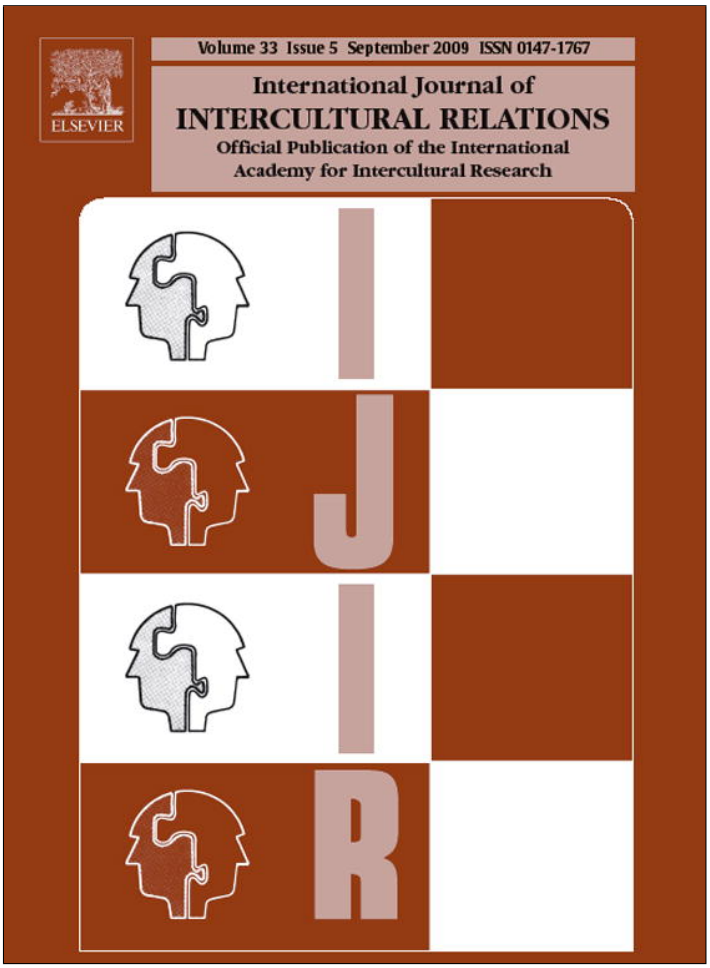

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Testing a modified Interactive Acculturation Model in Japan: American–Japanese coworker relations

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ABSTRACT

Japan is the world's fastest "graying society." Numerous experts advocate expanding the non-Japanese workforce to prevent a debilitating labor shortage. To promote positive intercultural relations between Japanese and incoming non-Japanese workers, it is prudent to examine which factors have contributed to creating a smooth acculturation process so far for both groups vs. those which have not. This research aimed to do so by assessing how the acculturation strategy compatibility between Japanese and American coworkers affected their quality of intercultural relations ($N = 194$). Bourhis and colleagues' Interactive Acculturation Model ("IAM") was used to predict which acculturation strategy combinations were most likely to produce positive intercultural relationships. With the independent variable of acculturation strategy alignment (i.e., Consensual, Problematic, and Conflictual acculturation strategy combinations, or "IAM types"), five dependent measures of quality of intergroup relations were employed. Statistical analyses revealed that Conflictual IAM types often scored lower on the dependent measures than Consensual or Problematic IAM types—as predicted by the IAM. However, Consensual IAM types did not score significantly higher than Problematic ones on any of the dependent variables, which contradicted one of the IAM's fundamental premises. Problematic IAM types' constructive use of stress, as well as their deeper acculturation to their cultural outgroup, likely resulted in them posting comparable scores to Consensual types. Consequently, Consensual and Problematic types were expanded to four subtypes to better explain these findings. Finally, recommendations were made for modifying acculturation expectations among Japanese and Americans to better integrate both groups into their work organizations.

1. Introduction

Japan is the world's fastest aging society: concurrent trends of a growing retiree population and declining birthrates will result in a debilitating labor shortage if no counteractive measures are taken. Consequently, the government plans to at least partially counteract these demographic developments through accepting more foreign workers (Sakanaka, 2004, June 10). But importing labor is not a painless panacea. Japan will need not only to physically accommodate new workers but also create conditions that allow companies to attract and retain top talent.

Such efforts have met with mixed success in the past. While some foreign workers have thrived, others have experienced glass ceilings and various barriers related to national cultural differences which hindered organizational participation (Life,

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1993; McConnell, 2000; Murtagh, 2005). The acculturation of non-Japanese in Japan concerns not only foreigners: many Japanese who regularly interact with non-Japanese (for example, in the workplace) will also experience both opportunities for personal growth and acculturative stress, as change resulting from intercultural contact affects both dominant and nondominant cultural group members (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Rudmin, 2003). Thus, the aim of this study is to facilitate smooth mutual acculturation processes for both non-Japanese (with a focus upon Americans) and Japanese coworkers so that work organizations in Japan can successfully integrate culturally diverse workers into their folds and build synergistic multicultural workforces.

The Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC) (1954) defined *acculturation* as "cultural change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems" (p. 974). Acculturation was first proposed as a group-level phenomenon referring to changes in social structure, economic base, and/or political organization, but now studies of *psychological acculturation* are common, which specifically address shifts in behaviors, attitudes, values, and identities of individuals (Berry, Kim, & Boski, 1988; Smith Castro, 2003). *Acculturation attitudes* occupy an important place in psychological acculturation, which Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki (1989) described as attitudes held by acculturating individuals "towards the ways in which they wish to become involved with, and relate to, other people and groups they encounter" (p. 186). The broader concept of acculturation strategies was used by Berry (1997) to include both acculturation attitudes and related behaviors that are exhibited in day-to-day intercultural encounters. Such strategies play a critical role in intergroup processes because they relate specifically to outcome expectations and behavioral consequences towards ethnocultural outgroups—particularly in terms of who is expected to become an ingroup member (e.g., within a nation or a work organization) and to what extent they can readily achieve such status. By clearly grasping how acculturation strategies diverge between mutually-acculturating group members, gaps between them can be more easily bridged for better intercultural relations and more effective work relationships.

Thus, this study addressed psychological mutual acculturation as it occurs on the individual level with a focus on the dynamics of American and Japanese actors in diverse work organizations in Japan. The data generated focused upon participants' perceptions of the acculturation process at work and the consequent effects on their relations with cultural outgroup members who were colleagues. Specifically, the aim was to assess the extent and manner in which the degree of compatibility of Japanese and American acculturation strategies affected the quality of intercultural relations between members of the two groups, including their effectiveness when working together. From this goal, two research questions were formulated:

1. Is acculturation strategy compatibility related to coworkers' quality of intercultural relations and job effectiveness?
2. Which acculturation strategy combinations are associated with the most positive outcomes in terms of quality of intercultural relations between coworkers and job effectiveness?

Job effectiveness is considered to be an outcome of interest because the quality of work that subjects perceive themselves doing in tandem with members of the cultural outgroup is both a tangible product of their relationship as well as an important influence upon future interactions. Nevertheless, job effectiveness as an outcome variable has been only sparsely considered in the acculturation strategy literature, with Aycan (1997a, 1997b) being an exception. Therefore, one goal of this study was to establish a bridge between acculturation strategy fit and performance for those working abroad and their host culture coworkers. However, this constituted just one aspect of the broader aim of this study: as the impact of acculturation strategy compatibility upon quality of intercultural relations has not been assessed before in Japan, the author intended to test this relationship in a novel national context.

2. Theoretical framework and hypotheses

2.1. The Berry framework of acculturation strategies

Berry (1997) delineated two key factors in differentiating acculturation strategies, namely "*cultural maintenance* (to what extent are heritage cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important, and their maintenance strived for), and *contact and participation* (to what extent should people become involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves)" (p. 9). When these two issues are considered simultaneously on attitudinal dimensions represented by bipolar arrows, a conceptual framework is generated positing four acculturation strategies for both dominant and nondominant group members (see Fig. 1). Each strategy carries a different name—depending upon whether the dominant or nondominant ethnocultural group is being considered.

Individuals who value both cultural maintenance and intergroup relations for the nondominant ethnocultural group endorse Integration if preferred by nondominant group members for themselves and Multiculturalism when promoted by dominant group members for those in the nondominant group. People who espouse cultural maintenance for the nondominant group but do not attach importance to or oppose intergroup relations adopt Separation (if nondominant group members) or Segregation (if dominant group members), while those who encourage intergroup relations but reject or are relatively unconcerned with cultural maintenance for nondominant group members favor Assimilation (in the nondominant group) or Melting Pot (in the dominant group). Finally, individuals who value neither cultural maintenance nor intergroup relations for the nondominant group are characterized by Marginalization strategies (nondominant group members) or

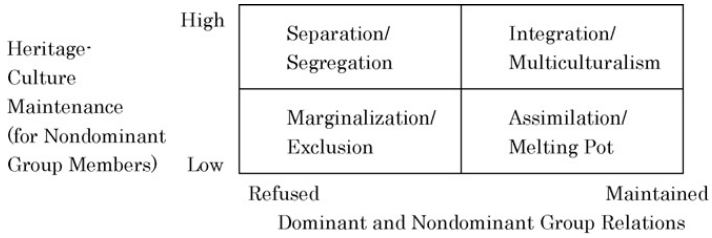

Fig. 1. The Berry framework of acculturation strategies.

Exclusion (dominant group members) (Berry, 2008). For simplicity's sake, throughout this text, these acculturation strategies will be termed Integration, Assimilation, Separation, and Marginalization to refer to the acculturation strategies adopted by *either* nondominant or dominant ethnocultural group members.

2.2. The Interactive Acculturation Model

While Berry (2008) has acknowledged that the acculturation strategies of both dominant and nondominant group members are important features of the acculturation process, the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) (Barrette, Bourhis, Personnaz, & Personnaz, 2004; Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001) provides a more specific framework for assessing the degree of "fit" between the acculturation strategies of immigrants and their host culture members, as well as the degree of that compatibility's impact upon intergroup member relations. Based upon Berry's acculturation strategy framework, different combinations of acculturation strategies between host society members and immigrants were divided into three types of compatibility, or clusters of social–psychological relational outcomes, including patterns of intercultural communication and intergroup attitudes.

These three clusters were then placed on a continuum, with Consensual (the most positive) and Conflictual (the most negative) outcomes on opposite extremes and Problematic ones in the middle. Relational outcomes were Consensual when Integration or Assimilation acculturation strategies were shared between interacting dominant and nondominant group members. Problematic relational outcomes resulted from agreement on one of Berry's two dimensions underlying acculturation strategies and disagreement on the other, while Conflictual relational outcomes were predicted in cases of extreme divergence—i.e., when the host society denies contact with immigrants or in which immigrants deny outgroup contact but want to maintain their heritage culture.

The IAM's assertions about the compatibility of acculturation strategies have been supported in acculturation literature: namely, the better the fit between acculturation strategies, the more favorable the perceived intergroup relations among both dominant and nondominant group members (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000; Zagefka & Brown, 2002), while the more discrepant the acculturation strategies, the higher the perceived discrimination among nondominant group members (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003; Zagefka & Brown) and the greater their acculturative stress (Berry, 1997; Berry & Kim, 1988; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al.).

In proposing the Organizational Acculturation Model (OAM), Bourhis and Barrette (2003) argued that the same three acculturation strategy alignments posited in the IAM can affect relational outcomes within an organizational context, including intergroup stereotypes, interpersonal communication, intergroup work team dynamics and efficiency, job allocation, promotions, access to power, decision-making opportunities, responsibility to coordinate projects, and language use—all of which are related to the research questions in this study. Unlike the OAM, which is concerned with the fit between organizational cultures in mergers and acquisitions, or the IAM, which examines acculturation to national cultures on the societal level (i.e., the degree of societal or political participation), this study was concerned with acculturation strategies towards Japanese and American *national* cultures and how those influenced interpersonal dynamics *within the domain of the workplace*.

2.3. Modifications to the IAM in this study

The IAM as originally conceived by Bourhis et al. (1997) was modified in four ways in this study as detailed in the following subsections.

2.3.1. Modification one: number and type of acculturation strategies

In the original IAM, Berry's Marginalization was replaced by two acculturation strategies, Individualism and Anomie/Exclusion, which shared the same position on Berry's fourfold vector scheme but yielded different relational outcomes. The instrument utilized in this study to assess acculturation strategies, the Vancouver Instrument of Acculturation (VIA), does not have a means of measuring Individualism, so Individualism was excluded. This left the same four acculturation strategies as in Berry's model, or 16 potential acculturation strategy combinations. The IAM's original designations were preserved for these 16 combinations in terms of which ones were Consensual, Problematic, and Conflictual (see Fig. 2).

		Non-Dominant Group Acculturation Attitudes			
		Integration	Assimilation	Separation	Marginalization
Host Community Acculturation Attitudes	Integration	Consensual	Problematic	Conflictual	Problematic
	Assimilation	Problematic	Consensual	Conflictual	Problematic
	Separation	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
	Marginalization	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual

Fig. 2. The IAM as modified for this study.

2.3.2. Modification two: acculturating groups considered

The IAM was originally conceived to address immigrant acculturation. However, the nondominant acculturating groups considered in this study were American expatriates and American long-term or permanent residents of Japan, who can differ from immigrants in terms of their mobility, voluntariness of contact, and permanence.

Aycan and Kanungo (1997) defined expatriates as "employees of business and government organizations who are sent by their organization to a related unit in a country which is different from their own, to accomplish a job or organization-related goal for a pre-designated temporary time period of usually more than six months and less than five years in one term" (p. 250). The temporary, voluntary, and task-related nature of expatriation differentiates it from immigration. Expatriates (particularly elite ones with the financial means to do so) may also demonstrate less commitment to the host environment than immigrants—adopting a Separation acculturation strategy reflected in their choice of social institutions to frequent (e.g., The American Club) or neighborhoods in which to reside (i.e., among other expatriates). Immigrants, on the other hand, while trying to make a permanent life in their host culture, are more likely to choose Integration or Assimilation by seeking active involvement in the culturally dominant group's social and/or political institutions.

Other participants in this study comprised a category similar to yet distinct from immigrants that stands to increase dramatically in the 21st century: long-term residents who, unlike immigrants, have not changed their country of citizenship. Rather, they have visa status which permits either open-ended (i.e., their work organizations sponsor their visas without time limitations) or permanent residency. Regardless of whether or not these long-term residents eventually repatriate, they enjoy a high degree of self-determination and mobility that differentiates them from expatriates and immigrants.

Despite the differences noted between immigrants, expatriates, and long-term residents, the IAM was thought to be relevant to these two new groups. The Berry framework, upon which the IAM is based, has been utilized to assess the relationship between acculturation strategy and various indicators of quality of intercultural relations not only for immigrants, but also for sojourners and expatriates (Aycan, 1997a, 1997b; Partridge, 1987). If acculturation strategies impact such outcomes for sojourners and expatriates, then the alignments of these strategies may have similar effects for long-term residents and expatriates in Japan.

2.3.3. Modification three: alternative operationalization of outgroup acculturation strategies

Zagefka and Brown (2002) as well as Piontkowski, Rohmann, and Florack (2002) utilized interactional models of acculturation strategies that deviated from the IAM by operationalizing fit not on absolute attitude deviations (i.e., those measured separately among two interacting groups), but rather, according to Zagefka and Brown, "as the discrepancy between the own desire for culture maintenance and contact and the *perception* of the respective outgroup's desire for culture maintenance and contact" (p. 173). Admittedly, perceptions of outgroup acculturation preferences might not match self-described acculturation strategy preferences if cultural outgroup coworkers are questioned directly (Horenczyk, 1997; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Zagefka & Brown). However, Zagefka and Brown justified this approach:

> We assume that an individual's psychological responses to reality are mediated by the subjective perceptions of this reality. . .. We argue that people's subjective perceptions of reality constitute and *become* the reality that informs their psychological responses. (p. 173)

Consequently, in this study, participants' subjective perceptions of cultural outgroup coworkers' acculturation strategies were adopted to characterize outgroup members' acculturation strategies.

2.3.4. Modification four: the contact dimension of acculturation strategies

The contact dimension of acculturation strategies, i.e., the degree of acculturation to the dominant group culture seen as desirable for members of the nondominant cultural group, was operationalized instead as the degree of acculturation to one's cultural outgroup (e.g., their customs, values, and traditions)—a modification accepted by Berry (2003) and utilized in much acculturation research (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Smith Castro, 2003; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). This operationalization was deemed more appropriate for organizations with multicultural workforces, as their complex acculturation dynamics do not always lend themselves to the IAM's premise that there is one clearly dominant culture to which people are consenting or refusing to acculturate. In other words, categorizations in both Berry's framework (Berry, 2008) and the IAM are predicated upon the preferences among dominant and nondominant ethnocultural group members

for nondominant group members' degree of involvement with the dominant group. Without a clearly dominant group in the acculturation process, the application of either Berry's framework or the IAM in their original forms becomes problematic on both the levels of theory and measurement.

For example, several American multinational companies whose employees participated in this study included approximately 70% Japanese employees (spread throughout the organizational hierarchy), 20% Americans, and 10% Western Europeans and Singaporeans (with non-Japanese concentrated in upper-level management positions). In such organizations, is the dominant national culture American (because the head office and local executives are American), Japanese (as the mid-level managers and their staffs are primarily Japanese), a third national culture (e.g., Singaporean or British), a multicultural hybrid, or a global metaculture—such as that of the elite "transnationalists" noted by Castells (1996), Moore (2005), and Sklair (2001)? The answer may be any combination thereof—including all five—depending upon who has the power to choose and impose the predominant cultural norms. As a result, the group which "owns" a cultural space can be ambiguous, contested, and in flux—changing according to the context, the communicative partner, or situational demands. The acculturation strategy instrument used in this study, the VIA, avoided the inaccuracies associated with identifying one dominant national culture as the epicenter of acculturation by assessing the degree of acculturation to both American and Japanese cultures without requiring either to be dominant.

2.4. Common acculturation strategies among Americans and Japanese

Before describing the variables and hypotheses, some notes are in order on the social context which shapes American–Japanese intergroup behavior *in Japan*. No research was found that utilized Berry's framework to assess the acculturation strategies specifically of Americans in Japan towards Japanese culture, but Partridge (1987) concluded that Western sojourners of North American, Oceanic, and European origin generally shared a preference for Integration. On the other hand, literature described Japanese acculturation strategies towards Americans and other Westerners as either Integrationist (Inoue & Ito, 1993) or Separationist (Bourhis et al., 1997)—although this varies somewhat according to racial and ethnic groups (Asai, 2006; Kondo, 1990; Life, 1993). Japanese are portrayed as commonly assuming fundamental cultural differences between themselves and Americans as part of the ideology of "*Nihonjinron*," which was described by Cook (2006):

> *Nihonjinron* ("theories on the Japanese")... states that Japanese are unique and different from the rest of the world, in particular the western world. ... Some examples of this line of thinking are that certain food items are so uniquely Japanese that no foreigner can eat them. Japanese culture is so different that no foreigner can understand and appreciate it. The Japanese language is so difficult that no foreigner can master it. ... [*Nihonjinron*] creates a sharp dichotomy between Japanese and foreigners (in particular westerners) emphasizing the uniqueness of the Japanese people, culture, and language. (pp. 152–153)

Greer (2001) similarly observed, "Widely accepted popular definitions of Japanese identity are based on racial characteristics, effectively limiting possession of cultural knowledge to those who appear Japanese" (p. 5).

Such assumptions of cultural difference lend themselves to another commonly described acculturation dynamic: the enactment by Americans and/or the Japanese imposition on Americans of the "*gaijin*" role ("role of the 'foreigner'"). Because of the cultural capital associated with English, American nationality, as well as American affluence and power, Americans often occupy this privileged/marginal position, which can lead to both favorable and undesired outcomes in an organizational context. For example, Americans may be unencumbered by Japanese norms for deferring to more experienced, older organizational members during group decision-making processes, and they may also wield great influence in such decisions when Japanese feel compelled to appease their "foreign guests" (Komisarof, 2001, 2004; McConnell, 2000; Yamamoto, 2003). Conversely, McConnell observed that national differences can work against achieving organizational insider status, as Westerners tended to be kept "at a polite distance rather than [the Japanese] socializing them to become part of daily routines" (p. 272). There are certainly Japanese who do not ascribe to *Nihonjinron* or expect Americans to act within the confines of the *gaijin* role (as well as Americans who avoid adopting this role), but such phenomena were often noted in the literature as outgrowths of common Japanese acculturation expectations towards Americans.

2.5. Choosing and operationalizing the variables

2.5.1. Independent variables

The independent variable, i.e., acculturation strategy alignment, was categorized as Consensual, Problematic, or Conflictual (according to scheme presented in Fig. 2).

2.5.2. Dependent variables

Selection of the outcome variables was influenced by Black (1988), Kealey (1996), and Ward (1996), who concluded that adjustment or success abroad includes both one's ability to relate to cultural outgroup members *and* the quality of work that is produced through such interactions. Therefore, the author hypothesized that acculturation strategy fit impacts workplace

acculturation outcomes (Bourhis & Barrette, 2003) and affects not only quality of intercultural relations but also job effectiveness. Although she did not consider acculturation strategy *fit*, Aycan (1997a, 1997b) supported the inclusion of job effectiveness as an acculturative outcome impacted by Berry's acculturation strategies: namely, Separationist expatriates created conflict and stress in interpersonal relations that ultimately compromised effectiveness, while Integrationist expatriates promoted effectiveness by contributing towards work atmospheres of mutual respect, acceptance, and cooperation.

Ultimately, five dependent variables were chosen to operationalize the broader concept of "quality of intercultural relations." *Outgroup attitude* and *ingroup bias* were included as outcome variables, or key indicators of quality of intercultural relations, as they were emphasized in the IAM as important acculturative outcomes (Barrette et al., 2004; Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

Another acculturative outcome highlighted in the literature was the degree of support and acceptance perceived among cultural outgroup members. Namely, by promoting *involvement* in the host culture, social acceptance reduces sojourner stress and promotes positive affect towards the host culture (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Inoue & Ito, 1993; Komisarof, 2004; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993; Ward, 1996). Specifically in work organizations, acceptance from coworkers is an important relational outcome in studies of American employees in domestic contexts (Gaertner et al., 2000; Hess, 1993; Levine & Moreland, 1991) and for expatriates abroad (Aycan, 1997b). Harris (1995), Komisarof (2001), and Lois (1999) identified the following criteria by which such insider status is commonly perceived in organizational contexts: opportunities to lead, be promoted, gain access to confidential insider knowledge, and participate in group decision-making. After considering these indicators, Jones' (1986) concept of *organizational investiture* (versus divestiture) was deemed appropriate for operationalizing the degree of support and acceptance felt by subjects when they interact with cultural outgroup members in their organizations.

Social interaction with cultural outgroup members—both in and outside of the workplace—was also chosen as a dependent variable because the roles of both degree and depth of positive social interaction between host nationals and sojourners (or expatriates) in promoting the latter's adjustment to the host culture have been broadly supported (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985; Palthe, 2004; Tucker, Bonial, & Lahti, 2004). While Ward (1996) cautioned that such contact, especially for sojourners, can be related to increased psychological distress, it also offers valuable opportunities to learn culture-specific skills. Moreover, when sojourners have more extensive interactions with host nationals that lead to satisfying relationships, sociocultural adaptation problems are reduced. Aycan (1997a) illustrated how contact with host nationals can encourage a plethora of positive acculturative outcomes within work organizations:

> First, the more one interacts with others in the new culture, the more one learns about the appropriate behavior (through observation and feedback from others) in work and non-work contexts. This will increase interpersonal effectiveness (by reducing conflicts) on the job, and hence increase job performance. Second, acquaintance with others in the new culture enhances the understanding of and identification with the host nationals which, in turn, increase commitment. (p. 439)

The outcome variable of quality of work results was operationalized in terms of *job effectiveness*, or the *subjective evaluation* of one's job performance (Ones & Viswesvaran, 1997). As noted by Kealey (1996), the definition and measurement of success in a sojourner's work may vary depending upon the type of sojourner, the roles to be performed, and the skills required to be effective in those roles. Thus, job effectiveness was chosen instead of an industry- or position-specific measure of productivity or performance because it is adaptable to the diverse sojourner types, industries, companies, job statuses, and job types (i.e., corporate divisions) examined in this study.

2.5.3. Potential covariates

Two other measurements were included as potential covariates: *foreign language ability* and *social desirability bias*. Foreign language ability has been broadly noted as an enhancer of overseas success (Kealey, 1996). Measurements of social desirability bias were included to identify participants who may have exaggerated positive attitudes in the survey and produced unreliable data.

Demographic items were utilized not only to gather descriptive data, but also to be tested as potential confounds. These demographic variables were chosen specifically because they had been identified in previous research as influential in the acculturation process and thus could potentially carry interactions between the independent and dependent variables in this study. The demographic measures, as well as the studies which suggested that they influence acculturation, were: length of time on present job assignment (Robie & Ryan, 1996); gender (Sinangil & Ones, 2003); previous intercultural work experience (Aycan, 1997a); years lived abroad (Aycan, 1997a); as well as marital status, intermarriage with cultural outgroup members, and the type of neighborhood of residence (i.e., predominantly host culture members or expatriates) (Kim, 2001).

The following demographic measures were also included, as they were thought by the author to be potential confounds: industry, company size, location of corporate headquarters (i.e., Japan or America), numerical minority status within one's organization, minority status within one's organization in reference to the head office (i.e., whether or not a subject's nationality was different from the location of the corporate headquarters), job status, age, native language, and highest completed educational level. For Americans only (as Japanese informants in the preliminary study advised against asking

these questions of Japanese either due to their sensitivity or irrelevance to Japanese subjects), data was also collected on race/ethnicity, years lived in Japan, and whether or not the subjects' tenures in Japan were limited by their organizations (e.g., by contract or verbal agreement). In total, 19 demographic measures were included in the data analysis.

2.6. The hypotheses

Given these variables and the research questions, this study was designed to test 10 hypotheses. As the IAM predicts that acculturation strategy fit impacts acculturative outcomes, hypotheses 1–5 were posited to determine whether or not the data supported this assumption—particularly since this study's national context (Japan), social context (work organizations), and three of the dependent measures (social interaction, investiture, and job effectiveness) have not been included in any previous IAM-related research. Moreover, while all of the dependent measures related to quality of intercultural relations, each one was treated separately both theoretically and empirically in order to ascertain which (if any) fit the predictions of the IAM.

H1. Acculturation strategy fit will be related to outgroup attitude.

H2. Acculturation strategy fit will be related to ingroup bias.

H3. Acculturation strategy fit will be related to degree of investiture among cultural outgroup coworkers.

H4. Acculturation strategy fit will be related to social interaction with cultural outgroup coworkers.

H5. Acculturation strategy fit will be related to job effectiveness.

A three-tiered ranking of IAM types was predicted when the IAM was first formulated (Bourhis et al., 1997) and supported in subsequent IAM-related research (Barrette et al., 2004; Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001); namely, Consensual types have the most positive acculturative outcomes, with Problematic ones ranking second and Conflictual third. Hypotheses 6–10 were offered to check whether or not the data in this study fit the same pattern. As the dependent variables outgroup attitude, social interaction, degree of investiture, and job effectiveness all are indicative of positive acculturative outcomes, Consensual IAM types were expected to have the best results (i.e., the highest scores), with Problematic types ranking second and Conflictual ones third. On the other hand, since ingroup bias is considered to be a negative acculturative outcome (Barrette et al., 2004; Bourhis et al.), Conflictual IAM types were predicted to have the worst results (i.e., the highest scores), with Problematic types ranking second and Consensual ones third. Therefore, the following hypotheses were posited:

H6. Consensual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the most positive outgroup attitude, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Conflictual IAM types third.

H7. Conflictual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the strongest ingroup bias, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Consensual IAM types third.

H8. Consensual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the deepest degree of organizational investiture, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Conflictual IAM types third.

H9. Consensual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the greatest social interaction, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Conflictual IAM types third.

H10. Consensual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the highest job effectiveness, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Conflictual IAM types third.

3. Methods

3.1. Research design

A preliminary field test of the survey was conducted to ensure the clarity and appropriateness of each item. The main research was done in two stages: a survey followed by member checks (i.e., post-survey interviews). The member checks yielded qualitative data to generate more thorough responses to the research questions. Specifically, to provide participant validation of the study's findings, the author's interpretations of trends in the survey data were tested with the groups from whom the data were originally collected—as commonly used in naturalistic research and developing grounded theory (Bowen, 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Ultimately, such interviews served to complement and enrich the quantitative data analysis rather than supplant it.

3.2. Sample, data, and procedures

The population consisted of Americans and Japanese working together in organizations located in Japan and owned by either Japanese or American entities. Participants were limited to employees at companies with at least two-thirds Japanese working in the subject's office in order to survey people at organizations where the heritage cultural demographics among workers were somewhat consistent. Participants were also required to work regularly with cultural outgroup members and to have lived in Japan *as well as* worked in their current offices for at least 4 months. The survey was translated from English to Japanese and back-translated utilizing a target-language editor (Brislin, 1986) to ensure equivalency.

Three hundred twenty-seven people were asked to complete surveys and 200 did so, for a response rate of 61.2%. Of the 200 surveys completed, six were not used due to problems with excessive socially desirable responding. The sample ($N = 194$) consisted of exactly 50% Japanese and American subjects ($n = 97$ each). Employees from 73 organizations participated, and the companies represented 17 different industries, with education (29%), insurance (24%), and IT (12%) being the most common. The location of corporate headquarters was well balanced between America (48.5%) and Japan (51.5%). Subjects' gender was skewed towards men (female = 39.2% and male = 60.8%).

On average, participants had worked with their cultural outgroup (i.e., Japanese or Americans) for 10.5 years and lived abroad (in any country) for 8.6 years, while Americans had specifically stayed in Japan for about 12 years (142.8 months). Also, 67.1% of Americans had been in Japan over 5 years (5 years being the maximum threshold for expatriates), and 89.7% had no time limit for their tenures in Japan stipulated in their contracts. Thus, many Americans had lived in Japan for lengthy periods and most had the option of deciding how long they would stay, with the possibility of permanently working in their current posts. Such Americans fit the profile of long-term or permanent residents—not temporary expatriates.

This study utilized the nonprobability methods of convenience and snowball sampling, which are particularly appropriate when social sensitivities pose serious problems for locating and contacting potential respondents (Singleton, Straits, & Straits, 1993). Considering the strict confidentiality of personal information laws for businesses that have been passed in recent years in Japan, as well as tendencies for many Japanese corporations to resist cooperation with unsolicited research done by outsiders (Ogasawara, 1998), these methods were considered most likely to produce compliance with the survey. With these sampling methods, however, the generalizability of the findings about this sample to the broader population is limited.

Member checks completed after the survey data analysis involved twenty participants (seven Japanese and 13 Americans) who were interviewed from 1 to 2 h each. Here, convenience sampling was utilized to gather information from diverse viewpoints—i.e., both Japanese and Americans from a broad range of statuses, divisions, and types of companies (in terms of size, industry, and national ownership). This is a form of purposeful sampling common in naturalistic research (Bowen, 2005; Charmaz, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

3.3. Questionnaire measures

All variables were measured using seven-point Likert scales with the exception of the Social Desirability scale, for which the original five-point scale was maintained. Scales ranged from one (''strongly disagree'') to seven (''strongly agree''), or in the case of the Social Desirability scale, one to five.

3.3.1. Independent variable: acculturation strategy fit

Using the VIA (see Appendices A and B for full reproductions of the English versions for Americans), participants rated their own acculturation strategies, generating scores on separate scales for the Berry framework's two dimensions of degree of heritage cultural maintenance and degree of acculturation to the cultural outgroup (e.g., for American subjects, ''It is important for me to engage in American/Japanese cultural practices''). The VIA was originally conceived and validated as a measure only of subjects' own acculturation strategies, but using modified questions that asked about identical acculturation domains, the participants in this study also rated the acculturation strategies of a coworker whom they felt was most representative of their cultural outgroup members' acculturation strategies (e.g., for American subjects, ''It is important for my coworker to engage in Japanese/American cultural practices''). Each VIA scale was subjected to a bipartite split (according to the sample median) in order to classify each subject and her cultural outgroup coworkers into one of the four acculturation strategies: high heritage culture and high outgroup acculturation scores (coded as Integration), low heritage culture and high outgroup acculturation scores (Assimilation), high heritage culture and low outgroup acculturation scores (Separation), and low heritage culture and low outgroup acculturation scores (Marginalization). Then, the alignment between the subjects' and their cultural outgroup coworkers' acculturation strategies were categorized as Consensual, Problematic, or Conflictual (as previously illustrated in Fig. 2).

Whether to split the data for each scale according to the median scores within the sample or the scalar mean has been debated at length in the acculturation literature. While the scalar mean splitting procedure represents a more direct approximation of participants' acculturation strategies (Smith Castro, 2003), it also tends to result in very high percentages of subjects classified as Integration and few subjects as Marginalization (Rudmin, 2003; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Ultimately, it is ideal for descriptive purposes—i.e., to provide information about the distribution of the acculturation strategies in a sample, which was not a primary goal in this study. The sample median approach generates a relativistic within-sample categorization of Berry's acculturation strategies with consequent limitations to cross-sample comparability

Table 1
Distribution of acculturation strategies for self and cultural outgroup members.

	Acculturation strategy for self	Acculturation strategy for outgroup members
Integration	30.4%	21.6%
Assimilation	20.1	27.8
Separation	18.6	29.9
Marginalization	30.9	20.6

Table 2
Descriptive statistics for IAM types.

IAM type	Subject group	Number
Consensual	Japanese	19
	American	14
	Total	33
Problematic	Japanese	11
	American	20
	Total	31
Conflictual	Japanese	67
	American	63
	Total	130

(Ward & Rana-Deuba). Ultimately, it more finely differentiates acculturation strategies within a sample and thus enables the comparison of acculturative outcomes (i.e., the dependent variables of interest) between different acculturation strategy alignments. As such comparisons were central to this study, sample median splits were utilized to code subjects and their perceptions of cultural outgroup members into Berry's acculturation strategies (results in Table 1).

Participants were then categorized into IAM types with the following distribution as a group overall, as well as split by nationality (see Table 2).

Although the VIA had never been used before this study to characterize subject perceptions of cultural outgroup members' acculturation strategies, it was chosen for two reasons. First, it includes questions about 10 acculturation domains—far more than most instruments. Zane and Mak (2003) argued that acculturation measures which do not sample more than two or three acculturation domains may lack content validity because they do not thoroughly examine the behavioral and attitudinal domains commonly affected by acculturation. The VIA also avoids many of the criticisms of the type of instrument utilized by Bourhis and colleagues in their research of the IAM, including double-barreled, excessively long items as well as theoretically inconsistent scale intercorrelations (Rudmin, 2003; Ryder et al., 2000; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

3.3.2. Dependent variables: operationalization of quality of intercultural relations

The dependent measures were made with previously validated scales. Although some questions were modified, this was within parameters acceptable in survey research to fit the population of this study. Outgroup attitude was assessed using the same scale as Montreuil and Bourhis (2001). Participants were asked to rate the extent that cultural outgroup coworkers were hardworking, aggressive (reverse scored), competent, and friendly. Ingroup bias was computed using Zagefka and Brown's (2002) method: the same four qualities used in assessing outgroup attitude were rated for the national cultural ingroup, a difference score was determined for each of the four items, and the values were combined into a single bias measure—with positive values representing ingroup bias.

Questions from Jones' (1986) Investiture scale (reproduced in Appendix C) were modified so that the items focused upon social support from cultural outgroup coworkers (as opposed to coworkers of any nationality), and one item assessing group permeability was added to help assess the subject's degree of acceptance among cultural outgroup members as expressed through opportunities for organizational participation typically reserved for insiders (e.g., ample chances to participate in group decision-making, take leadership roles, and be promoted). Cronbach's alphas were confirmed after data entry to make sure that this new item did not lower the scale reliability, and then this item was scored with equal weight to Jones' other items in calculating scale composite scores for each participant.

To measure job effectiveness, Tucker et al.'s (2004) Job Performance scale (Appendix D) was chosen as it assesses job effectiveness for a vast array of hierarchical positions, divisions, companies, and industries. Social interaction with cultural outgroup members (Appendix E) was measured with Tucker et al.'s Social Interaction scale.

3.3.3. Potential covariate measures

For foreign language ability, Tucker et al.'s (2004) Communication scale (Appendix F) gauged communication competence in oral, nonverbal, and written mediums of a foreign language, and their Social Desirability scale (Appendix G) was utilized to check for social desirability bias. Tucker et al. suggested that a high score on the Social Desirability scale should be followed by an examination of the scores on all of the scales in the instrument to determine if they are significantly

Table 3
Reliability data on scales for independent measures, dependent measures, foreign language ability, and social desirability bias.

Measure	Cronbach's alpha	*M*	SD
1. VIA self: heritage culture acculturation	0.76	54.75	7.36
2. VIA self: outgroup culture acculturation	0.77	47.93	8.32
3. VIA other: heritage culture acculturation	0.86	58.64	7.22
4. VIA other: outgroup culture acculturation	0.88	42.76	10.72
5. Outgroup attitude	0.71	19.09	3.15
6. Ingroup bias	0.68	−0.27	3.64
7. Social interaction	0.72	24.53	6.70
8. Investiture	0.63	27.38	5.63
9. Job effectiveness	0.81	42.21	7.18
10. Foreign language ability	0.92	38.67	9.93
11. Social desirability bias	0.70	19.78	3.86

Table 4
Correlations for dependent measures.

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Outgroup attitude	–				
2. Ingroup bias	−0.721**	–			
3. Social interaction	0.284**	−0.296**	–		
4. Investiture	0.386**	−0.162*	0.486**	–	
5. Job effectiveness	0.303**	−0.157*	0.410**	0.450**	–

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed).

higher than the normative band, and if they are, then the subject's data should be excluded from the sample. In this study, participants with scores of 25 to the maximum of 30 and a standard deviation of ±2 or greater for two or more of the other scales (either independent or dependent measures) had all of their data excluded.

Table 3 lists the scale mean, standard deviation, and Cronbach's alpha for the scales measuring each independent and dependent measure, as well as for the potential covariates of foreign language ability and social desirability bias.

3.4. Correlations for dependent measures

Correlations were run for all dependent measures. Based on the predictions made in the hypotheses, ingroup bias was anticipated to negatively correlate with the other four dependent measures, while these four dependent measures were expected to positively correlate with each other. The matrix analysis results in Table 4 indicated that all twenty correlations between dependent variables were significant and ran in the expected directions.

3.5. Analysis of the data

3.5.1. Relationship between acculturation strategy fit and outcome variables

Hypotheses 1–5 (i.e., "Acculturation strategy fit will be related to outgroup attitude/ingroup bias/degree of investiture among cultural outgroup coworkers/social interaction with cultural outgroup coworkers/job effectiveness") were tested by running two-way factorial analyses of variance (ANOVAs) (2 × 3 for Japanese and American nationalities vs. three IAM types) on the five dependent measures to check for main or interaction effects for IAM type. As foreign language proficiency, the demographic measures, and social desirability bias were considered possible confounds, tests were planned to ensure that they were not responsible for the effects observed in the ANOVAs: if any of these variables met the statistical criteria (described in Section 4.1) as potential covariates, then 2 × 3 ANCOVAs (2 × 3 for Japanese and American nationalities vs. three IAM types) were run to determine if they carried any of these effects.

3.5.2. Ranking the quality of the acculturative outcomes

To test hypotheses 6, 8, 9, and 10 (i.e., "Consensual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the most positive outgroup attitude/deepest degree of organizational investiture/greatest social interaction/highest job effectiveness, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Conflictual IAM types third"), as well as Hypothesis 7 (i.e., "Conflictual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the strongest ingroup bias, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Consensual IAM types third"), pairwise comparisons between the three IAM types' mean group scores for each of the dependent variables were intended to ascertain which means significantly differed, as well as their ranking. Moreover, one-way ANCOVAs were also planned for all potential confounds (as described in Section 4.2) to determine if any of the simple effects found in the one-way ANOVAs between the IAM types were in fact carried by a covariate.

Finally, post-hoc tests were designed for all demographic measures, social desirability bias, and foreign language proficiency—each split by IAM type. One-way ANOVAs for ordinal and interval variables and proportions *t*-tests for nominal

ones (two-tailed) would ascertain whether or not Consensual, Problematic, and Conflictual group means differed in a statistically significant way for these measures, as well as the ranking of these group means. These test results were thought to be useful in better discerning *why* Hypotheses 6–10 were ultimately supported or not. In other words, differences for these variables in the group means of Consensual, Problematic, and Conflictual IAM types might help to explain why the IAM types ranked as they did on the dependent measures, as such differences can indicate how the demographic profiles of these groups varied (e.g., according to gender or job status), or how their acculturation diverged in terms of length (e.g., total years working with cultural outgroup members or years lived in Japan) or depth (e.g., foreign language proficiency or having a spouse from the cultural outgroup).

4. Results

4.1. Hypotheses 1–5

Two-way factorial ANOVAs (2×3 for Japanese and American nationalities vs. three IAM types) were run on the five dependent measures to test Hypotheses 1–5, i.e., "Acculturation strategy fit will be related to outgroup attitude/ingroup bias/degree of investiture among cultural outgroup coworkers/social interaction with cultural outgroup coworkers/job effectiveness." The data are summarized in Table 5.

Main effects for IAM type were found for outgroup attitude, social interaction, investiture, and job effectiveness. Interaction effects were significant for outgroup attitude only. A one-way ANOVA with a Tukey adjustment and two-tailed interaction contrasts revealed significant differences between the IAM type group means in outgroup attitude for Japanese, $F(2,94) = 3.88$, $p < 0.05$, but not for Americans, $F(2,94) = 1.13$, $p = 0.327$. Thus, Hypothesis 1 was confirmed for Japanese participants only, while Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5 were confirmed for subjects as a composite group.

As detailed in Section 2.5.3, the demographic measures, foreign language proficiency, and social desirability bias were thought to be possible confounds in the interactions between the independent and dependent variables. Therefore, two criteria were utilized to determine whether or not ANCOVAs on each of these measures should be run: first, the means of the three IAM groups needed to differ significantly ($p < 0.05$) with respect to the potential confound, and the assumption of slope had to be fulfilled. The tests indicated that two demographic variables, i.e., years of working with the cultural outgroup and years spent abroad, as well as foreign language proficiency and social desirability bias could have potentially affected scores on each of the five dependent measures. Next, ANCOVAs for each of the four possible confounds were executed separately on the five dependent measures (i.e., 20 ANCOVAs in all). The main effects of IAM type on the dependent measures were not fully carried by any of the covariates. Thus, considering the results of the two pre-ANCOVA tests and the ANCOVAs themselves, none of the 21 potential confounds (listed in Section 2.5.3) carried the main effects found for IAM type on any of the dependent measures.

4.2. Hypotheses 6–10

Pairwise comparisons with Tukey adjustments were conducted for all dependent measures (for outgroup attitude interaction contrasts with Tukey adjustments were run instead) to determine which IAM types significantly differed and to rank them—thus testing Hypotheses 6, 8, 9, and 10 (i.e., "Consensual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the most positive outgroup attitude/deepest degree of organizational investiture/greatest social interaction/highest job effectiveness, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Conflictual IAM types third") as well as Hypothesis 7 (i.e.,

Table 5
Main and interaction effects for IAM type and nationality for dependent measures.

Dependent measure	Source	df	Mean square	*F*-ratio	Sig	η_p^2
Outgroup attitude	IAM type	2	31.66	3.54*	0.031	0.036
	Nationality	1	39.68	4.44*	0.036	0.023
	Interaction	2	31.91	3.57*	0.030	0.037
Ingroup bias	IAM type	2	15.12	1.20	0.303	0.013
	Nationality	1	58.08	4.62*	0.033	0.024
	Interaction	2	24.35	1.94	0.147	0.020
Social interaction	IAM type	2	502.10	12.35**	0.000	0.116
	Nationality	1	28.01	0.69	0.408	0.004
	Interaction	2	12.57	0.31	0.734	0.003
Investiture	IAM type	2	331.87	12.25**	0.000	0.115
	Nationality	1	333.31	12.30**	0.001	0.061
	Interaction	2	37.61	1.39	0.252	0.015
Job effectiveness	IAM type	2	183.66	3.85*	0.023	0.039
	Nationality	1	125.29	2.63	0.107	0.014
	Interaction	2	78.28	1.64	0.197	0.017

Note. df = degrees of freedom; Sig = *p*-value; η_p^2 = partial eta-squared.
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 6
Simple effects among IAM types for dependent measures.

	Consensual (A)		Problematic (B)		Conflictual (C)		Simple effects	Sig
	M	SD	*M*	SD	*M*	SD		
1. Outgroup attitude								
Japanese	18.3	4.3	20.9	3.1	17.8	3.2	B > C*	0.018
American	20.9	1.8	19.8	2.2	19.8	2.7	None	
2. Ingroup bias	0.5	4.0	−1.1	2.9	−0.3	3.7	None	
3. Social interaction	26.1	6.2	29.0	6.7	23.1	6.3	A > C*	0.039
							B > C**	0.000
4. Investiture	29.9	4.6	29.7	6.0	26.2	5.4	A > C**	0.001
							B > C**	0.002
5. Job effectiveness	44.1	6.2	44.1	6.2	41.3	7.5	None[a]	

Note. Sig = *p*-value.
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed).
[a] Although a significant main effect was found for job effectiveness, the Tukey adjustment rendered the simple effects marginally significant, where A > C ($p = 0.09$) and B > C ($p = 0.10$).

"Conflictual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the strongest ingroup bias, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Consensual IAM types third"). These results are summarized in Table 6. In the post-hoc pairwise comparisons conducted in the 20 ANCOVAs described in Section 4.1, none of these simple effects were carried by any of the covariates.

4.3. Descriptive tests of demographic variables split by IAM type

Descriptive tests of demographic data split by IAM type, followed by one-way ANOVAs for all ordinal and interval variables and proportions *t*-tests for all nominal ones (two-tailed), were used to ascertain whether or not the IAM type group means differed significantly for any of the demographic measures. As previously explained, these tests were utilized to clarify demographic trends among the three IAM types that may have contributed to the effects observed for the dependent measures.

Significant differences between the three IAM types were found for the following variables: for months lived in Japan (measured among Americans only), differences between the group means were only marginally significant, $F(2,94) = 2.90$, $p = 0.06$, but Problematic IAM types ($M = 190.90$, SD = 145.95) had a significantly higher group mean ($p = 0.02$) than Conflictual ones ($M = 123.98$, SD = 98.55). For years working with the cultural outgroup, differences in the group means were significant, $F(2,191) = 3.76$, $p < 0.05$, with Problematic means ($M = 14.32$, SD = 9.77) being significantly higher than Conflictual ($M = 9.70$, SD = 8.11) as well as Consensual ones ($M = 9.82$, SD = 9.07). For years lived abroad, significant differences were evident in the group means, $F(2,191) = 3.31$, $p < 0.05$, and Problematic IAM types ($M = 12.68$, SD = 12.17) had a significantly higher mean than Conflictual ones ($M = 7.73$, SD = 8.96) as well as a marginally significantly higher mean ($p = 0.07$) than Consensual ones ($M = 8.33$, SD = 9.63). The results for ordinal and interval demographic measures are summarized in Table 7.

Next, nominal variables were tested. For numerical minority status in their work organizations, Problematic IAM types ($M = 0.65$, SD = 0.09) had a significantly higher proportion of minority group members than Consensual ones ($M = 0.42$, SD = 0.49), $t(94) = -1.82$, $p = 0.037$. For the variable of minority status based on corporate ownership (defined as a difference between a subject's nationality and her company's head office location), Conflictual IAM types ($M = 0.56$, SD = 0.50) had a significantly higher proportion of minority group members than Consensual ones ($M = 0.39$, SD = 0.49), $t(94) = -1.75$, $p = 0.043$. The *t*-tests on the variable of international marriage revealed a marginally significant difference between Problematic IAM types ($M = 0.42$, SD = 0.49) and Consensual ones ($M = 0.24$, SD = 0.43), $t(94) = -1.53$, $p = 0.065$. Relationships for nominal demographic measures are summarized in Table 8.

Finally, for foreign language ability, a one-way ANOVA revealed that Problematic IAM types ($M = 41.52$, SD = 8.24) had a significantly higher group mean than Consensual ($M = 36.33$, SD = 9.31) and Conflictual ($M = 35.90$, SD = 10.20) ones.

Table 7
Ordinal and interval demographic variables: Significant differences between IAM types.

Variable	Differences
1. Months in Japan	Problematic > Conflictual
2. Years working with cultural outgroup	Problematic > Consensual
	Problematic > Conflictual
3. Total years abroad	Problematic > Consensual[a]
	Problematic > Conflictual

[a] This relationship was marginally significant.

Table 8
Nominal demographic variables: Significant differences between IAM types.

Variable	Differences
1. Numerical minority	Problematic > Consensual
2. Minority in relation to head office	Conflictual > Consensual
3. International marriage	Problematic > Consensual[a]

[a] This relationship was marginally significant.

5. Discussion

5.1. Status of the hypotheses

Based on the aforementioned results, the status of the hypotheses can be summarized as follows. Hypotheses 1–5 (''Acculturation strategy fit will be related to outgroup attitude/ingroup bias/degree of investiture among cultural outgroup coworkers/social interaction with cultural outgroup coworkers/job effectiveness'') were confirmed for the dependent measures of social interaction, degree of investiture, and job effectiveness for participants as a composite group, as well as for outgroup attitude among Japanese participants only. Therefore, if the effects found among Japanese and Americans are considered separately, seven out of 10 significant relationships were found between the independent and dependent measures. This shows relatively strong support for the IAM—with the exception of its predictions about ingroup bias.

Hypothesis 6 (i.e., ''Consensual acculturation strategy alignments will be associated with the most positive outgroup attitude, with Problematic IAM types ranking second and Conflictual IAM types third'') was only partially confirmed: among Japanese participants, the Problematic IAM type mean score was higher than the Conflictual one. Hypothesis 7 regarding ingroup bias was rejected, as no simple effects were found. Hypotheses 8 and 9 (addressing organizational investiture and social interaction, respectively) were partially confirmed: both Consensual and Problematic IAM type mean scores were significantly higher than Conflictual ones. Hypothesis 10 about job effectiveness was also partially confirmed. Although a significant main effect was found for job effectiveness, simple effects were only marginally significant, with Consensual and Problematic IAM type means being greater than Conflictual ones. Since intergroup differences between IAM types for job effectiveness were ambiguous, further research is recommended to test the relationship between acculturation strategy fit and performance.

In sum, Conflictual IAM types clearly demonstrated lower scores than the other two for organizational investiture and social interaction, with some evidence indicating poorer results for outgroup attitude and job effectiveness. This suggests, in agreement with the IAM, that Conflictual IAM alignments are best avoided in order to maximize positive acculturative outcomes with colleagues. Although the IAM also predicts that Consensual alignments lead to more positive acculturative outcomes than Problematic ones, these findings were not supportive, as Consensual IAM types did not score significantly higher than Problematic ones on any of the dependent measures.

5.1.1. Why did Consensual IAM types fail to outscore Problematic ones?

By examining differences between Consensual and Problematic IAM types in terms of their demographic measure scores and foreign language ability, some insight can be gained into why Consensual types failed to outscore Problematic ones on the dependent measures. As described in Section 4.3, Problematic IAM types had significantly higher group means than Consensual ones for foreign language ability as well as for the demographic variables of years working with the cultural outgroup and numerical minority status within one's work organization. For years lived abroad and marriage to foreign spouses, Problematic subjects' higher group mean differences were marginally significant. When taken together, these differences suggest that Problematic participants tended to experience lengthier and deeper acculturation to their cultural outgroup than Consensual ones. In other words, Problematic IAM types commonly had more intercultural contact than Consensual ones as indicated by their comparatively longer tenures abroad and years of working with their cultural outgroup. While longer periods of outgroup contact do not necessarily result in deeper acculturation, greater tendencies towards marriage outside their own nationality, minority status at work, and higher foreign language proficiency suggest a more thorough level of cultural immersion among Problematic types.

Moreover, such ''thin'' experience may have led Consensual IAM types to overestimate the similarity of their acculturation strategies to those of their cultural outgroup coworkers. Specifically, Consensual subjects rated themselves and cultural outgroup members as Integrationists or both as Assimilationists. The ability of many of them to actually integrate or assimilate in practice, however, may have been quite limited. If these ''Naive Consensual'' subjects had had a more thorough understanding of their outgroup's culture, for example, through longer contact or more thorough acculturation (in terms of the demographic and foreign language ability measures described above), then they may have reassessed their own acculturation strategies or those of their colleagues. Specifically, they may have realized that they were not as acculturated to the cultural outgroup as they thought or that colleagues did not share their acculturation strategies, and hence would have tested as Problematic or even Conflictual IAM types.

Such conclusions were supported by Black's (1988) study of American expatriate managers working in Japan, in which more acculturated expatriates noted American newcomers' assumptions of excessive cultural similarity with the Japanese or a lack of awareness of cultural differences that impacted job responsibilities. Several member check participants in this study

echoed such observations. They perceived that many American neophyte expatriates in their companies overestimated their own acculturation to Japan due to much lower standards for making such assessments as compared to American long-term or permanent residents. Moreover, these Naïve Consensual Americans were thought to have scored low on the dependent measures due to their lack of understanding of Japanese business culture and effective intercultural communication skills to bridge such differences. Although Americans new to Japan were described in these member check interviews, it is also possible that Japanese inexperienced at working with Americans would be prone to a similar lack of awareness and skills pertinent to American business culture.

While member check participants described these Naïve Consensual coworkers as having misguided optimism about the degree of confluence between their acculturation strategies and those of their cultural outgroup members, such optimism did not appear to extend to the dependent measures, which were lower than predicted for Consensual IAM types. In other words, Naïve Consensual subjects were not deluded about stresses in their intercultural relationships and their unsatisfactory job effectiveness. Such selective perception was not unique to this study: Anderson (1994) similarly observed that many cross-cultural adaptors minimize differences between themselves and cultural outgroup members, yet at the same time, they shift the blame for their perceived failures onto these outgroup members while ignoring or rationalizing their own missteps.

A third difference in the experiences of Consensual and Problematic types may have contributed to their similar results on the dependent measures. Problematic types' sustained, thorough acculturation, paired with their mismatch with cultural outgroup coworkers' acculturation strategies (i.e., Integration vs. Assimilation or vice versa), likely resulted in adaptive stress. This may have actually contributed to higher dependent measure scores, as well-managed acculturative stress can facilitate adjustment (Kim, 2001) and increase work effectiveness (Aycan, 1997b). Anderson (1994) portrayed those who have utilized such stress to incur positive acculturative outcomes as "effective, involved, high performers. They have stood up and faced the obstacles thrown at them. . .Cognitively, affectively, and behaviorally, they are full-fledged participants" (p. 317). Many member check participants supported such views, describing stress as a "motivator" and "a creative spark" that galvanized better work results.

In sum, some American and Japanese Problematic subjects can be differentiated from those who fit the Problematic type profile originally described in the IAM. These "High Achieving Problematic" subtypes were often minorities in their companies who had spent many years working with and adapting to cultural outgroup members—demonstrated in part by their strong foreign language competency. Their peripheral status, along with constructive stress management, motivated them to develop effective intercultural bridging skills and engender positive acculturative outcomes as reflected in their high dependent measure scores.

5.2. Expanding the IAM

The IAM may be enriched by expanding the original Consensual and Problematic IAM types into four subtypes. The characteristics of the subtypes are consistent with the survey and member check data and offered with the intentions of theory building and informing future research involving the IAM. First, Consensual IAM types can be subdivided into "Real Consensual" and "Naïve Consensual" IAM subtypes. The former were either Integrationists or Assimilationists, perceived the same predominant acculturation strategy among their cultural outgroup coworkers, and experienced positive acculturative outcomes in terms of the dependent measures in this study. They generally felt that their treatment by the cultural outgroup within their organizations was equitable and their professional skills actualized. They described having power in group decision-making processes, ample leadership opportunities, fair chances at promotions, and influence in their organizations, which contributed to a sense of fulfillment at work, as well as positive coworker intercultural relations and job effectiveness.

As explained in Section 5.1.1, Naïve Consensual subtypes perceived themselves as having the same acculturation strategy as most of their coworkers (Integration or Assimilation) but formed such perceptions based on comparatively facile criteria. Moreover, their lack of acculturation ultimately led to diminished work and relationship outcomes with cultural outgroup members. Thus, scores on the dependent measures for Naïve Consensual subtypes should be lower than those for Real Consensual subtypes—a difference which would diminish the mean scores on the dependent measures for Consensual types as a composite group and contribute to the observed failure of Consensual types to outscore Problematic ones.

Problematic IAM types can be subdivided into "High Achieving Problematic" and "Real Problematic" subtypes. High Achieving Problematic subtypes (previously described in Section 5.1.1) enjoyed many of the same positive acculturative outcomes as Real Consensual ones—although most likely with greater concomitant stress from their acculturation strategy mismatch (Assimilation-Integration or vice versa) and their frequent minority status in organizations. Real Problematic subtypes, on the other hand, shared the same acculturation strategy combinations as High Achieving Problematic subjects but experienced more negative intercultural relations at work than their High Achieving counterparts—fraught with greater frustration, tension, and/or alienation. More specifically, Japanese in this subtype felt stymied by their American coworkers' expectations for them to continually assimilate to U.S. cultural norms, while Americans in this subtype usually wanted to be treated more like their Japanese colleagues (e.g., take on similar professional roles and responsibilities) but did not perceive themselves being given such opportunities. The dependent measure scores for Real Problematic subjects are expected to have countervailed the higher scores among High Achieving Problematic participants and lowered the composite Problematic group means. However, with Naïve Consensual subtypes having had the same effect for Consensual IAM types, the Problematic group means would have been comparable to Consensual group means on the dependent measures.

5.3. Improving acculturative outcomes within organizations

In order to facilitate organizational dynamics where both Japanese and Americans can experience optimal acculturative outcomes, the following observations of the data and advice are offered. First, many American participants in this study were long-term or permanent residents of Japan—as opposed to expatriates—with a solid grasp of Japanese linguistic and cultural nuances. Even so, some member check participants who fit this profile noted difficulties in becoming organizational insiders—a boundary which they thought was drawn largely along national lines. These Americans perceived that Japanese coworkers assumed that Americans minimally understood Japanese language and culture (which may have been the result of the preconceptions endemic to *Nihonjinron* that Americans can only minimally acculturate to Japan), so Japanese coworkers reserved roles or duties requiring strong Japanese linguistic and sociocultural skills—work for which the Americans felt capable—only for other Japanese. Such Americans concluded that their qualifications for becoming core organizational members, as well as the expertise which they could have contributed, were overlooked.

Some Japanese member check participants, particularly those working in American multinational companies, noted that many American coworkers took pride in having a global, open mindset, but in fact, these Americans commonly benefited from a hegemonic position from which they viewed the English language and American business practices as universal. Such assumptions were enabled in part by the *gaijin* role and its elevated guest status, which gave Americans license to act according to U.S. business and social norms within Japan and even to impose such norms on Japanese. Such ''global'' standards were actually quintessentially American and felt exclusive to many Japanese, as they felt pressure to speak English and behave according to common American business practices—i.e., to assimilate to U.S. business culture.

Thus, these Japanese felt that American coworkers were constructing cultural similarity between the two when the Japanese thought that cultural differences were salient. Conversely, some Americans perceived Japanese coworkers inappropriately constructing intergroup boundaries, i.e., cultural difference, when they felt culturally similar to their Japanese colleagues after having deeply acculturated to Japan over many years of residence there. In sum, acculturation expectations among both Japanese and Americans led to assumptions about their cultural outgroup that were incongruent with the outgroup members' preferences for and in some cases degrees of acculturation. When either group had the power to impose such assumptions, their outgroup members' potential for organizational contributions often went unfulfilled—particularly if those outgroup members were Conflictual IAM types or Real Problematic subtypes.

In order to empower both groups to more fully participate and feel a sense of belonging in their work organizations, a middle way is proposed that embraces both cultural similarity and difference simultaneously. Several Japanese member check participants suggested it was possible to mitigate their feelings of American hegemony if Americans made reciprocal efforts to adapt to Japan. Moreover, since Japanese participants perceived that American coworkers did not fully appreciate that they were non-native English speakers and the ones primarily engaged in cultural adaptation, they wanted American managers to acknowledge the handicap of working in a foreign language and culture by giving them extra time to complete tasks. They also hoped that American managers would aid them in creating an organizational environment in which the Japanese could enact Japanese business norms more often with both coworkers and customers.

To improve acculturative outcomes among Americans, rather than Japanese using Americans' country of origin as a criterion for whether or not they should be accepted as core organizational members, it is proposed that Japanese employ non-ascriptive standards such as Americans' potential to contribute and commitment to their organizations. Japanese who accept Americans with the requisite skills to function in Japanese work contexts empower the Americans who, by enjoying positive acculturative outcomes with their Japanese coworkers, in turn empower their organizations. Thus, Japanese become *distinctively inclusive* in terms of organizational membership by modifying acculturation strategies that unnecessarily exclude qualified Americans. Conversely, Americans become *inclusively distinctive* by learning the linguistic and cultural bridging skills necessary to participate more in their organizations and hence warrant full inclusion.

5.4. Limitations of this study and recommendations for future research

Due to practical constraints, this research relied on self-report measures, which may be susceptible to social desirability effects. Future research should, if possible, supplement self-report measures with ratings by others (such as bosses or colleagues) of acculturation strategies and acculturative outcomes. Another limitation is that the directionality of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables could not be ascertained. Moreover, as in any cross-sectional study, causality could not be fully addressed, and alternative explanations for the correlations identified between the independent and dependent variables could not be ruled out empirically. Finally, external validity is limited due to the nonprobability sampling methods employed.

5.5. Contributions of this research

Despite these limitations, this research made useful contributions to both theoretical and methodological developments in the study of acculturation. On the theoretical level, the data indicated that Consensual IAM types may not always enjoy better acculturative outcomes than Problematic ones. Moreover, Consensual and Problematic types may be better divided

into four subtypes in order to explain this finding. Methodologically, new ground was broken by using the VIA as an assessment tool to characterize perceptions of cultural outgroup member acculturation strategies. This study also tested the IAM in three contexts which have been largely neglected in research utilizing the IAM, thus better assessing the IAM's generalizability. These included *Japan-based* acculturation (as opposed to European or North American settings) that occurred specifically in *business organizations* among nondominant ethnocultural group members who are mostly *long-term or permanent residents abroad* (rather than more common populations such as immigrants or exchange students). Finally, the use of job effectiveness as a dependent variable expanded the scope of acculturation research to include an outcome which is undeniably relevant to corporate performance—hence helping to bridge theory and practice.

6. Conclusion

What are the implications of this study for Japan's projected increasing reliance on foreign labor and for prospects of improving American–Japanese intercultural relations? If Japan plans to expand its foreign labor force, it appears that merely opening its doors will not be enough; work organizations where Real Consensual and High Achieving Problematic IAM subtypes can proliferate are most desirable. Of the two subtypes, resources might be better utilized by striving to facilitate more Real Consensual alignments between colleagues. While High Achieving Problematic workers were able to engender positive acculturative outcomes at work, they also did so in conditions where they primarily bore the onus for accommodating to the cultural outgroup, and they were typically able to make such adjustments only after years of honing their intercultural communication skills. In other words, they were extraordinary individuals whose persistence and expertise may not be easy to replicate in the broader population.

American–Japanese acculturation in business organizations in Japan is not only relevant to Japan—it also serves as a case study in intercultural relations when members of profoundly different cultures attempt to work together on a long-term basis. As globalization roars ahead, cultures worldwide will continue to face with increasing intensity both the rewards and strains of internationalizing their workforces. Especially in the post-September 11th world, where diversity is often viewed as a potential threat to security, creating more inclusive work spaces where people can share in the benefits of group membership is an urgent need worldwide.

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Appendix A. Vancouver Index of Acculturation (For American Self-Reports on Own Acculturation Strategies)

The questions in this section are asking about your opinions and behaviors. Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling *one* of the numbers in the scale which most accurately indicates your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement provided. Use the following key, from 1 to 7, to help guide your answers:

Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. I often participate in American cultural traditions.
2. I often participate in Japanese cultural traditions.
3. I would be willing to marry an American person. (Note: If you are married, please answer this question hypothetically—as if you were single.)
4. I would be willing to marry a Japanese person. (Note: If you are married, please answer this question hypothetically—as if you were single.)
5. I enjoy social activities with American people.
6. I enjoy social activities with Japanese people.
7. I am comfortable working with American people.
8. I am comfortable working with Japanese people.
9. I enjoy American entertainment.
10. I enjoy Japanese entertainment.
11. I often behave in ways that are common among Americans.
12. I often behave in ways that are common among Japanese.
13. It is important for me to maintain or engage in American cultural practices.
14. It is important for me to maintain or engage in Japanese cultural practices.
15. I believe in common American values.

16. I believe in common Japanese values.
17. I enjoy American jokes and humor.
18. I enjoy Japanese jokes and humor.
19. I am interested in having American friends.
20. I am interested in having Japanese friends.

Appendix B. Vancouver Index of Acculturation (For American Perceptions of Japanese Acculturation Strategies)

The following questions may appear at first glance similar to, but are in fact *completely different* from the previous set of questions. In the previous set of questions, you responded about your own views and behaviors. In this section, please choose one Japanese person in your company with whom you work regularly, and answer all questions regarding what *you believe* about that person's views and behaviors. (For example, you might choose a coworker named "Mr. Tanaka." For question #1, "S/he often participates in Japanese cultural traditions," you would answer to what extent you think that Mr. Tanaka participates in Japanese cultural traditions, based on your opinion—please do not ask him directly.) Also, this person should be fairly representative of your Japanese coworkers in respect to his/her general attitudes towards American people—in other words, someone who is fairly similar compared to other Japanese in your company in this regard.

The Likert scale and its explanation were the same as in Appendix A.

1. S/he often participates in Japanese cultural traditions.
2. S/he often participates in American cultural traditions.
3. S/he would be willing to marry a Japanese person. (Note: If your coworker is married, then answer hypothetically—as if s/he were single.)
4. S/he would be willing to marry an American person. (Note: If your coworker is married, then answer hypothetically—as if s/he were single.)
5. S/he enjoys social activities with Japanese people.
6. S/he enjoys social activities with American people.
7. S/he is comfortable working with Japanese people.
8. S/he is comfortable working with American people.
9. S/he enjoys Japanese entertainment.
10. S/he enjoys American entertainment.
11. S/he often behaves in ways that are common among Japanese.
12. S/he often behaves in ways that are common among Americans.
13. It is important for him/her to maintain or develop Japanese cultural practices.
14. It is important for him/her to maintain or develop American cultural practices.
15. S/he believes in common Japanese values.
16. S/he believes in common American values.
17. S/he enjoys Japanese jokes and humor.
18. S/he enjoys American jokes and humor.
19. S/he is interested in having Japanese friends.
20. S/he is interested in having American friends.

Appendix C. Investiture Scale (American/Japanese Versions)

The questions in this section are asking about your opinions. Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling *one* of the numbers in the scale which most accurately indicates your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement provided. Use the following key, from 1 to 7, to help guide your answers:

Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. I have been made to feel by almost all of my Japanese/American colleagues that my skills and abilities are very important in this organization.
2. Almost all of my Japanese/American colleagues have been supportive of me.
3. I have had to change my attitudes and values to be accepted by my Japanese/American coworkers in this organization. (Reverse scored)
4. My Japanese/American colleagues have gone out of their way to help me adjust to this organization.
5. I feel that Japanese/American organizational members have held me at a distance. (Reverse scored)
6. In my opinion, we Americans/Japanese have the possibility to participate completely in daily corporate life (for example, when appropriate, engage in group decision-making, take leadership roles, as well as receive a fair chance at promotions).

Appendix D. Job Performance Scale (American/Japanese Versions)

The instructions and Likert scale were the same as in Appendix C.

1. My job here is not interesting. (Reverse scored)
2. I have developed a network of personal relationships with Japanese/American people who help me to succeed with my work.
3. I work well with Japanese/American people in doing my job here.
4. I am well-adjusted to this workplace.
5. I do not enjoy my job here. (Reverse scored)
6. I am effective in my job here.
7. My company would say that I am doing well on my job duties.
8. When important, I have been able to share my knowledge and expertise with Japanese/American employees.

Appendix E. Social Interaction Scale (American/Japanese Versions)

The instructions and Likert scale were the same as in Appendix C.

1. I frequently get together socially with Japanese/American coworkers.
2. I have made friends with Japanese/American coworkers and spend time with them outside of the workplace in the evenings and on weekends.
3. I have difficulty making friends with my Japanese/American coworkers. (Reverse scored)
4. I spend most of my free time with expatriate coworkers from my own country or other countries as opposed to Japanese coworkers. (Japanese version: I spend most of my free time with Japanese coworkers as opposed to American coworkers.) (Reverse scored)
5. I prefer to socialize with other expatriate/Japanese coworkers, as opposed to Japanese/American coworkers. (Reverse scored)
6. I feel socially isolated among my Japanese/American coworkers. (Reverse scored)

Appendix F. Communication Scale (American/Japanese Versions)

The instructions and Likert scale were the same as in Appendix C.

1. I can communicate my needs in an emergency situation by using Japanese/English.
2. I can read and understand most all of the Japanese/English language newspaper.
3. I understand and use the nonverbal cues of Japanese/American culture when I communicate with Japanese/American people.
4. I can converse in Japanese/English in daily social situations (for example, talking about my weekend, hobbies, etc.).
5. I can communicate in Japanese/English in practical, everyday situations (for example, shopping, banking, the post office, etc.).
6. I speak Japanese/English well enough to use phrases for greetings, departure, introductions, and other very basic social interactions.
7. I understand most of what is said on Japanese/English television broadcasts.

Appendix G. Social Desirability Scale (American and Japanese Version)

The questions in this section are asking about your opinions. Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling *one* of the numbers in the scale. Note that the scale, which is from 1 to 5, as well as the meaning of the labels for the scale's mid- and endpoints, are different from previous scales. Use the following scale, from 1 to 5, for the statements in this part of the evaluation:

Complete lack of agreement		Average amount of agreement		Complete agreement
1	2	3	4	5

1. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
2. I have never been irritated when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
3. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
4. I am always courteous, even to people who say or do rude things to me.
5. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
6. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.

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