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**Legitimation techniques for intermarriage:
Accounts of motives for intermarriage from U.S.
servicemen and Philippine women**

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Legitimation Techniques for Intermarriage: Accounts of Motives for Intermarriage from U.S. Servicemen and Philippine Women

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Intermarriage between members of different cultures is often negatively evaluated. How do members attempt to neutralize or manage such meanings? Reported motives for intermarriage are examined as legitimations and justifications to manage this problematic. U.S. servicemen reported motives which criticized North American women and claimed that the latter compared unfavorably to their spouse's group—Filipinos. Also, cultural differences between partners were denied or minimized. Philippine women reported motives, such as, fate and economic security. In addition to examining motives as justifications for intermarriage, they are also seen as reflecting the respective culture's vocabulary of motives.

KEY CONCEPTS Intermarriage, Filipino females, U.S. servicemen, Olon-gapo City, Philippines, accounts, legitimation techniques, vocabulary of motives.

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Intermarriage between members of different cultural, racial, ethnic, and religious groups has generated considerable scholarly interest over the past fifty years (e.g., Atkeson, 1970; Barron, 1972; Tseng, 1977). One context for intercultural contact and the development of interpersonal relationships has been from military forces stationed in foreign countries who marry local nationals. The so-called war-bride phenomenon after World War II is an instance of this kind of intermarriage (Kimura, 1957; Schnepf & Yui, 1955; Strauss, 1954). A more contemporary example is the marriages between U.S. military personnel and Filipino nationals living in the Philippines. While there are not any available statistics on the frequency of marriage between these populations, a military chaplain, Merele Metcalf,¹ has estimated that in 1981 there were approximately 2,400 applications for marriage a year and

1,200 actual marriages. Ratliff, Moon, & Bonacci (1978) reported in 1974 that in Korea, applications for marriage between U.S. military personnel and Korean nationals was in excess of 4,000. Intercultural marriage provides us with a frame to see the impact of culture on the development, maintenance, and change in interpersonal relationships. The present study concerns intercultural marriage in the Philippines, specifically between U.S. military personnel and Filipino nationals.

The only research on Filipino-North American marriages in the Philippines was carried out over twenty-five years ago by Hunt and Collier (1957). The individual who intermarried was seen as a "culture bearer," and adjustments to cultural differences were examined. They found that Philippine-North American families managed cultural differences by: (a) "situational advantages," e.g., the husband as head of the household could limit in-law interaction; (b) "transitional value acceptance," e.g., the Filipino using the English language in the home; (c) "compatible differences," e.g., different religious practices; and (d) "conflicting cultural rigidities," e.g., disagreements on housekeeping standards (Hunt & Collier, 1957, pp. 228-229). In general, these couples did not completely assimilate to either a Philippine or North American cultural pattern, but rather developed a distinctive, intermediate type of culture, what Gudykunst has called a "third culture" (1980).

Hunt & Collier (1957) found evidence of marginality among their North American sample, such as self-reports of disorganization in one's family background, separation, alcoholism, and conflict. Marginality is conceived of as a partial explanation for intermarriage: as a consequence of marginal status, one is bound less by in-group norms to endogamy which frees one to pursue exogamous relationships. Evidence of marginality also can be seen in Moselina's (1981) study of Philippine women who migrated to the towns adjacent to the U.S. military bases to work as bar hostesses, entertainers and prostitutes in the "rest & recreation" industry. The stigma associated with prostitution in the Philippine community results in a marginal status for these women. Benson (1981) describes the sense of marginality resulting from disrupted or unhappy childhood and from immigration which weakened family and cultural ties. In Strauss' (1954) study of Japanese-North American couples, it was found that those who intermarry have no strong institutional obligations (e.g., to family or career) to block intermarriage (also see Schnepp & Yui, 1955).

This marginality explanation may be seen as part of a "normative framework" for intermarriage (Eshleman, 1969, pp. 275). Group norms enforce endogamous marriage choices and sanction exogamous choices. Barnett (1963) claims that marginality is a social condition in which the individual is less constrained by in-group norms. This weakening of obligations and prohibitions may then open up the individual to seek relationships among outgroups. Marginality is conceived of as both an *explanation for* intermarriage (i.e., weakened group norms are unable to prohibit exogamy), and a *consequence of* intermarriage. The latter arises when the society rejects intermarried couples (Caven & Caven 1971; Gist, 1967; Stonequist, 1937). In general, the normative framework conceives of those who intermarry as

deviating from in-group norms, which may be a consequence of, or a pre-condition for, marginality.

Critics of the normative framework point out that individuals frequently deviate from social norms, and more importantly, are more concerned with "coordinating" or "aligning actions" with each other (Pearce & Cronen 1980; Stokes & Hewitt, 1976). Persons can deviate from norms without being labeled deviant to the extent that they can excuse, justify, or legitimize their actions (Scott & Lyman, 1968; Buttny, 1985). Those who intermarry will likely need, in certain situations, to offer accounts to justify or legitimize their exogamous choice. Lazar claims that the "specification of the locus or loci of legitimation is an important requirement in any analysis of intermarriage phenomena" (Lazar, 1971, p. 1). *The ability to draw upon accounts to justify intermarriage may be a precondition for the development and maintenance of intercultural bonds.*

Here we will adopt a management of meaning framework for examining intercultural marriage (Cronen & Shuter, 1983). Unlike the normative framework, this management of meaning perspective claims that persons are primarily concerned with coordinating meanings and aligning actions than with adhering to cultural norms. Specifically, we will frame *intermarriage as a problematic*, because it is seen as a violation of endogamous norms. Given this premise, intermarriage is a problematic, how do individuals from the respective cultures *manage* this problematic? What motives and accounts are given to legitimize and justify intermarriage? This issue of justifying one's marriage choice applies especially to intermarriage, because of the violation of endogamous norms. How intermarriage is legitimized shows us how individuals can circumvent norms and disavow ascriptions of deviance.

Motives and accounts can be used to justify one's actions to others, but they also can be used to justify one's proposed course of action to oneself. The ability to draw upon an appropriate motive or account may open up a wider repertoire of possible actions for the individual (Mills, 1940). Specifically, the violations of endogamous norms may be seen as prohibited, unless one can draw upon an account to warrant its circumvention.

The question of individual meanings needs to be examined: Do persons who intermarry see themselves as marginal or as violators of endogamous norms? Do these individuals need to legitimize their intermarriage? If so, what strategies are used as legitimation techniques to manage meanings and to coordinate actions? One's motives for marriage can provide useful texts to address the above questions. The first research question is: *What are the individual's motives for exogamous marriage?*

To inform another of one's motives can function as a kind of explanation for one's actions. But as Mills (1940) points out, motives themselves are phenomena which need to be explained. In other words, it needs to be explained how motives can count as explanations for actions. What counts as a satisfactory motive will depend on cultural, historical, and societal circumstances. For instance, "marrying for love" counts as an acceptable motive for marriage in middle-class North American society; but in parts of India, such

motives may be viewed with suspicion, being considered as a kind of temporary madness which interferes with appropriate mate selection. Motives, then, need to be conceived in the context of a "vocabulary of motives" that define which are intelligible and acceptable to the group (Mills, 1940). Within this vocabulary, the individual can offer motives to justify or legitimate his or her actions.

Given that intercultural marriage is typically seen as a violation of norms to endogamy, it may be asked, not only what are a person's motives, but also what does this motive, as part of a vocabulary of motives, reflect about the culture and its values? That is, motives may provide a frame to see both the individual's meanings and also the culture's matrix of appropriate vocabulary of motives. The second research question is: *What do these motives for intermarriage reflect about the culture's vocabulary of motives?*

Intercultural couples are not units independent of networks of family, friends, or the larger society. Do family and friends approve or disapprove of the individual's intercultural marriage? Does intermarriage change or affect an individual's relationships with family and friends? Hunt and Collier (1957) report that the Filipino woman's parents initially disapproved of marriage to a U.S. serviceman, but eventually became reconciled to the fact and re-established contact. Lacar (1980) found parental opposition to religious intermarriage between Philippine Christians and Muslims. Biesanz and Smith (1951) indicate that North American parents disapproved of their son's Panamanian wife, but Strauss (1954) reports that North American family and friends were accepting of their military son's Japanese bride. Research on interracial marriage in London (British-West Indian and British-African) found that many parents initially disapproved, but became reconciled to the relationship over time (Benson, 1981). Kimura (1957) found that good in-law relationships were important for satisfactory marital adjustment for intermarriage in Hawaii. A potential problem for intermarried couples is social ostracism by relatives and friends, or a strain on the relationship (Barnett, 1963). In general, there seems to be some element of perceived risk in marrying outside one's culture or group. How are these risks perceived? What consequences do they have for the couple? What adjustments or solutions do couples adopt in response to these risks? The third research question is: *What are the perceived risks of intermarriage?*

It must be noted that questions of meaning are constantly subject to re-evaluation and re-interpretation. An individual's motives for intermarriage and perceived risks may retrospectively change over time. In order to determine the impact of number of years married on these accounts of motives and risks, the fourth research question is: *Is there a different pattern of response to motives for intermarriage and perceived risks based on length of marriage?*

Research Setting

The setting for this study of intermarriage was in the vicinity of Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines. This military base is located in western Luzon about fifty miles northwest of Manila. The naval base is a self-contained

military unit. The predominant kind of interaction between the base and the surrounding community involves the entertainment catering to the military's rest and recreation—"R & R." The adjacent community to the base, Olongapo City, is largely economically dependent upon the "R & R" business. Olongapo City developed as an epiphenomenon to the buildup of the naval base after World War II and reached its peak during the Vietnam War. There was a decline in development after the Vietnam War. As of 1985, there were approximately "500 clubs, bars, hotels, restaurants, sauna baths, massage clinics, and other entertainment centers with a total of 9,056 registered hostesses and other workers" (Moselina, 1981; also see Golay, 1983, and Neumann, 1979). This symbiotic economic relationship between the base and community provides the background for the development of interpersonal relationships between the North American military and Filipino nationals.

Philippine women are drawn from poorer regions of the Philippines to work in the R & R industry as "bar hostesses," "entertainers," and "prostitutes" (Moselina, 1981). U.S. servicemen visiting Olongapo City follow the customary R & R patterns of meeting, picking-up, propositioning, and dating Filipino bar hostesses and prostitutes. Some servicemen develop attachments and eventually may live with the woman, though unmarried. Of those servicemen who date or live with Filipinos, relatively few ever marry (Moselina, 1981). The relationship is perceived as casual or mutually convenient. Social problems can arise, such as when the woman is left with a child to care for and no support from the father, who has left the country.

Method

Sample

The sample includes 143 individual respondents who are either a partner in an intercultural marriage or about to be married. Respondents included 71 North American males (married, $n = 44$; about to be married, $n = 27$), and 72 Filipino females (married, $n = 42$; about to be married, $n = 30$). This sample consists of individuals—not couples—who are involved in an intercultural relationship. Two cases of Filipino males married to North American females were deleted for purposes of analysis. *The overwhelming majority of intermarriage in this population involves North American males and Filipino females.* All of the North Americans are either active or retired military personnel, and all of the Filipinos are civilians.

The mean for years married is 3.3 years (standard deviation = 2.8). The courtship period is just under two years. The mean age at marriage for the North American is 24, and for the Filipinos, 24.8. The current age of the North American sample ranged from 18 to 62 with a mean of 25.8 (standard deviation = 7.5), while the age of the Filipinos ranged from 18 to 40 with a mean of 26.1 (standard deviation = 4.8). The years of education for the North Americans are slightly higher than the twelve years for a high school degree, mean = 12.8 (standard deviation = 1.6), while the Filipino educational level ranged from grade six to a masters degree, mean = 11.3 (standard deviation =

3.1). The occupation of the North Americans is mostly active military personnel from the lower ranks. The occupation of the married Filipinos is either a homemaker, or a clerk working in local shops or in on-base facilities. Many of the Filipinos worked as "bar hostesses" prior to their marriage. While it is unknown what proportion of the Philippine women were "bar hostesses," estimates range from two-thirds to 90% of this sample.

Questionnaire

A paper and pencil questionnaire was constructed to assess the impact of culture and number of years married on motives for intermarriage, and on perceived risks. The questionnaire consisted of various Likert-type scale items to measure *Motives for Intermarriage* and *Perceived Risks* (see Table 1). Also, an open-ended, free response item was included on the questionnaire to measure *Motives for Intermarriage* (see Table 2). The questionnaire was written in both English and Tagalog (the national language of the Philippines). While Tagalog is the Philippine national language, it is not the native tongue of all the Filipino respondents. Some Filipinos preferred to fill out the English language version of the questionnaire.

Procedures

The sample was drawn on a voluntary, self-select basis from on-base, adult education classes and from various intercultural training sessions. Both the adult education classes and the intercultural training sessions consisted of either all Filipinos or all North Americans. Three female Filipino assistants (upper-division college students in sociology) administered the questionnaire to the Filipino respondents. The male North American researcher administered the questionnaire to the U.S. servicemen. Respondents were told that the study was designed to aid in understanding communication and relation-

TABLE 1 Scales Used to Measure "Motives for Intermarriage," and "Perceived Risks"

| | | |
|---|-------------|----------|
| "Besides love, did you marry for any of the following reasons?" | | |
| a. economic security | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| b. to break with tradition | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| c. live in a foreign country | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| d. help my family | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| e. I prefer my spouse's culture | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| f. it is my fate | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| "What risks do you perceive in marrying outside your culture?" | | |
| a. disapproval of family | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| b. disapproval of friends | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| c. disapproval of society | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| d. problems for the children | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| e. not understanding my spouse's meanings | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| f. different practices and customs of spouse | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| g. language problems | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| h. problems in handling money | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |
| i. religious differences | AGREE _____ | DISAGREE |

TABLE 2 Content Analysis of Motives for Inter-marriage

| Categories from Content Analysis | North Americans | | Filipinos | |
|--|---------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| | Number of Responses | | Number of Responses | |
| | | % | | % |
| Romantic love/Positive qualities of spouse | 43 | 47% | 40 | 45% |
| Positive qualities of spouse's culture | 9 | 10% | 7 | 7% |
| Negative qualities of North American women (or Filipino men) | 12 | 13% | 3 | 3% |
| Denial or minimization of cultural differences | 12 | 13% | 5 | 6% |
| Fate | 0 | 0% | 9 | 10% |
| Better future for myself and children | 0 | 0% | 11 | 13% |
| Adopt spouse's culture | 0 | 0% | 2 | 2% |
| Change of environment | 1 | 1% | 2 | 2% |
| Altruism | 3 | 3% | 0 | 0% |
| Pregnancy | 2 | 2% | 0 | 0% |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 3% | 1 | 1% |
| Blank | 6 | 7% | 9 | 10% |
| | <i>n</i> * = 91 | 99%** | <i>n</i> * = 89 | 99%** |

**n* indicates number of responses, not number of subjects. One subject may have answered with two or more responses.

**Total equals 99%, rather than 100%, due to rounding off.

ships between persons of different cultural backgrounds. Most of the subjects completed the written questionnaire in ten to twenty minutes.

Results

Research questions one and three relate to *Motives for Inter-marriage* and *Perceived Risks of Exogamy*. The Likert-type scales used to measure these were tested for reliability by Cronbach's *alpha*: *Motives for Inter-marriage* = .76 and *Perceived Risks of Exogamy* = .73. The means and standard deviations for *Motives* and *Perceived Risks* are presented in Table 3.

Two-way analysis of variance was used to assess the impact of *Culture* and *Number of Years Married* on *Motives for Inter-marriage* and *Perceived Risks of Exogamy*. The variable, *Number of Years Married*, was operationalized into four levels: less than one year, one to three years, four to six years, and seven years and longer. The results are presented in Table 4 and Table 5, respectively. On the dependent measure, *Motives for Inter-marriage*, there were significant main effects for *Culture* on *Economic Security*, *Break with Tradition*, *Live in a Foreign Country*, *Help My Family*, *Prefer My Spouse's Culture*, and *It is my Fate*. An examination of the means (Table 3) shows that the Filipinos cited these motives more than the North Americans in all the cases. There was not a significant main effect for *Number of Years Married* on these measures of *Motives for Inter-marriage*. Also, there was no interaction effect.

TABLE 3 Means and Standard Deviations for "Motives for Inter marriage" and "Perceived Risks"

| <i>Motives for Inter marriage</i> | <i>Filipinos</i> | | <i>North Americans</i> | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Standard Deviation</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Standard Deviation</i> |
| Economic Security | 4.33 | 3.17 | 7.50 | 2.24 |
| Break with Tradition | 6.27 | 2.97 | 7.42 | 2.27 |
| Live in Foreign Country | 5.24 | 3.03 | 7.77 | 2.12 |
| Help My Family | 6.45 | 2.89 | 8.37 | 1.18 |
| Prefer Spouse's Culture | 4.07 | 3.02 | 6.25 | 2.67 |
| Fate | 2.54 | 2.55 | 6.50 | 2.99 |

| <i>Perceived Risks</i> | <i>Filipinos</i> | | <i>North Americans</i> | |
|---|------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Standard Deviation</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Standard Deviation</i> |
| Disapproval of Family | 5.85 | 3.09 | 6.21 | 2.91 |
| Disapproval of Friends | 6.91 | 2.39 | 6.52 | 2.48 |
| Disapproval of Society | 7.15 | 2.58 | 5.83 | 2.65 |
| Problems for Children | 6.96 | 2.61 | 5.77 | 2.49 |
| Not Understanding Spouse's Meanings | 6.32 | 3.17 | 5.34 | 2.90 |
| Different Practices and Customs of Spouse | 4.47 | 3.39 | 5.30 | 2.75 |
| Language Problems | 5.62 | 3.32 | 5.59 | 2.73 |
| Money Problems | 6.21 | 3.19 | 6.38 | 2.59 |
| Religious Differences | 6.40 | 3.36 | 6.79 | 2.68 |

On the dependent measure, *Perceived Risks of Exogamy*, there were significant main effects for *Disapproval of Society*, *Problems for the Children*, and *Not Understanding My Spouse's Meanings*. An inspection of the means shows that the Filipinos agreed with these perceived risks more than the North Americans in all of the significant cases. There was no main effect for *Number of Years Married*, and there was no interaction effect.

The open-ended, free response item regarding *Motives for Inter marriage* was content analyzed. An *a posteriori* category scheme was arrived at after careful readings of the answers. Twelve content categories were derived (see Table 2). The number per category and their percentage are presented. The answers written by the Filipino respondents were translated into English by two Filipino assistants. The free responses were independently coded by the author and an assistant. Inter coder reliability using Scott's *Pi* was .78.

Discussion

Perceived Risks of Inter marriage

It was expected that respondents would report some perceived risks in marrying outside one's culture. It is interesting to see how the cultural differences in perceived risks reflect the respective social organization of each culture. The North Americans saw the greatest risk in the *Disapproval of Society*, while the Filipinos perceived the greatest risk in *Disapproval of*

**TABLE 4 Two-Way Analysis of Variance for "Motives for Inter marriage":
Culture by Number of Years Married**

| | <i>DF</i> | <i>Mean Square</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>Significance of F</i> |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| <i>Economic Security</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 241.575 | 34.638 | .001 |
| Years married | 3 | 8.828 | 1.266 | .290 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 3.827 | .549 | .650 |
| Explained | 7 | 44.186 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 6.974 | | |
| Total | 120 | 9.455 | | |
| <i>Break with Tradition</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 36.022 | 5.216 | .024 |
| Years married | 3 | 2.083 | .302 | .824 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 6.235 | .903 | .442 |
| Explained | 7 | 9.645 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 6.907 | | |
| Total | 120 | 7.089 | | |
| <i>Live in a Foreign Country</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 86.939 | 14.473 | .001 |
| Years married | 3 | 5.788 | .964 | .413 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 13.189 | 2.196 | .093 |
| Explained | 7 | 31.092 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 6.007 | | |
| Total | 120 | 7.679 | | |
| <i>Help My Family</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 72.078 | 16.063 | .001 |
| Years married | 3 | 1.863 | .415 | .743 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 3.974 | .886 | .451 |
| Explained | 7 | 16.697 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 4.487 | | |
| Total | 120 | 5.301 | | |
| <i>Prefer My Spouse's Culture</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 65.980 | 8.217 | .005 |
| Years married | 3 | 5.530 | .689 | .561 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 6.498 | .809 | .491 |
| Explained | 7 | 21.702 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 8.030 | | |
| Total | 120 | 8.941 | | |
| <i>It is my Fate</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 298.180 | 35.962 | .001 |
| Years married | 3 | 5.393 | .650 | .442 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 5.479 | .661 | .418 |
| Explained | 7 | 96.116 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 8.292 | | |
| Total | 120 | 11.546 | | |

**TABLE 5 Two-Way Analysis of Variance for "Perceived Risks of Exogamy":
Culture by Number of Years Married**

| | <i>DF</i> | <i>Mean Square</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>Significance of F</i> |
|--|-----------|------------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| <i>Disapproval of Family</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 15.625 | 1.705 | .195 |
| Years married | 3 | 1.863 | .203 | .653 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | .933 | .102 | .750 |
| Explained | 7 | 5.488 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 9.164 | | |
| Total | 120 | 9.029 | | |
| <i>Disapproval of Friends</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | .492 | .082 | .776 |
| Years married | 3 | .271 | .045 | .832 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 5.934 | .985 | .323 |
| Explained | 7 | 6.906 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 6.024 | | |
| Total | 120 | 6.570 | | |
| <i>Disapproval of Society</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 48.265 | 6.788 | .001 |
| Years married | 3 | 11.267 | 1.584 | .211 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 5.103 | .718 | .399 |
| Explained | 7 | 16.874 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 7.111 | | |
| Total | 120 | 7.472 | | |
| <i>Problems for the Children</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 40.017 | 6.218 | .014 |
| Years married | 3 | .006 | .001 | .975 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 2.196 | .341 | .560 |
| Explained | 7 | 11.005 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 6.435 | | |
| Total | 120 | 6.604 | | |
| <i>Not Understanding My Spouse's Meanings</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 80.071 | 10.083 | .002 |
| Years married | 3 | 4.485 | .565 | .454 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | .058 | .007 | .932 |
| Explained | 7 | 21.580 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 7.941 | | |
| Total | 120 | 8.428 | | |
| <i>Different Practices and Customs of Spouse</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | .244 | .027 | .870 |
| Years married | 3 | .799 | .088 | .767 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 5.130 | .568 | .453 |
| Explained | 7 | 7.047 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 9.038 | | |
| Total | 120 | 8.967 | | |
| <i>Language Problems</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 13.389 | 1.575 | .212 |
| Years married | 3 | .885 | .104 | .748 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 2.205 | .259 | .612 |
| Explained | 7 | 12.532 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 8.503 | | |
| Total | 120 | 8.647 | | |

TABLE 5 Continued

| | DF | Mean Square | F | Significance of F |
|-----------------------------------|-----|----------------|-------|----------------------|
| <i>Problems in Handling Money</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | 3.788 | .499 | .481 |
| Years married | 3 | 1.173 | .155 | .695 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | .007 | .001 | .976 |
| Explained | 7 | 22.385 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 7.584 | | |
| Total | 120 | 8.113 | | |
| <i>Religious Differences</i> | | | | |
| Culture | 1 | .142 | .017 | .898 |
| Years married | 3 | .173 | .020 | .887 |
| Two-way interaction | 3 | 18.027 | 2.108 | .149 |
| Explained | 7 | 5.167 | | |
| Residual | 113 | 8.550 | | |
| Total | 120 | 8.429 | | |

Family. Also, the North Americans perceived a significantly greater risk for *Problems for the Children*. There is a correlation ($r = .62$) between *Problems for the Children* and *Disapproval for Society*.

It is not surprising that North Americans feared "disapproval of society" more than Filipinos, since it was only in 1967 that some states in the U.S. prohibited interracial marriage (Barron, 1972, p. 41). In contrast, Filipinos have a generally favorable attitude towards intermarriage and are accepting of mixed children (Javillonar, 1978, pp. 369-370). A possible explanation for the North American perception is that the servicemen feel they can influence family and friends to accept their Filipino spouse, but they feel relatively powerless to affect societal disapproval and subsequent difficulties for their children. This is consistent with a management of meaning framework. The communication of one's motives and accounts to family and friends should function to neutralize opposition and to coordinate meanings, while such accounting would be impossible with more distant and impersonal relationships, and with society at large.

For the Filipinos, there is greater perceived risk for *Disapproval of Family* than for *Disapproval of Society* as shown by a post hoc t -test ($t = 2.48$; $p < .016$). The Filipino responses here seem to reflect the ubiquitous influence of the family in Philippine social organization (Stoodley, 1957). This perceived risk appears to reflect the norm that Philippine women, in particular, should not marry someone their parents disapproved of (Javillonar, 1978). This perceived risk of family opposition may be diminished somewhat among those Filipino women who migrated from distant parts of the Philippines to work in the R & R industry in Olongapo City.

Motives for Intermarriage and Vocabularies of Motive

When asked on the open-ended, free response item why they married someone from another culture, both Philippine and North American respondents said because of romantic love (discussed below). After the "romantic

love" motive, two patterns of responses emerged which are distinctive of the respective cultures. The second most cited motive by the U.S. servicemen was a tie between "denigration of North American women" and "denial of cultural differences" (13% of each). These two types of motives will be discussed first, followed by the Philippine motives.

Denigration of North American Women. This content category was derived from responses, such as descriptions of North American women being "too selfish," "too self-centered," and "too aggressive." In contrast, Filipino women only made few such criticisms of Filipino men (3%). This criticism of opposite-sex, intracultural members arises from a comparison between Philippine and North American women. The implicit logic in these accounts is that the cultural patterns for femininity among Filipinos are superior to North American patterns. One's spouse is seen as representative of her culture (Filipino) and compared favorably to North American women who are seen as having lost traditional feminine virtues.

Druss (1965) also reports this pattern among U.S. military personnel who were stationed in Japan and Germany. Druss speculates that this response may be due to young servicemen's lack of social success with women in the United States and a subsequent loosening of inhibitions and assertiveness with foreign women. Social success leads to positive attributions of foreign women and negative attributions of North American women (Druss, 1965, pp. 222-223).

This pattern of a newly found social success with foreign women and corresponding negative attributions of North American women may apply to the servicemen's experience in the Philippines. Olongapo City is widely recognized among the military as an ideal setting for "R & R." U.S. military personnel of even the lowest ranks are perceived as "a rich man" in the Philippines (this perception is discussed below). Such a transformation of economic status combined with the social success with Philippine women, may lead the servicemen to denigrate North American women. This criticism of North American women may reflect an aspect of situational marginality among the servicemen. Such negative evaluations of opposite sex, in-group members seems to reflect a situational marginality which has the consequence of opening the servicemen to seeking out exogamous relationships.

While these critical evaluations of North American women are not a sufficient reason for intermarriage, they seem to provide the individual with a ready post hoc explanation. Since intermarriage is considered to be a violation of the norms to endogamy, persons may feel it necessary to provide a justification for their marriage. Such an account is used to justify exogamous marriage by a logic of denigrating North American women. The servicemen appear to perceive Philippine women as possessing traditional feminine virtues which North American women have lost. It is unclear from this data whether the servicemen's negative attributions of North American women are an antecedent or consequent to the relationship with the Filipino woman.

Denial of cultural differences. Some U.S. servicemen denied or minimized the culture differences with their partner in their account for intermarriage. After the "romantic love" motive, this tied as the most cited account (13%). A

partial explanation for this "minimization of cultural differences" may be the familiarity with intermarriage among the military community. The military is a culturally pluralistic sub-society in which intermarriage is familiar and generally accepted (Caven & Caven, 1971, p. 19). Respondents reported that many of their friends and relatives were married to Filipinos or other Asian women.

A second explanation for this denial of cultural differences may be due to a North American perception of Filipino women as "really being American underneath." Philippine women of this population typically speak the English language fluently, have roughly the same educational level as the North American (completed high school), and practice a Christian religion, Catholicism. Also, these urban Filipinos are consumers of various aspects of Western popular culture, such as style, dress, popular music, and Hollywood movies. These familiar practices may lead the North American to see the Filipino woman as culturally similar.

Despite the servicemen's responses, it is hard to believe that cultural differences are not perceived and considered. The mean courtship period before marriage was nearly two years. Perhaps this response can be read like the negative evaluations of North American women, i.e., as an account to justify intermarriage. That is, the servicemen may be normalizing their action by a denial or minimization of the question's underlying assumption—cultural differences between North Americans and Filipinos. For, if cultural differences are minimized or negated, then no explanation is necessary for intermarriage (i.e., the violation of norms to endogamy). This denial and minimization of cultural differences may reflect a North American vocabulary which assumes similarities between groups and minimizes differences. North Americans value a "melting pot" ideology (Stewart, 1972).

A serendipitous, post hoc report by two U.S. servicemen during an informal conversation suggests an interesting direction for further research. The servicemen described the "in-law problems" they had with their spouse's family. Clearly, in-law problems were not limited to intermarried couples, but these in-law problems are especially interesting because they appear to be based on different cultural expectations and patterns. It is interesting that these in-law problems appear inconsistent with the North Americans' accounts which deny cultural differences.

The two servicemen offered examples of these in-law problems, such as their wife's attempt to economically help her parents and kin which would adversely affect the couple's budget, or that her relatives would visit their home unannounced and expect to stay for a long period of time. This in-law problem appears to arise, in part, from cultural differences in the expected relationship and obligation to one's parents and kin. While the nuclear family is the basic socioeconomic unit in both the U.S. and the Philippines (Nydegger & Nydegger, 1966), the Filipino relations with family and kin consist of strong mutual obligations and responsibilities, *utang na loob* (Kaut, 1961).

Although money and personal and real property is individually owned, *kin have strong claims to it*. A married person in comfortable circumstances may be hard put to keep his own possessions, for they are subject to the claims of his kin and also of *his spouse's kin*. (Stoodley, 1957, emphasis added.)

The *utang na loob* obligation is strongest in parent-child relationships. Parents expect that their children will support them in their old age (Kaut, 1961, p. 270). This expectation of economic support is heightened by the Philippine perception of North Americans as a "rich man." "The American is similar to the wealthy relative who . . . must give of his surplus when asked" (Kaut, 1961, p. 263). The Filipino who fails to meet his or her obligation is considered a stingy person (*maramot*) and loses honor (*hiya*) (Schumacher & Guthrie, 1984).

This cultural difference in obligation to help one's kin seems accentuated by the Philippine custom of the wife controlling the family finances. Hunt and Collier (1957, p. 226) found that such in-law problems are adjusted to by what they call "situational advantages"—the husband's role and ability to veto economic relationships and close social contacts. My informants indicated more of a sense of compromise: their wife was allocated a certain sum of money to use as she desired, independent of the household budget.

The generalizability of this finding is obviously limited, but it is suggestive. On the one hand, North Americans seem to prefer to deny cultural differences, but on the other hand, subtle, but problematic, cultural differences may arise in the course of an intercultural relationship which must be managed and adjusted to in order to maintain relational stability.

Economic security. The Philippine motives are markedly different from the North American, once we move from the romantic love ideal. On the free response item, the Filipinos mentioned the motive of "a better future for myself and my children" (13%). The notion of "a better future for myself and my children" is somewhat ambiguous, but economic considerations are probably the most accurate reading. Intermarriage can be a means to upward mobility for one member; intermarriage may be also interclass marriage (Caven & Caven, 1971, p. 35). Additional evidence for the economic motive is seen in the Likert-type scales. The Philippine response to *Economic Security* as a motive for marriage was at the mid-point of the scale. The economic motive may be even stronger than indicated by this data, since economic considerations are believed to be less worthy vocabularies of motive, and, consequently, more likely to be concealed in accounts (Biegel, 1951).

U.S. military personnel, even from the lower ranks, would be economically close to the top of Philippine society, though they would not have the high prestige of wealthy Filipinos or Western businessmen (Hunt & Collier, 1957, p. 223). Many of the Filipino women migrated to Olongapo City because of economic poverty to work as "bar hostesses" and "entertainers" with the hope of marrying a North American (Moselina, 1981). A way out of poverty, it is believed, is to marry a serviceman. Filipinos appear to perceive North Americans as economically wealthy. A consequence arising from this Philippine perception is that the serviceman seems rich in the Philippines, but when the couple moves to the U.S., the husband's economic status becomes significantly lowered (Tseng, 1977, pp. 94-95).

Fate. A third kind of motive for intermarriage reported by the Filipinos is "fate." Responses such as "It is my fate to marry an American" were given on the free response item. This notion of "fate" is also supported in the

Likert-type scale; besides love, *Fate* is the most strongly agreed upon motive for marriage. In contrast, none of the North Americans mentioned fate on the free responses. On the Likert-type scales, the most pronounced significant difference was on this item of *Fate* (see Table 4).

Fate or *bahala na* seems to be a vocabulary of motive in Philippine culture for indicating unknown or uncontrollable conditions of events (Lacar, 1980, p. 62; Lieban, 1966, p. 179). Javillonar describes the functions of fate or *swerte* in Filipino romantic love relationships.

Young people and old believe that fate would bring the couple together if they are destined for each other or intervene to separate them if they are not. Such a belief cushions the psychological blow of unrequited love or break-up of an engagement among Filipino couples. (Javillonar, 1978, p. 369.)

Also, Lieban reports a function of "fate" as a post hoc explanation for an incapacity to control events, such as an incurable illness (Lieban, 1966). It is interesting to note that fate is used to explain such disparate events as relational break-up, incurable illness, and marriage. The common thread here seems to be the perceived inability to achieve desired ends. Fate appears to function as a residual category used in an account to indicate unknown or uncontrollable events.

For the Philippine vocabulary of motive, it seems reasonable to assume that this notion of fate is highly correlated with the concept of romantic love. While the servicemen in this sample did not invoke fate, this vocabulary does have some currency in North American popular beliefs about marriage. One does not choose to "fall in love," rather love is believed to be an emotion which just happens to one, beyond one's control.

Why do Filipinos mention fate significantly more than North Americans? Besides the different cultural vocabularies of motive, these responses may be indicating a sex difference. In traditional North American and Filipino courtship practices, the woman typically assumes a more passive role. Passivity seems to be internally related to fate. Secondly, among those Filipinos who worked as "hostesses" in the "R & R industry," only a small proportion are able to step out of poverty by marrying a serviceman. Moselina reports 1975 figures that only six out of 100 hostesses married North Americans (Moselina, 1981, p. 16). Fate may be the only way to explain this upward economic step and deliverance from working in the "R & R industry."

Fate is an interesting vocabulary of motive just because it does not admit of rationalistic considerations in marriage partner selection. The notion of fate suggests an irrational dimension in understanding mate selection.

Romantic love. The predominant motive for intermarriage reported in the free responses was "romantic love" for both the North Americans (47%) and the Filipinos (45%). "Romantic love" was by far the most frequently cited motive, even though the open-ended question was phrased, "In addition to love, why did you marry someone from another culture?" Responses included descriptions of "the positive qualities of one's spouse," or the couple's "loving interpersonal relationship." As in the United States, the Filipino ideal

for marriage selection involves the notion of romantic love (Javillonar, 1978, p. 338; Lacar, 1980, p. 74).

The individual's professing the romantic love ideal is not surprising. It is perhaps more interesting for what this pattern of response reflects about the respective culture's vocabulary of motives. For instance, love is considered to be the best reason for marriage.

[S]ince love is considered the noblest motive for marriage, many people will profess love even though they have married for different reasons, family pressure, for instance, of material security or betterment of status. (Biegal, 1951, p. 332.)

Not only is love "the noblest motive," it is also believed to function as a "panacea"—as a bond to unite the couple to overcome problems—love is believed to "conquer all" (Greenfield, 1965). This "love as panacea" belief appears especially salient in light of the above-mentioned perceived risks of intermarriage. This popular belief, which has been termed "the romantic complex" (Goode, 1959), conceives of the intermarried couple as fighting against the prejudices of society for the sake of love (Benson, 1981, p. 11).

The romantic love ideal as a vocabulary of motive functions as a "taken-for-granted ideal" which "everyone knows" (Schutz, 1964). The individual can draw upon this vocabulary because it will be widely accepted by other cultural members as a legitimate motive for marriage.

Time

A surprising result is that there were *no* main effects for *Numbers of Years Married* on the items for *Motives* or for *Perceived Risks*. *Culture*, rather than *Years Married*, provided the main effect. Also, there were not any significant interaction effects.

Conclusion

A caveat to these findings is that cultural differences may be masking gender differences, since in the sample of respondents all the Filipinos are female and all the North Americans are male. The rationale for not controlling for gender is that the overwhelming majority of intermarrieds among this population are North American males and Filipino females. There were only two instances in the sample of Filipino males married to North American females; their responses were deleted in the analysis. Nonetheless, gender and sex roles must be examined in any complete account of intermarriage (Eakins & Eakins, 1978; Javillonar, 1978; Maltz & Borker, 1982). Here we will briefly review the main findings through the frame of gender.

The motive of "a better future" or economic security appears especially salient for those Philippine women who worked in the "R & R industry" as hostesses and prostitutes. To marry a U.S. serviceman is not only an economic upward step, but also allows her to quit working as a prostitute, to start a family of her own, and to economically help her family of origin. For women, the institution of the family, along with the role of wife and mother, are highly

valued in the Philippines (Javillonar, 1978; Nydegger & Nydegger, 1966). So the expressed motive of a "better future" is not merely economic, but also accords with sex role expectations for Philippine women. Future research should compare the impact of prostitution on intermarriage, not only for Philippine women but also the U.S. servicemen (e.g., does guilt affect the male's decision?).

What impact does the Philippine perception of "the American as a rich man" have on the serviceman, especially in the initial stages of the intercultural relationship? The North American is "transformed" from a lower-ranking serviceman to being perceived as rich and powerful by Filipinos. The serviceman arrives in Olongapo City for R & R after having spent a long time on sea duty, taking orders, and being lonely. Given these initial conditions, the serviceman may be in a state of "relationship readiness" (Knapp, 1984) which is heightened by Philippine perception of the "American as rich man." It has been suggested that the serviceman could not marry as attractive a woman in the U.S. as he can in the Philippines. From a social exchange perspective, the serviceman may be seen as trading his economic status for the physical attractiveness of a Filipino woman.

There was some indication among the servicemen of a preference for traditional sex roles, particularly for females. Some servicemen reported that Philippine women had maintained traditional female behaviors and virtues which North American women were seen as having lost. This was evident in the accounts of denigration of North American women and minimization of cultural differences with Filipino spouse. The former account employs the logic of justifying through criticizing endogamous mates, while the latter account justifies through a denial of the underlying assumption—cultural differences. Future research should examine if such accounts are antecedent to, or consequent of, intermarriage. When do these criticisms of North American women arise in the process of the serviceman's foreign assignment and meeting, dating, and marrying foreign women? Do the servicemen who do not intermarry also denigrate North American women?

Romantic love, not surprisingly, is the most frequently cited motive for marriage for both Filipinos and North Americans. Falling in love for Filipino women is destined by fate, though not so reported by the U.S. servicemen. This Philippine notion of fate, like romantic love, is most interesting when seen as a vocabulary of motive—as reflecting cultural patterns of explanation for one's actions. These seem to reflect an unknown or uncontrollable dimension of events, which can be used in a post hoc explanation. Vocabularies such as fate or love seem to indicate an event which happens to one—beyond one's control—rather than something sought for as a goal. Fate reflects a vocabulary within the Philippine culture—used by both females and males. As previously suggested, the vocabulary of fate seems related to falling in love since each involves events that happen to the individual beyond the individual's control. Given the traditional courtship patterns of male as active and female as passive, combined with Philippine cultural beliefs, suggests that this notion of fate would be used as a vocabulary, particularly by Filipino females.

These reports of motives for intermarriage need to be seen within a management of meaning theoretical framework (Cronen & Shuter, 1983). Given the stigma (Goffman, 1963) associated with intermarriage by the respective cultures, intermarriage is conceived of as a problematic which members must manage by offering justifications and legitimations (Benson, 1981).

The data on motives for marriage are most interesting, not as an indicator of "true" motives, but as justification for intermarriage, and as a reflection of the individual's cultural vocabulary of motive (Mills, 1940). The offering of accounts and motives can be seen as a legitimation technique which functions to coordinate meanings so as to align actions with others (Pearce & Cronen, 1980; Stokes & Hewitt, 1976). In addition, such accounts appear to function as a cognitive precondition to justify one's own choice to oneself (Mills, 1940; Reardon, 1982). Thus, the reported Philippine and North American motives are not to be viewed as merely "subjective springs of action," but as justifications or explanations for marriage choice. This need to justify one's decision to intermarry is a condition which has been neglected in models of intercultural relational development. For without some way to justify intermarriage, individuals may be less likely to pursue such intercultural bonds.

NOTE

¹Merele Metcaff, personal communication.

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