The Outsider's Syndrome Model: an inquiry
into the psychodynamics of culture shock experience

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*Learning and adapting to a new culture is like beginning
a new life cycle. It starts with birth and goes through
developmental stages once again in an abbreviated form.
(Kim, 1976)*

This paper explores the nature, or the psychodynamics of culture shock experience.
The term *culture shock*, as far as I know, was first introduced by Oberg (1960),
when studying the adjustment process of anthropologists to different cultures during
their field research. For a longtime a subject for anthropology, the phenomenon of
culture shock was studied as one of the phenomena observed during the course of
adjustment to a new culture (Berry, 1985). Recently, as can be shown by the
large number of studies, clinical and social psychologists also have began to show
interest in the phenomenon of culture shock and its socio-affective consequences
(Thurnwald, 1932; Conway, 1969; Berry, idem.; Berry; & Blondel, 1982; Brislin,
1981; Klein et al.,1971; Tajfel et al., 1965; Stein, 1975, 1985; Garza-Guerrero,
1974; Furnham and Bochner, 1986, etc.).

Culture shock refers to the idea that being in contact with a new culture is
potentially "a confusing, disorientating", and unpleasant experience owing to many
socio-affective difficulties encountered by the sojourner. Consequently, a number of
negative effects have been attributed to this experience. In his pionneer article
Oberg (Ibid.) mentioned at least six main effects of culture shock, summarized by
Furnham and Bochner (Ibid.) as follows: 1) Strain, 2) a sense of loss and feelings
of deprivation, 3) a feeling of being rejected, 4) confusion in role, role expectations,
values, feelings and self-identity, 5) surprise, anxiety, even disgust and indignation,
and 6) feelings of impotence due to not being able to cope with the new environment.

Since Oberg, many researchers have confirmed these findings, adding to them a
number of others or reformulating them to fit in each researcher's theoretical
background. While reiterating the stress and anxiety stiring aspects of culture
shock, many researchers have extended Oberg's concept of culture shock, emphasizing
different aspects of this same phenomenon. In doing so, some researcher were led
to replace culture shock by other terms. For instance, Guthrie (1975) prefers the
term 'culture fatigue', Smalley (1963) used the term 'language shock', Byrnes (1966)

favours rather 'role shock', and Ball—Rokeach (1973) 'pervasive ambiguity'.
However, most of these investigations of culture shock are descriptive.in the sense
that their focuss was rather on the various psycho—sociological, and psychosomatic
difficulties the subject to culture shock tends to face. Considering the large number
of studies on this subject makes Shibusawa et al. (1989) write that "there are as
many symptoms of culture shock as there are observers of the phenomenon."
Discussing the different symptoms goes, therefore, far beyond the scope of this
paper.

However, a general point of agreement among researchers is the fact that the
experience of culture shock is a transitional phenomenon which involves changes in
values, attitudes and behaviour patterns. This experience is not limited to few
(unhappy) individuals, but is a universal reaction which any individual in contact
with a new cultural environment is likely to display. Furthermore, for other
researchers (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Yeh et al., 1981) culture shock is not
experienced only in presence of a new environment only, but can be also experienced
in contact with one's own culture after a long or short period of absence (Brislin,
et al., 1976). The kind of experience a sojournor has when s/he returns home is
known as 'reverse culture shock'.

Developmental approach to culture shock

Central to the study of culture shock are the way people tend to "overcome" the
shock, or adjust to their new environment, and the different changes which can be
observed during the adjustment process. A review of the litterature in this field
reveals that this adjustment process is conceived in terms of a number of stages.

As indicated by the extensive litterature, there are many stage—wise theories and
models, with each one proposing a number of stage to apprehend cultural adjustment
process. There are theories which describe this adjustment process in terms of
three stages (Lesser & Peter, 1957; Garza—Guerrero, 1974), others five stages
(Adler,1975), and some others nine stages (Jacobson, 1963). Discussing all these
theories and models goes far beyond the aim of this study. Therefore, I will
confine myself to the three most representative models, namely, Oberg's, Adler's,
and Bochner's models.

In his classical study, Oberg (1960) mentioned four adjustement stages. As
indicated in Table 1, in the first stage the sojourner is fascinated by the host
culture, enthusiastic, cordial and friendly with the host people. This corresponds
to the *honeymoon* stage. The second stage, or *crisis* stage, is caracterized by
feelings of inadequacy, frustration, anxiety and anger, owing to cultural differences.
These feelings last until the cultural gap is reduced by mastering some vital cultural
aspects (language, signs, etc.) of the new environment, entering, thus, the
recovery stage. After recovery the sojourner begins, in the *adjustment* stage, to
enjoy his stay and contact with the hosts (culture and people), with some occasional
instances of stress and anxiety.

Oberg's Model [1]	Adler's Model [2]	Bochner's Model [3]
1. Honeymoon Stage: Enchantment, fascination, enthusiam, admiration of the hosts (culture and people)	1. Contact Stage: Excitement, stimulation, euphoria, playfulness, discovery in relation to the hosts.	1. Passing Type: The sojournor rejects the culture of origin, and embraces the second (new) culture.
2. Crisis Stage: feelings of inadequacy, frustration, anxiety and anger towards the hosts	2. Disintigration Stage: Confusion, disorientation, loss, apathy, isolation, loneliness, and inadequacy in relation to the hosts.	2. Chauvinistic Type: The sojournor rejects the second culture, and exagerates the first culture.
3. Recovery Stage: Resolution of the crisis by getting more involved with the different aspects of the hosts (language, values, social norms, etc.)	3. Reintegration Stage: Anger, rage, nervousness, anxiety, and frustration in relation to the hosts.	3. Marginal Type: The sojournor vacillates between the two cultures.
4. Adjustment Stage: Relative satisfaction with, and, consequently, ability to enjoy more the hosts, with occasional feelings of anxiety and strain.	4. Autonomy Stage: The sojournor is self-assured, relaxed, warm, and empathic in relation to the hosts.	4. Mediating Type: The sojournor synthesizes both cultures.
	5. Independence Stage: Trust, humour, love, and full range of previous emotions towards the hosts.	

1. Source: Furndam and Bochner, 1986.
2. Source: Adler, 1975.
3. Source: Bochner, 1982.

Table 1. Comparison of Three Cultural Adjustment Models

Developing further the above model, Adler (1975) proposed a five stage approach to culture shock. As indicated in Table 1, the early stage, *contact*, is characterized by a number of emotional states and behaviours reflecting a very positive attitude towards the host culture. The next stage, *desintegration*, is marked by a general depressive mood, feelings of confusion, loss, apathy, loneliness, etc. The sojournor begins to perceive the difference between one's culture and the host culture as being impactful. The *reintegration* stage leads to a more active relationship with the host culture. At this point, the subject's emotional state reflects a general negative or rejective attitude toward the host culture. When the *automony* stage is reached, the subject becomes to display more independence, self-confidence, empathy, legitimizing the differences as well the similarities between the host and native cultures. Finally, the subjects commences gradually to accept these differences and similarities and enjoy them, entering thus the last stage, or *independence* stage. Therefore, the subject became capable to display trust, love, humour, and creativeness. In a few words, in this stage a very positive attitude characterizes the sojournor's general attitude towards the host culture.

Focussing more on the sojourner-host (and native) culture relationship, Bochner (1981, 1982) lists also four different stages. As indicated in Table 1, in the first stage, (*passing*), the individual caught up in cross-cultural contact tends to display a rejective attitude towards his/her culture, and embraces, and even idealizes, the host culture. The second stage, (*chauvinistic*) is caracterized by a totally opposit response. The subject begins to reject the host culture and idealize her/his native culture. S/he experiences ambivalent feelings towards both cultures in the next stage (*marginal*). Vacillating between the two cultures is the main feature of this period. Although the norms of each culture become salient for the sojournor, s/he integrates the two cultures, continuing to perceive them as mutually uncompatible. This uncapability of integrating the two value systems lasts until the last stage(*mediation*) which marks the final step of the adjustment process. Here, the subject becomes able to synthesize harmoniously the native and host cultures.

As can be noticed, these models are far from being mutually exclusive. Although they differ somehow in their emphases, most of these theories suggests generally similar ideas and conclusions. They do not fundamentally contradict (Furnham & Bochner,1986), but rather complement each other. A researcher biginning in this area is, like Furnham and Bochner (Ibid.), amazed by this relative lack of contradiction between the different theories:

> *Indeed, what is perhaps most surprising in this area is the extent to which competing explanations overlap and do not contradict or oppose each other.*

It is noteworthy that inspite of their pseudo-differences, most of these stage-wise theories share the basic idea that the adjustment process is a U- or W-shaped curve. The U-curve idea has been attributed to Lysgaard (1955) who concluded

that people in contact with a new culture tends to pass through three different phases: initial adjustment, crisis and re-adjustment. In other words, this suggests that the sojournor's level of adjustment and satisfaction is at first high, then gradually declines but reincreases again, constituting, as indicated in Figure 1, a U—shape curve. Including the return to the home country, Gullahorn et al. (1963) found that when sojournors return home, they were likely to display a similar U-curve adjustment process, which led to the W-curve idea (Figure 1).
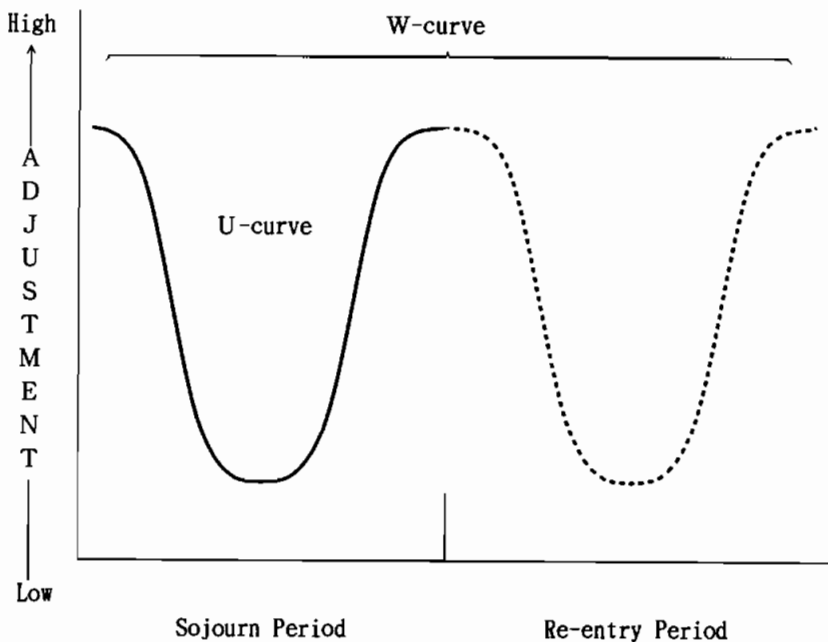

Figure 1. Graphic representation of cultural adjustment

Both the U-curve and W-curve were object of severe criticism. In his review of the litterature, Church (1982) concludes that few studies supported the U-curve hypothis and rejects it as being descriptive, inconclusive, and overgeneralized. Sharing this idea, Furnharm and Bochner (1986, p. 132) reports that :

> *At the present stage of its development, the U-curve hypothesis is too vague and too generalized to be of much use in predicting or understanding sojournor adjustment...it is not so much a theory as a post hoc description that has focused too much on single outcome variables rather than on the dynamics or process of adjustment...(although) there may be something salvageable in (it)..."*

Hence, what is needed is a synthesizing model which 1) will integrate most of

the prominent theories concerning cultural adjustment, and 2) take into account the distinction made by Triandis (1975) between interpersonal and intrapersonal aspects of the cross-cultural contact. Therefore, this model should not merely describe the different phases or stages of cultural adjustment, but should attempt to shed light on the psychodynamics characterizing each stage, bringing thus also the unconscious layer into focus.

The "Outsider's Syndrome" OS Model, proposed here, meets all these requirements [1]. Based on (mainly Melanie Klein's) object relationship theory, this psycho-analytical model reformulates, as indicated in Table 3, the different stages (proposed by some authors) of cultural contact in terms of two main stages: Paranoid-schizoid stage, and Depressive stage. As discussed later, these two stages correspond to Melanie Klein's two key concepts in child object-relational development, namely, "paranoid—schizoid position" and "depressive position". Therefore, before discussing in details our OS Model, it is necessary, first, to define these concepts, and locate them within Klein's theoretical edifice.

Child's Object—Relational Development

According to Melanie Klein (1959), the basic conflict experienced by the infant revolves about love and hate, between the desire to protect part-object (breast) and whole object (mother) and the aggressive wish to destroy them. She conceived of this conflict in terms of two kinds of interpersonal stances or positions, with each position representing a developmental phase along a continuum of love and hate and describing the way in which object relations originate and mature. Klein refers to these positions as paranoid-schizoid position and depressive position. According to the author, every individual passes, in the normal course of events, through these positions.

Paranoid—schizoid position

It is during this period (the first four months of life) that the infant enters in contact with his first (part-) object, the breast as the unique representative of the external world. The anxiety experienced by the infant is of a persecutory nature, and is stirred up by the inborn polarity of the death and life instincts and their immediate conflict, and also by the impact of external reality. The feeling beneath this anxiety is fear of annihilation and persecution, identified with the only object present in the infant's world, namely, the breast. The latter is thus perceived as persecutory and uncontrollable object. Against the overwhelming persecutory anxiety, the infant's ego evolves a number of defence processes.

One of the main defence mechanism brought into play is projective identification which evolves from the primitive projection of the death instinct (Segal, 1974). Here, the infant's immature ego splits (splitting mechanism) itself into "bad" ego-parts (aggressive impulses and feelings) and "good" ego-parts (libidinal impulses). The Ego projects then these ego-parts (good and bad) into the external world or

external objects which become controlled and identified with the projected parts. The object containing "good" ego-parts (positive impulses, such as love) are felt as good, loving and secure. Whereas the objects felt as containing bad ego-parts become threatening persecutors, giving rise to paranoid anxiety. The infant becomes haunted by the paranoid fear that these bad objects may return against him, destroy his good objects, and gain control of him from inside.

The splitting between "good" and "bad" is linked with another defence process: *idealization* . To keep the "good" object apart and protect it from the "bad" persecutory one, the infant resorts to the idealization of the former, making it "impervious to harm". When experiencing acute persecutory anxiety, the infant may also evolves another defence procedure to protect its good objects, namely, *omnipotent denial* of the very persecutory source. Such denial, writes Segal (1974), "is based on a phantasy of the total annihilation of the persecutors".

There is another kind of defensive link between idealization and denial. As a defence against excessive persecutory anxiety, the infant may also idealize the persecuting object itself, denying its threatening and persecutory aspects. Consequently, the infant's treats the persecutory object as ideal, and identifies with it. These defence mechanisms are not exhaustive; other defences may be also brought into play in the paranoid-schizoid position. They can be also evolved, although less frequently, in the next position. Providing a detailed description of all these different defence procedures is far beyond the limits of this study.

Working through the paranoid-schizoid position, and moving gradually to the depressive position, can not be achieved unless conditions under which good experiences predominate over bad ones are provided. Even under such condition, working through this position may be hindered by internal factors, such as envy which prevents the feeling of gratitude.

According to Melanie Klein (1957), as soon as the infant becomes aware of the breast as a source of life (pleasurable or good experiences), its love and desire to possess, and preserve it increases. But, when feeling anxiety as the results of its own internal agressive and bad impulses, the infant begins to experience envious feelings towards the object. It wishes to be, instead of the breast (object), the source of such good experiences. The infant projects into the breast its own bad impulses aiming at devaluating it, making it bad and unenviable. When fused with greed, another internal factor, these envious feelings aims at exhausting, emptying, and spoiling the object entirely, so that it no longer contains anything enviable. These envious feelings prevent thus the infant from experiencing gratification from and gratitude towards the object.

What makes envy detrimental to the infant's "healthy" development is the fact that it interefers —when it is intense—with the normal functionning of schizoid defence mechanisms, such as *splitting*. That is, the process of splitting the object into "good" and "bad", so important in the paranoid-schizoid as a defence against anxiety, does not initially succeed. This failure results rather, as put by Klein

(Ibid.), "in splitting between an omnipotently idealized and a very bad primal object". However, this splitting can not be maintained; for, sooner or later, this idealized object will give rise, in its turn, to envy and is attacked and spoiled. Which leads to a confusion between the "good" and "bad", and, consequently, to the unability of the ego to introject and identify with the "good" object. This unability leads to a state of acute pain and despair, because a loving "good" object can not be found. Therefore, the infant defends itself by pringing into play a number of mechanisms, namely, *spoiling* and *devaluation* of the object. (Note that what constituted the aim of envy, became here also a principal defence against it). For a spoilt and devaluated can not be enviable. Hence, although envy is part of normal development, it should be more integrated for the infant to be able to enjoy gratification and display gratitude towards the "good" object. Without this gratitude, the "good" object can not be introjected in a stable and securing way, and the ego itself would be felt as lacking in "goodness". Nevertheless, this does not mean that envious feelings towards primary objects will completely disappear. Some of these feelings remain and are latter displaced onto other objects.

To summarize, at this period of its relational development, the infant's mental state is principally characterized by the predominance of 1) a split state between "good" and "bad" objects, 2) such manic defences as projective identification, denial, and idealization, and 3) some inhibiting factors such as envy. It is noteworthy that the mechanisms put into play in the paranoid-schizoid position do not constitute defences against overwhelming anxieties only, but also gradual steps in the infant's development. As such they are, under normal conditions, to be partially overcomed with the working through of the paranoid-schizoid position.

Depressive position

Describing the paranoid-schizoid position and its inherent defence procedures as developmental steps, gives rise to the question of how the infant grows out of this position. One of the principal preconditions for the paranoid-schizoid position to yield gradually (and smoothly) to the depressive position —the following phase— is that the infant's relationship to the external world should be characterized by a predominance of good over bad experiences. The experience of this predominance is correlated with a number of changes affecting the object and the ego on the one hand, and the instincts on the other, around the middle of the first year of life.

In relationship to the object, the infant acquires the belief in the prevalence of the ideal "good" objects over the persecutory "bad" objects. Which leads the ego to repeatedly identify with the former. Thereby, the ego acquires greater strength to be able to cope with anxieties sans recourse to such defence mechanisms as splitting of the object and ego. For the fear of the persecution lessens to a point where splitting of the object is reduced to a strict minimum, and the persecutors and "good" part-objects are allowed to come closer together to be fused in a single object, the whole mother. In other words, the goodness and badness that were

attributed to different part–objects are now felt as two opposit and complementary qualities of the same object. In the same time, the splitting in the ego is also attenuated. As the object (mother) becomes whole, the ego becomes whole too, and is less and less split into "good" and "bad" parts. This increases the ego's strength and tolerance of its own aggressivity and, thereby, decreases the need for projection of its aggressive impulses into its (the ego's) objects. This constitutes the first step leading to the integration of the objects and the ego. At this point of development, a fusion of the ego's aggressive and libidinal impulses and their focus on a single whole object is usually achieved.

To the lessening of projection coincides an intensified recourse to introjective process. As the infant begins to discover its dependence on the object, an increase in the oral need to possess it internally, or devour it, is experienced. For the depressive position is simultaneous with the oral stage where love and need of the object are expressed by introjection and devouring. This omnipotent introjective mechanism gives rise to depressive anxiety. The infant is exposed to a new kind of fear that he may have lost, as a result of its own sadistic–oral destructiveness, the "good" object. This leads to the depressive experience of mourning for the good object, feeling of loss and guilt. As Segal (1974) put it, the infant "remembers that he has loved, and indeed still loves his mother, but feels that he has devoured or destroyed her so that she is no longer available" (p. 70) neither as an external nor internal object.

As a corollary of the changes observed in this development phase, the anxiety changes its nature. It centres, henceforth, upon the phantasied danger of the infant's destroying and lossing the internal and external objects (mother), as a direct result of its (infant's) sadistic impulses. Although this infantile sadism is, according to Klein, already less intense than in the paranoid–schizoid position, "it still threatens, in the child's phantasy world, to destroy, to harm, (and) to provoke abandonment".

To defend against and overcome the depressive anxiety, the infant evolves here again a number of defence processes. It may try to resort, in more or less modified form, to previous manic mechanisms (*splitting*, *denial*, *idealization*), however, this anxiety is successfully transcended only if *reparation* mechanism is launched. This defence, which appears as a response to the feeling of loss and guilt intrinsic to this period, consists in the infant's wishes and attempts to repair the phantasied damage inflicted upon the object (as a result of sadistic–oral impulses), and restore the wholeness of the mother's body. This process pre–requires also the denegation of all the evil that the infant thought it had inflicted upon its object. When succesful, this *reparation*, or restoration, of the wholeness of the object can reassure the infant of the possession of a thoroughly "good" object whose introjection will strengthen the ego.

At the early stage of the depressive position, the same feelings of loss and guilt may also stir what Melanie Klein called *mock reparation*, a process which has

attracted less attention.   Unlike real reparation, mock reparation consists, as
pointed out by Segal (1981), in denying the dependence on and the ambivalence
towards the "good" object which is then, to use Alford's (1989) words, "controlled
omnipotently in phantasy and treated with either triumph, or contempt, so that its
loss is not so painful or frightening...".   In spite of the temporary relief that may
bring to the infant, this defence, however, will prove, soon or latter, uneffective.
Only real reparation will help the infant enter what Klein calls the early stage of
Oedipus complex.   At this stage libido and depressive anxiety are deflected to some
extent from the mother to other new objects, and the intensity of depressive
anxiety is attenuated.

To summarize, depressive position is characterized by 1) the fact that the infant is
able to apprehend the mother as a whole object; 2) less dependency on the
mechanism of splitting the object into "good" and "bad"; 3) a focus of the libidinal
and aggressive impulses on the same whole object; 4) an axiety of a depressive
nature associated with the fantasy of the infant's destroying the object (mother)—
as a result of its oral sadism— and consequently losing it, or being deserted by it;
5) launching of a new defence process, namely, reparation or restoration of the
wholeness of the object; and 6) capability of introjecting the "good" object in a
secure and stable way.

The Outsider's Syndrom Model

One of the tenets of psychoanalysis is that, as put by Freud (1961), "nothing
once formed in the mind could ever perish...everything survives in some way or
other, and is capable under certain conditions of being brought to light again...".
In the same way, applying her theories of the earliest mental processes in the life
of the infant, Melanie Klein (1959) explains that when an adult person, or a group,
is experiencing anxiety, he/she regresses to the psychotic positions (paranoid and
depressive), and resorts to the defence processes put at its disposal (in each
position) to combat and transcend the then prevailing anxiety.

Paranoid—schizoid Stage

Based on this basic premisse, our OS Model draws a parallel between the infant's
relationship to its objects and the experience (the Outsider's Syndrome) of the
sojournor's relationship to the host culture. That is, the contact with a new
culture or environment reactivates the above described infantile paranoid—schizoid
and depressive positions and their characterizing defence mechanisms (see Table 2).
To begin with, that adjusting to a different culture is source of suffering, stress, or
anxiety, is by no means new. It has been confirmed by several studies (Berry,
1985; Stein, 1985; Kim, 1976.; Hippler, 1974, to list only recent ones). This
anxiety is often expressed by subjects seeking counselling in terms of ungrounded
fear.   Here is an illustrative excerpt of a long interview with a 31 years old
American client:

Stage	Anxiety Type and Resulting Feeling	Defence Mechanism	Attitude Towards Host Culture	Attirude Towards Native Culture
Paranoid-schizoid				
introjective phase	Persecutory: fear of being engulfed, annihilated.	Splitting, omnipotent denial, projective identification, idealization.	Curiosity, admiration, identification with it.	Criticism, denegration, rejection, retreat from it.
rejective phase	Accentuated fear of engulfment and annihilation.	Splitting, omnipotent denial, protective identification	criticism, devaluation, suspicion, anger, hostility, rejection.	Overevaluation, idealization (nativism, chauvinism).
Depressive				
pre-depressive phase	Depressive: feeling of helpless-ness and dependence; emergence of a feeling of guilt, loss, despair.	Manic reparation, denial.	Ambivalence, confusion with a little more apathy than sympathy, self-confidence.	Ambivalence, confusion with a little more sympathy, and more objectivity.
depressive phase	Accentuated feeling of guilt, loss and despair.	Reparation	Both negative and positive aspects of the culture are integrated.	Objective evaluation becomes possible, and comparison lessens. Autonomy.

Table 2. Description of the Outsider's Syndrom Model

I don't know what's happening...since I came to Japan, 6 months ago, I
feel very tired...I was a sportman...I am always tired... its a kind of
street I feel everywhere, at school, at work, at home...I feel very confused...I
am doing anything, but I feel like I am not doing the right thing...it's a
kind of fear...I feel scared without any reason...may be because I am not
progressing in Japanese study...but it seems a little trivial...does'nt it...I
am afraid I am becoming too analytical, critical, a little suspiscious...?"

What contribute further to the regressive threat (to paranoid–schizoid position) is
the fact that the relationship of the sojourner to the host culture is, at the
beginning, like the one of the infant to its mother[2], of a symbiotic or anaclitic
nature. The subject experiences the host culture as a feeding or nurturing mother
(Fried, 1963; Scheidlinger, 1974, 1983). That is he/she depends on it for all the
vital needs, a situation which, as found by many clinicians (e. g., Anzieu, 1984;
Gibard et al., 1974; Kernberg, 1975), reactivates, in relationship to the host
culture, early anxiety and fear of being "engulfed" (Stein, 1985), "deprived,...robbed,
and of not being...loved..." (M. Klein, ibid.), and persecuted.

This feeling of persecution from the host culture is rarely grounded. It stems,
like in the case of the infant, from the subject's resort, as a defence, to such
manic defence process of *splitting, projective indentification*, *denial*, and *idealization*
prevailing in the paranoid–schizoid position.

Introjective phase

As indicated in Table 2, our model foresees, at this stage, two sub–phases in
adjusting to the host culture: introjective and rejective phases. The former phase
corresponds to Oberg's (1960) *honeymoon* stage, Adler's (1975) *contact* stage, and
Bochner's (1982) *passing* response (Table 3). All these concepts describe 1) the
sojournor'sinitial positive reaction (to host culture) of enchantment, euphoria,
admiration, idealization, curiosity, identification, and 2) a retreat from, denigration,
rejection or, in psychoanalytical terms, a libidinal disinvestment of one's native
culture. As discussed above, these responses to the host and native cultures are
direct consequences of manic defences against anxiety. That is, simultaneous
splitting of the ego and the environment object, projective identification, idealization
and denial are evolved by the sojourner's ego, leading to the perception of an
ideally "good" object, host culture. In other words, the sojournor projects his/her
own "good" impulses onto the host culture, idealizing it, omnipotenly denying any
possible threat or persecution from it, and finally identifying with it. As mentioned
above, the omnipotent denial of persecutive feeling is based on a phantasy of the
complete annihilation of the "persecutor". The subject's attitude and behavior
reflect a strong and unsatiable conscious desire to "know", "master", in a word,
incorporate every cultural aspect of the host culture, and the unconscious desire to
reduce —and omnipotently control— the differential gap perceived as a source of

one's persecutory feelings.

Simultaneous splitting of the ego and the environment object helps also the sojournor's ego get ride of one's "bad" impulses, projecting them onto the now "bad" object, the native culture. Experienced thus as containing one's own "bad" impulses, the latter is, at this stage, devaluated, and denegrated, and less identified with. Which attenuates the subject's anxiety, loss, and guilt resulting from separation with it. Illustrative is the case of one of my clients, a 39 years old Iranian male who used to hide his origins, pretending that he was American. Although he understood how "strange" (his word) his behavior was, he could not prevent himself from lying, until the unconscious motives of his lack of identification with his country were analyzed and recognized.

Paranoid-schizoid stage
　　.introjective phase
　　　　　- Oberg's *Honeymoon* stage
　　　　　- Adler's *Contact* stage
　　　　　- Bochner's *Passing* response
　　.rejective phase
　　　　　- Oberg's *Crisis* stage
　　　　　- Adler's *Desintegration-Integration* stages
　　　　　- Bochner's *Chauvinistic* response

Depressive stage
　　.pre-depressive phase
　　　　　- Oberg's *Recovery* stage
　　　　　- Adler's *Autonomy* stage
　　　　　- Bochner's *Marginal* respons
　　.depressive phase
　　　　　- Oberg's *Adjustment* stage
　　　　　- Adler's *Independence* stage
　　　　　- Bochner's *Mediating* response

Table 3. Comparison of the OS Model with Three Major Models

Rejective phase

The introjective phase which begins from the first contact with the host culture does not last long. Few months (from about six months) later the sojournor commences to establish a new kind of relationship with the host culture, characterized by rejective and hostile attitudes. These attitudes have been located (see Table 1) by Oberg in the stage of *crisis*, by Adler in his *desintegration* and *reintegration* stages, and by Bochner in his *chauvinistic* stage.

Like in the case of the infant-object relationship, the sojournor-host culture relationship worsens gradually, owing to a new intervening factor, envy. As soon as the subject caught in cultural contact becomes aware of the host culture (object) as a source of good experiences, her/his love and desire to possess, and preserve it increases. But, at the same time the same experience stirs also in the sojournor his/her envious wishs to be as good as the host culture and people. However, when this is felt impossible, these envious feelings will lead to the desire to be the very source of such goodness (Hafsi,1991). In other words, the subject desire to replace, in terms of goodness, the host culture and people by aiming at their destruction and spoiling their goodness, like the envious infant at the paranoid-schizoid position. For a spoilt host culture is not enviable anymore. This spoiling attempt appears as a rejective tendency, involving a number of emotional reactions, such as criticism, suspicion, devaluation, and, in some specific cases, anger and hostility towards many aspects of the host culture. When accentuated, this rejection may reach emotional and even pathological proportions. The following statement of one female patient, who, as an English teacher, has lived in Japan for eight months, can illustrate this tendency: "

> ...*They (Japanese) are childish...they stink...they make me sick...when someone touch me in the train, I am sick for the rest of the day...I really can't understand how I could stay for all this long period... we, gaijins, will never be really accepted...You can not be too carefull in dealing with the Japanese... Gaijins are welcomed as long as they are useful...object of* curiosity...when you are not useful anymore...you don't interest them (Japanese p eople)...exploiting you is one reason for their politeness and kindness..."

It is noteworthy that, following our advice, this subject who has been under psychiatric treatment, went back to her country for a short period and came back to Japan, a month later, saying that she felt better.

Another consequence of these envious feelings and the resulting rejective attitude is what can be called *nativism*. Nativism, a kind of ethnocentrism, is defined here as the tendency to idealize and think of one's own ethnic group (or culture, society) as being better than other groups (Berry; 1984; Berry & Kalin, 1979). Nativism comprises also self-overestimation or, to use Berry (1985)'s word, "self-glorification". I do not make a difference, here, between self-overestimation

and overestimation of one's own ethnic group or culture. For, as noted by Stein (1980a, 1980b), "one truly experiences his group to be superorganic, that is, transcending the self yet part of the (symbiotic) self..." Thus, the sojournor does not, at this stage, only consciously display hatred, denigration and rejection of the host culture, but tends also, in the same time, to "glorify" and overestimate her/his country and her/himself. As Ticho (1971) put it, the sojournor tends "to activate previously gratifying links to the environment he (she) left behind, regardless of whether it compares favorably or unfavorably with the environment at hand". She or he evaluates his/her country as, for instance, more developed, cleaner, safer, more opened to foreigners, etc., than the host culture. His/her countrymen (including him/herself) are also, in every, domaine highly evaluated compared with the host people.

The nativistic tendency may be explained, from the economic point of view, by a partial withdrawal of cathexis from the object-host culture, as a result of the interference of envy, and the reinvestment of this cathexis in the native culture. When very accentuated, this nativism presents like the illusion of grandeur which Freud (1911) explains as follows:

> *"What use is made of the libido after it has been set free by the process of detachment? A normal person will at once beg in looking for a substitute for the lost attachment... in paranoia, the liberated libido becomes attached to the ego, and is used for the aggrandizement of the ego..."*

When accentuated, this illusion of grandeur may in some cases reach emotional proportions. The following excerpt of a counselling session with a 25 years old American student in Japan may illustrate this tendency:

> *"...We hear a lot about the Japanese miracle, ingenuity ...but nothing is Japanese in it...the miracle is an American creation...without American capitals and ideas, there wouldn't be any Japanese miracle...Japanese are unique...they make miracles with gaijin's (the subject's own word) ideas..."*

It should be noted that this paranoid-schizoid relationship to the host culture is often and easily misinterpreted or labeled as a paranoid tendency by non—experienced (or simply not familiar with the problem of cultural adjustment) psychiatrists. However, this kind of relationship that characterizes the first contact with a new culture is neither a pathological nor a lasting phenomenon. It is rather a normal developmental stage which can be experienced by almost any sojournor, and is dedicated to be worked through, leading gradually, under favorable conditions, to a decrease in envious feelings. Which, as discussed later, allows the subject to introject the hosts with gratitude and make of them parts of one's self, progressing

thus to the next step, the depressive stage.

Depressive Stage

This stage corresponds to the depressive position as described by most object relation theorists. Observation of the sojournor's behaviour at this stage reveals stricking change in her/his relationship to the host and native cultures.   These changes or achievement can be described in terms of two developmental phases: *pre-depressive* phase and proper *depressive* phase.

Pre-depressive phase

Like the infant in early period of depressive position, the sojournor begins from the pre-depressive phase to deal with the hosts as whole objects, owing to a decrease in splitting.   The subject is thus able to achieve a less phantastic picture of the hosts. That is, the person become able to perceive and relates her/himself to the latter as whole objects that can be both "good" and "bad", and than can be also both loved and hated.   This recognition of the hosts as a whole has a number of implications.   Recognizing the object's wholeness equals also recognizing its strength, and leads the sojournor to discover her/his helplessness and dependence on, and ambivalence towards the host culture. The anxiety experienced by the sojournor in relationship to the host culture undergoes also a qualitative changes. It is no more of a paranoid but of a depressive nature, and is associated by the subject with the phantasied danger of him/her destroying, losing and being abandoned by the hosts.

One of the early defence processes characterizing this phase is what Melanie Klein (1959) has called *mock reparation*, or manic reparation.   As discussed above mock reparation consists in the denegation (*denial* mechanism) of the subject's dependence and ambivalence towards the object, the host culture, to render the experience of the would-be abandonment by it, or its loss, less painful and less frightening. This manic reparation is, in other words, based on denial of reality.   For the mock repairer, the object of reparation (host culture) "must never be experienced as having been damaged by oneself", and "must be felt inferior, dependent and, at depth, contemptible...There can be no true love or esteem for the object...being repaired, as this would threaten...of true depressive feelings. " (Segal, 1974: p. 96).   Thus, unlike reparation proper which will be discussed below, this kind of reparative defence does not allow the subject's ego to alleviate effectively the feeling of guilt beneath, bringing, consequently, no lasting satisfaction or relief.

As indicated in Table 3, this stage includes Oberg's *recovery* stage, Adler's *autonomy* stage, and Bochner's *marginal* type of response.   The subject looks more independent, self-assured and self-confident (Adler, 1975). Vacillation between the host culture and native culture —interpreted here as a defence against the feeling of helpleness and dependency on the host culture, perceived unconsciously as the sole source of life —is another feature of this phase.   Here the subject tries to legitimize

(Adler, ibid.) the differences and similarities between the two cultures, without identifying consciously and fully with either culture (Bochner, 1982). However, according to Bochner (Ibid.), this leads soon or latter to, among others, identity confusion. Nevertheless, plying between the host culture and one's native culture helps also the subject to validate his/her pseudo-independance from the latter and mourn its loss. For without mourning the loss of one's motherland, no real and "healthy" adjustment to the host culture is possible. Stein (1985) writes that "while the mourning process would facilitate both internal and external structural integration, the abortion of mourning leads to internal and external structural segregration (splitting)." Hence, to transcend the pre-depressive phase, the sojournor must break and mourn the past symbiosis with the motherland, and therefore move forward towards a "better" integration, integration of the host culture as a whole "good" object. This marks his/her entrance in the depressive phase which, as indicated in Table 3, includes Oberg's *adjustment* stage, Adler's *independence* stage, and Bochner's *mediating* response type.

Depressive phase

One of the achievements of the depressive phase is the ability to integrate or introject the now whole object, the host culture, and identify with it. To this integration of the object coincides simultaneously the integration of the ego. In other words, introjection of the host culture as an increasingly whole object promotes ego integration, and thereby strengthens it. It goes without saying that this integration is the result of a drastical decrease in splitting and projective (identification) processes, and intensification of introjective (identification) processes.

Like the infant at the later phase of depressive position, the sojournor realizes gradually, as the integration processus proceeds, that the badness s/he uses to attribute to the object-host culture is partly his/her own projected badness. S/he realizes also that the badness and goodness are two different characteristics of the same object, and not of different objects as s/he uses to feel. Paraphrasing Segal (1974), we can say that, paralleling the infant, the sojournor becomes better able to "remember former gratification at times when...(the host culture) seems to be depriving him (her) and former experiences of deprivation when (it) is gratifying him (her)...". This increases the subject's ambivalence towards the host culture. This ambivalence is the result of the fact that the subject's love (libidinal impulses) and hate (aggressive impulses) are no more invested in different objects, but become fused and focus upon the same object, host culture. The subject realizes then more and more that s/he (her/himself) loves and hates the latter. The pseudo-autonomous attitude displayed at the pre-depressive phase is gradually overcomed. The subject becomes aware of her/his dependency on the host culture, and "the need to possess it, keep it inside, and protect it" from his own unconscious destructiveness (hate).

The depressive anxiety which springs from the sojournor's ambivalence towards

the host culture is experienced as a feeling that his/her destructive impulses may have destoyed or will destroy the host culture, the object that s/he loves and completely depends on. As discussed in the infant's case, this experience gives rise to a feeling of guilt, despair, and loss which awaken in the subject the phantasied wish to recreate, or repair (*reparation* mechanism) the object to regain it externally and internally. It is this wish and the capacity to repair the good object that makes it possible for the subject's ego to maintain, or establish a positive, or love relationship with the host culture through difficulties and conflicts. As put by Segal (1974), this reparative tendency constitutes also the basis for creative activity, reported by Adler (1975).

The reparative drives stimulate further the subject's growth and integration in relation to the hosts. Like in the infant's case, the growth and the restoration, carried out in relation to the object, result in an increase in the subject's trust in her/his love and capacity to repair the internal object and experience it as good even in case of deprivation by the external object (host culture). Which in turn renders him/her more capable of bearing deprivation without being overwhelmed by hatred, and other negative emotional reactions.

There are many instances of reparative behavior in relation to the host culture. Among the most frequently observed reparative behaviors is, for example, the desire to serve as "ambassador" of the host culture by introducing it to one's countrymen and other people. The recent campaign by foreign residents in Japan against the use of half-split chopsticks (*waribashi*.) to preserve or save nature is another example of the reparative tendency.

It is noteworthy that true, or non-manic, reparation differs in many respects from mock or manic reparation which is brought into play in the pre-depressive phase. While manic reparation is, as discussed above, a defence aiming at repairing the object in such way that guilt and loss can never be felt (and thus denied), non-manic reparation does not fulfill a defensive function. Since "it is based on the recognition of psychic reality, the experiencing of pain that this reality causes and the taking of appropriate action to relieve it in phantasy and reality", non-manic reparation "is, in fact the very reverse of a defence, it is a mechanism important both for the growth of the ego and its adaptation to reality" (Segal, 1974: p. 96).

At this point of her/his adaptation process, the sojournor is able to enjoy the new culture with few occasional instances of anxiety and stress (Oberg, 1960). Socio-cultural differences are thus better tolerated, accepted and even enjoyed (Adler, 1975). In few words, her/his relationship to both native and host cultures is characterized by visible personal growth (Bochner, 1982).

In the infant's development case, Melanie Klein has observed that while still experiencing depressive position, the infant's relationship to its mother commences gradually to loss its exclusiveness, and, therefore, libido and depressive anxiety are more and more deviated to some extent from the mother. This stimulates new object-relations and reduces the intensity of depressive feelings. A parallel can be

drawn here also between the infant's experience and the sojournor's attitude towards the host culture. It is very frequent to see the sojournor, at the later stage of the depressive phase, deflecting somehow her/his interest from the host culture to other new cultures by, for instance, reading books, traveling, learning a new language, etc.

We have up to now provided a brief description of our OS model. This brings us now to the question of whether the passage from the paranoid-schizoid stage to the depressive stage is always possible for the sojournor. According to our clinical observations, this is not always the case. Some persons can hardly go beyond or work through the paranoid-schizoid stage. Others may enter the early phase of the depressive stage and remains blocked in as long as the contact with the host culture is maintained. In general the depressive stage is —like the depressive position for the infant— never fully passed or worked through. The feelings of anxiety pertaining to ambivalence towards the new environment and guilt, as well as feelings of loss continue somehow to threaten the sojournor. The normal working through of each stage can be impeded by intrapersonal and extrapersonal factors. As discussed above, envy is one of the most disastrous intrapersonal factor. Extrapersonal factors include interpersonal factors and those factors proper to the new environment. The degree of acceptability (towards the sojournor) of the host people expressed in terms of attitudes and stereotypes is an example of extrapersonal factors —eachcountry or culture has its "good" (accepted), and "bad" (disliked, denigrated) sojournors. I will confine myself to this brief description, because discussing in details these inhibiting factors goes far beyond the scope of this study.

Conclusions

As Kim (1976) put it, "learning and adapting to a new culture is like beginning a new life cycle. It starts with birth and goes through developmental stages once again in an abbreviated form." This adjustment or adaptation process has been described as resulting in emotional unrest or a number of psychological symptoms which were referred to as culture shock. Since Oberg, the creator of this term, a number of models describing the experience of culture shock in terms of "stages" has been proposed. However, a review of the litterature reveals that, far from being contradictory, these models not only are complementary and overlap, but tend to share the same characteristic of being merely descriptive (Smalley, 1963), that is, not useful for the understanding of the dynamics of cultural adjustment. Therefore, there was a need for a new model that can integrate the findings of these models, and shed light on the psychodynamics of the intercultural experience. Hence, our Outsider's Syndrom Model has been proposed to meet this need.

It is noteworthy that I have used the term "Outsider's Syndrom" (OS) in lieu of culture shock to describe the emotional states (expressed in terms of behaviors, attitudes and beliefs) experienced by the subject (in contact with a new cultural environment) at each developmental stage and phase of the cultural contact. This

abandonment of culture shock owes to the fact that, as put by Fernham and Bochner (Ibid.), this concept has become "more of generic expression connoting much and signifying little —a term which in attempting to explain all, fails to explain a great deal".

Based on the general premisse that our adult behavior is rooted in infancy, I developed the hypothesis that contact with a new culture or environment revives early infantile anxieties and the defence processes used to combat them. In other words, our OS Model draws a parallel between the infant's object relations and the relationship of the sojournor with the new culture. To put it concretely, in the course of adjustment to a new culture, the subject passes through two main stages similar to what Melanie Klein has called the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions. Likewise, these stages were refered to as paranoid-schizoid and depressive stages, with each stage comprising two phases (see Table 2).

However, conceiving of the cultural adjustement process in terms of developmental stages does not imply that the OS Model is a mere descriptive developmental model. As discussed above, the aim of this paper has been not merely to discribe the different adjustment stages, but rather to shed light on the dynamics characterizing the sojournor's relationship to the host and native cultures, and the defence processes involved in each stage. In this sens, our OS Model is thus a dynamic model too.

Additionally, our model does not imply that these stages are unconditionally and naturally passed through by any person subject to intercultural contact and its direct consequences. The course of adjustment can be impeded by a number of intrapersonal and extrapersonal factors. In this sens, it is different from other stage-wise models and hypotheses, such as the U-curve and the W-curve hypotheses, for instance. Because for most of these models and hypotheses, adaptation markes inevitably the final stage of the adjustment process. That is, they conclude that the contact with a new culture can be described in terms of three stages: 1) initial adjustment and a positive attitude towards the new culture, 2) then gradual maladjustment, and rejection of this culture, and finally 3) readjustment to the new culture. The idea here is that the sojournor's adjustment process and her/his satisfaction with the new culture is such that the satisfaction or well-being of the initial stage of the cultural contact gradually declines but reincreases again. This implies that the positive attitude (expressed in satisfaction feelings) or adjustment of the initial stage is identical to the one of the final stage. This constitutes a major difference with our model. For, as discussed above, these two adjustments are different in nature from each other. The initial adjustment is a pseudo-adjustment and not a real adjustment, in the sens that it is the result of a resort to such manic defences as *denial* and *idealization* . To defend against the persecutory anxiety, the sojournor tries to omnipotently deny any possible threat from the new culture, idealizing and, finally, identifying with it. To repeat again, this omnipotent denial of persecutive feeling is based on a phantasy of the complete annihilation of

the "persecutor". On the contrary, the adjustment characterizing the final phase of the depressive stage is a real and healthy one. It is the result of the integration of the host culture as a "good" object, and the evolving of the constructive process of reparation. In other words, while the initial adjustment is the result of reality denial, the final adjustment is the result of recognition and integration of reality. The difference between our Outsider's Syndrom Model and other models becomes even greater, if we consider that our psychoanalytically oriented model suggests that considering "healthy" adaptation as being always achieved during cultural adjustment process may be a "myth" which is worth studying.

Finally, it is noteworthy that our Outsider's Syndrom Model applies not only to the case of intercultural contact but also to any interregional contact experience. That is, a person immigrating from one to another region of the same country may experience also the same kind of psychological phenomenon. The difference between the intercultural and interregional contact experiences " lies only in the symbolic geographic object" (Stein, 1985) —the host country for the foreign sojournor and the host region for the "displaced person" or "internal migrant", to borrow Stein's words.

Author's Notes

1. Before discussing our model, it is noteworthy that the present study is based on clinical interviews, psychotherapy cases, and content analysis of different documents (letters to newspapers and magasines, articles, and books) written by foreign residents about their experience in Japan. The raw data collected from a content analysis of documents have led to the development of an adjustment scale by the author (Hafsi, 1988) which was used to study the adjustment process of foreign residents in Japan (Shoei, 1991).

2. The analogy between land or culture and a mother has been pointed out by a number of psychoanalysts. Stein (1985), for example, writes that "culture (or group) is represented as a fantasied maternal object with which (one)...feels himself to be wholly dependent...". The English expression of "motherland", "mother earth" (Scheidlinger, 1974) —whose equivalent are found in many languages— constitutes another representative support for this analogy of the mother and country.

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Summary

The beginner researcher finds her/himself overwhelmed by the number of theories and models describying the experience of culture shock. Most of the studies reviewed share the characteristic of being descriptive, that is, not focused on the psycho-dynamics of culture shock and, in a broader sens, cultural adjustment. Based on object relations theory, the present study proposes thus a psychoanalytical model for the apprehension of the psycho-dynamics of adjustment to a new environment or culture, and the resulting emotional phenomenon of culture shock. This model, refered to as Outsider's Syndrome (OS) Model, draws a parallel between the infant's object relational development (as discussed by Melanie Klein) and the adjustment process of the sojournor to a new cultural environment. This adjustment process is thus conceived in terms of two main stages, namely, paranoid-schizoid stage, and depressive stage, with each stage comprising two phases.

While attempting to integrate three major well known models, the OS Model discusses each stage, sheding light thus on the unconscious mechanisms brought into play in the relationship to the host and native culture, a task unfulfilled by other models. The hypotheses developed here in the present paper are based on clinical observation, counselling, and therapy of foreign subjects living in Japan, and content analysis of various kinds of documents written by foreigners about Japan, the host culture.