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ANALYZING THE ADJUSTMENT OF AMERICAN BUSINESS EXPATRIATES IN CHINA: PROFESSIONALISM, CULTURE AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

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Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for completion of the Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies at the Croft Institute for International Studies

Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College

The University of Mississippi

University, Mississippi April 2020

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a comprehensive literature review of the American expatriate adjustment process to life in China. Additionally, online textual analysis on expatriate forum website was conducted to better understand the expatriate perspective and examines empirically the relevance of multiple factors of the expatriate adjustment process. Overarching factors include; work adjustment, general adjustment and interpersonal adjustment, which serve as the framework for this paper.

(under the direction of Dr. Gang Guo)

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family. First, to my siblings for being an ear to listen, a shoulder to cry on and my own personal comedians.

To my parents, Angela and Anthony Mueller, who have been my irreplaceable support system and inspiration in much more than just my academic life. For pushing me out of my comfort zone, encouraging me to chase my dreams and being my reality check when I need it most. Mom, thank you for never giving up on me. You inspire me to be the best version of myself and I am so grateful to have you by my side, even when I'm at my most difficult. Dad, you are my voice of reason and my unconditional support. I love you all more than I could put in to words.

Additionally, to the inspirational teachers in my life: Miss Kristy Howatt, Mrs. Alice Borman and Mrs. Shelley Moran. From every walk of life, these teachers have continued to influence me and my aspirations as a student. It is teachers like you who motivated me to love harder, smile bigger and think deeper. Thank you.

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for the world around us.

Introduction

In 2018, China was home to over 600,000 foreigners who moved to China as expatriates (Expat Insider, 2018). With the number of expatriates dramatically rising, China has become one of the top destinations for foreign students, employees and travelers. The rise of business expatriates followed the reform in the late 1970's when China opened up its economy to foreign multinational companies. Since this China's "Reform and Opening Up," many multinational companies have entered the Chinese market bringing a significant number of their foreign employees to work for their Chinese branches. Although the demand for expatriates has been increasing in China, finding qualified employees who are willing to move to such an unfamiliar country has proven a difficult task for multinational companies. Obstacles, such as culture shock, language barriers and social support, have hindered the expatriate adjustment process while working in China.

An understanding of what factors may influence expatriate adjustment process in China is beneficial to the multinational companies that are assigning their employees in China, as well as to their future expatriates. Past research indicates that effective expatriate adjustment programs include cultural training, basic language training, and organizational and financial support. Through these programs, expatriate employees acquire the crucial information that facilitates their work and cross-cultural adjustment process, helping them to manage the changes which their life and work in China will undergo (Waxin and Panaccio, 2005). This thesis examines multiple factors influencing potentially smooth expatriate adjustment process in China.

This thesis is focused on American expatriates and their adjustment to work and life in China. Specifically, my research question is, "What are the determinants of successful adjustment for American business expatriates in China?" Through computerized textual analysis of social-exchange website, used by American expatiates in China, I examine empirically the relevance of multiple factors of their adjustment process. I have identified these factors by conducting a comprehensive literature review. The goal of my analysis is to assess the extent to which the general factors influencing expatriate adjustment are relevant for the adjustment of American expatriates in China.

Methods

This paper offers a literature review of existing expatriate adjustment literature to best identify factors that affect the adjustment process. Additionally, an online textual analysis was conducted to better understand the expatriate perspective. Advances in digital technology allow access to a multitude of online data that presents real-time behavioral data on populations around the world. Following a comprehensive literature analysis, key words were then chosen in each facet of adjustment; work adjustment, general adjustment and interpersonal adjustment to analyze how frequently they were used in online forum website posts. Data collected was then controlled by number of posts made in that year and converted into percentages.

Chapter 1: Professionalism

In existing expatriate adjustment research, scholars have largely agreed on the existence of three facets of adjustment; work adjustment, general adjustment and interaction adjustment. Although these facets are highly intertwined, in this chapter, we look specifically at the work adjustment process. Some studies have found that expatriate failure rates in China reach levels as high as 70% (Lund and Barker, 2007). Expatriate failure, in this study, is defined as the early return of expatriates, which can be caused by several reasons including poor performance or inability to adjust to a foreign environment. Failure can also be categorized by a financial loss as reported by the employer. The cost of one failed international assignment can range from U.S. \$250,000 to \$1 million, depending on the company (Valner and Palmer, 2002). Cultural training, individual study and experience both improve workplace adjustment and overall quality of life.

Selecting Candidates for Expatriation

Foreigners entering the Chinese workforce encounter numerous obstacles including cultural, linguistic and family/spousal adjustment to name a few. Therefore, choosing the appropriate candidates for foreign assignments is integral, not only to

employee performance, but also quality of life. According to Daniel W. Lund and Ronald Jean Degen's study on expatriate managers, the first step in successful adjustment is careful candidate selection, which serves as the basis for expatriate workplace adjustment. Candidates must not only be willing to move abroad, but also, should possess four qualities that attribute to expatriate manager success (Fernandez and Underwood, 2006).

First, the potential expatriate must have suitable professional qualities for the position abroad. Although this quality seems obvious, the ability to properly execute work responsibilities influences more than job performance. Proven management experience is vital in the adjustment process, as Chinese employees have high expectations of their expatriate managers. Lacking job skills simply adds to the challenges faced during the adjustment process and can render the expatriate manager ineffective. Corporate expertise contributes to both improved job performance and the expatriate's ability to gain respect. Prior experience and familiarity with international business environments also proves beneficial to expatriate managers. This experience does not have to be in the prospective host-country to be beneficial. International experience of any kind improves the expatriate's crucial ability to manage difficult situations despite their distance from headquarters, language barriers and cultural differences.

Second, an employer must understand the personal global qualities of a potential expatriate manager. Lund and Degen emphasize the importance of a "multicultural mindset," which they define as the ability to recognize limitations of one's personal culture and adapt to elements of the host-country's culture. People tend to see their home

culture as superior. Recognition of home-culture limitations, however, can help the expatriate avoid assumptions about the local culture and business practices. Expatriates with a multicultural mindset are more committed to the learning and appreciation of cultures different from their own; making them more equipped to thrive in a long-term assignment abroad. Aside from cultural respect, a multicultural mindset also influences job performance. China has fast growing markets that are constantly changing. Managers must have the ability to detect such changes and stay up-to-date on the most current cultural, social and economic developments.

Third, an expatriate's China-specific qualities; i.e. the knowledge or experience an expatriate has in Chinese business. Subtle ways of imposing ideas and influence are vital in Chinese workplace culture, especially when communicating with superiors.

Business relationships can be more complex in China; therefore, basic knowledge of workplace etiquette is essential. Chinese business relationships hinge on hierarchy, respect and 'saving face' or *mianzi*. It is frowned upon to embarrass superiors with poor work ethic, aggressive opinions and even refusal to join colleagues for a drink after work. Managers need to be able to detect such nuances and build meaningful relationships with colleagues. Chinese language ability, although not essential, has consistently shown positive association with work adjustment (Kraimer et al., 2001). Effective communication is crucial to management; however, a common language is rare in international business environments. Language knowledge parallels cultural knowledge, therefore, foreign managers can gain considerable respect by using even basic Chinese language skills (Selmer, 2006).

Lastly, an expatriate's personal traits and family characteristics must be considered. As shown in recent studies, selecting candidates who are emotionally mature is a key indicator for a manager's capacity for successful workplace adjustment.

Managers must be able to maintain organizational and cultural harmony by respecting the workplace hierarchy. Additionally, supportive spouses and/or family members proves greatly important to a business expatriate's psychological well-being; an essential factor in expatriate job performance. Many multinational companies exclusively consider candidates who are single with no kids. Not only is it cheaper to transition a single employee, but rarely are parents willing to move their children abroad. However, when the entire family unit is prepared and dedicated, a unique social support network is created.

Selecting the most qualified business candidate serves as a foundation for successful expatriate adjustment. Regardless of home or host country, careful selection of expatriate candidates and adequate cross-cultural training is vital to successful adjustment. However, to Western expatriates, China is "often seen as the most foreign of all foreign places," making western expatriate adjustment to China increasingly difficult (Chen, 2001, p. 17).

Psychological Well-being and Job Performance

Psychological well-being and expatriate performance both influence an expatriate's overall ability to adjust cross-culturally. Expatriate literature often lacks interpersonal level studies on the expatriate adjustment process. Instead, researchers simply state that strong interpersonal and communication skills are important in the adjustment process (Abe & Wiseman, 1983). The construct of job effectiveness, even in

domestic literature, is not yet well developed. Commonly used criteria in expatriate effectiveness literature includes the desire to complete the foreign assignment, successful cross-cultural adjustment and job performance (Caligiuri, 1997; Lund and Barker, 2007). To best understand expatriate managerial effectiveness, researchers began to conduct studies on such variables individually.

In 2001, Xiaoyun Wang conducted a theoretical examination and empirical test on the effect of social support network and psychological well-being on expatriate adjustment; thereby proving that psychological well-being is an extremely important factor influencing expatriate job performance. Psychological well-being can be defined as the positive psychological functioning of individuals. The construct of psychological well-being was first proposed by Bradburn & Caplovitz in 1965, where researchers suggested that key indicators for psychological well-being were happiness and life satisfaction. The term 'subjective well-being' was used in defining happiness, desire and satisfaction (for review see Diener, 1984). These attempts to mobilize psychological well-being were criticized by Ryff and her associates (Ryff, 1989b; 1995; Ryff & Keyes, 1995), who claimed that these studies failed to provide adequate theoretical foundations to describe a person's psychological health. According to Ryff, psychological well-being is the state at which an individual can function well enough psychologically to realize and utilize one's full potential. Psychological well-being is then operationalized in the 6 dimensions defined in Table 1.

Table 1: Definitions of Theory-Guided Dimensions of Psychological Well-Being

	Characteristics of a high scorer	Characteristics of a low scorer
Self-	Possesses positive attitude toward	Feels dissatisfied with self; is
Acceptance	self; acknowledges and accepts	disappointed with what has occurred
	multiple aspects of self, including	in past life; is troubled about certain

	1 11 1 11 0 1 11	
	good and bad qualities; feels positive	personal qualities; wishes to be
	about past life.	different than what he or she is
Positive	Has warm, satisfying, trusting	Has few close, trusting relationships
relations with	relationships with others; is	with others; finds it difficult to be
other people	concerned about the welfare of	warm, open and concerned about
	others; is capable of strong empathy	others; is isolated and frustrated in
	and affection, and intimacy;	interpersonal relationships; is not
	understand give-and-take of human	willing to make compromises to
	relationships.	sustain important ties with others
Autonomy	Is self-determining and independent;	Is concerned about the expectations
	is able to resist social pressures to	and evaluations of others; relies on
	think and act in certain ways;	judgements of others to make
	regulates behavior from within;	important decisions; conforms to
	evaluates self by personal standards	social pressures to think and act in
	,	certain ways
Environmental	Has sense of mastery and	Has difficulty managing every day
mastery	competence in managing the	affairs; feels unable to change or
	environment; controls complex array	improve surrounding context; is
	of external activities; makes effective	unaware of surrounding
	use of surrounding opportunities; is	opportunities; lacks sense of control
	able to choose or create contexts	over external world
	suitable to personal needs and values	
Purpose in life	Has goals in life and a sense of	Lacks sense of meaning in life; had
•	directedness; feels there is meaning	few goals or aims, lacks sense of
	to present and past life; holds bleiefs	direction; does not see purpose in past
	that give life purpose; has aims and	life; has no outlooks or beliefs that
	objectives for living	give life meaning
Personal	Has feeling of continued	Has sense of personal stagnation;
growth	development; sees self as growing	lacks sense of improvement or
	and expanding; is open to new	expansion over time; feels bored and
	experiences; has sense of realizing	uninterested with life; feels unable to
	his or her potential; sees	develop new attitudes or behaviors
	improvement in self and behavior	_
	over time; is changing in ways that	
	reflect more self-knowledge and	
	effectiveness	

Note: From "Psychological well-being in adult life," by C. D. Ryff, 1995, Current Directions in Psychological Science, 4(4), 99-104.

A study by R.L Tung focused on the various cross-cultural training programs provided for expatriates. Commonly, cross-cultural training is associated with the awareness of appropriate behaviors and improved relationships with locals. Only recently have scholars recognized the importance of psychological well-being and self-confidence in cultural training (Waxin and Panaccio, 2005). Tung used expatriate performance as a variable in analyzing program effectiveness and suggested that expatriate performance is

dependent on four factors; technical and managerial abilities, psychological status, social interaction and external factors. Technical competence is often the main concern for employers when choosing a candidate to move abroad. Their ability to successfully complete requirements of their job will not only gain them respect as a foreigner in the workforce, but also enable them to make difficult decisions and overcome unforeseen obstacles in the high-stress environment of an overseas market. Psychological status, as discussed previously, influences much more than an expatriate's personal well-being. Healthy psychological status is vital in fully utilizing technical skills to fulfill work requirements. Social interactions illustrate a person's ability to embed themselves into a new social network. Social capital, the network of relationships available in a society, are crucial for competitive success. Expatriates building a strong social network abroad is directly correlated to their willingness and ability to stay abroad long-term (Goodall, Li and Warner, 2007). Expatriates who expect a short-term assignment or plan on ending their assignment early will put less effort into building new relationships overseas. Finally, external factors such as political, legal, socioeconomic and family situation can be immensely diverse in an overseas environment. Political, legal and socioeconomic facets serve as a context for local business practice and can influence expatriate performance, despite their uncontrollable nature.

In a survey conducted by Internations in 2019, 62% of expatriates say moving abroad has made them happier. More than 70% of expatriates rate their financial situation in China positively, with a majority saying that their financial situation was better than in China than their home country. Expatriates in China also communicated satisfaction with job opportunities and job security (Expat Insider, 2019).

American and Chinese Workplace Cultural Differences

A growing number of Americans in their 20s and 30s have been moving to China for employment because of the fast-growing economy and lower joblessness rates (Selgison, 2009). Both China and The United States need workers who understand both worlds, so that they can develop a business presence in overseas markets. "The tight collaboration of the two countries in business and science makes the Chinese-American pairing one of the most common in the workplace in China" said Vas Taras, a management professor and specialist in cross-cultural work-group management at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro. The large difference in the two cultures calls for managers who understand, or are willing to put effort into understanding both cultures.

Geert Hofstede's seminal study on culture is commonly used in expatriate research and literature, where dimensions such as power distance, collectivism versus individualism, femininity versus masculinity and uncertainty avoidance were used as the structure for cross-cultural study. Countries were then placed on a scale to measure culture at a national level. Using Hofstede's model of cultural adjustment, researchers have analyzed the differences between United States' work culture and Chinese work culture. Aside from Hofstede's cultural dimensions, other aspects like time perception, communication practices and relationship importance also play a major role in cross-cultural business adjustment (Goodall, Lee and Warner, 2007). A further analysis of cultural adjustment and culture shock can be found in Chapter 2.

Table 2: Cultural Differences Between China and the United States

	China	United States
Preparation	Commonly have less hands-on preparation	Usually have internship experience
Communication	Obedience and rote learning	Question of authority and speaking their minds
Relationships	Networking and socializing with colleagues outside of work	Separating work relationships with personal relationships
Time perception	Relaxed sense of time and deadlines	Wise use of time is of utmost importance. Getting things done quickly and efficiently
Directness	Do not want to directly disagree for fear of coming off disrespectful	More direct approach to expressing disagreement or being unpleased

From: Seligson, Hannah. "For American Workers in China, a Culture Clash." The New York Times. The New York Times, December 24, 2009.

Figure 5 illustrates some of the most commonly encountered workplace cultural differences between China and the United States. Chinese people are highly more collective than Americans, with a strong emphasis on long-term orientation. Foreign workers in China are often perplexed by the difference in time perception. For Americans, getting tasks completed quickly and efficiently is very important in workplace culture, however, Chinese people have a more relaxed sense of time and deadlines, which can aggravate expatriate employees in their management styles. In a business setting, Chinese employees can view Americans as rude or inconsiderate. On the other hand, American employees often view Chinese employees as being indecisive or lacking confidence, which could be attributed to their fear of coming across to their superiors as impolite or disrespectful. Expatriate managers can overcome this obstacle by

taking a less direct approach to disagreements, while also understanding that Chinese employees are less likely to directly voice their concerns. Another difference listed above is that of pre-job experience. It is common in the United States for young professionals to find internship experiences to better prepare for future careers. In China, internships are not as emphasized, therefore, young Chinese professionals often have less hands-on workplace experience than their American counterparts.

Although these obstacles can cause frustration in the workplace, proper cross-cultural training has been proven to ease the expatriate adjustment process (Wang, 2001). A study by Waxin and Panaccio in 2005 confirms that any form of expatriate training positively impacts all adjustment factors. Knowledge of the local business culture prepares expatriates for challenges, such as those listed above. Awareness of cultural differences, coupled with thorough pre-departure and in-country business cultural training can help expatriates overcome the culture shock of working in China, thus improving their ability to adjust.

Expatriate Forum Analysis

On the topic of professionalism, the three key words researched through textual analysis were business, work and job. Out of all three facets of adjustment, key words in the work adjustment category had highest frequency percentage. Out of all sample words in this study, the word "work" appeared most frequently on the expatriate forum website. In 2005, almost all posts included the word "work," and has regularly been used since, staying at a consistent 20%. There is also a fairly significant spike in data in 2008, as seen in data for the word "job." Job is the second most frequently used word analyzed, with its usage consistent in near 10% of posts. It is interesting to note that in 2008, during

the Beijing Olympic games, more than 20% of posts made included the word "job" and over 20% contained the word "work." The highest frequency for the word "business" was also in 2008, with almost 10%. Followed by a significant drop in 2009, where frequency of the word business stayed around 4%. From this data, one can deduce that the Beijing Olympics attracted foreigners to work in China, and possibly brought in multinational corporations; thereby creating job opportunities for foreign employees surrounding the Olympic games. Concrete causation, however, begs for further research and analysis on the topic.

Figure 1: Online Data Analysis; "Business" Average by Year

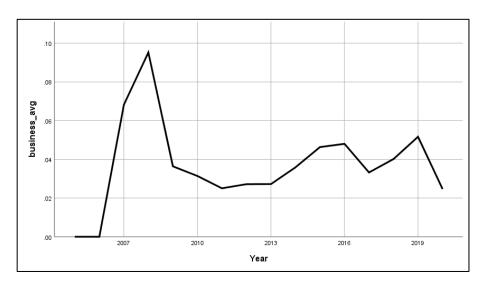


Figure 2: Online Data Analysis; "Job" Average by Year

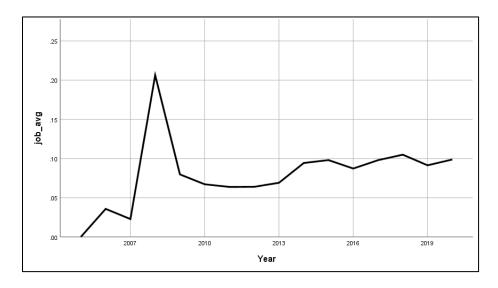
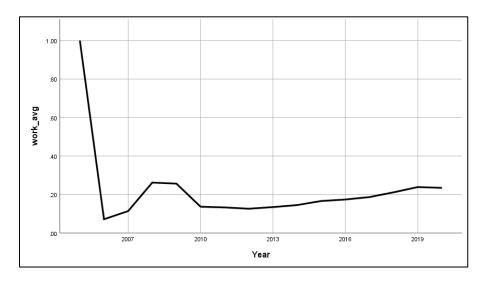


Figure 3: Online Data Analysis; "Work" Average by Year



Chapter 2: Culture

This chapter focuses on the next facet of expatriate adjustment: general adjustment, defined as the cultural, non-work adjustment expatriates face. Successful adjustment overseas relies heavily on overcoming the initial blow of culture shock. An expatriate must be willing to embed themselves in the local culture and realize that certain cultural aspects of will be out of their reach. The term 'overcoming culture shock' is not synonymous with understanding every aspect of the local culture, but instead, maintaining an open mind and respect for cultural differences. Expatriates can gain significant respect for showing an effort towards understanding. Knowing basic Chinese and being aware of Chinese table etiquette and greetings are simple things that expatriates can to do begin the cross-cultural adjustment process (Lund and Degen, 2010).

Culture Shock and Cross-cultural Adjustment

In order to properly discuss the role of culture in an expatriate's adjustment process, one must properly define culture and culture shock. Culture is an infamously difficult term to define, particularly in the sense of social behavior. Intercultural research has been influenced by many academic disciplines including behavior science, communication studies, political science, linguistics, psychology and sociology; each

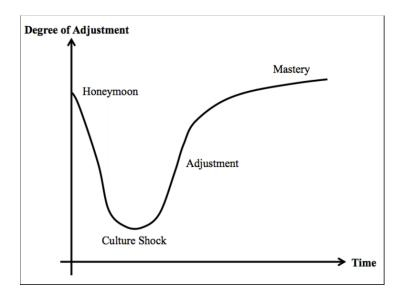
discipline having its own definitions (Wang, 2001). As considered in anthropology, culture was bound to geographical area, race or religion. Globalization has drastically changed this definition. Culture informs all aspects of life and differs greatly by country, province and even city. It informs the community's way of life, appropriate social behaviors and linguistic norms (Feely and Harzing, 2002).

For this study, we will use the working delineation of two definitions combined. First, "Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" as believed by Geert Hofstede, a Dutch social psychologist (Hofstede, 1980). Hofstede's seminal study on culture is widely used in expatriate adjustment literature, and serves as a strong framework for cross-cultural understanding. However, Hofstede's definition of culture is broad and open to further interpretation. The second definition provides a more specific and modern definition, describing culture as "the set of attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviors shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next" as believed by David Matsumoto, a psychologist who expertise includes cross-cultural adjustment research (Matsumoto, 1996). It is important to note that Matsumoto's definition clarifies that culture is perceived on an individual level, as well as collective.

Culture shock is often a main concern for expatriates moving abroad. A yearly survey conducted by one of the most widely used expatriate social networking sites, Internations, found that in 2019, 28% of expatriates moving to China said culture shock was one of the main concerns. The culture shock theory was developed by anthropologist Kalervo Oberg while studying cross-cultural adjustment. Through this study, the term

'culture shock' and the U-Curve Process developed. One of the most commonly used theories in cross-cultural adjustment research, the U-Curve Process is an anticipated adjustment process, which defines cross-cultural adjustment as the overcoming culture shock. The first phase is *honeymoon*; an absence of large and frequent incidents that result in a negative attitude towards an expatriate's placement. Their lack of familiarity results in a tendency to protect one's prior sense of self and ignore obvious negative feedback cues. The next is *culture shock* which causes the expatriate to display culturally inappropriate behavior. They lack the cultural knowledge to understand what constitutes inappropriate behaviors and how/what behaviors to substitute them with. This phase can cause anger, frustration and anxiety in multiple aspects of the expatriate's life. Time abroad and an open-mind to learn about and accept cultural differences results in a transition into the adjustment phase, where expatriates shift out of culture shock and towards a period of increased ability to exhibit culturally appropriate behaviors. Finally, the *completion phase* can be achieved by those who continuously put effort in to deepening their understanding of the new culture and sensitizing their ability to perceive negative feedback cues from inappropriate behaviors. Cross-cultural adjustment can then be defined by Oberg as the overcoming of culture shock.

Figure 4: U-Curve Adjustment Process



Although this process is commonly used in understanding cross-cultural adjustment, it is highly generalized. The U-curve theory serves a more basic purpose, informing expatriates of the most common phases of cross-cultural adjustment. However general the U Curve process may be, it does simplify the adjustment process into easily digestible phases that can, in some cases, explain the frustration and anxiety involved in moving abroad. Full knowledge of a culture is commonly taken advantage of. Only when placed in a foreign culture, do the nuances of societal norms become apparent, which is why cultural training is so important to the adjustment process. According to a survey of expatriates in China, in the year 2018 only 30% of expatriates received intercultural training. Of the remaining 70%, 49% wished they received some form of cultural training and believed it necessary to successful adjustment (Expat Insider, 2018).

Language and Culture

Ample evidence suggesting that culture and language are connected and inseparable (Selmer, 2006). While language communicates, it also ex-communicates, thus excluding those who do not share the same language. Language is an important

aspect of culture, therefore, learning a language also fosters cultural understanding.

Learning a language involves much more than simply learning vocabulary and grammar structures. It also involves signals of speech that further heighten one's ability to communicate effectively. These abilities can be separated into four components; a linguistic component (sounds, signs and grammar), a paralinguistic component (tone, pitch, volume, speed and affective aspects), an extra-linguistic component (nonverbal aspects such as gestures, movements, facial expressions, etc.) and a sociolinguistic dimension (a repertoire of styles appropriate for different circumstances). Mastering these different aspects shows cultural competence, and can greatly improve the way expatriates can communicate in both a personal and business setting (Fantini, 1995).

Expatriates can face two types of obstacles in relation to language ability; internal and external problems. Internal problems relate to the problems that expatriates must solve through communication with locals. Learning the local language gives important cultural insight that proves helpful in the expatriate adjustment process. Expatriates with local language abilities are perceived as more polite. External problems are the problems that expatriates face when interacting with people through business (customers, suppliers and government agencies). Language knowledge allows the expatriate to build personal relationships through direct communication with colleagues, which is an important concept in China by the name *guanxi*, which demonstrates the importance of relationships in Chinese culture. Guanxi can be understood in American culture as networking, which is important in both business and personal life in China.

Communication is crucial to successful management, however, effective communication hinges on a common language, which rarely exists in international

business interactions. Communication discrepancies are the origin of many problems that arise in international business (Feely & Harzing, 2002). The standard of English proficiency is rising in China; however, the lack of a common vocabulary makes translation difficult, even between people relatively fluent in the Chinese language and culture (Selmer, 2006). Language also pertains to local cultural norms, so when doing business in China, even with a competent translator, intended meanings can get lost in translation. People speak using their native vocabulary and cultural norms, which can, at times, be impossible to translate.

A study done by Jan Selmer examined the relationship between Chinese language ability and adjustment among Western business expatriates assigned to work in China. The overall impact of international business is understudied and many researchers fail to even address the matters of language in adjustment (Holden, 1987). This type of study is important because of the increasing strategic alliances between international companies who do not share a common language. Indication of linguistic nationalism, in which people are beginning to assert their right to do business in the language of their customer; further complicating business dealings, is also evident (Embleton & Hagen, 1992). Finally, progress in this field of study will have great implications for expatriate training.

Selmer's study was conducted through mail survey. First, expatriates answered a list of questions that assessed their self-perceived adjustment. This study was done by presenting scenarios and having the expatriates to rate how uncomfortable it made them on a scale from one to five. They also completed Black and Stephen's (1989) 14 item scale to assess their sociocultural adjustment, which is designed to measure three dimensions of sociocultural adjustment: general adjustment (e.g. food), interaction

adjustment (e.g. speaking with host nationals) and work adjustment (e.g. supervisory responsibilities). The expatriate's time in China was controlled, as expatriates' language ability increases over time (Selmer, 2006). It was found that language ability had a positive association with all the adjustment variables. However, a positive relationship was strongest in general and interpersonal adjustment as opposed to work adjustment. Positive relationship could be explained by the fact that work-related matters remain relatively constant, while general interactions tend to vary between cultures (Waxin and Panaccio, 2005). English proficiency is most common in young business executives; therefore, expatriates have a better chance of successful communication in a business setting rather than with Chinese locals (Selmer, 2006). Consequently, the ability to better interact with locals through language may also be correlated with better job performance. This concept begs further research, as language ability in the workplace is rarely studied on its own.

According to survey research by Internations, 4 in 5 expatriates consider Chinese difficult to learn, with 53% finding it difficult to live in China without Chinese language ability. Along with culture shock, language was one of the most common concerns among expatriates moving to China, with 64% saying they were most worried about the language barrier (Expat Insider, 2019). Increased language ability among expatriates increases their comfort in a foreign environment and improves their ability to navigate every-day life.

American and Chinese Cultural Differences

Culture itself is not only difficult to define, but also contains many facets that make defining a specific culture even more difficult. Larger countries such as China and

the United States, not only have cultures specific to the country, but also have varying regional cultures. For expatriates, differing regional cultures presents another difficult obstacle to overcome. Pre-departure cultural training often leaves out regional-specific cultures that greatly effect an expatriate's daily life (Lund and Degen, 2010). Hofstede's research on cross-cultural groups led him to classify cross-culturally-based value systems into multiple dimensions (as mentioned in chapter 1): power dimension, collectivism versus individualism, femininity versus masculinity and uncertainty avoidance. Hofstede believes these dimensions are engrained in childhood experiences and how people were raised. Because childhood raising is deeply rooted in culture, these values are often cohesive among shared geographical locations.

Power distance refers to the degree in which less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed equally. Large power distance cultures have a more centralized authority and paternalistic management style. Small power distance cultures have a decentralized authority that tends to foster a more participatory management style. China has a higher ranking than the United States, meaning China's business style values strong top managers and respect for authority figures. The collectivism versus individualism dimension signifies the strength of relationships people have with their community. Collectivist societies show a group mentality with a large amount of loyalty and respect for other group members. Individualist societies have a looser connection with people and share little responsibility beyond their family and close friends. China is a highly collectivist society, where citizens are comfortable identifying with a group. Specifically, in a business setting, Chinese culture fosters life-time job commitment. From a language perspective, Chinese people use the words 'I belong to x

company' instead of the common American language, 'I work for x company.' For Chinese people, choosing a job is a lifetime commitment that helps contributes to the identity of a Chinese person. The *femininity versus masculinity* aspect refers to how much society adheres to traditional values of male and female roles. Masculine societies are more competitive cultures who orient towards success. Feminine cultures stand for cooperation, modesty and overall quality of life. China and the United States are similar in their masculinity versus femininity scores. Both societies are masculine oriented, meaning their culture is patriarchal, with more traditional gender roles. Over time, gender roles for both countries have moved away from a masculine society and towards an increasingly progressive culture. The last dimension, *uncertainty avoidance*, involves the level of acceptance a culture has for uncertainty and ambiguity within society. High uncertainty avoidance cultures avoid ambiguous situations, and prefer direct forms of communication. Low uncertainty avoidance indicates a society who favors rules and well-structured environments; staying away from vague situations.

After further research, Hofstede added two new dimensions to cross-cultural identification; pragmatism and indulgence. *Pragmatism* refers to a society's time-horizon perception. This dimension can be split in to two groups; long-term orientation and short-term orientation. Most people in high pragmatist societies do not find value in clarifying everything and accept the fact that some things cannot be explained. These societies also look at life in a long-term perspective. Low pragmatist societies have a stronger desire to explain the nuances of life, have strong convictions and tend to have a short-term perspective. China's pragmatist index is significantly higher than the United States. China's pragmatism score can be correlated with their belief that truth is dependent on

specific situations, context and time. It can be argued that China's pragmatism relates to traditional Confucian values and the belief in contextual circumstances when solving problems, making decisions and practicing law. Lastly, the indulgence dimension indicates the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses. Figure 2 illustrates a comparison between China and the United States, using Hofstede's six cultural dimensions.

United States in comparison with China 87 46 26 24 Power Masculinity Pragmatism Indulgence Individualism Uncertainty Distance Avoidance United States China

Figure 5: Hofstede's Model for Cultural Comparison; China and the United States

Although Hofstede's model is most widely used in cross-cultural research, another method called the GLOBE model is also used. Both the Hofstede Model and the GLOBE model are highly valuable research studies in international business and management (Shi and Wang, 2011). GLOBE is a "long-term programmatic research effort designed to explore the effects of culture on leadership, organizational effectiveness, economic competitiveness of societies and the human condition of members of the societies studied and an ongoing ambitious study of culture and

leadership across global cultures" (House et al., 2004). The GLOBE project started in 1991 as a multi-phase, method and sample research project to explore the relationship between societal culture, societal effectiveness and organizational leadership. The objective of this study was to increase the knowledge of cross-cultural interactions and collected quantitative measures from responses of over 17,000 managers from 951 organizations in 62 societies worldwide (Wang and Shi, 2011). One major aspect of this study, lacking in Hofstede's approach, is global leadership dimensions. Other dimensions of culture measurement in the GLOBE model include power distance, in-group collectivism, institutional collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, future orientation, gender egalitarianism, assertiveness, humane orientation and performance orientation. The GLOBE model measures both the cultural values held by the people in the prospective country (denoted as V) and the culture actively practiced by the locals in the prospective country (denoted as P). China ranks significantly higher in assertiveness orientation (V), institutional collectivism (P), in-group collectivism (P), uncertainty avoidance (P) and uncertainty avoidance (V). China ranked significantly lower in assertiveness orientation (P), future orientation (V), gender egalitarianism (V). Both China and the United States rank high in the dimensions of humane orientation (P), performance orientation (P) and power distance (V), while ranking lower in power distance (P). Findings from the GLOBE model are illustrated in Figures 3, Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 6.

Figure 6: GLOBE Project, China's Cultural Practices and Values in China

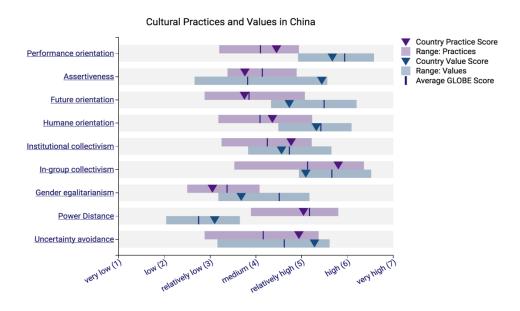


Figure 7: GLOBE Project, China's Cultural Practices and Values in the United

States

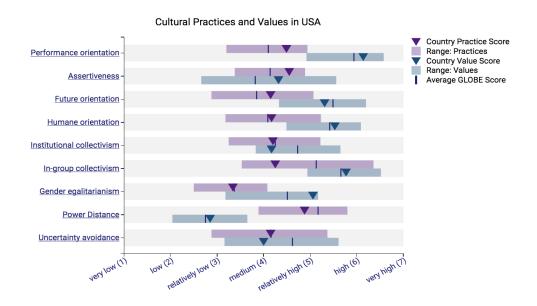


Figure 8: GLOBE Project, Leadership Scores for Outstanding Leadership in China

Leadership Scores for Outstanding Leadership in China

Charismatic

Team Oriented

Participative

Humane Oriented

Autonomous

Self-Protective

Self-Protective

Self-Protective

Self-Protective

Contributes sugnity inhibits (2)

has no impact (4)

contributes sugnity (5)

contributes somewhat inhibits greatly (7)

contributes somewhat inhibits (2)

contributes somewhat inhibits (3)

contributes somewhat inhibits (4)

contributes somewhat inhibits (5)

contributes somewhat inhibits (6)

Figure 9: GLOBE Project, Leadership Scores for Outstanding Leadership in the United States



Note: Figure 3, 4, 5 and 6 From "Results - China GLOBE Project." GLOBE Project."

In 1987, researchers assembled a survey to conduct empirical analysis of 40 key dimensions of cultural value. This survey was conducted to better understand Chinese culture and its economic implications. Recently, researcher Ying Fan took the values found in the 1987 survey and re-analyzed them to fit modern Chinese cultural values. According to Fan many, cultural values found in 1987 are still prevalent, however, some included values are not as relevant today. Additionally, modern values needed to be added to account for the influence of modernization and globalization on culture. Chinese culture is largely based on Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, with Confucianism being the most prominent (Luo 2014). Confucianism is a moral doctrine based on the teachings of Confucius, who emphasize the importance of close human relationships, hierarchical social structures, virtuous behaviors and ethics. Many of the values in Table 2 below stem from Confucius teachings. The modified Chinese cultural values list can be found in Appendix A.

Expatriate Forum Analysis

On the topic of culture, the two key words researched through textual analysis were culture and language. Findings from online forum analysis are delineated in Figure 10 and 11. Highest in 2007, almost 20% of posts contained the word "culture." However, following that spike in 2007, frequency of the word "culture" has remain under 5%. With around 11% of posts containing the word "language" in 2006, and has remained within a frequency of 3- 6% since. Key words associated with cultural adjustment have been consistently used over time, suggesting that culture and language are constant obstacles for expatriates moving to China, and will continue to be in the future.

Figure 10: Online Data Analysis; "Culture" Average by Year

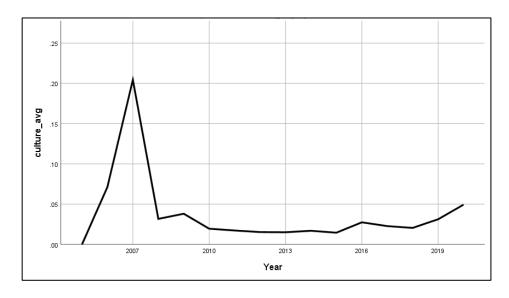
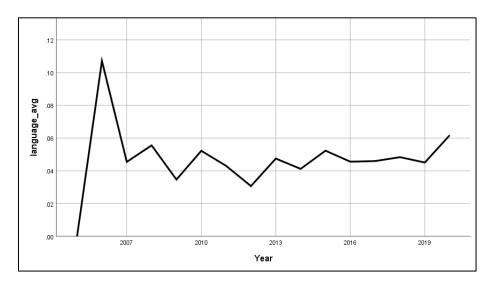


Figure 11: Online Data Analysis; "Language" Average by Year



Chapter 3: Social Support

In conjunction with work adjustment and general adjustment, interpersonal adjustment is another facet of the expatriate adjustment process and cannot be forgotten. Interaction adjustment may be the most fundamental of the three dimensions of expatriate adjustment, since both general and work adjustment are based on the expatriate's meaningful interpersonal interactions (Bell and Harrison, 1996).

Social Support Network

Social support network is an essential factor in successful expatriate adjustment. In order to best analyze this element, we must properly define social support. For this analysis, social support is defined as providing resources the receiver needs for successful expatriate adjustment. Social support refers to providing care, technical assistance and tangible help to, in this case, expatriates during the adjustment process. Social support has four dimensions; emotional, instrumental, informational and feedback support (Lee, Veasna and Wu, 2013). *Emotional support* is considered the most important type of support; which involves providing empathy, care, love and trust. It can be operationalized to provide people with esteem, affection, concern and listening. *Instrumental support* involves behaviors to help a person in need, whether it be in providing services or money to overcome unforeseen obstacles. Informational support details "providing a person with information that the person can use in coping with personal and environmental problems"

(House, 1981). And finally, *feedback support*, which outlines support that offers points of evaluation in which the expatriates can evaluate themselves (Wang, 2001).

Social support network can then be defined as a finite set or sets of actors connected by one or more specific types of relational ties. Little literature explores the effects social network has on the adjustment process, and instead, simply states communication and interpersonal skills are important in expatriate success. Wang's theoretical examination of social support network on expatriate adjustment delves deep in to the importance of social support in the adjustment process. Two pilot studies were conducted. Study one was used to develop structural characteristic measurements and social support measurements to use in study 2, which tests these measurements through a survey consisting of 8 parts; social support and network structural characteristics, psychological well-being, performance, spousal social support, role characteristics, culture distance, locus of control and control factors such as demography. Western expatriates working in China were asked questions in each category to best understand the role of social support in adjustment.

An expatriate's social-support network significantly influences expatriate psychological well-being and job performance. Spousal and family support was also another determining factor promoting well-being and job performance. Without support from the family, pressure is added to the already-stressful expatriate adjustment process.

Family and Spousal Adjustment

An integral part of expatriate social support network is family a spousal support.

Most expatriate literature focuses on individual adjustment of a single expatriate

employee (James et al., 2004). However, family members' inability to adjust to foreign

environments has been recognized as one of the top causes of expatriate failure. Inability or unwillingness of a partner to adapt to a foreign environment is the most frequently reported reason for a failure in international assignment (Haslberger and Brewster, 2008). Like expatriate employees, expatriate partners and family members also endure challenges such as culture shock, language barriers and difficulty to create a new social network. Some studies documented interactions with locals and the building of a new social network is even more important to expatriate partners, as opposed to the expatriate employee themselves.

Like the expatriate employee, individual characteristics such as emotional stability, social initiative and open mindedness all contribute to a smoother adjustment for the expatriate partner; also, commonly denoted in expatriate literature as the trailing partner (Van Erp et al., 2014). Assistance such as the providing of resources prior to and during adjustment is essential to a trailing partner's adjustment. Resources required are more social in nature, as trailing partners in China often do not work. In the case where both partners pursue careers, finding a new job abroad can be difficult, or even impossible, for spouses due to visa and Chinese government restrictions. Lastly, relationship problems between expatriate employees and their spouses also prove to be a common obstacle.

Per Internation's expatriate survey in 2018, China is one of the very few countries where trailing spouses appear to be a priority for employers. In China, 45% of relocating spouses received additional adjustment support; a monumental 19% above the global average. Best supported with language classes, 42% received language training prior to moving abroad. Education in ranked high, with 75% of expatriates rating their children's

educational opportunities positively. More than half of trailing spouses claim they feel at home in the local culture and are the second most satisfied in ____ countries with the ease of making new friends. Despite the high socialization rankings of trailing spouses in China, making local friends still proves difficult. These findings could indicate, regardless of their additional relocation support, trailing spouses still struggle socially integrating. Difficulty socializing, however, could be combatted with access to social networking opportunities or memberships to expatriate organizations, which 74% and 68% respectively, did not receive any, but would have liked the opportunity.

Although China ranks high in trailing spouse support, multiple facets of moving abroad still prove difficult for the family unit. Less than one third of expatriates find it easy to adapt to the local culture. Great education opportunities are abundant, but cost of education is of concern. Another worry for expatriate parents moving to China, specifically, was children's health, with 25% claiming air quality, food safety and environmental issues negatively impacted their adjustment.

Children of expatriates also face adjustment challenges that are both similar and different from their parents. In adjustment literature, these children are called third culture kids, who are defined as a person who has spent a significant amount of time in their developmental years outside of the parent culture. Elements of both cultures then shape how the child grows up. Depending on age, the obstacles children face differ. One of the most significant obstacles is the feeling of uncertainty; both during the adjustment process and while navigating their search for identity. Their young age makes them more susceptible to adjustment problems, however, children tend to overcome these adjustment

problems quicker than adults (Ali, 2003). Moving schools, making new friends, and learning a new culture and language all add stress to a childhood abroad.

Each family member encounters different challenges during the adjustment process. Children and adolescents are mostly concerned with fitting in at school and with new classmates. Trailing partners are more preoccupied with the organization of family life and learning about the culture and language of the host country (Sterle, Fontaine, Mol and Verhofstadt 2010). Expatriate employees are often most concerned with work life and business adjustment. Pre-departure language and cultural training could be beneficial to the family unit, but must be tailored to each person's specific needs. Psychological and social support should also be provided to the family during adjustment. Although children and family adjustment shares many facets with general expatriate adjustment, the topic of third culture kids in China begs for further research, as the family unit plays an integral role in expatriate social support.

Expatriate Forum Analysis

On the topic of social support, the three key words researched through textual analysis were family, kids and school. Forum data proposes that one of American expatriate's primary concerns when moving to China is with family adjustment and the quality of their children's education. Between 2013 and 2016, words relating to family adjustment all began to increase; suggesting a rise in expatriates moving abroad with families. Highest in 2007, where the word "family" was used in nearly 7% of posts. Since 2015, frequency of the word "family has been consistently rising, reaching almost 5% in this year alone. Mention of the word kid or kids did not arise until 2008, suggesting that few expatriates were moving abroad with families. However, frequency

has been increasing since 2014, with the highest percent usage in 2020, a statistic also seen in the analysis of "family." Analysis of the word "school" was also highest in 2007 with almost 12% of posts containing the word. In 2014, use of the word "school" began a steady increase into 2018.

Existing expatriate literature clarifies that expatriate employees moving with families is a new phenomenon. Ample education opportunities and recent technological developments have eased the minds of expatriate parents. Online textual analysis data gathered from this study suggests that 2014 was the beginning of expatriate families, rather than just expatriate single employees. Explanation for the spike of family adjustment key-words in 2007 is unknown and begs further research and analysis.

Figure 12: Online Data Analysis; "Family" Average by Year

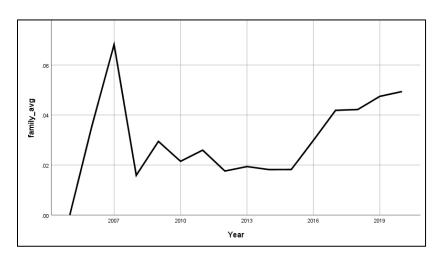


Figure 13: Online Data Analysis; "Kids" Average by Year

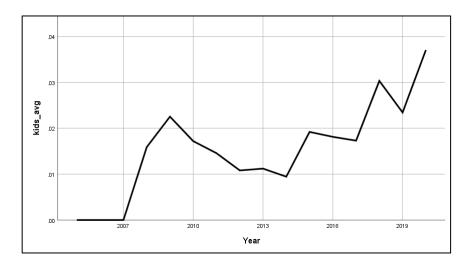
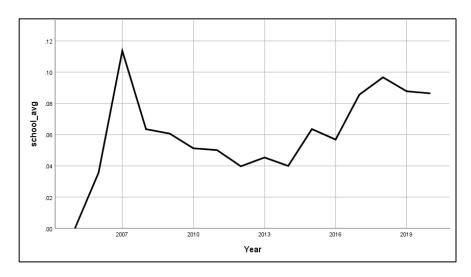


Figure 14: Online Data Analysis; "School" Average by Year



Conclusion

Research on expatriate adjustment is getting more inclusive over time. Previously, research focused solely on the individual expatriate employee's workplace adjustment. More literature analyzes other influential aspects on expatriate adjustment such as culture shock, language, psychological well-being, social support network and family adjustment. Successful expatriate adjustment not only relies on company-provided support and training programs, but also selecting candidates with suitable personal qualities and willingness to adapt to a new culture.

Topics not widely discussed in expatriate adjustment literature are psychological well-being and family adjustment. Psychological well-being is not only an important factor in the happiness of expatriates and their families, but also in their job performance. Relationships with local community members and fellow expatriates provides a sense of security. Despite recent strides, expatriate adjustment literature is still lacking.. A comprehensive study of solutions to expatriate problems would not only help the expatriate community, but also the companies sending employees abroad. Expatriate adjustment packages (provided by employers) should include monetary compensation, cultural and language training and resources and contacts in the home country to aid in the adjustment process.

The key insight of this literature review and empirical forum analysis is that expatriate adjustment literature lacks a holistic approach. The three main aspects of adjustment; work adjustment, general adjustment and interpersonal adjustment should all be considered equally in expatriate adjustment and planning. The generalization of the expatriate experience is also common and unavoidable in adjustment literature, as specific studies are hard to come by. Additionally, online textual analysis of expatriate forum websites provides insight on the expatriate perspective of the adjustment process in China. Specifically studying the adjustment of western expatriates to life in China provides unique insight for both employers and individuals who do business in China. Finally, a unique contribution of social and family support in the adjustment process. Continued research in the adjustment process for children and trailing spouses will be essential to reaching more definite conclusions on how to best prepare for cross-cultural adjustment.

APPENDIX A

Table 2: Modified Chinese Cultural Values List

National Traits	38. Thrift
1. Patriotism	39. Persistence
2. A sense of cultural superiority	40. Patience
3. Respect for tradition	41. Prudence (carefulness)
4. Bearing Hardships *	42. Adaptability
5. Knowledge (education) *	12. Fiduputority
6. Governing by leaders instead of law *	Business Philosophy
7. Equality/egalitarianism *	43. Non-competition
8. Moderation, following the middle way	44. Not guided by profit
or intoderation, ronowing the initiate way	45. Guanxi (personal connection or networking) *
Interpersonal Relations	46. Attaching importance to long-lasting relationships not
interpersonal relations	gains
9. Trustworthiness	47. Wealth
10. Jen-ai / Kindness (forgiveness, compassion)	48. Resistance to corruption
11. Li / Propriety *	49. Being conservative
12. People being primarily good *	50. Morality *
13. Tolerance of others	
14. Harmony with others	Personal Traits
15. Courtesy	51. Te (virtue, moral standard)
16. Abasement / Humbleness	52. Sense of righteousness / Integrity
17. A close, intimate friend	53. Sincerity
18. Observation of rites and social rituals	54. Having a sense of shame
19. Reciprocation of greetings, favors and gifts	55. Wisdom / Resourcefulness *
20. Repayment of both the good or the evil that	56. Self-cultivation
another person has caused you	
21. Face (protecting, giving, gaining and losing)	57. Personal steadiness and stability
	58. Keeping oneself disinterested and pure
Family/ Social Orientation	59. Having few desires
22. Filial Piety	60. Being a gentleman anytime *
23. Chastity in women	61. Obligation for one's family and nation
24. Kinship *	62. Pragmatic / to suit a situation *
25. Veneration for the old *	63. Contentedness with one's position in life
26. Loyalty to superiors	
27. Deference to authority *	Time Orientation
28. Hierarchical relationships by status and	64. Past time oriented *
observing this order	
29. Conformity / group orientation *	65. Continuity / time viewed as circular rather than linear
30. A sense of belonging *	66. Taking a long range view *
31. Reaching consensus or compromise *	
32. Avoiding confrontation *	Relationship with Nature
33. Benevolent autocrat / Paternalistic	67. The way (Taoism) *
34. Solidarity	68. Fatalism / Karma (believing in one's fate) *
35. Collectivism *	69. Yuarn *
	70. Harmony between man and nature *
Work Attitude	71. Unity of Yin and Yang *
36. Industry (working hard)	
37. Commitment	

Note: From Fan, Ying. "A Classification of Chinese Culture." *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal* 7, no. 2 (2000): 3–1, 13.

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