"AMERICAN AND JAPANESE EXPATRIATE ADJUSTMENT: A PSYCHOANALYTIC CONTRIBUTION"

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ABSTRACT

AMERICAN AND JAPANESE EXPATRIATE ADJUSTMENT:
A PSYCHOANALYTIC CONTRIBUTION

While a wide range of literature on expatriation and repatriation tends to focus on individual adjustment and human resource management systems, the issue of expatriation has not been sufficiently examined in the context of personal development, beyond professional or career development, nor the impact of the sociocultural context. A psychoanalytic approach can be useful in understanding personal and family adjustment as well as some cultural determinants of response to expatriation. Issues of dependency, separation and individuation, and autonomy and control may provide important insights into expatriation and reasons why, for example, Japanese and American expatriates differ in their response.
Failed expatriate assignments are costly not only to the company but to expatriates and their families. The costs to companies are high in terms of lost money and productivity, while the personal costs can be counted in terms of career, personal and family development. Different rates of failure have been found in U.S., European and Japanese multinational companies; the U.S. expatriate had the greatest chance of failure while the Japanese expatriate had the least (Tung, 1988a; Black, 1992).

To understand the reasons for failure, research on expatriation adjustment has been conducted at different levels of analysis. At the macro-level, country factors have been explored including both the home and host as well as the cultural distance between the two (Mendenhall and Oddou, 1985). Also, company factors such as HRM systems have been examined (Tung, 1987; 1988b). At the micro-level, the adjustment of expatriates and their families to the environment abroad or back home has been the central issue (Black, 1992; Black and Gregersen, 1991a; 1991b; de Cieri et al., 1989; Black and Stephens, 1989; Torbiorn, 1982)). Theories concerning the process of adjustment have been developed (Black and Mendenhall, 1991), and mechanisms of adjustment such as attribution (Mendenhall and Oddou, 1985), uncertainty reduction and expectation (Black, 1992; Dean et al., 1988) have been discussed. More attention is also being paid to problems of repatriation (Adler, 1981; Harvey, 1983; Clogue and Krupp, 1978; Kendall, 1981,
Black, 1992). The purpose of this paper is to briefly review the factors associated with expatriate adjustment, and to suggest some deeper psychological and cultural issues that may affect adjustment and that may help to explain differences found in adjustment between U.S. and Japanese expatriates.

Factors influencing adjustment

Many factors, as shown in figure 1, have been identified which affect successful adjustment to expatriation and repatriation: country (both home and host country); company, and the individual/family.

-- insert figure 1 here --

Country factors.

Host country factors are those factors peculiar to the host country which promote or hinder expatriate adjustment. For example, cultures of some countries are more difficult to adapt to than others (Mendenhall and Oddou, 1985; Torbiorn, 1982; Jones and Popper, 1972; Pinefield, 1973). Black and Mendenhall (1991) hypothesized different adjustment patterns related to their similarity with the home culture or previous exposure to the other "foreign" cultures; for example, the greater the dissimilarity between the host and home national or corporate cultures, the longer and more severe will be the culture shock stage and the repatriation adjustment. Thus, the cultural distances between host and home country is seen as an important variable for one's adjustment. Host country factors also
include issues such as attitudes towards MNCs, the role of expatriate managers, and the degree of nationalism, among others. Some countries are actively seeking foreign investment making it very attractive to companies while others are more hostile to foreign MNC involvement as it is seen as a threat to national sovereignty (Vernon, 1971). Furthermore, there are often legal requirements as to the number of expatriates allowed and the number of local managers that must have key positions.

Home country factors also influence expatriate’s adjustment and performance. One study concluded that the home country culture matters most (Steining and Hammer, 1992). For example, manager’s conceptions of organization are found to be deeply rooted in home culture despite frequent exposure to foreign cultures (Laurent, 1983). Reentry adjustment varies according to the difference in home country conditions, e.g. poor housing conditions at home and downward shift in social status (Tung, 1988b). The degree of heterogeneity of the home country culture also makes a difference as a more homogeneous society may not easily accept someone with exposure to a different culture.

Company factors

Company factors have also been identified as promoting effective expatriation and repatriation. Strategic human resource management is considered crucial to managing successfully expatriation. For example, HRM policies such as
selection and training (of expatriate managers and their spouses), mentoring, assistance in relocation and continuous support to the family, as well as career and reward systems are considered to be key factors (Tung, 1987; Mendenhall and Oddou, 1985).

Company assistance has been found to be one of the most consistent and strong predictors of psychological adjustment of expatriates and their spouses (Black and Gregersen, 1991a; de Cieri et al., 1989). Black and Gregersen (1991b) went one step further finding that it is the spouse's self-initiated predeparture training that has a positive relation with spouse adjustment.

Overall, it is considered to be important for a company to include spouse and family for consideration in expatriate selection and training (Harvey, 1985; Tung, 1982; de Cieri et al., 1989). This is not confined to expatriation, but includes repatriation as well. Although repatriation may be more difficult than expatriation in terms of adjustment, not enough attention has been paid (Adler, 1981; Harvey, 1982), and very few companies have actually established the repatriation programs (Adler, 1986; Tung, 1988b).

Company factors also include a career system which is perceived as fair to the expatriates and repatriates in terms of promotion, reward and incentives. While expatriates often benefit from high salaries and perks this can create resentment from both local and home country managers.
Furthermore, many companies are finding the costs of expatriation too high.

In repatriation, many problems may occur, particularly regarding career advancement opportunities. Such problems are rather common in U.S. MNCs where expatriate's expectations of upward career advancement are not realized upon reentry, since international experiences are generally not considered as important criterion for promotion to senior management position (Tung, 1988a; Black and Gregersen, 1991a).

The rationale for expatriation also plays an important role, e.g. technology transfer, management and/or organizational development, and maintenance of corporate culture, or "cultural control" (Edstrom and Galbraith, 1977). Successful expatriation is considered to be necessary for effective and efficient international control (Doz and Prahalad, 1986).

**Individual/family factors**

Individual and family factors play an important role affecting expatriate adjustment, such as length of time spent abroad or back home, age, social status, expatriate-spouse interaction (Black and Gregersen, 1991a). Personal attributes related to success are motivation, technical competence, and ability to cope with responsibility overseas. More specifically, individual traits considered necessary to be culturally adaptive are open-mindedness,
self-confidence, ability to relate to people, and curiosity (Kets de Vries and Mead, 1991).

Reasons for the failure of adjustment have been identified that are not only related to the expatriate but also related to the spouse and family. Therefore, there is increasing focus on adaptation of spouses and children. Black and Stephens (1989) have empirically demonstrated the role of spouse's adjustment. Favorable opinion of the overseas assignment by the spouse has been found to be positively related to the spouse's adjustment, while the novelty of the foreign culture has a negative relation with the spouse's adjustment. Furthermore, adjustment of spouse is highly correlated to adjustment of the expatriate managers and the adjustment of spouse and expatriate are positively related to expatriate's intention to stay in overseas assignment.

In sum, much of the literature on expatriation/repatriation remains broad in focus - identifying a multitude of factors at multiple levels - and fairly normative. Significant rates of failure and substantial costs of failed assignments necessitate a more in-depth look that captures the dynamics of the experience of expatriation. As personal and family adaptation is seen as the major reason for failed assignments, and as failure rates differ across countries, it is perhaps worth exploring in more depth some of the psychodynamic influences that may help to explain these failures. In the next section, we will
elaborate on such issues from the psychoanalytic perspective
to take into account the earlier life experiences (Erikson,
1950) and the family relationship, especially the early
mother-child relationship (Mahler et al, 1975). Although
psychoanalytic theory, as developed in Western Europe and
the United states, may better explain American expatriate
adjustment, variations in key themes, such as dependency and
control, may provide insight into Japanese expatriate
adjustment as well.

Furthermore, a number of studies have shown a lower
failure rate of the Japanese expatriates in comparison to
the U.S., which is attributed to the HRM policies, such as
better selection policy, training, and maintenance of
communication with expatriates abroad (Tung, 1987; Black and
Stephens, 1989; Black and Mendenhall, 1991; Black and
Gregersen, 1991c). Our argument is that while such HRM
systems are quite important to the success of expatriation,
the socio-cultural context also plays an important role. It
may be useful to understand how situational factors, such as
host country environment and organization practices,
interact with issues of personal development and socio-
cultural factors. We need, therefore, to examine reasons
for differences in expatriation adjustment across borders -
e.g. U.S. vs. Japan - beyond HRM systems and in terms of
personal development within the socio-cultural context.
A Psychoanalytic Approach

A psychoanalytic approach can be useful in understanding personal and family adjustment as well as some cultural determinants of response to expatriation. Early childhood experiences, socialization practices, and educational systems have a strong impact on personality development and adjustment behavior. Issues in personal development -- dependency, separation and individuation, autonomy and control, and intimacy -- may provide important insights into expatriation experience and reasons why, for example, Japanese and American expatriates differ in their response.

Issues in personal development

Dependency. Early in life, a child has to negotiate dependency needs. In Western cultures, a certain amount of frustration of needs was deemed necessary for developing frustration tolerance and subsequently impulse control (Freud, 1961/1932). Parents were warned not to be overindulgent, not to respond immediately to the infant's cries, but, of course, eventually to gratify these needs. These experiences also develop a child's sense of reality and fantasy. The internal object world develops from experiences with the gratification and frustration of dependency needs (Klein, 1932). Personal identity develops along the lines of good me/bad me which is first incorporated (introjected) from these experiences and then projected on others. Thus, early mechanisms for dealing with
reality involves splitting the world into good and bad. Over time, a more coherent, stable identity evolves that integrates both good and bad aspects and sees the world for better and for worse.

Separation and individuation. Another developmental task is to establish a sense of self as separate from other. Initially, the infant experiences autism (no sense of other), and then symbiosis (no sense of separation from other). Through experiences such as those described above, a sense of self as separate from other evolves. Boundaries are established between "me and not me". Games of hide and seek reflect concerns for object constancy and the ability to cope with (or control) the appearance and disappearance of the other.

Autonomy and control. Power struggles of the "terrible twos" reflect efforts to assert control over self and other. At the same time there is the need to assure nurturance as the child is not really capable of being independent. Thus testing, through approach and avoidance, is repeated in order to master this crucial developmental task.

Intimacy. The ability to separate self from other, i.e. to establish boundaries, and, at the same time, to negotiate dependency needs creates the sense of interdependence and eventually the ability to form intimate relations based on mutuality, without fear of loss of identity or loss of autonomy.
While these issues are discussed in the psychoanalytic approach primarily at the individual level, these issues of course involve the family and are therefore relevant at the family level: how dependency needs are met, how processes of separation and individuation are managed, how the family reacts to autonomy and control, and how they respond to intimacy. Families wherein personal boundaries are not sufficiently developed, represent an "undifferentiated ego mass" (Minuchin, 1974). Boundaries between generations may be poorly defined and it is not clear who is parenting whom. Such families are threatened by efforts of its members to be independent and to assert autonomy and control. Unmet dependency needs may be gratified by using alcohol and drugs. Acting out through aggressive behavior can represent frustrated efforts to separate and to assert autonomy and control.

The expatriate experience

The above discussion of some central dynamics described in the psychoanalytic literature provides a starting point to examine the experience of the expatriate and their families. Leaving home stimulates dependency needs as support networks, extended families, and friends are being left behind. While the expatriate community in the host country may be extensive, the relationships are created by circumstance, and tend to be more superficial and certainly less gratifying than the long term relationships that have been established at home. Thus the family is confronted
with having additional pressures to meet members dependency needs, further magnified by having to cope with an unfamiliar environment, as well as less opportunities or outlets for expressions of individuation, e.g. outside interests, or spouse’s career.

A supportive family environment means that the family is able to tolerate dependency needs and at the same time encourage separation and individuation in the new environment. Families that have not resolved these issues are unlikely to provide this type of support. The expatriate devotes more and more time to the job, in part out of necessity and in part out of avoidance of family tensions, while the spouse who feels increasingly abandoned, alone to fend for not only themselves but also for the family unit, becomes more and more depressed and/or resentful.

Frustrated dependency needs as well as frustrated needs for individuation create stress which only furthers feelings of dependency and helplessness. As a result, early defense mechanisms may be reactivated, such as denial and splitting. Denial may, in part, be the basis for the honeymoon period, wherein differences are downplayed, problems are minimized and everything looks wonderful. The next phase of irritability may reflect the mechanism of splitting the world into all good and all bad: our ways are good (right, efficient, make sense, etc.); the hostcountry ways are bad (wrong, stupid, inefficient, make no sense, etc.). We/they
feelings are exacerbated, particularly if the expat community becomes the haven of "we", which is reinforced by fulfilling, as a group, the dependency needs of its members. This further draws the boundaries between host country and limits the possibilities for creating more intimate relationships with local nationals.

For the expatriate, feelings of dependency may be activated with regard to the parent or "mother" company. While many expatriates enjoy the freedom and autonomy of foreign assignment, they may also feel cut off from the resources and networks of information and power. These issues are particularly rekindled upon reentry, or repatriation. Loss of a mentor or network, particularly in American companies where turnover or career progression is faster, exacerbates the sense of abandonment and having been "left out in the cold".

Furthermore, being or having been abroad in some ways you are no longer considered part of the family but as if you were some distant visiting cousin. This feeling may be exacerbated in companies where there is a very tight knit sense of family, or strong culture of belonging, and where there is little tolerance for those who try to be different or to assert independence and autonomy. The return of the expatriate thus may be viewed more as the return of the prodigal son, than the conquering hero.

In summary, the experience of the expatriate and their families stimulates early childhood issues and concerns
regarding dependency, separation and individuation, and autonomy and control. Without successful resolution of these early developmental stages, it is more difficult to develop task mastery and to form intimate personal relationships that are based on interdependence and mutuality. Those expatriates or their families that have not adequately resolved these issues will have greater difficulty in adjusting to a foreign environment, particularly as they are cut off from emotional resources at home that had been provided by extended family, friends, outside activities as well as spouses' careers. Depression and resentment can result in alcohol and drug abuse or other acting out behavior, e.g. sexual and aggressive, which may be further stimulated by the availability of these outlets in the local environment. These issues are further exacerbated upon reentry, where the expatriates find themselves to be strangers in their "home" land.

Long terms expats, those who have been posted in many countries for many years, may sense a loss of roots or a marginal identity - "feeling at ease anywhere but belonging nowhere" (Osland, 1991). They may suffer the army brat syndrome of never developing close friends, always feeling like an outsider, and perhaps an overreliance on family for affective relationships. They may adopt the "colonial mentality", remaining distant and somewhat superior, barricaded within the expat community, perhaps as a way of protecting identity. On the other hand they may go native,
become chameleons, losing a sense of identity. In neither case, does the ability to develop empathy evolve, which is dependent upon the ability to maintain one’s identity while being able to see the world through the eyes of the other. Empathy, of course, is the foundation upon which intimate relationships based on mutuality are built.

Sociocultural influences: The contrast with Japan

One question that has remained unexplored is the relative importance of the cultural background of the expatriates. In their comparative study of expatriate adaptation between American and Japanese managers, Steining and Hammer (1992, p.77) concluded that "the cultural background of the expatriate sojourner may be more important than the particular country-specific environment in influencing cross-cultural adaptation".

From the psychoanalytic perspective, it is not surprising to find that Japanese and American managers differ significantly in their adaptation. These two countries are remarkably different in terms of child rearing and socialization practices, education and religion, among others. Kiefer (1970) focused her U.S.- Japan comparison in terms of the psychological interdependence of family, school, and bureaucracy, and described how such social norms affect individual’s psychosocial development. Perhaps we can better understand such sociocultural differences between Japanese and American by using the psychoanalytic concepts
presented above: dependency; separation and individuation; and autonomy and control.

The concept of dependency is more complicated in Japan, with more variation than in the West. "Amae", the Japanese term, is more subtle and more differentiated than "dependency" (Doi, 1987). Amae is closely related to the issues of separation and individuation as well as autonomy and control as presented here (Doi, 1971; 1975; 1987). In Japan, dependency needs are met, and separation and individuation are discouraged. Caudill and Weinstein (1974) characterize the Japanese child rearing as fostering a blurring of boundary between mother and child. Children are raised in ways that promote experiences of satisfaction achieved through physical and psychological relatedness with parents and siblings (Weisz et. al., 1984). Skin-to-skin relation is much more extensive than in U.S., even beyond feeding (Caudill and Weinstein, 1974). The infant shares a bed with its mother in Japan, whereas in the U.S. this is discouraged. The limited housing situation in Japan requires the children to accommodate to other family members (Benedict, 1946; Befu, 1971).

Taking off shoes when entering the house makes a clear distinction between outside and inside in Japan. For example, on the eve of the beginning the spring, in a traditional bean-scattering ceremony, one throws beans out of windows shouting "devils out, happiness in." Locking the child out of the house is a severe punishment for the
Japanese children, whereas grounding the child inside the house is more typical punishment for American children (Lebra, 1976; Vogel and Vogel, 1961). In Japan, returning home means the end of punishment, and in the U.S., termination of the forced alignment means autonomy from family -- the end of punishment and regaining autonomy and control. Also, Japanese parents' emphasis on empathy-oriented discipline by showing how a child's misbehavior would hurt the other's feelings (Conroy, Hess, Azuma, and Kashiwagi, 1980) reinforces the sense of interrelatedness.

The dependency of the Japanese child on his mother in the early years of his childhood continues to exist in the later life in his sense of obligation. According to Kiefer (1970), the Japanese family is an institution that binds the individuals for life, and one is encouraged to view his relationships with other family members as one of continuing mutual support and participation in common goals. On the other hand, the American parents give strict commands to the children to abide by until they are grown up, but encourage them to develop their own initiatives once they are grown up.

Cultural differences between the U.S. and Japan in terms of perceived control over the environment have been discussed in terms of proactive vs adaptive behavior (Maruyama, 1984). Weisz, Rothbaum and Blackburn (1984) explain this difference in terms of primary and secondary psychological control. In primary control, individuals
enhance their rewards by influencing existing realities. In the U.S., where primary control is more prevalent, this means taking a proactive stance, taking initiative. In secondary control, individuals enhance their rewards by accommodating to existing realities and maximizing satisfaction or goodness of fit with things as they are. Secondary control is considered interpretive in line with Bulman and Wortman (1977)’s analogy that paralyzed accident victims typically develop explanations for their accidents and find in the accidents a sense of purpose. Secondary control is also considered to be vicarious in that by aligning oneself with others one participates psychologically in the control they exert (Rothbaum, Weisz, and Snyder, 1982). In Japan secondary control is more highly valued and more often anticipated, resulting in a more adaptive posture.

Difference in socialization practices and education may form different behavioral patterns for Japanese and American expatriates. Throughout schooling, the Japanese children are trained to conform to norms for their groups, and to subordinate one’s self to duties to one’s group (Benedict, 1946). While the American classroom resembles a competitive arena, the Japanese classroom resembles the training ground of a single team: to learn how to play the game of life cooperatively (Kiefer, 1970). Selection, however, is highly competitive which reinforces the group feeling for those accepted.
The expatriate experience

Selection. In the international human resource management literature, the low failure rate of Japanese MNC's expatriation as compared with its American counterparts is frequently explained by the careful selection of the expatriates on the part of the personnel department of Japanese MNCs (Tung, 1987). Rotation is considered to be a common HRM practice in the Japanese firms, and the employees normally take the transfer for granted as part of his long-term in-company career building.

However, very little has been mentioned as to the way the individuals selected react to the appointment to the foreign office. The somewhat seemingly obedient attitude of Japanese managers toward their foreign assignment can be interpreted in terms of "secondary control", in that individuals accommodate to existing realities. The selected expatriates may also derive a certain meaning from the appointment, interpretative secondary control, contributing to enhanced adaptation or acceptance of the foreign assignment.

Relations with headquarters. Research has also found that the low failure rate of Japanese MNC's expatriation partly comes from the firm's effort to maintain communication and supervisory relations with the expatriates (Tung, 1987). Japanese MNCs have tighter personal ties between headquarters and subsidiaries, as shown by frequent information exchange (Negandhi and Baliga, 1981). This
centrifugal orientation of the MNC encourages headquarters to use expatriation as a tool of cultural control (Edstrom and Galbraith, 1977). Besides such effort on the part of the headquarters, there is also a good strategic reason for the expatriates to maintain ties with headquarters, so that they won’t be excluded from the promotion race and information-sharing.

While all these factors are quite important, the psychological reasons which encourage the expatriates to remain tied to the home country organizational network relate to the dependency issues discussed above. Japanese expatriates tend to align themselves with their firms, preferring to maintain close relationships with others. They are discouraged from attempting to shape realities to fit their individuals wishes and focus on the needs of the group. Americans put more emphasis on autonomous pursuit of self-actualization and deemphasize this alignment with others. Thus expatriates may project early childhood relations with mothers into the attachment to the home country office. The Japanese expatriates tend to stay close to the personal network at headquarters so that they won’t be excluded from it, just as the ultimate punishment for them was to be locked out of the house to terminate the psychological alignment with family members. The American, on the other hand, may want to avoid being "grounded inside" while being abroad and enjoy the autonomy and control of expatriation.
The Japanese business community is basically made up of an informal network of people sharing an "emotional commitment" to the common value (Yoshino, 1976). Staying away from the community given the long distance makes it very difficult to share such emotional ties (Nakane, 1972). The expatriates of Japanese MNCs are therefore quite sensitive to what’s happening at home office and do their best to maintain their personal contacts, both officially and informally. Even while working at foreign office, the expatriate’s mind stays at home. "Out of sight, out of mind" is what they are most afraid of while being abroad.

The Japanese system of management requires constant consultation and interaction between the parent headquarters and subsidiary. However, this doesn’t necessarily mean that the local staff are strictly directed by headquarters in terms of the details of their tasks. Rather, the local subsidiary gets vague, arbitrary direction; the decision-making structure is formally centralized but is de facto delegated to local offices (Yoshino, 1976; Lincoln et. al., 1986). Nevertheless, by aligning themselves with headquarters, the Japanese expatriate demonstrates secondary, vicarious, control, i.e. they gain control through the other, and through relatedness to the other. The emphasis on empathy has also taught expatriates how to read the needs of headquarters and the need for interdependence as opposed to independence. Perhaps for this reason important management positions have been almost
exclusively held by Japanese (home country) nationals. As control mechanisms in Japanese organizations are usually implicit rather than explicit (Pascale and Athos, 1981; Yoshino, 1976), they have been developed over time through extensive socialization. Thus it may be more difficult for foreigners to understand it and behave accordingly (Tung, 1988).

In summary, cultural differences in the stages of psychological development can influence expatriate behavior. In the case of Japan, dependency is encouraged through intimate mother-child relationship, characterized by their extensive use of skin-to-skin relationship, infant's bed-sharing with mother, and in later life by continuing mutual support relationship with other family members.

Separation and individuation, on the other hand, are discouraged, as evidenced by the Japanese child rearing as fostering a blurring of boundary between mother and child. As for autonomy and control, children are raised in Japan in ways that promote secondary control, where diverse experiences of satisfaction are achieved through physical and psychological relatedness with parents and siblings. Deprivation of child's autonomy is not considered as severe punishment as in US, and Japanese parents' emphasis on empathy-oriented discipline showing how a child's misbehavior would hurt another's feeling reinforces this relatedness. Throughout schooling, the Japanese children are trained to conform to norms for their groups.
Such sociocultural background would influence expatriates' behavior. While human resource management literature attributes low failure rate of Japanese MNC's expatriation to such factors as careful selection and training, as well as frequent communication with headquarters (Tung, 1987), the underlying psychodynamic factors should not be ignored. Dependency would influence the Japanese expatriates' tendency to align themselves with headquarters, rather than to put more emphasis on autonomous pursuit of their own will. Discouraged separation and individuation since childhood would influence the Japanese expatriates' close ties and relations with headquarters. Rather than insisting their autonomy and control, the Japanese expatriates align themselves with the headquarters even if their tasks are not necessarily strictly directed, due to vicarious secondary control and empathy oriented discipline.

Considering psychodynamic and cultural factors may prove fruitful in further exploring issues of expatriation, particularly in understanding reasons for the differences among countries. While other more frequently discussed issues related to strategic HRM systems are quite important in determining expatriate adjustment in Japan and the U.S., issues of personal development as discussed here should shed some new light on country differences in adaptation to expatriation which have not been frequently discussed yet may be equally important.
Conclusion

Expatriation has been studied from various aspects, ranging from company reasons for sending expatriates abroad to individual adjustment to a different environment. We presented three factors which affect adjustment for expatriation and repatriation: country, company, and individual/family. These factors are interrelated. While individual factors are often discussed in the literature of expatriation, they remain either descriptive or normative. The issue of expatriation has not been sufficiently examined in the context of personal development, beyond professional or career development, nor the impact of the sociocultural context.

A psychoanalytic perspective provides a useful lens which allows us to explore expatriate’s individual psychological adjustment to local environment within a broader sociocultural context. Differences in adjustment to expatriation between U.S. and Japanese expatriates may be related to developmental issues such as dependency, separation/individuation, and autonomy and control.

Though at a preliminary stage, our attempt was to suggest that the issues of expatriation involve much deeper psychological and sociocultural influences than are usually considered in human resource management literature. Using a psychoanalytic framework allows us to link the business issue, i.e. expatriate’s adjustment, to the broader sociocultural context. This enables us to take a more in
depth look at some of the problems experienced by expatriates and their families in expatriation/repatriation as well as to better appreciate the reasons for the differences found between U.S. and Japanese managers.
EXPATRIATION / REPATRIATION ADJUSTMENT

Country Factors
- Host/Home
  - culture distance
  - attitudes towards MNCs
  - attitudes towards expatriates
  - sociocultural:
    heterogeneity/homogeneity

Company Factors
- HRM
- rationale for expatriation
- corporate culture

Individual/Family Factors
- Individual:
  - technical competence
  - personality traits
  - motivation to go abroad
  - expectations
- Family:
  - spouse's motivation
  - expat/spouse interaction
  - children

Adjustment
expatriation/repatriation
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