort for sojourner women, these moves may facilitate the enactment of general support functions, such as informational, esteem, and emotional support, assistance, and social integration. These support tasks may facilitate the cross-cultural adaptation tasks of sojourner women: host communication competence development; self-esteem enhancement; and relationship development.

These findings also extend our understanding of the basic mechanisms of social support. As reviewed in Chapter 2, Anderson (1994) uses appraisal theory to understand how sojourners overcome cultural obstacles, and support researchers currently use appraisal theory to explain how social support reduces uncertainty and stress (e.g., Burleson & Goldsmith, 1998). While certainly sojourner women came to understand themselves and the sources of their stress more fully at INCH, reappraisal appears not to be the only mechanism at work in the INCH sessions. Rather, in this context, frustration, anxiety and timidity were affective reactions the women experienced while communicating and these reactions were directly changed with alterations the tutors made in the communication situation and process itself. Instead of cognitive reappraisals, the tutors created a safe communication environment in which the sojourner women could participate freely, comprehend the meanings of ongoing talk, and collaborate in the shared understandings of the interactions. By making the communication process less problematic, the tutors enabled the women to acquire greater certainty and personal control.
The vast majority of the theory and research on social support has assumed that the interlocutors share the same language and culture. General support functions (e.g., informational support and assistance), specific message practices (e.g., providing person-centered strategies), and, as a whole, the buffering and direct effects models of support provision all presume that communication is non-problematic for its participants. Creating shared understanding and involvement in the interaction, and comprehending situated meanings are all activities that are considered to be non-problematic.

However, that is simply not the case for sojourner women and their American interlocutors. In this context, a set of support practices appeared to be helpful not because they provided comfort, but instead because they created comfort in the form of a safe, relaxed communication environment for the women. These practices have not been documented, to date, primarily because support researchers have not focused their efforts on intercultural contexts. The findings seem to suggest that these support practices are important not because they help deploy support functions or that they help enact particular support strategies (which they often do), but because they create the fundamental conditions for the women to acquire communication control, which in turn, brings about personal control.
Women's Perspectives on Supportive Communication

My third research question asked what communication practices that occurred in support group meetings for international wives the sojourner women found helpful. As we have seen in Chapter 4, the Japanese women frequently experienced difficulties communicating with Americans in daily situations, which often resulted in negative emotions. Although speaking English was still a struggle, all the Japanese women perceived INCH as a supportive environment and felt comfortable speaking English there. Part of their comfort came from the fact that all the other women participants at INCH were non-native speakers of English who were there to learn English just like themselves. They also felt comfortable speaking English at INCH because they knew it was acceptable not to be able to speak perfect English there. They felt safe because they knew that nobody was going to criticize their imperfect English. They knew that others at INCH would try to understand them irrespective of grammatical or phonological errors.

The support practices in the first category, enhancing sojourners' comprehension of ongoing conversation, were particularly important for the sojourner women to feel motivated to stay involved in the conversation. Given the difficulties the women frequently experienced in understanding their native interlocutors in daily conversation, the Japanese women found it particularly helpful that the INCH tutors spoke slowly and clearly, and used simpler syntax and vocabulary, all of which helped facilitate their
understanding of the immediate conversation and thus reduce their uncertainty and anxiety. The women also found explanations of linguistic/cultural knowledge very helpful in facilitating their general language and culture learning. The tutors also asked frequent comprehension checks, and provided and repeated explanations, which helped prevent problems of understanding from occurring later on and created an atmosphere that encouraged question-asking.

The support practices in the second category, collaborating with sojourners in the construction of shared meaning, were also very important for creating an environment for the sojourner women to feel comfortable. Given the difficulties the women frequently experienced in expressing themselves in daily conversation with Americans, the Japanese women found it particularly helpful when the INCH tutors and fellow international women assisted them in expressing their intended meanings by supplying a vocabulary through collaborative completions, and asking clarification and confirmation questions in forms of articulated guesses. They found it reassuring to know that linguistic help was available whenever they needed it, which enhanced their willingness to take risks and talk. Further, the feeling of being understood which the women experienced as a result of the successful joint negotiation of meaning helped enhance their self-confidence and self-esteem. The women also found it very helpful when the tutors displayed understanding through the use of acknowledgments and allowed longer pauses, both of which
helped the women carry on conversation. The women also found it helpful when the tutors overlooked grammatical and phonological errors and yet modeled the correct forms for them.

The support practices in the third category, eliciting sojourners' involvement in the conversation, were also very important in creating an environment where the sojourner women felt comfortable to engage in conversation. Given the difficulties the women experienced initiating conversation with Americans, the Japanese women found it very helpful when the INCH tutors created spaces for them to speak by allocating turns and asking them person-centered questions. Although the women were initially hesitant to take the first move, they felt encouraged to talk when the tutors showed a personal interest in them through persistent question-asking, positive affect displays, and positive assessments of their presence and response, which helped reduce their uncertainty about their interlocutor's attitude toward them.

Through the use of these practices, the INCH tutors communicated to the women their interest and regard as well as their willingness and desire to listen to and understand them, which enhanced the women's ability and willingness to stay involved in the extended interaction and empowered them to try even harder to take an active role in the negotiation of shared meanings and understanding. Gardner (1985) has argued that self-confidence develops as a result of positive experiences in the context of the second language. Consistent with him, through the repeated positive interactions that these women experienced at INCH, the
women gradually developed confidence in using English to communicate with Americans.

Limitations

While the strength of this study lies in the triangulation of methods and data sources, there are some methodological and interpretive limitations that need comment. The small sample size of this study poses limitations in the generalizability and comprehensiveness of the findings. Also, since this study included a small number of both university spouses and corporate spouses, one should exercise caution in interpreting the results in which I attempted to make a comparison between the two groups. Second, since many of the Japanese sojourner women were connected to a large Japanese expatriate community, their experiences may be different from the experiences of those in other parts of the United States with smaller expatriate communities. Third, since the intensity of problems experienced by sojourner women may be different depending upon their cultural and linguistic background, there may be some inconsistencies in generalizing the findings of this study to sojourner women from other countries than Japan. And fourth, for the discourse analysis of group sessions, this study only included groups of intermediate and advanced English levels. Thus the findings may not be necessarily generalizable to groups of sojourner women with more limited English.

Other limitations concern design choices that could have enabled us to learn more about cross-cultural adaptation and the role of social support in cross-cultural adaptation. The interviews
with the Japanese did not really penetrate the process of cross-cultural adaptation or the role of support in it. Moreover, the questions that were analyzed did not analyze the women's problems as processes or by time. Larger social and cultural factors that may affect the types of discourse and conversation practices preferred by the women were not explored. For instance, the study focused on the types of communication that might be better sites for practice in communication competencies. Finally, while interviews were used to obtain the women's views on supportive communication practices, stimulated recall after each recorded group session could have been used to obtain more in-depth, concrete interpretation of the women about supportive practices that occurred in the sessions.

Perhaps most importantly, the design of this study did not permit the actual evaluation of INCH's effectiveness, because the women's interaction practices were not followed before and after their participation in the INCH program. While both the sojourner women and the tutors reported that INCH was helpful, a different design is needed to determine whether it is a matter of time, or if INCH is indeed facilitating the cross-cultural adaptation of these women.

Contributions of the Study

In conclusion, this study makes some important theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions to our knowledge about the cross-cultural adaptation experiences and support of married sojourner women. Consistent with both theory and research on
cross-cultural adaptation, I found through my in-depth interviews that Japanese sojourner women experienced similar communicative, affective, and relational difficulties in this country. Consistent with Anderson's (1994) theory, these problems were all interrelated and could become cyclical, especially when sojourner women did not have any American friends with whom they could comfortably interact. Yet unlike the current models of cross-cultural adaptation, which are fairly general, this study specified more precisely the relationships between particular emotions (e.g., frustration, anxiety and timidity), their communicative causes, and their interactional consequences (e.g., disengagement, social avoidance, and passivity). These findings thus provide specificity to Anderson's (1994) general model.

This study also makes some important contributions to our knowledge about social support. Although many researchers have recognized the importance of social support in the cross-cultural adaptation process (e.g., Adelman, 1988; Anderson, 1994; Briody & Chrisman, 1991; de Verthelyi, 1995; Fontaine, 1986, 1996; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Kim, 1987, 1989, 1991; Schwartz & Kahne, 1993; Sluzuki, 1992; Vogel, 1985), very few studies has examined the actual supportive communication practices in this context. In many ways current theory and research on effective social support practices were corroborated in this context. The general support functions were observed in INCH discourse and the interviews, as were the appearance of particular support strategies and support group practices detailed in the literature (e.g., Albrecht

Yet by studying naturally-occurring interaction, and by triangulating the perspectives of the tutors, the women, and myself, this study has shed light on what supportive communication looks like in the context of cross-cultural adaptation. In this context, the role of the support provider is not to provide comfort, but to create it. Because communication itself is problematic, the support practices most helpful have to do with creating a safe, relaxed communication environment, which in turn, then, enables the other support practices to do their work.

A final contribution of this study is methodological. While most researchers in cross-cultural adaptation call for longitudinal work and for studies of naturally occurring interaction, little work has actually been conducted. By studying naturally occurring interactions over years, we are able to learn more fully how support is communicated, how it is interpreted, and how it brings about the adjustment of sojourner women.

Practical Implications of the Results

Consistent with the findings of Black and Gregersen (1991), Briody and Chrisman (1991) and de Verthelyi (1995), the findings of this study point to the importance of host language preparations in the cross-cultural adaptation of sojourner spouses. Since sojourner spouses are not expected to perform academic or work tasks in the host language, it is rather easy to underestimate the
importance of host language skills in their sojourn life. In fact, many spouses do not take or receive intensive pre-departure language or cross-cultural training. Yet it is important to make them aware of the importance of host language preparations and encourage them to undertake language and culture preparations as much as possible prior to departure. It would help make their adjustment easier if, at the onset of their sojourn, they have enough host language skills to interact with members of the host society with ease.

Given their difficulties in initiating conversation and developing relationships with Americans, issues of communicative competence related to friendship formation, also need to be integrated into cross-cultural orientation and language classes. It would be helpful, for example, to teach sojourner women the role of small talk in this society, as well as how to engage in small talk, and how small talk can sometimes turn into more meaningful conversation.

The findings also suggest the importance of the influence the host environment has on the adaptation process of sojourner women. More specifically, this study has shown how a community support program, such as INCH, can play an important role in the cross-cultural adaptation process of sojourner women. By providing these women with opportunities to get out of their houses, meet people, make friends, obtain information, and practice English in a nonthreatening environment, such program can help sojourner
women become connected to the community, develop social networks, and improve the quality of their sojourn life.

I believe that colleges and universities or corporations could play an important role in organizing support groups for sojourner spouses. Gathering volunteers, providing a place and materials, and teaching how to run group sessions would provide an opportunity for expressing diversity and tolerance in the local community. Through my observations, I believe that there were several key ingredients to INCH's success.

First, recruiting Americans who are interested in helping sojourners, forming friendships with people from different cultures, and learning about foreign cultures would be essential. Those who have had experience living overseas themselves would be helpful because they understand the difficulties involved in living in a foreign country and thus can empathize with sojourners better. Americans who have had extensive experience in interacting with non-native speakers would be also helpful as they are likely to have developed patience in understanding non-native speakers. Other characteristics, such as open-mindedness, cultural sensitivity, perceptiveness, and outgoingness are also important qualities for the volunteers to have.

Making the program as multicultural as possible seems to appeal to sojourners. It provides them with opportunities for learning not only about the United States but also about different cultures. Setting up small groups so that sojourners can get to know small numbers of individuals well is also important in creating a
comfortable environment. At the same time, however, changing group constitution a few times a year might be helpful in giving sojourners opportunities to be exposed to and get to know different Americans.

The types of talk exchanges identified in this study play an important role in designing such a program. The greeting exchange is important for creating a warm, welcoming environment for its participants. The teaching exchange is important for facilitating sojourners' language and cultural learning. The personal-elicitation exchange is important for encouraging sojourners' involvement in the interaction. The repair exchange is important for creating a context for constructing shared understandings. The story-telling and joking exchanges are important for sharing and forming bonds with one another.

Finally, the study identified some of the communication practices that the Japanese sojourner women found helpful in interacting with Americans in their daily life. Many women talked about Americans who talk too fast, who are impatient with their imperfect English, and who do not show interest in talking to them. For these women, the types of support practices identified in this study, such as enhancing the sojourners' own comprehension of their ongoing talk, collaborating with them in the construction of shared meaning, and encouraging their involvement in the interaction were important in helping them feel comfortable in interactions with Americans. This finding could be useful in raising the awareness of the general public about the communicative needs
of sojourners and informing them of the ways in which they can become more helpful to sojourners.

Directions for Future Research

This study suggests a number of avenues for future research. Perhaps the most important question to answer next is to determine more precisely whether INCH actually plays a role in improving the interactional competencies and relationships of its international participants. A different design is called for such an examination.

A second extension of this work could probe more extensively the perspectives of the tutors as they provide support to the sojourner women. Perceptions of their own communication choices in analyses of discourse experts, along with the women's analyses, could elucidate the ways in which support is deployed by the tutors and interpreted by the women, and thus enacted.

A third possibility would be to study the families and communities of these women more broadly, to learn about their everyday problems and worries, and the communal practices for getting along in a foreign country. What types of communication help or hinder the development of host relationships? What practices promote greater cross-cultural education and learning? As the communication discipline calls for more research on community, diversity, and civility, studies such as this one suggest the usefulness of programs and research that focus on the efforts of community members to improve intercultural understanding and the lives of its members.
APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTERNATIONAL WOMEN

Background Information

1. How old are you?
2. What is your educational background?
3. Did you work in your country?
4. How long have you been married?
5. Do you have any children? If so, how many and how old are they?
6. Is your husband with a company or the OSU?
7. How long have you been in Columbus?
8. How long do you expect to stay in Columbus?
9. How long have you been involved in INCH?
10. How did you find out about the program?
11. Why did you decide to join INCH? Did you have any specific objectives that you wanted to accomplish by joining INCH?
General Cross-Cultural Experiences

12. Is this your first experience living abroad? How did you feel about coming to the States at first? How do you feel about it now?

13. How do you like living in Columbus? Is there anything that makes your life in Columbus uncomfortable, inconvenient, or stressful? Or is there anything about your life here that you wish were different? If so, how are you coping with it?

14. Are you making any special effort to make your sojourn in Columbus pleasant, enjoyable, or meaningful? If so, what do you do?

15. I would like to ask you about friends you have here in Columbus. Has it been relatively easy or difficult to meet people and make friends here? Do you feel you have enough friends to talk to or do things with? Or do you experience intense loneliness and wish you had more friends?

Perceptions of INCH Interactions

16. How do you feel about communicating in English at INCH, compared to how you feel about it outside INCH? Why do you think you feel that way? Can you think of specific things your tutor or other group members do or say to make you feel that way? Do you think you feel differently about it now than you did when you joined the group?

17. I noticed that there are quite a bit of story-telling going on every week. How do you like listening to your tutor tell you stories about her family, experience, vacation, etc.? How do you like listening to others’ stories? How do you feel about telling your group about you and your family?

18. I would like you to think about the recent sessions you had. What did you particularly like or enjoy doing? Anything you didn’t like doing? What would you like to have more?
19. How does weekly INCH participation affect how you feel about yourself, if at all? How do you usually feel after a session? Can you think of specific things your tutor, other volunteers or international women do or say to make you feel that way?

20. Some of the things you experience here are different from the way you are used to doing things back in your country. For example, how does it feel to be addressed by your first name? How does it feel to address your tutor by her first name? How does it feel to be hugged by your tutor? How does it feel to give a hug to your tutor? Do you feel differently about them now than you did at first? Can you think of anything else that you enjoy doing or feel uncomfortable doing here that is different from the way you are used to?

**Cumulative Effects of INCH Affiliation**

21. Why do you come back to INCH week after week? What are some of the things you like about INCH? Is there anything you don't like about INCH?

22. How do you utilize the information or knowledge you have obtained at INCH? Do you have an opportunity to use it outside? If you do, when and how does it make you feel? Do you tell anybody what you have learned at INCH? If you do, how does it make you feel?

23. Do you call or get together with your tutor or other INCH participants outside the INCH context? If so, on what kind of occasion?

24. When you look back on the time you first came to Columbus and compare yourself now and then, what kind of changes do you see in yourself, if at all? What part of the changes do you see as a result of your participation in INCH?

25. How helpful has INCH been for you in your sojourn life in Columbus? What kind of differences has INCH been making in your life? How about your tutor? How about other international women you meet at INCH?
APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INCH VOLUNTEERS

**Background Information**

1. What is your nationality? What is the country of your origin?
2. How old are you?
3. Are you married?
4. Do you have any children? If you do, how many?
5. What is your educational background?
6. What is your professional background?

**Motives for INCH Involvement**

7. How long have you been involved in INCH?
8. How did you get involved in INCH?
9. Why did you decide to get involved in INCH?
10. How many hours per week in average do you devote on INCH activities?
11. Why do you keep returning to INCH year after year? What are you getting out of this volunteering experience? What are most rewarding things for you in being an INCH volunteer?
Insights into Cross-Cultural Adjustment

12. How would you describe the English proficiency level of your students?

13. What do you think are the major difficulties or challenges facing your students in adjusting to a life in the States? What do you think their needs are?

14. Based on your past experiences with those international women, how would you describe a culturally well-adjusted person? For example, what are the characteristics of such an individual?

15. What do you think are some of the best ways for those women to become well-adjusted in this country? What do you think they should be doing?

Insights into Social Support

16. Would you describe briefly what you do in your tutoring session every week?

17. When a new person is brought to your table, what do you say to her?

18. Do you have any goals that you would like to accomplish through what you do in your session?

19. What do you do or say to make your students feel comfortable?

20. If you are to pick a word to describe what you do with international women at INCH every week, what would that be?

21. What do you think are some of the best ways for you or for anybody to help them become well-adjusted?
Insights into Themselves as a Support Provider

22. What kind of role do you think you play in the sojourn lives of your students? What kind of differences do you think you are making in their lives? What do you do to make these differences in their lives?

23. How do you think your personality and past experience help you interact with and help your students at INCH?

24. What are some of the challenges or difficulties you experience as an INCH volunteer? (Do you experience any communication difficulties?) How do you handle them?

Insights into Long-term Outcomes for Both Self and Students

25. How does interacting with international women at INCH affect how you feel about yourself, if at all? Why do you think that is the case?

26. What kind of changes do you see in your students over time, if any?

27. What kind of changes do you see in yourself as a result of your involvement with international women or other INCH volunteers, if any?
APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

(Developed by G. Jefferson; abstracted from J. M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.), Structures of social action, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. ix-xvi.)

// Double slashes indicate that the next speaker overlaps at this point.

= The equals sign is used for "latching," to show there is no gap between utterances.

___ Underlining indicates stress/emphasis.

(1.5) Single parentheses enclosing numbers indicate approximate pause lengths. A (.) is used for a very short pause.

: A colon indicates the extension (stretching) of the sound it follows. Multiple colons indicate a more prolonged sound.

? A question mark indicates rising intonation.

. A period indicates falling intonation.

, A comma indicates a continuing intonation.

- A hyphen following a sound indicates a cut-off of the sound.

Uppercase type is used for stress (pitch and volume).

( ) Single parentheses indicate hearings which are in doubt.

(( )) Double parentheses encloses the transcriber's descriptive remarks.
REFERENCES


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