UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA GRADUATE COLLEGE

INTERPERSONAL AND INTERCULTURAL EMPATHY IN MILITARY-ASSOCIATED OVERSEAS STUDENTS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

DENNIS L. OSBORNE Norman, Oklahoma 2016

INTERPERSONAL AND INTERCULTURAL EMPATHY IN MILITARY-ASSOCIATED OVERSEAS STUDENTS

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

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Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful for the support of my chairperson and committee.

Thanks to Lara Mayeux for the help and advice given constantly and at all hours. The challenge of mentoring and guiding a doctoral student off campus and out of country through the process was met patiently and thoroughly. A heartfelt appreciation goes out to Dr. Jody Newman, who took on the chair position until her well-deserved retirement. Thanks to Dr. Robert Terry for help with the numbers, to Dr. Shannon Bert for volunteering to step in at a crucial moment, and to Dr. Melissa Frey for her positive energy. Thanks also to Dr. Jeanette Davidson whose international expertise and enlightening course of study helped inspire me to step up my game. Without the patience and statistical mentorship of Dr. Karen Thurston, this project would never have come to fruition.

Another source of great inspiration comes from the hundreds of students I have been privileged to get to know through the years of teaching in the military-related schools overseas. A teacher is not supposed to have favorites, but I do have to give a special thanks to daughters Emily and Ana Osborne, who not only endured a year of my classroom but also encouraged me in my research and studies, even to the tune of curtailing some travel plans while Dad spent two months in Oklahoma.

Thanks especially to my best friend and companion Deborah Osborne, who took on extra duties during my research stints, encouraged me when the challenge got overwhelming, and inspired me by example to be more interculturally and interpersonally empathic.

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Abstract

A powerful concept in global leadership development is intercultural empathy.

Bennett (1986) portrays intercultural empathy as the" readiness to give up temporarily one's own worldview in order to imaginatively participate in that of another person" (p. 3). Opportunities to participate in the other culture are thus at the core of intercultural empathic development.

For over sixty years, children of active duty military and civilian personnel overseas have been attending schools overseas. The overseas experience offers these children the opportunity to expand their worldview and become global citizens. While students in overseas situations--international schools, exchange programs, and study abroad programs--have been measured in terms of their intercultural empathy, students associated with military schools overseas have not been so measured. In this research, 144 military-associated students overseas were surveyed. Number of years spent overseas and involvement in the host culture was measured against an intercultural empathy instrument--the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (Miville, 1999) and an interpersonal empathy instrument--the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1983). Results showed a significant relationship between the overseas experience and intercultural but not interpersonal empathy.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Purpose and Significance of the Study

This study proposes a correlation between military-associated students' intercultural experiences and empathic development. In this study, military-associated students will be measured for their interpersonal and intercultural empathic growth. If intercultural exchange leads to empathic growth, then expanded and enhanced intercultural exchange opportunities, such as those offered by the overseas experience, could produce more competent global citizens and leaders. The military-associated overseas student experience is unique in that it is not a study of choice, as in an exchange student program. Nor is it a study of the typical Third Culture Kid whose parents are overseas by choice for business opportunities or missionary efforts. The typical military-associated student is a child of someone connected with the military whose career has required an overseas move. If interpersonal and/or intercultural empathy increase with years spent overseas by such a student, that means that the somewhat challenging military-associated students' overseas experience could be producing better global citizens, if not global leaders, from the ranks of these military dependents. This would be good news in the face of the growing concerns about the military families and their struggles with deployment, post-traumatic stress disorder, and living in a foreign country.

Leadership Theory and Empathy

Research about leadership in modern global society expands almost as quickly as the technology that is used in doing research. Theories abound as to what makes today's leaders. While we may have moved far beyond Frederick Taylor's scientific

management theories, we are still swimming in hypotheseas, so to speak, about what makes leadership effective. Universal theories such as transformational leadership (Bass, 1997) and resonant leadership (Kouzes, 2007) have powerful descriptive aspects to them. However, the application of such theories is almost as elusive as the empirical research proving their effectiveness. Part of the challenge lies in the fact that leadership is an interdisciplinary field. Building leadership theory that synthesizes its various approaches, such as communication, management, diversity, and ethics, just to name a few, is perhaps more practical. These disciplines provide specific approaches that lend themselves to measurement as well as prescription. People fear a breakdown of leadership. On the other hand, breaking down leadership is an approach that might be more beneficial than generalized approaches.

This particular study takes on an aspect of leadership that surfaces as a common thread in all of the various disciplines used to describe effective leaders. Whether one speaks of conflict management (Yeung, 1997), effective communication (Harris, 2008), emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1995), servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1977), Heifetz and ethical leadership (as cited in Northouse, 2007) or teamwork approaches (Beebe, 2009), the idea of empathy rises to the top. Empathy is a powerful concept, a game changer as one university professor pointed out (C. Gonzalez, personal communication, August 4, 2009). Empathy could be construed as the glue that pulls many aspects of leadership together.

Leadership, Globalization, and Empathy

Running parallel to the concept of interdisciplinary leadership development is leadership's growing global aspect. No leaders are excluded from cultural influences,

but these influences are themselves under the gravitational pull of globalization. As outlined by the UNESCO view of global citizenship, global leaders need to develop under a system of "quality education to prevent violence, strengthen a climate of tolerance and security, and to foster the development of peace, tolerance, and mutual understanding as well as capacities for the non-violent resolution of conflicts" (Pigozzi, 2006, p. 3). This global citizenship education involves developing an understanding of the background of global problems, skills to engage in action for change, and relevant values and attitudes (Oxfam, 1997). A key aspect is empathy (Ibrahim, 2005).

When globalization and intercultural relations are thrown into the leadership soup, the challenge of developing competent leaders boils over. Effective leaders are called upon to have intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intercultural people skills, management strategies, and an expanding vision for today's work world. Rifkin (2009) stresses empathy in that recipe. "An employee's ability to empathize across traditional ethnic, racial, cultural, and gender boundaries is essential to performance with in the workplace and in external market relations. Learning how to work together in a thoughtful and compassionate manner is becoming standard operating procedure in a complex, interdependent world" (p. 18).

Today's leaders, if not all global citizens, are called upon to be interpersonally empathic and interculturally sensitive. This study investigates both concepts and their interaction.

Adolescence, Globalization, and Empathy

Globalization itself is not without controversy. Just as the present generation inherited the computer age with all its benefits, the next generation will inherit much of

the fallout. Increased advertisement brings about increased consumption. Energy depletion and pollution are just some of the consequences of having endless energy consuming products at the fingertips of the industrialized world. The challenge is a social one as well. According to Calloway and Thomas (2010) the "flat world" that Thomas L. Friedman (2005) argues is unfolding before our eyes is also one of anguish, distress, turmoil, and inequality.

Today's youth have already proven themselves adept at technological application and advancement. The creators of Facebook and Google belong to that generation. Will today's youth be just as adept at dealing with the fallout of the seemingly irreversible globalization trend? As it is, they have their own problems to deal with. Online social exchange has led to increased bullying (Shaw, 2010). Peer sexual harassment increases from 5th to 8th grade (Petersen, 2009). Again, empathy offers hope for adolescents. Recent research has explored victim empathy as an approach for rehabilitation of sexual and violent offenders (Day, 2010; Wastell, 2009) and victim empathy for bullying reduction (Gini, 2007; Stavrinides, 2010). Interpersonal empathic growth is crucial in order for adolescents to weather the storm of puberty. Intercultural empathy is crucial for the challenge of global citizenship and leadership.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Defining Empathy

The word empathy did not become part of the human vocabulary until 1909 (Rifkin, 2009). The term is derived from the German word Einfühlung ("feeling your way into" is a literal translation) coined by Robert Voscher in 1872 and used in German aesthetics. This relates to how observers project their own sensibilities onto an object of adoration or contemplation as a way of explaining appreciation. The German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey borrowed the term from aesthetics and began to use it to describe the mental process by which one person enters into another's being and comes to know how they feel and think. American psychologist E. B. Titchener in 1909 translated that word into a new word--empathy (Davis, 1996).

Deliberate cognitive processes separate empathy from sympathy, especially the process of projecting self into another person. Mead (1934) emphasized the individual's capacity to take on the role of other persons as a means of understanding how they view the world; Piaget (1932) emphasized a similar cognitive skill, the ability to decenter (as cited in Davis, 1996). This happens as children develop cognitively to the extent where they can differentiate between the experiences of self and those of others. Sympathy refers to the "imaginative placement of ourselves in another person's experience" (Bennett, 1997, p. 411). Sympathy is characterized by the golden rule, while Bennett's alternative, dubbed the platinum rule, is empathic: "do unto others as they themselves would have done unto them" (p. 422). Empathic individuals try to imagine the other person's situation without projecting themselves into the experience (Pederson, 2009).

Once extracted from sympathy, it is tempting and perhaps even utilitarian to find an all-encompassing definition of empathy. Most scholars agree that to fully grasp the concept of empathy, it needs to be broken down into or separated into different aspects: cognitive, emotional, and behavioral, and perhaps ethical or moral (Stepien, 2006). Calloway-Thomas's definition emphasizes these facets describing empathy as "the ability imaginatively to enter into and participate in the world of the cultural other cognitively, affectively, and behaviorally" (2010, p. 8).

There are three ways to approach this complexity: separation, progression, and integration. While all three approaches have merit, this paper takes the integration approach because of its perspective taking emphasis.

Davis integration model

More recently, empathy scholars, such as Davis, emphasize an interaction or integration of the aspects of empathy. According to Davis, empathy is broadly defined as a set of constructs having to do with the responses of one individual to the experiences of another. These constructs specifically include the processes taking place within the observer and the effective and non-affective outcomes which result from those processes. The four related constructs are the antecedents (the characteristics of the observer, target, or situation), processes (the mechanisms by which empathic outcomes are produced, intrapersonal outcomes (cognitive and affective responses produced in the observer which are not manifested in overt behavior toward the target), and interpersonal outcomes (behavioral responses directed toward the target) as shown in Figure 1.

The antecedents of empathy focus on the differences in individuals as well as situations. Individual differences include intellectual capacity, dispositional tendency, and intentional decisions to engage in empathy based on life experiences and values. All responses to another person, whether cognitive or affective, emerge from some specific situational context. The context could be spatially relational—face to face or secondhand, via news or reading for example. Dimensions such as strength of the situation or degree of similarity between observer and target are often measured. For the purposes of this study, the argument here would be that the international placement of the students associated with military schools overseas creates an empathic potential greater than that of the intra-cultural stateside student. That doesn't necessarily mean that potential will be reached, but there is an antecedental advantage. Being placed in another cultural situation, especially internationally, creates opportunities for this egocentric perspective suppression. Perhaps increased exposure to other cultures eventually leads to an increased perspective taking. This study explores that relationship potential.

Defining Intercultural Empathy

With this background of empathic levels and empathic development in mind, the discussion now turns to the idea of intercultural exchanges and empathic growth. Does exposure to other cultures increase empathy? If so, what kind of empathy—interpersonal or intercultural? Thus far, the discussion has focused on interpersonal empathy. However, there is also an intercultural aspect of empathy explored in this research that needs to be defined and explored. This section of the literature review looks at the connection between contact and prejudice reduction, prejudice reduction

and intercultural sensitivity, and finally between intercultural sensitivity and intercultural empathy.

Central to this study is the contact hypothesis. Many intercultural programs are built on the premise that contact between people, mere interaction, is likely to change beliefs and feelings toward each other, especially in reference to prejudice reduction. As cited by Amir (1969), Allport (1954) and Saenger (1953) reported some reduction in prejudice toward a minority group as a result of contact between two ethnic groups.

Brown and Hewstone (2005) further explain the Allport hypothesis by emphasizing the importance of pursuing common goals which allow the development of close relationships with outgroup members. Amir stresses that attitudinal changes occur when the groups are on equal status and intergroup contact is promoted by an authority or by a positive social climate. Study abroad programs when accompanied by appropriate accompanying pedagogy, such as that proposed by Pederson (2010), provide such attitudinal change opportunity.

Contact can take place on an acquaintance level, where the experience is a brief and short-term interaction with the other, or on an intercultural friendship level (Pederson, 1998). Does exposure on the acquaintance level influence the development of intercultural sensitivity? Fisher and Price (1991) designed a questionnaire exploring post-vacation attitude for 238 pleasure travelers returning from Europe or Mexico. The most important predictor of post-attitude change was positive intercultural interaction. This reinforces the conditions outlined by the contact hypothesis—contact is pleasant and rewarding in nature (Pederson, 1998).

Hewstone's research (2003) supports the idea that contact can be used as an intervention to reduce prejudice. He points out that Pettigrew and Troop's meta-analysis reported a highly significant inverse relationship between contact and prejudice. For an increase in prejudice to occur, there must be significant negative factors in operation, such as high anxiety and threat. Contact tends to increase positive attitudes, as reported in Pettigrew and Troop (2000). While affective ties such as close friendships obviously create a more positive attitudinal change, "21 percent of the effect of contact reducing prejudice is mediated by contact also reducing anxiety" (Hewstone, 2003, p. 353). Learning about the outgroup, again with social climate and proper "authority," is a precursor to anxiety reduction. Indirect cross-group friendships--knowing that a fellow in-group member has a close relationship with an outgroup member--reduces anxiety. Maintaining group salience is a key moderator of the effect of intergroup contact. Making groups aware of their respective group memberships promotes generalization across members of the target outgroup. While this can reinforce perceptions of group differences and increase intergroup anxiety, it can be capitalized upon by a combination of interpersonal and intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. Positive contact with individuals from the outgroup and the salience during contact of group memberships lead to reduced anxiety and to more positive orientations towards the outgroup, especially if the contact can be arranged so that it takes place between in-group and outgroup members "who can be regarded as sufficiently typical or representative of their groups, then the positive changes that occur should generalize to those groups as a whole" (Brown & Hewstone, 2005, p. 266). If these overseas military students have positive contact with host nation individuals, or even if they observe fellow students

having positive contact experience, then the potential for generalization to the host nation population becomes stronger. A growth in intercultural empathy occurs.

Further Hewstone studies showed that cross community friendships at the university level have a highly significant effect on reducing prejudice (Hewstone, Carins, Voci, McLernon, et al.) and contact at earlier stages of education is also influential. While contact cannot offer "immunity" as in the case of the Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda and other historical examples, it is a step in the direction of reducing prejudice.

The contact hypothesis has some application to the overseas military school population. These students, though not meeting all four of Amir's requirements, generally meet Hewstone's requirements of being aware of their respective group memberships and having opportunities for positive intergroup contact and are thus candidates for prejudice reduction. Furthermore, a higher intercultural exchange rate will result in meeting more of Allport's conditions as outlined by Amir. The concept of intercultural exchange rate has to do with amount and intensity of contact. If students associated with military schools overseas transcend the visitor or tourist status and have intercultural acquaintances and even friendships, early prejudices should be eclipsed by acceptance and adaptation.

While prejudice reduction is not necessarily an aspect of empathic growth, it is closely related to the concept of intercultural sensitivity, which in turn, has an empathic component. According to Bhawuk and Brislin (1992), "to be effective in another culture, people must be interested in other cultures, be sensitive enough to notice cultural differences, and also be willing to modify their behavior as an indication of

respect for the people of other cultures" (p. 416). Based on this argument, Hammer, Bennett, and Weissman (2003) argued that greater intercultural sensitivity is associated with a greater potential for exercising intercultural competence. The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) created by Bennett (1986) is an explanation of how people construe cultural difference. The underlying assumption of the model is that as one's experience of cultural difference becomes more complex and sophisticated, one's potential competence in intercultural relations increases. The crux of the development of intercultural sensitivity is attaining the ability to construe and thus experience cultural difference in more complex ways—to make a perspective shift. The DMIS therefore portrays a continuum, demonstrating changes in worldview structure (see Figure 2).

The first three DMIS orientations are conceptualized as ethnocentric, meaning that one's own culture is experienced as essential to reality in some way. *Denial* is where the individual experiences his or her culture as the only viable one. Those in the denial stage have generally grown up in culturally homogenous environments with limited contact with people outside their own cultural group (Paige, 2003). Denial can be subdivided into isolation (unintentional separation) and separation (intentional). People with a *defense* perspective recognize other cultures but only in a negative light. They are more openly threatened by cultural differences than those in a denial state. They think in terms of the "us and them" and often use overt stereotypes. The substages included superiority, where the positive aspects of one's group are exaggerated; denigration, where other cultures are evaluated as inferior and are negatively stereotyped; and reversal, where the adopted culture is experienced as superior to the

primary culture. *Minimization* of cultural differences is a state in which the basic elements of one's own cultural world view are experienced as universal; differences are only superficial. The two sub stages are physical universalism, where the emphasis is placed on physiological similarities—we all share the same basic needs, and transcendent universalism, representing the assumption that people are similar spiritually and politically.

The next three orientations are defined as ethnorelative, meaning that one's own culture is experienced in the context of other cultures. Acceptance is a state where one's own culture is experienced as just one of many complex worldviews. People with this worldview recognize and appreciate cultural differences. The first sub stage is behavioral relativism, the acceptance that behavior varies across cultures according to context. Value relativism means the acceptance that values and beliefs exist in cultural context and vary across cultural communities. Adaptation is when people consciously try to imagine how the other person thinks about things. People at the adaptation stage engage in empathy, which is the ability to take perspective or shift the frame of reference in the view of other cultures and pluralism, the internalization of more than one world view. Integration moves one's experience of self to include movement in and out of different cultural worldviews. Contextual evaluation, the ability to employ different frames of reference in evaluating a given situation, is one substage. The other is cultural marginality, the acceptance of an identity that is not based primarily on one culture. These people are truly multicultural, because their identities are at the margin of two or more cultures and central to none.

In general, the more ethnocentric orientations can be seen as ways of avoiding cultural difference, either by denying its existence, by raising defenses against it, or by minimizing its importance. The more ethnorelative worldviews are ways of seeking cultural difference, either by accepting its importance, by adapting perspective to take into account, or by integrating the whole concept into the definition of identity. The passage from ethnocentric to ethnorelative hinges on a recognition and acceptance of cultural differences. Appreciation would be the next phase. Repeated exposure to another culture, as in the case of students associated with military schools overseas, sets the table for that shift. These students recognize cultural differences as a default. The more exchange experiences that occur, the more acceptance and appreciation can occur theoretically leading to empathic growth.

Bennett (1986) connects the ideas of intercultural sensitivity and empathy rather profoundly:

Central to any intercultural communication skill is the ability to experience some aspect of reality differently from what is given by one's own culture. The ability to experience differently and communication context is here termed empathy. That contrasts empathy to sympathy, where one attempts to understand another by imagining how one would feel in another's position. Sympathy is ethnocentric in that its practice demands only a shift in assumed circumstance (position), not a shift in the frame of reference one brings to that circumstance. It is based on an assumption of similarity, implying other people fill similar to one in similar circumstances. Empathy, by contrast, described an attempt to understand by imagining comprehending the other's perspective. Empathy is ethnorelative and that demands the shift in the frame of reference; it is based on an assumption of difference and implies respect for that difference and a readiness to give up temporarily one's own worldview in order to imaginatively participate in the others' worldview (p. 53).

Researchers have honed in on the intersection between empathy and intercultural sensitivity with studies concerning intercultural empathy. This concept of

intercultural empathy goes a step beyond prejudice reduction and intercultural sensitivity toward mutual understanding between various racial and ethnic groups, on both cognitive and affective levels (Batson, Early, & Salvani, 1997).

Wang and colleagues employ the term ethnocultural empathy—empathy directed toward people from racial and ethnic cultural groups who are different from one's own ethnocultural group. Wang cites other contemporary terms describing this concept (Wang, 2003). Terms such as *cultural empathy* (Ridley, 1996), *empathetic multicultural awareness* (Junn, 1995), *cultural role taking* (Scott, 1990), *ethnic perspective taking* (Quintana, 2000), and *ethnotherapeutic empathy* (Parson, 1993) are employed to describe empathy across cultural boundaries.

Paul Pederson takes it a step further. Globalization itself has offered an opportunity to redefine empathy. "The intellectual construct empathy developed in a context that favored individualism. In more collectivist non-western cultures, being empathic requires a more inclusive perspective than in the typically more individualistic western cultures" (2009, p. 43). Bennett defines empathy as "the imaginative intellectual and emotional participation in another person's experience" (1997, p. 418). Sympathy refers to the imaginative placement of ourselves in another person's experience. People who employ sympathy do so from a mono-cultural standpoint. According to Bennett, the golden rule is sympathetic because the point of reference is the observer's standard of behavior. Bennett's alternative, dubbed the Platinum Rule, is empathic: "do unto others as they themselves would have done unto them" (p. 422). Empathic individuals try to imagine the other person's situation without projecting themselves into the experience (Pederson, 1998). As a result, empathy becomes a key

ingredient in intercultural understanding, perspective taking being at the point of intersection.

Quintana's (2000) research parallels that of Hammer and Bennett. He and his colleagues define ethnic perspective taking as a cognitive-developmental ability. Quintana describes various developmental stages such as "awareness of ethnic discrimination and prejudice, awareness of perspectives, attitudes, and experiences shared by an ethnic group, and enhanced ability to take the perspective of other ethnic groups." Quintana's findings parallel those of Allport, Pettigrew, Brown, and Hewstone in that the development of an individual's ethnic perspective taking depends both on the number of experiences one has with one's own ethnic group and with other ethnic groups (Wang, et al.). Sheer number of experiences is purported to have an impact on perspective, a significant observation for this current study.

Perspective Taking

The theoretical work of Piaget (1932) and Mead (1934) stresses the importance of a perspective taking for non-egocentric behavior, behavior that subordinates the self (or the self's perspective) to the larger society made up of other people (Davis, 1983). "The most plausible and prominent answer to the question of what leads us to feel more or less empathy for a person in need is perspective taking, actively imagining how the other is affective by his or her plight" (Batson, et al., 2007, p. 65). Batson proposes two antecedents of empathic concern: (a) perceiving the other as in need and (b) adopting the other's perspective, (i.e., imagining how the other is affected by his or her situation). An additional antecedent was recently proposed by Batson: valuing the other's welfare.

The concept of intercultural empathy focuses on the intersection between valuing the other's welfare and adopting the other's perspective.

Hanvey (1976) conveyed a framework for developing a global perspective. His model consisted of five dimensions: Perspective Consciousness, State-of-the-Planet Awareness, Knowledge of Global Dynamics, Awareness of Human Choices, and Cross-Cultural Awareness. The final stage ties in most directly to this study. The recognition of the diversity of the ideas prevalent throughout the world is coupled with the knowledge of how one's own culture is viewed. "Central to this dimension is the acquisition of empathy" (Mahon, 2003).

A study published by Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, and Galinsky (2011) used five separate perspective taking scenarios concerning Glen, a black man, who had been discriminated against in a car sale. Some participants were asked to imagine Glen's perspective, what he might be feeling and thinking (empathy); others were asked to imagine what they might think or feel in his situation (sympathy); while the third group was to remain objective. The participants were then given tests to measure unconscious biases. Participants with the perspective taking slant were less biased than those who were asked to remain unbiased. Both those who were asked to be empathic and those asked to by sympathetic showed an equal amount of bias reduction. A subsequent interview demonstrated that face-to-face interactions with perspective takers were rated more positively by black interaction partners than were interactions with non-perspective takers. These findings show that perspective taking can counteract automatic expressions of racial biases.

This perspective taking becomes evident in the research combining intercultural sensitivity with empathy. Olson and Kroeger (2001) argue that global competency is made up of perceptual understanding and intercultural communication. Perceptual understanding includes the idea of open-mindedness, resistance to stereotyping, complexity of thinking, and perspective consciousness (Wilson, 1996). Perspective consciousness is the recognition that one's worldview is not a universal perspective. The most significant skill listed under the components of intercultural communication is empathy (Hanvey, 1976).

This study argues that intercultural exchange offers a significant opportunity to increase perspective taking. Of course, many intercultural exchanges have resulted in the direct opposite. This idea is pertinent to this study in that both sides of empathy have been borne out in intercultural contexts. It could here be argued that intercultural empathy goes awry when cultured in a Petri dish of groupthink prejudice and stereotype. Intercultural exchange, when conducted properly, creates the opposite result—an intercultural sensitivity, a perspective shift that can result in authentic and accurate, if not mature, empathy.

Measuring Interpersonal Empathy

The challenge of empathy's multifaceted nature has been borne out in the research concerning its measurement. One of the first measures used to assess empathy is the Hogan Empathy Scale (1969). The scale contains four separate dimensions: social self-confidence, even-temperedness, sensitivity, and non-conformity, factors according to some scholars better measuring social skills (Davis, 1983) but lacking in an affective emotional component (Reneirs, 2011). The Empathy Quotient (Baron-Cohen, 2003)

emphasizes the appropriate emotional response which allows "the empathizing person to predict a person's emotions and thoughts, and to respond to these with an appropriate emotion" (p. 361) but again relates more to interpersonal functioning as a whole and not just empathy. Narrower definitions present their own problems. The Balanced Emotional Empathy Scale (Mehrabian, 1992) only assesses emotional empathy by "distinguishing individuals who typically experience more of other peoples' feeling from those who are generally less responsive to the emotional expressions" (Reneirs, 2011, p. 85). These measures are more conducive to interpersonal empathy and do not offer as much of a foothold for the intercultural aspect studied here, though subsequent measures are based on the earlier Hogan scale.

The Davis Interpersonal Reactivity Index (1983) is a multidimensional instrument measuring empathy composed of four 7-item subscales: (a) perspective taking, which measures the extent to which individuals adopt the perspectives of others; (b) empathic concern, which measures the degree to which individuals feel concern and compassion for others; (c) fantasy, which assesses the degree to which individuals identify with fictional characters in movies, books, and so forth; and (d) personal distress, which assesses experiences of others. The fantasy and personal distress scales more properly assess imagination and self-control (Spreng, 2009) whereas empathic concern and especially perspective taking are important to this current study.

Since the Interpersonality Reactivity Index (IRI)'s four-factor solution may not be necessary to capture empathic responses and the TEQ takes into consideration other empathy attributes such as emotional contagion (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987), emotional comprehension (Haxby, 2000), sympathetic physiological arousal (Levenson, 1997),

and con-specific altruism (Rice, 1964), most of this research hones in on the two-factor analysis of empathy, Empathic Concern (EC) to measure affective empathy and Perspective Taking (PT) to measure cognitive empathy.

A key question in the research has to do with measuring empathic growth. What are the circumstances or interventions that help personal empathy to grow? The most fundamental research in this area concerns itself with empathic development over time, especially during adolescence. Hoffman's model (1977) proposes a developmental progression where a child progresses from a self-oriented personal distress reaction to an other-oriented perspective taking mode.

Van der Graaff and colleagues (2014) demonstrated that perspective taking does increase among both boys and girls during adolescence, though boys' perspective taking increased only from the age of 15 years and up. However, levels of empathic concern did not significantly increase across adolescence. This agrees slightly with Davis and Franzoi's study (1991) where a three-year longitudinal study showed considerable stability in both self-consciousness and the four factor measure of empathy with a predicted corresponding year to year growth of perspective taking and empathic concern.

The question for this current research is if empathic growth, either perspective taking or empathic concern, be facilitated. The question of teaching empathy has been brought up in the medical, counseling, and educational fields. Concerned about a decrease in medical students' empathy during undergraduate studies (Diesker, & Michielutte, 1981) and residency (Bellini & Shea, 2005), numerous empathy training programs have been implemented. In their meta-analysis of the effect of these

programs, Stepien and Baernstein (2006) found that empathy may be amenable to positive change with a range of interventional strategies, chief among these being communication skills workshops. A short, skills based counseling course showed some increase in empathy for nursing students (Cutcliffe & Cassidy, 1999).

Research about counseling training models focusing on empathy teaching has shown mixed results. In a 2006 study using a Triad Training model (Seto, Young, Becker, & Kiselica), no significant growth in empathy was demonstrated using the IRI scale between those who took either of the two training courses and those who did not. Fugate (2005) found no significant association between suicide counseling skill and empathy. Although Robertson (2013) found no relationship between empathic growth and a semester long psychological education intervention, a significant positive correlation was found between moral reasoning and ethnocultural empathy. A three hour classroom empathy training exercise for masters level students found a strong effect on client perceptions of empathy though small but statistically insignificant increases on self-assessment and expert rater reports (Silva, 2001). Twenty-nine articles concerning empathy training were evaluated by Lam, Kolomitro, and Alamparambil (2011). Positive findings were found in 93% of the articles in regard to learning the concept of empathy, but the effects of training on individual's affective empathy and perspective taking were insignificant.

In the school environment, numerous attempts have been made to teach students empathy. Lawson (2013) used "empathy-infused" literature in a college level course. In this relatively small sample, male and female students showed statistically significant positive empathic growth. In a 1994 study, a college group and a high school group

were trained in peer-facilitation skills after a pretest using the IRI (Hatcher, et al., 1994). The college group's Empathic Concern and Perspective Taking scores showed significant improvement. Using Bryant's index for empathy (1982), Goldstein and Winner (2012) conducted a longitudinal study of elementary and of high school students who received at least one year of acting training. Both groups of students showed significant gains in empathy scores. A school-based social-cognitive training program on 14 and 15 year olds resulted in significant empathic growth (Manger, Eikeland, & Asbjornsen, 2001). Working with students to prevent aggression, the PEACE curriculum (Salmon, 2003) developed supplementary Aggression Replacement Training with an empathy emphasis which resulted in fewer suspensions and referrals as well as increased attendance. Pecukonis (1990) investigated the effects of a cognitive/affective empathy training program on 24 aggressive adolescent girls and found significant positive growth in affective but not cognitive empathy. Empathy training has also been found successful in the treatment of sex offenders (Wastell, Cairns, & Haywood, 2009). An undergraduate program found via video tape assessment that using self-directed empathy training with minimal instructor supervision was just as effective in improved empathy skills as a traditional high teacher-intensive approach. Some headway can be made, it seems, in teaching empathy to adolescents, though the research seems limited in sample number and scope.

Measuring Intercultural Empathy

Measures of intercultural exchange are numerous. One of the first, the Intercultural Sensitivity Inventory (ICSI) (Bhawuk, 1992) was developed to measure an individual's ability to modify behavior in culturally appropriate ways when moving

between different cultures. In particular, the inventory was used in comparing behavior in an individualistic culture (United States) versus a collectivistic culture (Japan).

The most widely used of all intercultural measures is the Hammer and Bennett Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (Hammer, 2003). This instrument was constructed to measure the orientations toward cultural differences described in the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS) described above. For reliability and validity testing, the IDI was administered in 1998 and 1999 to 378 high school students, college students, foreign language instructors, and intercultural education instructors. The results demonstrated that the IDI "is a reliable measure that has little or no social desirability bias and reasonably, although not exactly, approximates the development model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS)" (Paige, 2003, p. 467). The factor analyses offered strong support for the broader two-factor (ethnocentric and enthno-relative) structure and modest support for the six-factor structure of the DMIS.

Wang and colleagues call for ethnocultural empathy, "empathy directed toward people from racial and ethnic cultural groups who are different from one's own ethnocultural group" (Wang, 2003, p. 221). Since empathy has been viewed as an ability that can be manipulated so as to lead to the increased valuing of other people's welfare (Batson, Turk, Shaw, & Klein, 1995), the "learned ability" of cultural empathy makes intercultural exchange a stage for empathic growth. The Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy developed by Wang and colleagues measures intellectual empathy, the ability to understand a racially or ethnically different person's thinking and/or feeling, emotional empathy, feeling the emotions of a person or persons from another ethnocultural group from that person's racial or ethnic cultural point of view, and

communicative empathy, words expressing intellectual or emotional empathy toward members of racial and ethnic groups different from one's own. Because Wang and colleagues conceptualize ethnocultural empathy as a trait that can be developed over time, measurement becomes possible. Synthesizing the Davis Interpersonal Reactivity Index with various multicultural awareness measurements, the 31 item scale measures empathic feeling and expression, empathic perspective taking, acceptance of cultural differences, and empathic awareness.

Empathy and intercultural awareness share an attitude of awareness and acceptance of both similarities and differences among people. Miville (1999) developed the construct universal-diverse orientation (UDO), defined as "an attitude toward all other persons that is inclusive yet differentiating in that similarities and differences are both recognized and accepted; the shared experience of being human results in a sense of connectedness with people and is associated with a plurality or diversity of interactions with others" (p. 292). This definition has a behavioral component (seeking diversity of experience), a cognitive component (valuing similarity and difference), and an emotive component (sense of connection). The development of the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (M-GUDS) was developed to measure UDO. A series of studies to establish reliability and validity of the M-GUDS established positive correlation with instruments measuring positive racial identity, healthy narcissism, empathy (using the Davis IRI), feminism, and androgyny. Negative correlation was demonstrated with dogmatism and homophobia. The advantage of this approach is its globality. Empathy measures are individually specific in their approach; intercultural measures tend to move away from empathy to embrace the idea of cultural acceptance.

The concept of UDO puts personal empathic tendencies on a larger stage. It moves empathy from an intentional disposition to a more unintentional and automatic disposition, a more mature empathy.

Impact of the Intercultural Exchange Experience

Up to this point in this current study, research concerning empathy, intercultural sensitivity, and intercultural empathy has been examined from a theoretical framework standpoint. The paper now turns to examination of studies that have been conducted to attempt to establish the interconnecting relationships between intercultural exchange and intercultural sensitivity and between intercultural sensitivity and empathy.

Adults abroad

Fowler (1998), with his research concerning public elementary school employees, established a statistically significant positive association between intercultural sensitivity and interpersonal relations, as defined by the levels of significance, competence, and likability according to the Schutz Elements of Awareness-Feeling instrument (1992). Though not specifically enlightening as to the connection between intercultural sensitivity and empathy, Fowler's study does lend credence to the idea of leadership cultivation arising out of intercultural exchanges. For his dissertation study, Gabriel (2008) qualitatively investigated factors entered into a successful sojourner adjustment relating to working and living in another culture. A sojourner is a short-term visitor to a new culture (Church, 1982). The Gabriel study focused on expatriate teachers employed in international schools in the Caribbean basin area. Although his qualitative sample group was small, the findings were interesting.

country nationals positively affected a successful sojourner adjustment. Another conclusion was that having a strong cultural identity for the home country does not negatively affect sojourner adjustment. Most importantly, having an open-minded personality characterized by cultural empathy and outgoing characteristics does positively affect sojourner adjustment.

Educator Studies

Penland (1996) sought to determine whether a statistically significant difference existed between the intercultural sensitivity of international high school principals and their stateside public school counterparts as well as between the international students and their stateside counterparts. He was also interested in a possible correlation between the intercultural sensitivity of principals and their students. Using the Culture Shock Inventory (Reddin, 1975), which measures among other things cultural knowledge, cognitive flexibility, and lack of western ethnocentrism, Penland found a correlation between the intercultural sensitivity of principals to that of their students. International high school principals and their students demonstrated a statistically significant higher intercultural sensitivity score than their stateside counterparts.

Mahon (2003) researched a perceived disconnect between mono-cultural teachers and diversified classroom students. Citing McFadden (1993), Mahon agrees that teachers must demonstrate cultural transcendence. Citing Au (1994), Mahon points out that classrooms today are characterized by a cultural disconnect, a cultural incongruence between culture of the school, including nature of the teaching, and culture of the student. Teachers must be more effective with culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1995) and culturally compatible instruction (Jordan, 1985).

These are limited by direct teacher interracial and intercultural experience (Melnick, 1998). Mahon sought to create a statistical picture of teachers' intercultural sensitivity. The key quantitative finding in her study was a significant correlation between amount of experience living overseas and Adaptation on the Bennett IDI. "These findings may give more support to the argument that more overseas opportunities, such as overseas student teaching, post-Baccalaureate travel experiences, and international teacher exchanges should be given much greater attention" (p. 351).

Bayles (2009) assessed the intercultural sensitivity of elementary teachers in a bilingual school district in Texas and found support to the study's assumption that "teachers with more experience teaching ethnically diverse students have higher levels of intercultural sensitivity" (p. 111). Fretheim (2007) measured the intercultural sensitivity of educators in an American international school in southern Africa. Though the overall scores placed the educators squarely in the Minimization Stage of Ethnocentrism on the DMIS model, "the correlation between the IDI developmental scores of the participants and years living overseas was significant" (p. 83). This result is argued by West's (2009) study of counselors in American international schools, whose study failed to find significance between intercultural sensitivity and time on the field.

Suarez (2003) focused on empathic growth for teachers in multicultural situations. Drawing upon two bodies of literature—the experiential learning of Otherness and the disposition of empathy, Suarez proposed that international cultural and linguistic immersion provides the opportunity to learn cultural otherness experientially. Suarez cites Merryfield's study (2000) which concluded that teachers

who promote multiculturalism and global education cite their most influential experiences as being encounters with discrimination and outsider status. For persons of color, such encounters and outsider status experiences result from simply growing up as a minority. For middle class white teachers in America, living outside one's country is "the lived experience" cited as turning points toward multicultural and global education (p. 439). Teachers believe that their empathic dispositions grow as a result of international experience (McKay, 1995). Suarez reports on the development of a study abroad program for teachers to experience cultural otherness. Self-reports of the results of participation in this program overwhelmingly supported the concept of empathic growth. In this case, self-reporting was anecdotal and not based on any particular instrument.

Students associated with military schools overseas are taught by teachers who have at least the same concurrent level of intercultural exchange. Though this study does not measure empathic growth in teachers, empathic growth has been cited, at least in the medical field, as resulting from role modeling (Wear & Zarconi, 2008).

University students abroad

Eby (2006) measured the study abroad impact on personality change. Using the 16 Personality Factor Inventory (16PF), students in three different groups (semester study abroad, three-week study abroad to various places, and semester on campus) were assessed with a pre and post 16PF test. For the on campus control groups and the three week experimental groups, there were no significant changes reported. When the semester-long study abroad groups were combined, five factors showed significant differences: reasoning and self-reliance increased significantly, while rule-

consciousness, extraversion, and self-control decreased significantly. This study did not corroborate traditional thinking that study abroad programs increase students' self-esteem and self-reliance. The results did, however, suggest that study abroad education adds much more in the way of perspective-appreciation. "Students reign in their own tendency to promote themselves and are more inclined to retreat into a more reflective way of relating to the world" (p. 24). The suppression of this tendency is similar to the suppression of one's own egocentric perspective, the mature empathy espoused by Hoffman.

Another study using the DMIS and the IDI measured Chinese students' intercultural sensitivity before, during, and after their study abroad program in England. Though the group was small (N=14), the researcher used qualitative measures and correlated them with the quantitative measures of the IDI. Narratives of the students who were in the acceptance stage "revealed that they were more aware of cultural differences than their peers, going beyond superficial observations. With more sustained intercultural contact, these sojourners developed a higher level of socio-pragmatic awareness, tended to display more empathy for others (e.g., their hosts), and did not remain as fixated on their own problems as those who had a more ethnocentric mindset" (Jackson, 2008, p. 356). Another interesting observation from this study was the idea that "the developmental sequence of intercultural competence does not necessarily parallel linguistic competence. In the case of foreign language learners, intercultural sensitivity and socio-pragmatic awareness may lag far behind language proficiency" (p. 356). This could be good news for the student associated with military schools overseas. Learning the host language is not always a practical alternative, especially since this

year's stay in Germany might turn to next year in Italy and so forth. Some critics might offer the lack of language learning as a deterrent to intercultural competence, but this is not borne out in the research.

A short term study abroad program conducted in 2008 (Keefe), did not indicate significant growth in intercultural sensitivity. However, qualitative analysis did identify growth in students' interest in and openness to other cultures.

Forgues's (2005) study explored the idea of openness to diversity. He reported Wortman's (2002) study which showed measurable gains in openness to diversity for students studying abroad compared with students not studying abroad. Forgues's own study reported similar results. Students who had studied abroad were more open to diversity than those who had not yet begun their study abroad program. This was true independent of the destination. Although Western European and North American cultures are relatively similar, US students still learned about differences and increased their openness to diversity by spending a semester in Western Europe. Since the population being studied for this paper is mostly Europe-based, understanding this potential is fitting.

Patterson's study (2007) compared study abroad students at a mid-size state supported Midwestern university to their on-campus counterparts. Results of this study did not show any statistically significant growth in intercultural sensitivity for the study abroad students, though some growth toward ethno-relativism was perceived. It should be noted, however, that this study abroad program lasted only two to four weeks.

Williams (2002) used the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI) (Kelley and Meyers, 1992) and the Intercultural Sensitivity Index (Olson and Kroeger, 2001) to

compare semester study abroad students to on campus students, demonstrating a greater change in intercultural communication skills for the study abroad students.

One of the most comprehensive and longitudinal studies was the Georgetown University Consortium Project (Vande Berg, 2009). This study sought to compare language, intercultural, and disciplinary learning of U.S. students studying abroad with a control group of students who remained on campus. While much of the study was concerned with oral proficiency gains, intercultural learning gains were also measured. On the average, females made significant gains in their intercultural development while abroad. Males did not. As far as program duration was concerned, students who studied abroad for a semester showed much greater gains than those students studying up to 12 weeks. Students studying abroad who reported their new culture was somewhat dissimilar or dissimilar from their host culture showed significant intercultural sensitivity growth as opposed to students studying in similar cultures. Students who spent the least amount of time with U.S. nationals made the greatest gains in intercultural learning. Those who spent the most time (76-100% of their free time) showed a decrease in intercultural proficiency. Contrary to expectation, no significant relationship was established between second language proficiency and intercultural sensitivity gains. One could expect that students associated with military schools overseas who have had a variety of experiences with cultures outside the Western sphere, independent of language learning, would demonstrate greater intercultural sensitivity.

Though this paper argues for simply being there in an intercultural experience as "better than nothing," it has been demonstrated that simply sending students on a study

abroad program even for a year, does not necessarily lead to increased intercultural competence. A case is made in a recent study for an accompanying pedagogy (Pederson, 2010). A significant study was done where three groups of students were measured for intercultural sensitivity. One group remained on campus; a second group studied abroad for a year without cultural training pedagogy and a third group studied abroad with accompanying coursework on group dynamics, intercultural effectiveness, and diversity training that included cultural immersion and coaching. A statistically significant difference was found from pre to post IDI scores between the group with coursework and the other two groups. Another variable considered significant was previous travel. First-time travel students exhibited more growth on the IDI continuum than did students who had previously traveled internationally. Students who participated in the year-long study did not progress toward ethno-relativism, as measured by the IDI, by mere participation. According to Pederson, these findings are contrary to results from Vandeberg and the Georgetown Consortium (2008) as well as from Paige, et al (2004). Recommendations from the study include working with students "during their experience using guided reflection and intercultural pedagogy to help them grow interculturally from the experience" (p. 79). However, the fact that first-time travel produced greater growth conflicts with studies that show previous overseas experience to have a positive effect on intercultural competence. It could be argued, however, that initial growth is more salient, moving one more quickly along the continuum inside the ethnocentric construct, while prolonged exposure offers the opportunity for a protracted growth toward the empathy residing in the ethnorelative side of the house.

Adolescents abroad

Saffron (2003) measured the intercultural sensitivity of high school students attending an international school. Using the IDI, he found that 97% of students were operating in acceptance or cognitive adaptation level, positively correlated with length of time attending international schools. On one hand, it can be argued that students attending international schools are not exactly a random sample of high school students. On the other hand, the study demonstrates growth in the area of cognitive acceptance. The longer a student is in an intercultural situation, at least in terms of this study, the more accepting that student becomes of other cultures.

In a very thorough study, the first connecting adolescents to intercultural sensitivity and closely related to this study, was conducted by Patricia Pederson (1998). Using the IDI and Bryant's Empathy Index for Children, Pederson demonstrated that intercultural sensitivity for stateside seventh graders was positively associated with intercultural contact (greater number of intercultural friendships) and empathy. No statistically significant associations were found between second language acquisition and intercultural sensitivity. Pertinent observations were related concerning adolescent children. Their capacity to think with increased logic, coherence and flexibility (Langdale, 1993), as cited by Pederson, matures with their ability to empathize, take various perspectives, and work cooperatively (Grant & Haynes, 1995) as reported subsequently by Pederson. The Bryant Index of Empathy for Children, a derivative of the Mehrabian Epstein (1972) adult measure of emotional empathy, was used to validate the IDI. The Pearson correlation coefficient reveals a positive statistically significant relationship between empathy and IDI score. Rural seventh graders with

American) and urban (7%) for their IDI score. A statistically significant difference was established between the rural and suburban subsamples only, highlighting the idea that living in a multicultural environment may be a significant factor in developing intercultural sensitivity. Having more intercultural relationships, as opposed to having relatives from different ethnic and racial backgrounds and traveling and moving to different neighborhoods, was found to be significantly correlated with higher IDI scores. This study was significant in that it was the only study found that attempted to correlate intercultural sensitivity with empathy. Though it succeeded in reiterating the correlation of the concepts already laid out by the Bennett model and subsequent instrument, the study did not, as promised, examine empathic growth in its subjects.

Third Culture Kids, or TCK's, are a population similar to the military-associated student overseas population. The term was coined by Ruth and John Useem (1973), whereby the first culture is the parents' country of origin, the second is the host culture, and the third refers to the transient community of expatriates. Polluck and Van Reken (1999) describe TCK's as children who have spent a significant part of their development outside the parents' culture with relationships to all of the cultures but without full ownership in any culture. These children are raised in a genuinely cross-cultural and highly mobile world, with an expectation of repatriation and a sense of privileged lifestyle (Cockburn, 2010). "TCK's not only observe firsthand the many geographical differences around the world but they also learn how people view life from different philosophical and political perspectives" (Polluck, 1999, p. 86). They have learned to "appreciate the reasons and understanding behind some of the

behavioral differences rather than simply being frustrated by them as visitors tend to be" (p. 97). TCK's are similar to overseas military students in that they did not make the decision to go abroad. They are dissimilar in that the parents of TCK's generally have decided to go abroad, whereas many military-associated students' parents have often simply been assigned to go abroad. However, like students associated with military schools overseas, many TCK's undergo multiple repatriations. An observation made by Roeper and her TCK research concerning similarities between TCK's and gifted children underlies some of the benefits of the TCK experience: "The indisputable best way to raise global awareness in children is through living and studying abroad" (Sheard, 2008, p. 35). Gerner (1992) referred to internationally mobile students as a population who spend part of their development years in one or more countries other than their country of origin or citizenship. This research supported other findings that internationally mobile students have more interest in travel and learning languages, and that they rate themselves more culturally accepting and more oriented to an international lifestyle in the future than their peers in the US.

Some of the more challenging aspects of this international nomadic experience are also significant. A 1988 study of moving adolescents found that the youth who had moved the most often were the ones with the poorest psychological profiles, even worse than youth who had moved recently (Brown, 1988). An Air Force study reported low self-esteem levels by 41% of the girls from military families as opposed to 23% of males, (32% of civilian females as opposed to 21% of civilian males) suggesting that "the military environment may not offer as optimal an environment for its female youth to develop strong self-concepts" (Orthner, 1987, p. 125). The same study concluded that

"military youth growing up in civilian families are not better at adapting to change than are their civilian counterparts" (p. 135).

Peterson and Plamondon (2009) researched this population concerning repatriation challenges and had some interesting and applicable observations. These authors hypothesized that because opportunities exist for TCK's to become "cross-cultural experts," those who "negotiate this intercultural balancing act well should be psychologically more satisfied with life" (p. 757) and thus score higher on positive affect measurements. They measured 180 18-25 year olds who had expatriated back to the US for balanced acculturation and positive affect and found that sheer number of years abroad was uncorrelated with any of the variables while numbers of repatriations were negatively correlated. The strongest positive correlation was between positive feelings toward parents and increases in balanced acculturation.

The implications for the current study are that on one hand, it may not be expected that numbers of years in an overseas school will have an automatic positive correlation with the intercultural sensitivity of these students associated with military schools overseas. However, if intercultural exchange is facilitated by familial involvement, as evident by number of forays into the intercultural arena, then some growth could be expected. The implications would be that the parents play a key role in this development.

Military-Associated Overseas Students' Unique Situation

In our search for tomorrow's potential leaders, we often scour the halls of the prep schools and peruse the lists of the National Merit Scholar Finalists, JRR Tolkien's

elven lords or kingly lineages so to speak. However, much like Tolkien's hobbits, one population of potential leaders and global citizens is often overlooked.

In the throes of deployments and military conflicts on more than one front, military families overseas and stateside are under a lot of stress. Soldiers who signed up as reservists or National Guard participants have ended up with multiple deployments (RAND, 2001). Families have been left to fend for themselves without a sponsor, spouse, father, or mother. When the families are stateside, there is often the possibility of extended family support. But when those families are overseas, the strain is greater when it comes to deployment (Duckworth, 2009).

Perhaps there is some consolation. Perhaps the dynamic of living overseas offers a positive unique opportunity for the children of these soldiers and of the civilians supporting the soldiers' missions. A deployed parent might take some consolation in knowing that her child is not only receiving an education but becoming a more empathic person as well. Soldiers have always been motivated by a sense of mission. It could well be that their children are part of a mission toward better cultural understanding and hence more effective global leadership. Of course the schools themselves are trying to find ways to cope with increased alcohol abuse (Gilreath, Cederbaum, et al., 2013) and decreased academic performance (RAND, 2011) from children of deployed parents. However, it could be that just the fact that the schools are located overseas offers significant rays of hope to the parents, the schools, and the future.

Undergraduate students taking courses overseas develop a stronger sense of intercultural sensitivity and competence (Vande Berg, 2009), a growth in their

intercultural empathy. These students choose to study overseas. What about students in intercultural situations who have not made that choice? Students outside the USA (students are pre-university as opposed to students who are university age) in the military associated schools are not all overseas by choice. Do these students, simply by being there, develop a stronger intercultural or even interpersonal empathy than their stateside counterparts?

If overseas students, in their unique third culture environment, are developing the intercultural empathy needed to be global citizens, perhaps they are better prepared than expected. It could be that their supposed disadvantages, such as cross cultural reentry, lack of scholarship opportunities, and deprivation of some aspects of "typical" stateside adolescent experiences, balance, if not outweigh, their growth toward global citizenship, if not leadership.

At present, it is not hard to find the bad news about military and social adjustment. The Armed Forces Network television stations constantly air public service announcements about sexual harassment, suicide rates, depression, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. Mental health issues have come to the forefront of army medical care. Shealy's tone (2003), though praising the diversity and tolerance, is harsh concerning the other repercussions of being a "military brat." Her study focuses on the factors such as alcoholism, deployment, constant changes of station, etc. Her own experience led her to express the following: "I am angry at being raised under an umbrella whose spokes include violence, intimidation, disrespect, control, and threats" (p. 20). Of course, not every experience is fraught with such negative consequences.

In fact, in the face of her delineation of the damaging negative influences, the assertion that tolerance is a given stand out as significant. What about the good news? What if these military-associated students precisely because of their overseas experiences are becoming more globally aware, more tolerant, and more empathic? This study sets out to determine if there is a relationship between empathic growth and the military overseas experience.

Hinkson (2007) offers some explanation for the above average performance of students associated with military schools overseas. "The children of enlisted men and women who attend schools on military bases routinely outperform the vast majority of their civilian counterparts. Not only is the average test score at these schools higher than the average in all but one of the fifty states, the Black-White test score gap is only a third of what it is in the civilian population" (p. viii). Hinkson points again to the military culture of integration and a new homogeneity, an expectancy of a multiethnic school population. "Overall, (these military) schools are more homogenous than civilian schools in that Blacks are more likely to attend schools similar to their White counterparts than is the case in public and Catholic schools. This provides some evidence for the effects of school integration on the reduction of the test score gap without a significant reduction in the test scores of the White students who attend these same schools" (p. viii).

Swanson (2004) focused on the achievement gap between minority students and their white counterparts in the schools. "It is well known that the standardized test scores of military dependent African American students enrolled in the overseas military schools exceed those of African American students attending American public

schools" (p. 144). Swanson goes on to point out that the performance of African American and Hispanic students is among the highest in the nation compared to other African American and Hispanic students as measured by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP, NCES, 1999 and 2003a).

Shealy (2003) cites the integrated military neighborhoods and schools creating a "cultural identity so powerful it crosses all lines of race, and gender, age, and class" (p. 9). While the civil rights movement was occurring in the States, Shealy recalls that her classrooms were always integrated. "We relied on and celebrated our similarities rather than our differences" (p. 290). In her study, she establishes through her interviews and recalls through her personal experience that students in military schools, or military brats, "naturally" learn acceptance. "There is a general disdain for the limits of racial prejudice expressed by the military brats as a whole" (p. 290).

Meyer (1995) applies the ubiquitous "where are you from" question to the transient military population. Through naturalistic inquiry and indigenous ethnography, she asserts some interesting observations about the military dependent population.

Although some researchers contend that military families have lower self-esteem than their civilian counterparts (Orthner & Giddings, 1989), other researchers contend that these dependents are no different from their civilian counterparts as far as self-image is concerned (Watanabe, 1985). Meyer cites a positive benefit to the transient nature of the career in that it "adds to the perception that military dependents have a more cosmopolitan attitude than their counterparts who lived in one location" (p. 68).

Participants in her study (former military dependents) disclosed themselves through her interviews as being more culturally sensitive and accepting of people from other ethnic

and racial backgrounds. They felt as if they're more culturally aware, giving them a "broader perspective of the world" (p. 85).

This study seeks to augment that assertion with the idea that students associated with military schools overseas are not only tolerant in their own school setting but that they also show an intercultural empathy, if not an interpersonal empathy that make them global citizens and potential global leaders.

Summary and Implications

Empathy is a powerful construct. The importance of being empathic toward fellow human beings surfaces in discussions about leadership. How empathic a person is toward another strongly influences interaction. On the global stage, the same scene is played out in groups. How interculturally sensitive a person is toward another culture helps define the success of the intercultural exchange. While much of empathic growth is developmental and perhaps genetic, it has been demonstrated that such growth can be augmented by experience and pedagogy. This also occurs on the intercultural stage and is true for adolescents as well as adults.

The longer university students study abroad and the more interaction they have with the host culture, the more intercultural sensitivity they demonstrate, though a significant growth toward adaptation and interpersonal empathy is rarely established. When adolescents spend time abroad as expatriates or exchange students, their intercultural sensitivity growth is significant.

Three factors come to mind. First, adolescents are said to be more impressionable. Perhaps their stage in life opens up their minds for a more accepting view. Second, adolescents tend to pick up their life cues from peers. Having more

intimate relationships and being on equal footing, as outlined by the contact hypothesis, not only reduces their prejudice but increases their adaptation and acceptance. Empathy as an integral part of that adaptation is only inferred. Finally, in the case of expatriates, the fact that their overseas stint is more of a lifestyle than a temporary exchange possibly gives them a greater sense of settling in and increases their motivation for adaptation.

The overseas military school student population, the subject of this study, has some of the characteristics of the international adolescent in that their international experience is a lifestyle. On the other hand, because they can more readily close themselves off on base in a more homogenous environment, their experience may have more parallels with that of the university student. Exploring the correlation between these students' intercultural experience and their interpersonal and intercultural empathy could add another slant to the research mentioned so far. The reverse is also potentially true. Research about interpersonal and intercultural empathy could help military family researchers pinpoint some of the strengths of that population.

The question then surfaces: Is there a relationship between military-associated students' overseas experience and empathic growth, either personally or interculturally?

According to the developmental theories of Hoffman (1984) and Greenspan and Shanker (2004), children develop empathic perspective taking in their childhood. With the onset of abstract thinking in early adolescence, some empathic growth can be expected for all adolescents. This paper argues that the overseas school experience, moderated by number of years overseas and rate of intercultural involvement, has a positive influence on a typical adolescent's empathic growth and intercultural

sensitivity. The relationship between interpersonal empathy and intercultural empathy is also explored to pose intercultural empathic growth as a possible vehicle to interpersonal empathic growth.

Statement of the Problem

Empathy has long been a construct measured by researchers using various instruments (Hogan, 1969; Mehrabian-Epstein, 1972; Ickes, 1997; Batson, 1987; and Davis, 1983). While research has been done with school children (Bryant, 1987) and adolescents (Pederson, 1998), no known research has measured the interpersonal empathic growth of students associated with military schools overseas specifically.

Intercultural researchers such as Hammer and Bennett (2003), Ridley and Lingle (1996), and Wang (2003) have pointed out the clear connection between empathic growth and intercultural sensitivity. Numerous studies (Patterson, 2007; Keefe, 2008; Vande Berg, 2009) have been conducted to measure study abroad participants for intercultural sensitivity, a key component of intercultural competence. Only a few studies (Pederson, 1998; Saffron, 2003) have been conducted with a focus on adolescents. These studies have dealt with students at international schools or exchange studies. None of these researchers have measured intercultural empathic growth in students who attend military-associated schools overseas.

Not only have empathy measures been incorporated in intercultural sensitivity instruments (Hammer & Bennett, 2003), but recently researchers have also sought to distill the two ideas into a new construct, referred to as cultural empathy (Ridley & Lingle, 1996), empathic multicultural awareness (Junn, Morton, & Yee, 1995), cultural role taking (Scott & Borodovsky, 1990), ethnic perspective taking (Quintana, Ybarra,

Gonzalez-Doupe, & Baessa, 2000), ethnotherapeutic empathy (Parson, 1993), ethnocultural empathy (Wang, 2003), or universal-diverse orientation (Miville, 1999). For the most part, these researchers use university students studying abroad or intercultural relations on campuses in the United States. No known quantitative research has measured intercultural empathy on high school students attending schools in foreign countries.

Brief Overview of the Study

This study chooses the students of military-associated schools overseas for the measurement intercultural and interpersonal empathy for several reasons.

First, these students provide more of a random sample for intercultural relations. None of these students have chosen to live overseas. Family dynamics concerning intercultural relations are varied. Some families are already of a mixed culture—spouses from the host country or other international background, military members and families from Puerto Rico or American Samoa, and many bilingual families. If the host country of these families is their first or second culture, they are almost automatically culturally assimilated. If the family is not mixed culture or the mixed family is not from the host culture, the experiences still differ immensely. Some families plunge into touring, language learning, and cultural immersion, often extending their stay. Other families dabble in intercultural exchanges via shopping or tourism. Still others remain somewhat isolated on the military bases, making only occasional forays into the great unknown of the host culture. Military and civilian families living overseas have tours of duty in a host country varying from one year to over twenty years. Some children of these

military and civilian sponsors attend overseas schools for the duration of their preuniversity schooling.

Another reason that this study proposes the overseas military school population is to attempt to describe some of the more intangible benefits of these overseas tours of duty. On one hand many students feel "robbed" of their according to the media typical American high school experience—attending sporting events with huge crowds as seen in movies like *Friday Night Lights*, getting a job at 16 as demonstrated in many teen flicks such as *Sisterhood of the Traveling Pants*, cruising down Main Street like in the "good old days" as portrayed by movies like *American Graffiti*.

On the other hand, students have opportunities in overseas situations that they would not have otherwise. Language learning is facilitated, travel to famous international sites is common, and world history becomes easier to grasp, at least geographically. A thorough study conducted by the National Institution on Early Childhood Development in 2001 concluded that students associated with military schools overseas tend to perform academically better than their peers at stateside schools in standardized tests and writing assessments (Smrekar, Guthrie, Owens, & Sims). Hinkson's research (2007) showed that the test score gap between minority students and white students is significantly smaller in the overseas military schools than it is in the stateside schools. Perhaps socially these students have some strengths not yet measured.

Research Questions

The research questions and related hypotheses can be stated as follows:

Research Question 1 addresses if there's an association between military-associated students' years overseas and intercultural or interpersonal empathy. Living outside the home culture, it would seem, would open a person up to other cultures and other ways of thinking. It would be logical then that these students who live overseas would have more intercultural empathy. For this first research question, some adjustments needed to be made. Instead of asking for years lived overseas as a continuous variable, the survey asked for years overseas in 4 categories: 1-3 years, 4-6 years, 6-10 years, and over 10 years.

A related question asked if participants had lived out of the USA while growing up. My prediction is that the longer students live overseas, the higher their score will be on the intercultural empathy measure. The basis of this study is the idea that more years spent overseas not only opens a young person up to another way of thinking culturally, but it also opens his or her mind to another way of thinking personally. Since interpersonal empathic growth due to an overseas stint is more of a longshot, I surmise that the relationship between years lived overseas and military-associated students' interpersonal empathic growth will not be statistically significant.

Research Question 2 deals with the amount of intercultural exchange while overseas and a possible association with intercultural or interpersonal empathy. To establish a possible relationship between these factors, a measurement of overseas

experience needed to be developed. In order to do so, the author revised the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) and developed a 19 question inventory exploring the depth of involvement and frequency of activity in the host culture. It would seem logical that the more a student is involved in a culture other than the home culture, the more that student will demonstrate intercultural empathy. I expect a significant correlation between intercultural involvement and students' intercultural empathy. Since the depth of involvement should be a stronger measure of openness than simply the number of years overseas, this question gets to the heart of the study-- if intercultural exchange results in interpersonal empathic growth. For that reason, my prediction is that there will be a loose association between amount of overseas experience and interpersonal empathy, though I do not predict that this will be statistically significant.

Research Question 3 deals with the possible association between intercultural and interpersonal empathy. As a person experiences other cultures and becomes more interculturally aware and empathic, it would seem that this increase would influence his or her interpersonal thinking as well. I predict a significant correlation between interpersonal empathy and intercultural empathy. That in itself, however, will not prove the overarching question of whether an overseas experience is a predictor of interpersonal empathy. It could simply mean that those who are predisposed toward empathy, whether due to nature, nurture, or other factors, have both types of empathy at significant levels as compared to others. A growth in intercultural empathy due to an overseas stint may not have anything to do with a growth in interpersonal empathy. However, this research has continually returned to the idea of perspective and world

view. Since perspective taking is a component of interpersonal empathy and world view is a component of intercultural empathy, zooming in on the idea of perspective taking is an appropriate step to take at this juncture. I predict that a significant association between perspective taking and intercultural empathy will be evident. The relationship between overseas involvement and perspective taking are also predicted to be significant. Subsequently I hypothesize that there will be a significant connection between the number of years lived overseas and perspective taking.

The next set of research questions do not correspond directly to the thrust of the arguments of this study. Since the demographics explored in the study were mainly overseas students who have attended military-associated schools, the literature review did not explore demographic questions within that group. However, some demographic items may have an influence on the major research questions outlined above. To explore that possibility, some additional research questions will be addressed.

Research Question 4 deals with gender and asks if there is an association between gender and overseas involvement, intercultural empathy, or interpersonal empathy. Studies concerning themselves with intercultural empathy have uncovered some gender differences, showing females to develop intercultural empathy more readily than males (Vande Berg, et al., 2009). However, since the military student population has not been explored with reference to intercultural empathy, it does make sense to test a hypothesis concerning gender and intercultural empathy. My prediction is that there will be no significant correlation between gender and intercultural empathy levels. On the other hand, studies concerning interpersonal empathy have shown gender differences, with males' perspective-taking specifically developing more slowly than

that of females (Van der Graaff, et al., 2014). Since this is a younger population, it would seem logical that overseas military-associated female students would demonstrate higher levels of interpersonal empathy than their male counterparts.

Research Question 5 deals with the active duty or civilian factor to explore a possible association between an active duty or civilian child and overseas involvement and empathy. A couple major differences between active duty and civilian population is first, civilians move less often with fewer and/or shorter stateside stints and second, civilians often live overseas by choice. If civilians participate in overseas life based more on choice than active duty personnel do, it seems logical that civilians would participate in the host culture more. It can be expected that this second factor has an effect on the parents' openness to other cultures, which in turn affects that of the student. I predict a significant relationship between being a civilian and having more involvement in the host nation. How about empathy? If civilians choose to be overseas, it seems logical that children of these parents would be more interculturally empathic Interpersonal empathy, on the other hand, is expected to not display significant differences in the population of civilian students as opposed to children of active duty parents.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Participants

The study sought out participants between the ages of 18-25 in order to get the student population without needing parental permission. Surveys sent out via Facebook and school connections resulted in 175 completed responses, 155 of which were the targeted age group. The sample was predominately Caucasian (77%), with African Americans (7%) and Hispanics/Latinos (7%) making up most of the rest of the population. 63% of the participants were female. 73% of the participants lived outside the US while growing up, 91% of those living in Europe. 20 participants lived overseas for 1-3 years, 20 for 4-6 years, 22 for 6-10 years, and 44 reported living overseas for over 10 years (32% did not report living overseas). 42 participants reported having active duty parents; 44 reported having civilian parents (44% did not report having either).

Procedure

Because the military-associated school system's IRB does not allow surveys for private research to be administered during the school day or using school resources, recruitment occurred primarily via social media. The consent form and survey link was sent out using Facebook contacts of former students, friends of graduates, and teacher friends. The survey consisted of a consent form, 23 demographic questions, the Overseas Experience Questionnaire, the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, and the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (Short Form).

Measures

The Davis Interpersonal Reactivity Index or IRI (Davis, 1983) is a multidimensional instrument measuring empathy composed of four 7-item subscales: (a) perspective taking, which measures the extent to which individuals adopt the perspectives of others: "I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view"; (b) empathic concern, which measures the degree to which individuals feel concern and compassion for others: "Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal"; (c) fantasy, which assesses the degree to which individuals identify with fictional characters in movies, books, and so forth: "I really get involved with the feelings of the characters in a novel"; and (d) personal distress, which assesses experiences of others: "When I see someone get hurt, I tend to remain calm." Participants read each item and rated their level of agreement by choosing a number between 1 (Does not describe me well) and 5 (Describes me very well) on a Likert scale. Previous validity testing of the instrument that showed strong internal consistency among the 28 questions were born out by the present research as well (α = .79), while the distinctiveness of each of the four subscales was also borne out (r = .41).

The Miville-Guzman Universality Diversity Scale or MGUDS (Miville, et al., 1999) is composed of three 5-item subscales: (a) diversity of contact, which measures students' interest in participating in diverse social and cultural activities: "I would like to join an organization that emphasizes getting to know people from different countries"; (b) relativistic appreciation, which measures the extent to which students value the impact of diversity on self-understanding and personal growth: "Persons with disabilities can teach me things I could not learn elsewhere"; and (c) comfort with

differences, which measures students' degree of comfort with diverse individuals: "Getting to know someone of another race is generally an uncomfortable experience for me." Participants first read a description of the terms culture, racial or racial background, ethnicity or ethnic group, and country before reading each item and rating their level of agreement by choosing a number between 1 (strongly disagree) and 6 (strongly agree). The scale was adjusted for this research to make it easier for the respondents, from 1 (Does not describe me well) to 5 (Describes me very well). Cronbach's alpha measures showed strong internal validity ($\alpha = .85$).

Demographic information collected included number of years in a military-associated school overseas, gender, parent education level, military rank, and race. To determine level of involvement in the host culture, a measurement of overseas experience needed to be developed. In order to do so, the author with permission revised the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) and developed a 19 question inventory. This inventory, the Overseas Experience Questionnaire (OEX), explores depth of involvement and frequency of activity in the host culture. Internal validity was strong (α = .88). Externally, OEX was correlated significantly with the intercultural measure MGUDS (r = .46, p < .0001) though not with the interpersonal empathy measure IRI (r = .19, see Table 5).

Chapter 4: Results

Years Overseas and Empathy

ANOVA tested for differences in intercultural empathy (MGUDS) for participants who lived overseas while growing up versus those who grew up in the US (see Table 1). Living overseas was coded as a dichotomous variable (1 = lived outside the US at any time while growing up; 2 = did not live outside the USA at any time while growing up). MGUDS showed significant differences for the two groups, F(1,125) = 8.74, p > .004, with the mean score of participants who did live overseas being larger than that of participants who did not live overseas (3.75 and 3.39, respectively). In a follow-up analysis, I measured numbers of years overseas and derived 5 categories: 0= no years overseas, 1=1-3 years, 2=4-6 years, 3=6-10 years, and 4= over 10years. ANOVA tested for differences in MGUDS scores based on these categories, and significant differences were found, F(4, 123) = 2.87, p > .03 with mean differences for each group as follows: no years overseas = 3.39, 1-3 years overseas = 3.72, 4-6 years overseas = 3.68, 6-10 years overseas = 3.64, over 10 years overseas = 3.89 (see Table 2). Using the Tukey comparison method, the significant mean difference was between no years overseas and over 10 years overseas. As a result, the hypothesis that students' years spent overseas or simply growing up overseas would be significantly associated with intercultural empathy levels is supported.

Whether or not a student grew up overseas did not show a significant relationship with the interpersonal empathy measure IRI, F(1, 128) = 2.90, p > .09. The mean score on the IRI for students growing up overseas was not significantly larger than those not growing up overseas (3.43 and 3.30 respectively—see Table 3). The

same was true for the categorical measure of years overseas and IRI, F (4, 126) = 1.81, (p > .13) see Table 4. Mean numbers showed no significant differences (no years overseas = 3.30, 1-3 years overseas = 3.42, 4-6 years overseas = 3.30, 6-10 years overseas = 3.38, over 10 years overseas = 3.52). The hypothesis that growing up overseas and living overseas for a number of years would not significantly associate with the IRI is supported.

Intercultural Exchange and Empathy

For the second research question asking if the amount of intercultural exchange (OEX) positively correlates with intercultural or interpersonal empathy for military-associated students, bivariate correlations were obtained between OEX and both MGUDS and IRI. OEX was correlated at r = .46 with the intercultural measure MGUDS (p < .0001—see Table 5). OEX was correlated at r = .19 with interpersonal empathy, but this correlation was not statistically significant (p > .09). Thus, the hypothesis that involving oneself in the host culture would be significantly associated with intercultural empathic levels was supported, whereas that host nation involvement was not significantly associated with interpersonal empathy.

Intercultural and Interpersonal Empathy Correlation

The third research question dealt with the interaction between the two empathies. Bivariate correlations were obtained between MGUDS and IRI. MGUDS was correlated at r = .46 with IRI (p < .0001—see Table 5). Results show a strong association between intercultural and interpersonal empathy. That does, however, bring up a question as to why students who live overseas and get involved with the host culture show intercultural but not interpersonal empathic growth. If the two constructs

correlate, why doesn't what predicts one predict the other? The most logical intersect of the two constructs is the sub-category of the IRI interpersonal empathy measure called perspective-taking (PT). MGUDS was significantly correlated with PT at r = .42 (p < .0001), see Table 6. Testing overseas involvement against perspective taking, the results showed that OEX was significantly correlated with PT at r = .26 (p > .01), see Table 6, supporting the hypothesis of a significant relationship between perspective taking and intercultural empathy.

On the other hand, the hypotheses that a significant relationship would exist between years overseas or growing up outside the US and perspective taking were not supported. No significant differences were shown for PT for the two groups (growing up outside the US and not growing up outside the US, F(1, 128) = .98, p > .324, with the mean score of participants who did live overseas only slightly larger than that of participants who did not live overseas (3.67 and 3.56, respectively), see Table 7. ANOVA tested for differences in PT scores based on the five categories of years overseas, and no significant differences were found, F(4, 126) = .74, p > .57 with mean differences for each group as follows: no years overseas = 3.56, 1-3 years overseas = 3.52, 4-6 years overseas = 3.64, 6-10 years overseas = 3.62, over 10 years overseas = 3.77; see Table 7.

Moderating Factors

Gender differences

In subsequent analyses, possible moderation by various demographic factors was explored. Using ANOVA, no gender differences were found in OEX scores F(1, 86) = .60, p < .44 (see Table 8) with mean scores for females (3.55) not significantly

smaller than for males (3.66). Similarly, there were no gender differences in intercultural empathy levels F(1,126) = 2.24, p > .14. The mean score for females was not significantly larger than that of males (3.71 and 3.53 respectively--see Table 9). Studies concerning interpersonal empathy have shown gender differences, with males' perspective-taking specifically developing more slowly than that of females (Van der Graaff and colleagues, 2014). Gender differences were in fact discovered in interpersonal empathy F(1, 129) = 21.55, p < .0001, see Table 9. In this case, the female mean score at 3.5 was significantly greater than the male mean score at 3.2. This hypothesis that gender differences would be significant in the measure of interpersonal empathy is supported.

Active duty or civilian

The next research question deals the demographic factor of a participant being part of an active duty family as opposed to a civilian family. Three groups emerged out of this category—students of active duty parents, students of civilian parents, and a small group of students whose parents were retired. Using the ANOVA procedure, being a child of a civilian did show a relationship with the OEX measure, F(1, 69) = 5.63, p > .02. The mean scores of the civilian child (3.74) and the child of a retired parent (3.69) were significantly larger than the mean score of the active duty child (3.39) –see Table 10. The hypothesis that civilian children involve themselves in the overseas experience more than active duty students do was affirmed.

On the other hand, no significant differences were displayed among the groups in intercultural and interpersonal empathy measures. The intercultural empathy measure MGUDS showed no significant differences among the groups, F(2,72) = .23

and p > .79. Mean differences for each group were measured as follows: students of active duty parents at 3.69, students of civilian parents at 3.77, and students of retired parents at 3.61, see Table 11. The interpersonal empathy measure IRI also showed no significant relationships F(1, 74) = .76 and p > .37. Means differences in IRI among the three groups were measured with students of active duty parents at 3.38, students of civilian parents at 3.47, and students of retired parents at 3.24, see Table 12.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this study, the purpose was to determine if intercultural experience, specifically living overseas, could be a mitigating factor, if not a stimulus, for intercultural and even possibly interpersonal empathic growth. A very specific research population was chosen—the children attending military-associated overseas schools. This population differs from study-abroad students researched for empathy (Eby, 2006; Forgues, 2005; Gabriel, 2008; Keefe, 2008; Patterson, 2007; Suarez, 2003) because military-associated students do not make a choice to live overseas. The population differs also from a typical TCK (third culture kid) population in that TCKs are most often children of missionaries, diplomats, or mixed ethnicity, with the home culture being part of the mix. TCKs tend to come from families with an intercultural emphasis, while military-associated overseas students do not. Therefore, this population is theoretically a fertile ground for testing empathic growth due to overseas experiences. In this study, five basic ideas were examined. First, the fact that a child lives overseas while growing up or spends a certain amount of time overseas was expected to be significantly associated with intercultural but not with interpersonal empathic growth. Secondly, the level of involvement in the host culture was expected to significantly correlate with intercultural empathy but not with interpersonal empathy. However, the third hypothesis that intercultural empathy does influence interpersonal empathy opens up the prospect that an indirect interpersonal empathic growth might occur via intercultural involvement. Hence the sub-category of interpersonal empathy, perspective-taking, was explored and expected to significantly correlate with overseas experience, intercultural, and interpersonal empathy. The fourth idea dealt with gender

and the expectation that gender plays a huge role in interpersonal but not intercultural empathy. Finally, the fact that a parent is a civilian as opposed to an active duty military member was expected to be associated with intercultural exchange and thus with intercultural empathy, but not with interpersonal empathy.

Living and Growing Up Overseas and Empathy

The fact that a student lived overseas while growing up was a significant predictor of intercultural empathy. Respondents who had spent time overseas while growing up demonstrated significantly higher scores on the intercultural measure Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (MGUDS) than respondents who did not spend any time overseas while growing up. That shows that the population of military-associated overseas students to be fertile ground for intercultural empathic growth. When that question was broken down into how many years it took for such a relationship to occur, results showed that living overseas for more than ten years had a significant association with intercultural empathy. However, these differences were examined with an extremely conservative test. An examination of the group means suggests that any time spent overseas could potentially facilitate intercultural empathy.

As far as interpersonal empathy is concerned, having an overseas experience does not predict significant growth. Since the interpersonal empathy construct itself is complex, deciding what factors influence its growth is fraught with extraneous variability. Thus it was not surprising that spending any amount of time overseas did not predict any sort of interpersonal empathic growth. However, this research does look to suggest an indirect growth in interpersonal empathy due to intercultural empathic growth and overseas cultural involvement.

Overseas Involvement and Empathy

In order to investigate that possibility, the next step was to see what factors influence either intercultural or interpersonal empathic growth while living in another culture. Merely living overseas, or what is known as the contact hypothesis (Amir, 1969), has been known to reduce prejudice. But involvement in the culture is vital to move toward empathy. How involved military-associated students were in the host culture did significantly predict intercultural empathy, as expected. It did not turn out to be significant as far as interpersonal empathy was concerned. This is not surprising considering the complexity of interpersonal empathy and its facets—cognitive, affective, and behavioral, for example. Opening oneself up to another culture is not the same as opening oneself up to another person. However, if a connection between interpersonal and intercultural empathy is established, then it stands to reason that whatever influences intercultural empathy could do the same for interpersonal empathy.

Intercultural and Interpersonal Empathy

The third research question concerned itself with the association between intercultural and interpersonal empathy. The idea here stands at the crux of the entire research. If living overseas for an extended amount of time or involving oneself in another culture results in intercultural empathy, perhaps that growth can translate to the more difficult challenge of learning interpersonal empathy. Results showed a strong correlation between the two constructs. On the other hand, the same association between intercultural empathy and overseas experience did not occur between interpersonal empathy and overseas experience. That is logical, however, because

overseas experience is more connected with personality traits such as extroversion than interpersonal empathy is.

This study does, however, continually return to the idea of perspective taking as a bridge between the two empathies (Quintana, 2000; Batson, et al., 2007) and how perspective taking depends on the number of experiences with other ethnic groups (Wang, et al., 2003). Intercultural empathic development begins with prejudice reduction and moves onto ethnocultural empathy by not just being interested in other cultures but being sensitive enough to notice cultural differences (Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992). It could be supposed then, that if perspective taking is influenced by an intercultural experience, it might then translate into interpersonal empathy since perspective taking is part of the cognitive aspect of interpersonal empathy (Davis, 1983). Results did show a strong correlation between overseas experience and perspective taking. However, no such significance surfaced when either growing up outside the US or living a certain number of years was tested as a predictor for perspective taking. This is not entirely unexpected considering that the perspective shift required for interpersonal empathy is less situational and more of an individual response than a perspective shift in intercultural empathy (Davis, 1983).

Demographic Factors and Empathy

The next approach was to look at demographic factors. Studies concerning themselves with interpersonal empathy have uncovered some gender differences, showing females to develop empathy more readily than males (Van der Graaff, 2014). However, the military student population had not been explored with reference to intercultural empathy. Since this is a younger population, it would seem logical that

overseas military-associated female students would demonstrate higher levels of interpersonal empathy than their male counterparts. As expected, gender played a strong role in interpersonal empathy with females showing a significantly greater amount of interpersonal empathy. The same was not true, however, for overseas involvement or for intercultural empathy. Again, interpersonal empathy stands as a construct on its own.

Since civilians tend to stay longer in an overseas position and often choose that career path, it would be logical to expect some differences in intercultural empathy between children of civilians and children of active duty military members. The involvement factor was measured as a significant difference. However, in this case, the fact that there was no significant difference in intercultural or interpersonal empathy between those two demographic groups was surprising. This could be at least partially explained by the fact that the number of respondents who claimed either civilian or active duty was much smaller than in the overall sample.

Conclusions

So what was learned in this research? Living overseas and getting involved in the overseas culture does relate strongly to intercultural empathy. The military-associated overseas students demonstrate intercultural proficiency in comparison to students who did not grow up overseas. That is important because these students are not necessarily willing participants in the host culture, as is the case with TCK's and international students. Could these students be on the road toward interpersonal empathy as well?

It is clear from the research above that intercultural empathy is a more defined construct—is a person open to acceptance of another culture or not. Because of that, it's an easier idea to measure. It could also be argued that the intercultural approach is more cognitive than affective. On the other hand, interpersonal empathy is a complex construct made up of cognitive, emotive, and behavioral aspects (Hoffman, 1997; Stepien, 2006; Calloway-Thomas, 2010). The antecedents of empathy (Davis, 1996) include differences in individuals, such as intellectual capacity, dispositional tendency, and intentional decisions to engage in empathic behavior. The responses to another person, whether cognitive, affective, or behavioral, emerge from a specific situational context. The possibility was raised that living overseas presented a situational context from which cognitive, affective, and behavioral empathy could emerge. A resulting interpersonal empathic growth from this situational context, however, was not demonstrated. Intercultural empathy appears to be more situational than interpersonal empathy is.

Whether empathy is seen as a specific cognitive, behavioral, or emotive response, a complex interaction of such factors, or a progression, the key aspect for this study is potential empathic growth beyond the typical personal development.

Perspective-taking lies at the crossroads of empathy and intercultural sensitivity. To experience growth in either or both of those areas, an increased perspective-taking becomes the specific goal. This research did show that involving oneself in another culture does lead to a perspective shift. This perspective shift that occurs interculturally offers a possible bridge toward more interpersonal empathy.

Implications

Becoming a world citizen means awareness, acceptance, and validation of another culture. Living overseas and being involved in the host culture does make the military-associated student more interculturally aware. That is good news, perhaps even a redeeming factor, in the face of the difficulties this population faces. The military-associated overseas schools are poised to help create the better world citizen because their setting is in another culture, their students interact at some level with another culture, and opportunities are provided to engage more fully in that host culture. Programs such as Model United Nations and International Student Leadership provide direct opportunities to meet and work with students from other cultures. Even simple field trips to visit historic sites from other cultures tend to increase appreciation of other cultures. It is highly recommended that these schools purposefully pursue that intercultural exchange. How better to promote world peace than to have students of military members involved in world-view shifting cultural exchanges.

Even though the study set out to find a key to open the door to interpersonal empathy, the fact that intercultural empathy can be facilitated through intercultural exchange might be more important for global leadership than interpersonal empathy. Of course, a healthy dose of both would be the ideal broth for that leadership soup mentioned above.

Limitations

This study faced a few important limitations. Using the Facebook approach created a somewhat homogenous group, mostly white students who have gone to school in Europe and who, instead of the usual "six-degree separation," most likely knew each

other directly or were only one degree separated. Getting military association approval to run a more official military-sponsored study would have resulted in more conclusive evidence about interpersonal empathy in particular.

Such support would have also given a broader base of ethnic and racial variation. Whether ethnicity plays a role in intercultural empathy specifically is an interesting angle. Being the minority culture, wherever that culture is located, most likely creates an almost automatic awareness of another culture. Whether or not that transfers into intercultural empathy would be very interesting to investigate.

Another strong limitation was geographic. Since most of the respondents had their overseas stint in Europe, conclusions could not be drawn about what it means to live in a completely different culture. Studies have been done about Third Culture Kids (Gerner, 1992; Sheard, 2008) and study abroad students in Africa (Fretheim, 2007), but gathering information about empathy levels from military-associated students in Asia and Africa would be informative. Perhaps the greater the culture shock, the more potential for intercultural growth? That would be a valuable direction for similar research.

Although the Overseas Experience Questionnaire was an effective way to procure information about the respondents' involvement in the host culture for this study, it has not been psychometrically examined or statistically approved. Further research is required to establish the reliability and validity of this new measure.

Future Research

To determine whether these military-associated overseas students have a sort of inside track toward global citizenship and intercultural empathy, it would be interesting

to test the same students before and after an overseas stint. Paired *t* tests about the interpersonal empathy measure (Interpersonal Reactivity Index), the intercultural empathy measure (Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale), and the Overseas Experience Questionnaire (OEX) after a certain number of years at a certain age would tell a lot more. Coupling that with more complete demographics and a system-wide design would be far more conclusive.

Perhaps the most significant by-product of this study was the Overseas Experience Questionnaire. Past research about study abroad has demonstrated that sending students on a program, even for a year, does not lead to intercultural competence. What is needed is cultural training pedagogy and diversity training (Pederson, 2010), intercultural contact (2009), spending less amount of time with US nationals (Vande Berg, 2009), and more sustained cultural contact (Jackson, 2008). How is this contact measured? Jackson (2008) and Gabriel (2008) measured it qualitatively with interviews and journals. Other studies (Williams, 2002; Forgues, 2005) used an intercultural adaptability measurement very similar to the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale but without a means of determining levels of involvement. The quantitative instrument that provided the most insight into levels of involvement was the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) written for Chinese Americans. Using many of the questions as a basis for guest involvement in the host culture, the Overseas Experience Questionnaire was developed for this research. The strength of its internal validity ($\alpha = .88$) and correlation between it and the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (r = .46) show it to be a valuable approach for learning the extent of involvement in a host culture. As mentioned above,

complete testing and approval of the Overseas Experience Questionnaire would help determine if its applicability to similar studies would be beneficial.

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Table 1. Growing Up Overseas and the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (MGUDS)

The Means Procedure

Growing Up	n	M	SD
Lived outside US	88	3.75	0.61
Did not live outside US	42	3.39	0.71

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	1	3.64	3.64	8.74	0.004
Within groups	125	52.15	0.42		
Total	126	55.79			

Table 2. Years Overseas and the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (MGUDS)

The Means Procedure

Years Categories	n	M	SD
0 years	42	3.39*	0.71
1-3 years	14	3.72	0.56
4-6 years	18	3.68	0.41
6-10 years	21	3.64	0.67
over 10 years	33	3.89*	0.69

Comparisons significant at the 0.05 level are significant are indicated by *

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	4	4.82	1.20	2.87	0.026
Within groups	123	51.56	0.42		
Total	127	56.38			

Table 3. Growing Up Outside US and the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)

Growing Up	n	M	SD
Lived outside US	88	3.43	0.37
Did not live outside US	42	3.30	0.44

The Means Procedure

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	1	0.45	0.45	2.90	.0910
Within groups	128	19.67	0.15		
Total	129	20.12			

Table 4. Years Overseas and the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)

ine Means	Proceaure

Years Categories	n	M	SD
0 years	42	3.30	0.44
1-3 years	14	3.42	0.19
4-6 years	19	3.30	0.35
6-10 years	21	3.38	0.38
over 10 years	35	3.52	0.41

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p	
Between groups	4	1.09	0.27	1.81	0.13	
Within groups	126	19.03	0.15			
Total	130	20.12				

Table 5. The Overseas Experience Questionnaire (OEX), the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI), and the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (MGUDS) Correlation

Pearson Correlation Matrix for OEX, IRI, and MGUDS (N=90)

Measure	OEX	IRI	MGUDS
OEX		0.194	0.461***
IRI			0.462***
MGUDS			

^{***}p < 0.0001

Table 6. Perspective Taking (PT) Correlations

Pearson Correlation Matrix for the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale

Measure	MGUDS	PT
MGUDS		0.42***
PT		

****p* < 0.0001

(MGUDS) and PT (N=88)

Pearson Correlation Matrix for OEX and PT (N=88)

Measure	OEX	PT
OEX		0.26**
PT		

**p > 0.01

Table 7. Perspective Taking (PT) ANOVA Measures

Growing up Outside the US and Perspective Taking: The Means Procedure

)	n	M	<u> </u>	SD
Lived outside US		88	3.6	57	0.59
Did not live o US	utside	42	3.5	56	0.59
ANOVA					
Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	1	0.34	0.34	0.98	0.324
Within groups	128	44.18	0.34		
Total	129	44.52			
Years Overseas a					(D)
Years Overseas a		ective Taking	: The Means		SD
Years Categor				1	SD 0.59
Years Categor		n	M	<u>1</u>	
Years Categor 0 years		n 42	3.5	1 56 52	0.59
Years Categor 0 years 1-3 years		n 42 14	3.5 3.5	56 52 54	0.59 0.43
Years Categor 0 years 1-3 years 4-6 years		n 42 14 19	3.5 3.5 3.6	1 56 52 54 52	0.59 0.43 0.52
Years Categor 0 years 1-3 years 4-6 years 6-10 years		n 42 14 19 21	3.5 3.5 3.6 3.6	1 56 52 54 52	0.59 0.43 0.52 0.73
Years Categor 0 years 1-3 years 4-6 years 6-10 years over 10 years		n 42 14 19 21	3.5 3.5 3.6 3.6	1 56 52 54 52	0.59 0.43 0.52 0.73
Years Categor 0 years 1-3 years 4-6 years 6-10 years over 10 years ANOVA	ries	n 42 14 19 21 35	3.5 3.5 3.6 3.6 3.7	66 52 54 52 77	0.59 0.43 0.52 0.73 0.58

44.54

Total

130

Table 8. Gender and the Overseas Experience Questionnaire (OEX)

Gender	n	M	SD
Female	78	3.71	0.63
Male	50	3.53	0.72

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p	
Between groups	1	0.98	0.98	2.24	0.14	
Within groups	126	55.40	0.15			
Total	127	55.38				

 $Table \ 9. \ Gender \ and \ the \ Miville-Guzman \ Universality-Diversity \ Scale \ (MGUDS)$

Gender	n	M	SD
Female	78	3.71	0.63
Male	50	3.53	0.72

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p	
Between groups	1	0.98	0.98	2.24	0.14	
Within groups	126	55.40	0.15			
Total	127	55.38				

Table 9: Gender and the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)

Gender	n	M	SD
Female	79	3.51	0.36
Male	52	3.20	0.38

Source	df	SS	MS	F p
Between groups	1	2.88	2.88	21.55 .0001
Within groups	129	17.24	0.13	
Total	130	20.12		

Table 10: Active Duty or Civilian and The Overseas Experience Questionnaire (OEX)

The Means Procedure

Role of Parent	n	M	SD
Active Duty	34	3.39	0.62
Civilian	37	3.74	0.62
Retired or Other	6	3.69	0.77

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	1	2.18	2.18	5.63	0.020
Within groups	69	26.64	0.39		
Total	70	28.82			

Table 11: Active Duty or Civilian and the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (MGUDS)

The Means Procedure

Role of Parent	n	M	SD
Active Duty	34	3.69	0.53
Civilian	34	3.77	0.74
Retired or Other	6	3.62	0.52

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p	
Between groups	1	0.12	0.12	0.28	.60	
Within groups	66	27.35	0.41			
Total	67	27.47				

Table 12: Active Duty or Civilian and the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)

Role of Parent	n	M	SD
Active Duty	34	3.38	0.27
Civilian	37	3.47	0.47
Retired or Other	6	3.24	0.42

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p	
Between groups	2	0.31	0.15	1.02	.037	
Within groups	74	11.38	0.15			
Total	76	11.69				

Figures

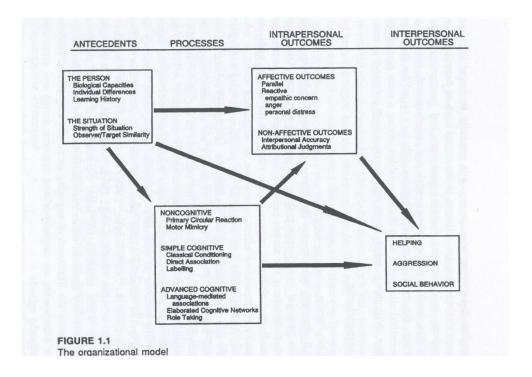


Figure 1: The Davis Empathy Model

ETHNOCENTRIC

ETHNORELATIVE

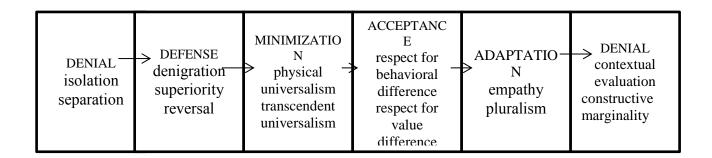


Figure 2 (Bennett, Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity, 1986)

Appendix A: Consent Form for Online Participation in

International Experience Survey

You must be at least 18 years old to participate in this study!

You are invited to participate in a web-based online survey on students and their international experience. This is a research project being conducted by Dennis Osborne, a student at the University of Oklahoma. It should take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this survey is voluntary. You may refuse to take part in the research or exit the survey at any time without penalty. You are free to decline to answer any particular question you do not wish to answer for any reason.

BENEFITS

Your responses may help us learn more about US students and their international experience. If you send an email to dennis.osborne@ou.edu confirming that you finished the survey, you will have your name entered for a contest to win one of four \$25 Starbucks cards.

RISKS

There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this study other than those encountered in day-to-day life.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your survey answers will be sent to a link at Qualtrics.com where data will be stored in a password protected electronic format. Qualtrics does not collect identifying information such as your name, email address, or IP address. Therefore, your responses will remain anonymous. No one will be able to identify you or your answers, and no one will know whether or not you participated in the study.

CONTACT

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact my research supervisor, Dr. Lara Mayeux via email at lara.mayeux@ou.edu. You can also contact the University of Oklahoma – Norman Campus Institutional Review Board (OU-NC IRB) at 405-325-8110 or irb@ou.edu if you have questions about your rights as a research participant, concerns, or complaints about the research and wish to talk to someone other than the researcher(s) or if you cannot reach the researcher(s).

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: Please select your choice below. You may print a copy of this consent form for your records. Clicking on the "Agree" button indicates that

- You have read the above information
- You voluntarily agree to participate
- You are 18 years of age or older ☐ Agree

0
Disagree

Appendix B: Demographics

Q1 What is your gender?
Q2 How old are you?
Q3 What is your racial or ethnic identification? (Check all that apply.)
Q4 Are you a United States citizen?
Q5 Of what country are you a citizen?
Q6 Do you speak more than one language?
Q7 What is the first language you learned?
Q8 What is your primary language, the one you speak most of the time?
Q9 What other language(s) besides English do you speak? (Click all that apply)
Q10 Please indicate the highest level of education completed by either of your parents
or your guardian?
Q11 Please estimate your parents' total household income in U.S. dollars.
Q12 Where are you located?
Q13 Did you live outside the USA at any time while growing up?
Yes (1)No (2)
Q14 Where have you lived? (Check all that apply.)
Q15 Approximately how many years total did you live overseas?
O 1-3 (1) O 4-6 (2) O 6-10 (3) O over 10 (4)

Q16 Does your parent/sponsor/guardian work for the US government?
Q17 Who is the sponsor in your family?
Q19 Where is your parent/sponsor/guardian presently residing?
Q20 How long has your parent/sponsor been employed by the US government?
Q21 Is your parent or sponsor a civilian or an active duty service member?
O active duty military (1) O civilian (2) O other, please specify (3)
Q22 In which branch (or branches) of the United States military has your
parent/guardian/sponsor served?
Q23 What is the highest rank your parent/sponsor/guardian has achieved?

Appendix C: Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)

The following statements inquire about your thoughts and feelings in a variety of situations. For each item, indicate how well it describes you by choosing the appropriate letter on the scale at the top of the page: A, B, C, D, or E. When you have decided on your answer, fill in the letter on the answer sheet next to the item number. READ EACH ITEM CAREFULLY BEFORE RESPONDING. Answer as honestly as you can. Thank you.

ANSWER SCALE:

A B C D E
DOES NOT DESCRIBES ME
DESCRIBE ME VERY
WELL WELL

- 1. I daydream and fantasize, with some regularity, about things that might happen to me. (FS)
- 2. I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me. (EC)
- 3. I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view. (PT) (-)
- 4. Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems. (EC) (-)
- 5. I really get involved with the feelings of the characters in a novel. (FS)
- 6. In emergency situations, I feel apprehensive and ill-at-ease. (PD)
- 7. I am usually objective when I watch a movie or play, and I don't often get completely caught up in it. (FS) (-)
- 8. I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision. (PT)
- 9. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them. (EC)
- 10. I sometimes feel helpless when I am in the middle of a very emotional situation. (PD)
- 11. I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their

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perspective. (PT)
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- 12. Becoming extremely involved in a good book or movie is somewhat rare for me. (FS) (-)
- 13. When I see someone get hurt, I tend to remain calm. (PD) (-)
- 14. Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal. (EC) (-)
- 15. If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments. (PT) (-)
- 16. After seeing a play or movie, I have felt as though I were one of the characters. (FS)
- 17. Being in a tense emotional situation scares me. (PD)
- 18. When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.(EC) (-)
- 19. I am usually pretty effective in dealing with emergencies. (PD) (-)
- 20. I am often quite touched by things that I see happen. (EC)
- 21. I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both. (PT)
- 22. I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person. (EC)
- 23. When I watch a good movie, I can very easily put myself in the place of a leading character. (FS)
- 24. I tend to lose control during emergencies. (PD)
- 25. When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while. (PT)
- 26. When I am reading an interesting story or novel, I imagine how <u>I</u> would feel if the events in the story were happening to me. (FS)
- 27. When I see someone who badly needs help in an emergency, I go to pieces. (PD)
- 28. Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how \underline{I} would feel if I were in their place. (PT)

NOTE:(-) denotes item to be scored in reverse fashion

PT = perspective-taking scale

FS = fantasy scale

EC = empathic concern scale

PD = personal distress scale

A = 0

B = 1

C = 2

D = 3

E = 4

Except for reversed-scored items, which are scored:

A = 4

B = 3

C = 2

D = 1

E = 0

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Appendix D: Overseas Experience Questionnaire (OEX)

Please use the following scale to indicate how much you agree with the following statements. Circle your response. Please consider the host culture to be your predominate overseas residence (where you lived overseas the most). If you moved constantly from base to base, feel free to answer in a more general way about multiple overseas residences.

1 2 3 4 5

Strongly Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly

- 1. I have traveled often outside my native country.
- 2. Compared to how much I negatively criticize other cultures, I criticize my host culture(s) less.
- 3. My host nation culture has had a positive impact on my life.
- 4. I go to places where host nation people are.
- 5. I am familiar with host nation cultural practices and customs.
- 6. I would prefer to live outside the USA
- 7. I listen to host nation music.
- 8. I engage in host nation forms of recreation/sports.
- 9. I attend host nation cultural events (theater, art, music).
- 10. I engage in host nation celebrations/fests.
- 11. I enjoy host nation food.
- 12. I have host nation acquaintances.
- 13. I have host nation friends.
- 14. It is important for me to be accepted by host nation people.
- 15. I like living in the host nation.
- 16. How much do you speak the host nation language?
- 17. How much do you view, read, or listen to the host nation shows on TV?
- 18. How much do you view, read, or listen to the host nation radio?
- 19. How fluently do you *speak* the host nation language?
- 20. How fluently do you *understand* the host nation language?