การสังเคราะห์แนวคิดของการปรับตัวเชิงจิตวิทยา และการปรับตัวระหว่างวัฒนธรรม : การผสมผสานของสองแนวคิดเพื่อชี้วัดการปรับตัว ของแรงงานอพยพข้ามชาติ[1]

นวลนุช เขียวหวาน

อาจารย์ ดร.

คณะวิเทศศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยสงขลานครินทร์ วิทยาเขตภูเก็ต

Email: nuannut.k@phuket.psu.ac.th

บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษาครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ เพื่อสังเคราะห์หลักทฤษฎี แนวคิด การปรับตัว เชิงจิตวิทยาและการปรับตัวระหว่างวัฒนธรรม เพื่อเป็นแนวทางในการทำงาน วิจัยและการแก้ปัญหาการปรับตัวของแรงงานอพยพข้ามชาติ ซึ่งพบว่าหลักทฤษฎี และแนวคิดทั้งสองประเภทมีความแตกต่างกันในด้าน แนวคิดหลัก จุดมุ่งหมาย และวิธีการปรับตัว

ดังนั้น หลักทฤษฎีและแนวคิดการปรับตัวของแรงงานอพยพข้ามชาติ จึงควร มีการผสมผสานแนวคิดทั้งเชิงจิตวิทยาและเชิงการปรับตัวระหว่างวัฒนธรรมเข้า ด้วยกัน ได้แก่ ความพึงพอใจในชีวิต สุขภาวะ ความนับถือตนเอง และการ ผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรม

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A Combination of Adjustment Concepts for Indicating Migrant Adjustment

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Synthesis of Psychological and Intercultural Perspectives of Adjustment: A Combination of Adjustment Concepts for Indicating Migrant Adjustment[1]

Nuannut Khieowan

Ph.D., Lecturer

Faculty of International Studies,

Prince of Songkla University, Phuket Campus

Email: nuannut.k@phuket.psu.ac.th

Abstract

The objective of this article is to synthesize theories and concepts of psychological and intercultural adjustment. The results will be utilized in a research work focusing on migrant adjustment and also on problem solving for international migration. By critically examining the two perspectives of adjustment, it was found that they were distinct in term of concepts, aims and approach to adjustment.

Accordingly, theories and concepts relating to international migrant's adjustment should combine both the psychological and the intercultural perspectives of adjustment: life satisfaction, well-being, self-esteem and acculturation status.

Keywords: psychological adjustment, intercultural adjustment, acculturation, international migrant

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Introduction

Based on the focus of this article, adjustment is categorized into two perspectives, a psychological perspective and an intercultural perspective. The content of each perspective focuses on three questions concerning adjustment (1) What is adjustment? (2) What is the aim of adjustment? (3) How to approach adjustment? The article begins with the discussion of adjustment in a psychological perspective including the concepts of a psychological perspective of adjustment, adjustment in classical psychological theories and approaches for adjustment. The discussion of an intercultural perspective of adjustment follows in the next section. This part includes the concepts of an intercultural perspective of adjustment, adjustment in acculturation theories and approaches for adjustment. By synthesizing the two perspectives of adjustment, indicators of migrant adjustment is proposed in the final section of this article.

Adjustment in a psychological perspective

Adjustment is a mechanism or a state of change in which a person interacts with his or her surroundings including other people, animals, objects, and cultures (Miller, Yahne & Rhodes, 1990). The interactions initiate difficulties that a person needs to deal with such as pain, disappointment, doubt, and fear (Calhoun & Acocella, 1983). The aims of change are to become harmonious with the surroundings, to gain psychological wellness and to satisfy the needs of the person (Miller, Yahne & Rhodes, 1990), including

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the need for emotional security, self-acceptance, self-esteem and self-fulfillment (Crow, 1971).

As a mechanism of change, adjustment includes the change by a person to fit the surroundings, or when a person changes his or her surroundings to suit him/her or a combination of both ways (Crow, 1971; Miller, Yahne & Rhodes, 1990). These processes are consistent with the concept suggested by Grasha & Krischenbaum (1980), who divided adaptation into two types; adjustment and competence. For adjustment, a person adjusts in order to meet the demands of his or her situation by trying to match existing skills with the situation. The skills might not work perfectly with the situation, though they can help them to survive. In competence, a person either increases his or her ability to live in a new situation or shape the situation to match their ability. This type of adaptation can lead to enhanced quality of life.

As a state of change, adjustment could be either good or poor (Crow, 1971). The conditions of adjustment depend on the situation and the values of the evaluator (Calhoun & Acocella, 1983). This idea is consistent with Miller, Yahne & Rhodes (1990) who suggested that adjustment connotes adaptation to the norms of the society that a person lives in. To identify whether that person is well or poorly-adjusted depends on the societal context (Crow, 1971). For example, some behaviors, such as using slang, might be popular among teenagers but it is inappropriate for adults. Each age group has its own norms, and people are expected to follow the norms of his or her own group context. In this case, a teenager is considered

well-adjusted if he conforms to the norms of his/her peers and uses slang. However, the aim of adjustment is not only to seek harmony with the surroundings, but also to gain wellness and satisfaction. It is a person's own choice as to whether to keep his or her own personality or to follow the standards of the society (Crow, 1971; Miller, Yahne & Rhodes, 1990). A well-adjusted person, at this point, is not a person who conforms to the norms of the society (Crow, 1971), but a person who has a good balance of getting along with the surroundings and, at the same time, retaining his or her own integrity (Miller, Yahne & Rhodes, 1990). In addition, the level of a person's adjustment in a particular event could change if the person has a new experience or has a new attitude (Crow, 1971).

In conclusion, adjustment is a mechanism or a state of change when a person interacts with his or her surroundings. As a mechanism of change, it includes the change in a person to fit the surroundings, a person changing his or her surroundings to suit him/her or a combination of both ways. As a state of change, adjustment could either be good or poor. Adjustment connotes adjustment to the norms of a society. The level of adjustment also depends on the context of the society and the attitudes of a person. A well-adjusted person is a person who can find a balance between social norms and his/her integrity. The outcome of the balance is satisfaction and wellness of life.

1. Adjustment in classical psychological theories

As presented in the preceding section, adjustment implies

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adaption to the standards or norms of the society that a person lives in. The question related to this phenomenon is what is the standard? Miller, Yahne & Rhodes (1990) introduced four models/concepts explaining this question; the homeostatic model of adjustment, the concept of learning, the growth model of adjustment and the concept of self-determination. These four models/concepts correspond to four major psychological theories of adjustment; psychodynamic theory, behavioral psychology, humanistic psychology and existential psychology (Calhoun & Acocella,1983; Crow, 1971). The details are presented below.

The first concept is the homeostatic model of adjustment. The homeostatic model of adjustment identifies that there is a set-point in all societies. If a person's behavior is at the set-point, he or she is viewed as adjusted; if a person deviates from the set-point, he or she is not adjusted (Miller, Yahne & Rhodes,1990). The complication of this concept is that the set-point varies from a person to another as well as from a society to another. It rather depends on the perception of each person.   This concept corresponds with Sigmund Freud's complex system of psychoanalysis which states that human beings are irrational and destructive unless they are socialized and taught to be civilized. When there is a balance between the unconscious inner self of a person and the conscious features of his or her society, the person is adjusted. If they do not have such a balance, psychological symptom emerges. The outcome of the balance is happiness.

The second concept is learning. From this perspective, adjust-

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ment is the change after a person's experience. The experience is kept in a person's memory and is used later (Miller, Yahne & Rhodes, 1990). This concept corresponds with behavioral psychology or Skinner's reward and punishment behaviors. Behaviorists state that a person's action is shaped by rewards and punishments that follow the particular behavior of that person. A person tends to have more reward behavior than punishment behavior. As a result, a person's behavior is controlled by external factors. Adjustment, therefore, is driven by reward and punishment consequences. If a person's behavior is driven toward a reward consequence, he/she is well-adjusted. In contrast, if a person's behavior is driven toward a punishment consequence, he/she is poorly-adjusted.

The third concept is the growth model of adjustment. From this perspective, adjustment is a process of change toward self-actualization. In other words, it is the change toward what a person thinks he or she should be, not toward other people's thoughts (Miller, Yahne & Rhodes, 1990). The self-actualization and growth is in a person's mind. A person is born and stays with it if it is not destroyed by his or her environment. The weakness of this concept is that self-actualization is complicated to observe and it is difficult to confirm whether it actually exists. This concept corresponds with humanistic psychology. Abraham Maslow, a humanistic psychologist, stated that human behavior is not motivated by either a person's inner self or by his or her environment. The force of a person's action is his or her own authentic self. Therefore, we all

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pursue self-actualization.

The fourth concept is self-determination. This concept states that a person neither adjusts toward a set-point, his or her inner self-actualization, nor the experiences he or she has. A person changes because they have free will. It is a person's own choice that does not depend on anything (Miller, Yahne & Rhodes, 1990). This concept corresponds with existential psychology. Existential theorists state that the only thing given to humans is our existence. Everything depends on our choice. It denies the existence of any absolute force.

In conclusion, according to the concept of adjustment presented in the previous section that a person changes toward the standards of a society, it was found that there are various views of the term 'standard'. The state of being adjusted is viewed differently from different psychological perspectives (Calhoun & Acocella,1983; Crow, 1971; Miller, Yahne & Rhodes 1990). The change rather depends on the purpose of adjustment, which can be the balance of our unconscious and conscious mind, the adjustment to the external world, moving toward self-actualization or following our free will. It was, however, found that although psychologists have many models/concepts of adjustment, all concepts share the same goal to enhance harmony, life satisfaction and wellness. If a person changes toward the standard defining by each model/concept, the person is adjusted and if he or she changes in the opposite direction, he or she can be considered as a maladjusted person.

2. Approach for adjustment in a psychological perspective

Lehner & Kube (1964) stated that a person learns and adopts a pattern of adjustment from his or her family members. As a person is growing up, he or she learns additional patterns from a larger society and adapts them to different situations. This idea can also be found in the 'Alternative' process, one of the four processes of Miller, Yahne & Rhodes (1990)'s conditions facilitating adjustment. They wrote that conditions for a person's adjustment are aware-ness, acceptance, alternatives and access. Before adjusting, a person needs to have an 'Awareness' of change. It is the recogni-tion that some problems exist. A person then needs to 'Accept' change, whether trying to change by him/herself or by obtaining support from others. At this point, the attitude of the person is important in the decision as to whether or not to accept a change. Moreover, a person with high self-esteem is more likely to accept change because he or she believes in his or her capability to improve. In contrast, if a person has low self-esteem, he or she will have difficulty in changing. A low self-esteem person, however, has a hope to change if they have good relationships with friends and family. The third element is 'Alternative'. This refers to choices of change. Sometimes a person recognizes that there is a need to change and to accept change but there is no choice for him or her. The way to overcome this problem is to learn from others. The person should observe how other people cope with problems and change. Lehner & Kube (1964) suggested that choices of change are mostly learned from family and past experiences. The last element

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is 'Access'. It is important that an individual has access to change when he or she knows the alternatives. Grasha & Kirschenbaum (1980) suggested four 'Alternatives' as discussed in the following paragraph.

The first alternative of change is a medical approach. This approach views adjustment as a symptom that must be diagnosed or discussed to find the causes of the problem. Hence, drugs might be needed to help solve problems and direct the patient to adjust-ment. Second, the learning approach is a view of a person's behav-ior resulting from their learning or past experiences. To understand the behavior, it must be inspected from many perspectives. The data obtained are used to change the way a person behaves or to make him 'unlearn'. Third is the self-actualization approach. Humanistic psychologists view a person who is maladjusted as a person who notices the difference between his or her self-concept and the real situation. To help these people adjust, the psycho-logist needs to make them accept the person, thought or feeling that is different from their concept by using self-reporting. The last approach is a community and group approach. Maladjustment, in this view, results from the ineffectiveness of the interaction between the community and a person. In assessing the problems, interaction between an individual and the surroundings, including other people, must be examined. The result from the assessment is used to improve the situation in three ways, the person, the people who interact with the person and the community that the person belongs to.

In conclusion, this part of the article suggested the methods and processes of adjustment. It is concluded that a person tends to adopt a pattern of adjustment from his or her family and past experiences. In addition, there are four alternative methods facilitating adjustment, medical, learning, self-actualization and a community and group approach. These methods can be implemented when there is awareness, acceptance and accessibility to adjustment.

3. Conclusion of adjustment in a psychological perspective

Adjustment is a state or a mechanism of change of a person in order to gain harmony with his or her environment, wellness and satisfaction of life. The adjustment mechanism includes change within a person, a person changing his or her environment or both of the strategies. The state of change can be divided into different levels, for example, well-adjusted, poorly-adjusted or maladjusted. The term adjustment implies that there is an interaction between a person and the surroundings. The concept of standards emerges as a result of this implication. A person changes toward the standard set by a society or community. Different psychological theories explain the 'standard' in different ways. They can be either the balance between our unconscious and conscious mind in psychoanalysis, adjustment to the external world in behavioral psychology, changing toward self-actualization in humanistic psychology or following our free will in existential psychology. Despite the varieties of views about what is 'standard', one shared idea is that a well-adjusted person is a person who has a good balance between

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maintaining a standard and retaining his/her integrity. The outcome of this is life satisfaction and wellness of life. Therefore, whether a person is well or poorly-adjusted can be observed from his or her life satisfaction and wellness. The topic also presented the process and methods with regard to adjustment.

Adjustment from an intercultural perspective

Despite the alternative adjustment concepts in psychology discussed in the previous section, one major idea is that adjustment is a basic human feature. Humans face changes all the times as we face different kinds of events in our life. Being in an intercultural situation is one of the events in which a person needs to adjust. It was stated in the preceding section that each society maintains its own standards or norms. Therefore, a behavior might be seen as well-adjusted in one culture but maladjusted in another. One of the intercultural situations that psychology studies have investigated is the study of migration. According to Berry (2001), there are two perspectives of the study of migration of psychological interest, intergroup relations and acculturation. The study of intergroup relations focuses on individuals in the host culture. It is derived from sociology and is categorized under social psychology. Acculturation focuses more on migrants. It is derived from anthropology and is under cross-cultural psychology. Occasionally, some scholars group both of them under social psychology (Maydell-Stervens, Masgoret & Ward, 2007) because both of the studies target the relationship between migrants and the host society.

1. Concept of adjustment from an intercultural perspective

Acculturation means changes that occur as a result of the interaction between people from different cultures (Gibson, 2001). In the context of migration, acculturation refers to the combination of cultural changes resulting from the contact between migrants and the host culture (Berry et al., 2011). Although acculturation in a migration context connotes the meaning of changes of both minority and host people, the study of acculturation mostly focuses on individuals who were not born in the studied country, for example, migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers (Schwartz et al., 2013). Early models of acculturation were unidimensional or linear models. A person experiencing a bicultural situation could either retain their culture or adopt the culture of the host country (Gordon, 1964). Accordingly, a person who acquires a new culture is assumed to abandon their original culture (Schwartz et al., 2013). At this point, a person who experiences a unidimensional situation could acculturate with either 'low acculturation' or 'assimilation' (Berry et al., 2011). Later, acculturation was viewed as a bidimensional model (Berry, 1980). The retention of the original culture and the acquisition of the new culture were observed separately in this model (Schwartz et al., 2013). It is not necessary that a person who acquires a new culture discards the original culture. The concept of adjustment in an intercultural context emerged from this model. This will be discussed in the next section.

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2. Adjustment in acculturation theories

This article chooses to focus on Berry (1980)'s model of acculturation because it is the most influential model. Valtonen (2008) wrote that Berry (1980)'s acculturation model is based on a social psychology perspective. It is an analysis of the encounter between migrants, as a minority group, and the host society. The model is based on the idea that everyone in the intercultural context has an acculturation attitude. There are two aspects of this attitude, intercultural contact and cultural maintenance (Berry, 2001). The model states that when migrants encounter a new culture, they will adopt one of four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, marginalization and integration. Assimilation is the term used when a group strongly blends into the new culture. Separation occurs when settling persons retain their own culture and do not learn about the new culture. Marginalization takes place when migrants break the connection with both their own society and the receiving society. Integration denotes a state in which the new group is able to retain their culture and, at the same time, is willing to learn about the new culture (Berry, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2013; Valtonen, 2008; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001; Ward, Adam & Stuart, 2010). (Figure 1)

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Figure 1 Positive relationship to dominant culture

	Yes	No
Yes	Integration	Separation
No	Assimilation	Marginalization

(Vertical axis label: Retention of original culture)

Source: Berry (1980)'s Acculturation Model

According to the model, many scholars found that the 'integration' state associates with adjustment most (Berry, 2001; Hull, 1979; Maydell-Stevens, Masgoret, & Ward, 2007; Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997; Phinney et al., 2006b). Maydell-Stevens, Masgoret & Ward, (2007) suggested that acculturation comprises two components, psychological and socio-cultural adjustment. Psychological adjustment involves changes relating to psychological problems, mental health, distress, etc. Well-adjusted migrants are migrants with integrated acculturation status. Migrants with assimilation and separated acculturation status are classified as medium-adjusted. Migrants with marginalization status are classified as poorly-adjusted migrants.

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Adjustment to the new culture is a two-way process; both cultures are impacted and adjusted. However, the minority group or migrants tend to adjust to the host culture more than people in the host society change to the minority's culture. At a group level, acculturation includes the change in social structures and institutions and in cultural practice. At an individual level, acculturation involves change in behaviors (Berry, 2005).

Views on integration have changed over the years. In the past, integration was viewed as the situation in which minority groups conform to the host society's culture. More recent research views integration as retaining migrant identity while learning about the culture of the host society (Lopez et al., 2011). Thus, in a migration context, integration refers to the situation in which a migrant is able to maintain his or her identity and is also able to relate to and participate effectively in the host country (Berry, 2001). It is more likely to reach integration state with certain demographic characteristics and social contexts of a migrant, such as gender, age at the time of migration and generation (Phinney, 2001). In addition, ethnic identity was found to have a negative relationship with social relationships between migrants and the host society (Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997). If a migrant has a strong ethnic identity, it is more likely for that person is less accepted by the host society. On the other hand, if a migrant perceives discrimination from the host society, their ethnic identity will be strengthened (Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997; Phinney et al., 2006a). Therefore, acculturation status does not only depend on the acculturation attitude of the minority, it is also based on the dominant culture. Recent trends of study have focused on mutual accommodation between the

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minority and the host society. It was found that integration strategy can be observed in the country in which people hold multicultural-ist values. The value can be gained as a result of the policies of national institutions (Berry, 2001). This was discussed in the next section.

3. Approach for adjustment from an intercultural perspective

According to the preceding section, it is concluded that the integration state of migrants indicates migrant adjustment. As a result, adjustment from an intercultural perspective, especially in a migration context, can be approached by assessing the integration state of migrants. It is also concluded that integration is influenced by factors involving both the migrants and the receiving country. Berry (2001) stated that this as a 'mutual accommodation' in which the migrants and the people in the host country have a mutual agreement to live in the same community though they have differ-ent cultural backgrounds. Migrants are expected to learn and adopt the host country culture in their daily life, for example, to be able to speak the host culture's language whereas the host country is also expected to include the minority culture in their national policy, for example, education and health (Berry, 2001).

Mutual accommodation is widely known as multiculturalism (Berry, 2001). Phinney et al. (2006b) proposed nine criteria for multi-culturalism. They are (1) government policy promoting multicultur-alism (2) a multicultural ministry or secretariat (3) adoption of multi-culturalism in the school curriculum (4) ethnic representation in the media (5) exemptions of cultural groups from codes that are rooted in the dominant society (e.g. Sunday closing) (6) allowing dual

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citizenship (7) funding of ethnocultural organizations (8) funding of bilingual or heritage language instruction and (9) affirmative action for disadvantaged migrant groups. Valtonen (2008) purposed several policies in which the host country should support migrant adjustment. These are a welfare system for income security, language training, income support and child care facilities during the training period, as well as labor market training. Berry (2001) stated that a multiculturalist policy can help decrease prejudice and discrimination between migrants and the host society because it is assumed that when a person feels secure with their own identity, he/she will be able to accept other people who are different from him/herself (Berry et al., 1976).

4. Conclusion of adjustment from an intercultural perspective

It can be concluded that from a migration perspective, migrant adjustment refers to the acculturation status of an individual. When there is interaction between the minority and the host culture, four types of acculturation are found. They are integration where people accept both cultures, marginalization in which people reject both cultures, separation where an individual holds his or her own culture but rejects the new culture, and assimilation where a person rejects his or her original culture but accepts the new culture. The best status for adjustment is integration status. In a migration context, integration can be achieved by pursuing a multiculturalist policy in the host country.

Analysis of indicators of migrant's adjustment

According to the preceding discussion on adjustment from a

psychological perspective and from an intercultural perspective, it is necessary to combine both perspectives in the study of migrant adjustment. This is because both perspectives focus on different aspects of adjustment. Although they have a similar concept that adjustment is a change resulting from contact between an individual and his/her surroundings, a psychological perspective targets on changes in a person internal mind whereas an intercultural perspective focuses more on the external relationship of a person to new culture. These can be evidenced by the aims and approaches of both perspectives. Table 1 summarizes the views of adjustment from the two perspectives.

Table 1 Views of adjustment from psychological and
intercultural perspectives

Topic	Psychological perspective	Intercultural perspective
Concept and theory	Mechanism or a state of change when a person interacts with his or her surroundings.	Combination of cultural changes resulting from the contact between migrants and the host culture. It is referred to as acculturation.

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Topic	Psychological perspective	Intercultural perspective
Aim of adjustment	To gain harmony, satisfaction and wellness of life	To gain integration status Multiculturalist
Approach to adjustment	Internal mind of an individual e.g. attitude change, psychological therapy	policy of the host country e.g. educa-tion, health

A psychological perspective indicates that adjustment is a state or a process of change for a person. It connotes the idea of stand-ards or norm of the society in which a person lives or works. There are four main concepts of change in different psychological theo-ries. In short, the four theories represent different interpretations of 'standard'. For example, a behaviorist states that a person changes to obtain rewards whereas a humanistic states that a person changes in pursuit of self-actualization. Moreover, the perception of each person makes the process of adjustment more complicated. For example, people in the same society might have different ideas of reward or punishment behavior. Despite the distinctions in the views of 'standard', the four theories share a common idea on the aim of change, that is, humans change in pursuit of harmony, satisfaction and wellness of life.

A migration views adjustment as integration or the acceptance of both cultures according to the acculturation model. It is explained that in an intercultural situation, an individual will adopt one of the four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, marginalization and integration. The alternatives depend on both the attitudes of people from the minority and the mainstream group.

In addition, the two perspectives have different approaches to gaining a 'well-adjusted' state. In a psychological perspective, psychologists focus on improving each individual by directing them to a more adjusted state. For example, a psychologist might give them a consultation on how to accept their real self, how to increase self-esteem or how to achieve better adjustment. From the acculturation perspective, scholars focus more on the management of the host country, for example, how to build a multiculturalist society, or the improvement of infrastructure and public services, for instance, health care and education for migrants.

It can be concluded that in the study of migrant adjustment, 'adjustment' should be regarded as a combination of the psychological perspective and the intercultural perspective. This is because they have different targets for, and approaches to, adjustment. The psychological perspective targets more a person's mind on the changes in general situations whereas an intercultural perspective focuses more on an intercultural situation. Lacking one of these perspectives could lead to a biased result and affect the implications of migrant's adjustment.

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Conclusion

According to the analysis of the two major perspectives on adjustment in the previous section, it is necessary to include both perspectives in the study of adjustment. There is a question as to how we can assess migrant adjustment from the first perspective as people adjust toward different notions of what is 'standard'. In addition, people have different perceptions of 'standard' even under the same theory. Although there are distinctions in the views of a standard to which a person adjusts, all theories have common- alities in the aim of adjustment. Everyone changes in order to gain harmony, satisfaction of life and wellness. Therefore, these elements could indicate a person's adjustment state. In addition, it is also discussed in the process of change that a person who has high self-esteem is more likely to accept change because he or she believes in his or her capability to improve. Self-esteem is thus another indicator of adjustment. For the intercultural perspective, an adjusted person means a person who holds integration status. Therefore, the acculturation status of a person can also indicate adjustment. In conclusion, there are four indicators of migrant's adjustment, life satisfaction, well-being, self-esteem and accultura- tion status.

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การสังเคราะห์แนวคิดของการปรับตัวเชิงจิตวิทยาและการปรับตัวระหว่างวัฒนธรรม :
การผสมผสานของสองแนวคิดเพื่อชี้วัดการปรับตัวของแรงงานอพยพข้ามชาติ