A Phenomenology: Cultural Transplantation of Euro-Canadian Exchange Students, Its Value and Influencing Factors

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ABSTRACT

International exchange at post-secondary educations is often helpful to expand participant understanding of different ethnic groups and cultures. However, despite an emphasis on multicultural education in Canadian society, little research has investigated how Canadians experience international exchange. This study explored Canadian perspectives on exchange experiences through a qualitative methodology. Considering that perceptions of a minority are often different from that of the majority in a society, this study recruited Euro-Canadians, the ethnic majority of Canada, and reports objectively the results of in-depth interviews, including a statement regarding researcher positioning. Results include: (1) Cultural transplantation is multidirectional; (2) Cross-cultural experiences are the result of interactions between a person, a host community and a culture; (3) White ethnicity and the ability to speak English positively contribute to Euro Canadians' experiences in Asia; (4) The value of cross-cultural experiences lies not in academic improvement, but in increased empathy and a newly gained dimension of life. The relevance of these results to exchange programs is discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

As globalization becomes a reality, many people need a better understanding of cultures that lie beyond their immediate concern. Canadians, especially given a multicultural and indigenous population, need to appreciate and respect cultural, political and economic organizations different from their own (Seydegart, M., Council of Ministers of Education Canada, South House Exchange Ottawa, & Human Resources Development Canada, 1994). Educational exchanges of Canadian students have expanded in response to Canadians' need for multicultural awareness and tolerance, as it offers students a chance to expand their understanding of different ethnic groups and cultures. In an international exchange program (i.e., in a study abroad or an exchange abroad program), exchange students are exposed to new cultures for short periods of time, where they may experience the intricacies and daily activities of a foreign society in greater intimacy than they would on a holiday. Such exchange might be called "cultural transplantation," the term used by Arakeri (1998) and Nyang (1999) to describe the resettlement of people from one region of culture to another. Cultural transplantation here is designated as a physical movement of individuals whose primary socialization has been in one culture and who are relocated in another. The stresses and strains experienced by transplanted people in adjusting to this change has been noted by many researchers in the field.

The process of cultural transplantation is pre-eminent in any type of international exchange, as exchange programs are often designed so that students are immersed in a

local culture, live with a host family, participate in routine activities and develop friendships. Cultural transplantation demands enormous efforts in adjusting to a new environment. Learning from this experience may lead a person not only temporarily to adjust, but even to accept as their own a newly gained perspective. However, the learning process of experiencing, adjusting to and validating cultural transplantation seems to be of little interest to scholars (Talyor, 1996; cf. Volet & Renshaw, 1995). Maristany (1995/1996) claimed that most studies on educational exchange programs describe the organization of the program or address a particular variable, such as language acquisition, without providing an analysis of the cultural transplantation process itself.

A comprehensive review of the literature on multiculturalism and associated issues such as educational exchange and cultural adaptation supports this evaluation. Scholarly work often omits discussion of the learning processes in cultural transplantation (including qualities of individual experience), of people's disagreeing interpretations of experiences and of intergroup processes of resistance or accommodation. For example, *on the assumption of homogeneous qualities of exchange experiences*, some researchers like Bates (1997/1998) used quantitative methods to measure intellectual, personal, attitudinal or linguistic impact on exchange students and successfully produced participant ratings as variables with which to assess educational exchange. As well, in many cases where an in-depth study of cultural transplantation has been done, the primary focus has been on Asian students who had studied in English-speaking countries, not *vice versa*. If educational exchange is a way of enhancing Canadian multicultural citizenship, new research is required to listen to Canadian students' exchange experiences.

How Canadian participants experience cultural transplantation and what meanings they attribute to their exchange experiences are difficult to ascertain using standard surveys or a quantitative approach to research because issues of cultural transformation and meaning of experiences often rest on a person's philosophical ideas. The objective of this study is to explore the perceptions of Euro Canadians, who comprise the majority of the Canadian population (Department of Canadian Heritage, 1998), regarding cultural transplantation through an international exchange program.

Cultural Transplantation as Transformation

This study investigated the process of cultural transplantation as experienced in an international exchange program. It follows the qualitative tradition of investigation in probing the inner experience of people (Creswell, 1994; Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1989), in that this study focused on understanding the nature of lived experience in an intercultural setting. Through in-depth interviews, the researcher expected to discover the value and features influencing the experiences of cultural transplantation as described by Euro Canadian participants of international exchange programs at two post-secondary educational institutions in British Columbia: University College of Fraser Valley and the University of Victoria.

Being an exchange student includes moving from one's own culture to an unfamiliar host culture, where one becomes conscious of one's cultural and language difference from the rest of the society. The experience is more difficult if one is visibly different from the majority population. The experience of an educational exchange must be substantial, particularly for those who are part of the visible majority in Canada but who,

on arrival, become part of a visible minority in host countries. Therefore, this study looked into only Euro Canadian student exchange experiences. Returned exchange students from Japan and Taiwan were considered for the interviews of this study, as these two countries had offered a larger number of exchange opportunities to the two target universities in BC than had other Asian countries, and therefore a large group of former exchange participants were available.

Cultural awareness and appreciations of differences are often assumed to develop as outcomes of transplantation. However, these potential outcomes cannot be taken for granted (Sugiyama, 1990). Moving into another culture is not easy, and participants make enormous efforts to adapt. A need to discuss how and what exchange participants experience in the cultural transplantation of the international exchange is apparent. Intended research questions were: (a) What is the essential value of the experience for participants? (b) What do participants consider to be the significant factors that affected their adaptation to cultural transplantation? and (c) How does this adaptation take place?

Definition of Terms

The field of this study may not be familiar to either the interviewees or the readers. Sometimes authors of relevant literature do not share common definitions of certain terms. In order to provide a common ground to readers and interviewees prior to data collection, the following terms were defined and represent the researcher's understanding or interpretation:

Cultural awareness: Cultural awareness refers to the recognition of patterns of living of a particular cultural group (British Columbia School Trustees Association, 1986, p. 32).

Cultural dissonance: Cultural dissonance is frustration and stress from realizing cultural difference.

Cultural transformation: Cultural transformation indicates personal changes that a culturally transplanted person experiences through the process of adjusting to another culture.

Cultural transplantation: The term "transplantation" is often used in medicine or agriculture and means the transfer of a living object to a place of non-origin. An anthropological approach to culture applies this term to a person's physical relocation from one to another culture (Arakeri, 1998; Nyang, 1999).

Educational exchange: In this paper, educational exchange is used to describe the reciprocal exchange of university students and resources among universities from different nations.

Home country/culture: The home country/culture is the country in which exchange students' original universities are located, and its culture. In this paper, it means Canada.

Host country/culture: The host country/culture is the country to which exchange students are sent for the exchange time period, and its culture.

Minority: A small group of people living with others who differ in race, religion and language is known as a minority.

Multiculturalism: Multiculturalism is the perspective that recognizes a diversity of cultures within a community and that endorses integration and diversity as healthy rather than assimilation of members.

Racial consciousness: Racial consciousness is an individual's tendency to assign others to racial categories, and an individual's interpretation of how his or her life has been affected by the way others assign him or her to a racial category (Banton, 1988).

Sojourn: A sojourn is defined as living and studying abroad in another culture for an extended period of time (Bates, 1997/1998).

Visible minorities: In Canada, individuals who are non-white in colour, non-aboriginal or non-Caucasian by race comprise visible minorities. This means that by definition, visible minorities are people whose origins are other than European (Department of Canadian Heritage, 1998).

Euro Canadian: Canadians with European origins, most likely among the visible majority, are known as Euro Canadian. The idea of "visible majorities" is derived from that of "visible minorities."

Significance of the Study

Since limited research has been performed on what multicultural education actually does and accomplishes (Cumming, Mackay, & Sakyi, 1994), this study is undertaken to explore cultural transformation brought about by international experiences. The rationale for this study is to enable curriculum researchers to use the results to facilitate educational change by helping individual transformation, and to make university

education relevant in a global society. While at post-secondary institutions, a higher level of academic accomplishment tends to take precedence over many other activities, including international exchanges in a formal curriculum (cf. Green, 1984), and an increasing trend to emphasize the recruitment of international students as a source of additional funding is evident (Council of Ministers of Education Canada, 1998). A study of Canadian exchange participants' own descriptions of personal transformation, which have scarcely been analyzed, may help educational policy and curriculum makers to be sensitive as they hear students' emotions, lasting perceptions and impacts of these international programs. It is hoped that the findings of this study may provide insight into cultural transplantation necessary to develop appropriate policies for multicultural education.

University administrators, whose accountability lies in fulfilling student educational needs, may use the results to re-design programs that encourage positive cultural transplantation in an overseas sojourn. International exchange must be carefully planned because it can be counterproductive for some. The findings of this study can help university administrators and student counsellors extend their knowledge of exchange student concerns and needs in the process of cultural transplantation. Those administrators and staff may find a need for developing a more cooperative relationship with partner universities in exchange so that they can offer exchange students a better service, for example, in orientation and in the sojourn itself. In addition, specifically for the University of Victoria exchange program, which does not have a formal evaluation policy, this study adds insight on its administrative and policy issues.

Another significant contribution of this study is that it may broaden participant perceptions of life and enrich their awareness of the cultures and heritages of other countries through the self-revealing interview process. In the interviews, participants were encouraged to confirm their experiences by reflection and positive feedback, which may affect individuals in their perception of the world (Dubois & Ntetu, 2000). This study can, as well, help these Canadian participants to share their experiences with their peers. In turn, shared learning may give others a multicultural awareness of the world in which they live (Wilson, 1985). That is, by reading or listening to their stories, other students who have not had similar experiences may expand their own understandings of cultural difference (De-Boer & Baetsen, 1999; van Manen, 1990), as well as relate to the realities of cultural transplantation.

Limitations

A number of limitations affect the validity of the study, including a limitation of the sampling. Since exchange participants applied to take part in an exchange opportunity and were selected, they are likely self-motivated and open-minded and may be active even in situations where they are aliens. Moreover, respondents of this study voluntarily participated in the interview and, as a consequence, their responses may not fully reflect the experiences of cultural transplantation by people other than the interviewees themselves.

Another limitation is the scope of this study. The level of students' previous knowledge of the host country and the level of their motivation may influence the way in

which they assume new challenges. They may have decided to go overseas because they had close Asian friends or had dreamt about travelling to Asia, although participants' reasons for undertaking an exchange program were not specifically addressed by this study.

Additionally, Asian cultures are quite different from the Canadian culture and, therefore, students who participate in an exchange in European countries may show different outcomes from those who returned from programs in Asian countries. Even though students described their experience of cultural transplantation, it may apply only to Asian transitions.

The candidness of interviewees is also a limitation. The interviews may not extract the genuine perceptions of interviewees, not only because the researcher had her own inherent biases regarding the content of the discussion, but also because interviewees may have been aware of the researcher's background, and, therefore, censored their answers. As well, interviewees may have tended to give socially desirable answers to questions (Van Dijk, 1987) by being attentive to presumed preferences of the researcher. Since this study intended to focus on participant descriptions, it avoided carrying the researcher's own voice into the study procedure while trying to keep rapport between the researcher and the interviewees. However, the researcher unavoidably and inherently conveyed her presence throughout the study. Therefore, an attempt was made to identify the researcher's personal paradigm and to take into account the reader's perspective in a separate appendix.

Despite the many limitations of this study, it is still worthwhile. Certainly, the researcher did not try to generalize or theorize about the essentials of cultural

transplantation in this study. As with other qualitative studies, this study tried to expand the understanding of human experience. It provides insights to interested researchers and will contribute to the field of multicultural education because of its description of exchange experiences. It is important to know how people experience, interpret and describe the process of cultural transplantation as they enter a global world, given the increasing importance of multicultural education.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

When you get here, you completely lose your bearings. Nothing is the same. . . . You have to open up your senses to the fullest in order to see everything and try to understand what is going on . . . everything you see is so different. (A Canadian participant of an international training program to Africa, cited in Dubois and Ntetu, 2000)

In the journal of his exchange experiences in Japan, Buchanan (1999) recalls features of daily life such as food, dress, class, friends and school traditions from his exchange experience as a 16-year-old Canadian student. He does not deny that adjusting to the rigid and structured life in Japan was far more difficult than he could have imagined. But he is certain that not only did he suffer from the differences, but also learned a great deal about both himself and Japan through his exchange adventures:

> I had my periods of frustration with all of the petty rules and the lack of freedom to come and go as I pleased. I didn't like the way third-year-students behaved like drill sergeants, ordering me around. And I didn't always like the food served in the cafeteria. . . . But these were trivial complaints. I am grateful for the many lessons the Japanese have taught me. I have learned to appreciate more than ever, how sports activities help relieve the stress of the daily grind. . . . I also learned to appreciate the importance of the concept of "harmony." It's more than people getting along with each other . . . it's a deliberate repression of negative feelings to protect the peace and

> harmony within a group. . . . Perhaps, most important of all, I have learned to appreciate the meaning of *gambatte*[1] and apply it in my own life when the going gets tough. (p.251)

Students who have relocated into a country different from their own are almost unanimous in admitting that the sojourn was most demanding and exhausting, albeit highly rewarding (Dubois & Ntetu, 2000; Fleck, 1984). The research described in this report will provide insight on how they experience and value this demanding cultural transplantation. The purpose of a review of studies related to this area is two-fold: first, it serves to expand the reader's understanding of the present study; second, it aims to narrow the study by examining a larger stream of previous scholarly work in the field (Creswell, 1994).

Resources for this review were identified in two ways. Initially, a search of computerized databases was conducted, including the *Educational Resources Information Centre* (ERIC), *Dissertation Abstracts International*, *Psychological Abstracts*, *CBCA Fulltext Education* and *Social Sciences Citation Index*. Key words used in these searches included: exchange program, research, study abroad, cultural adaptation, acculturation and cultural awareness. Second, bibliographies of relevant studies identified additional books and articles. Of particular interest in the search were resources that focused on undergraduate exchanges, rather than on faculty or children; articles that focused on research and individual learning, either quantitative or qualitative, rather than program description, institutional effectiveness or policy recommendations. The review of this literature is organized under four main headings: (1) current trends in educational exchange; (2) socio-cultural phenomena in the context of cultural transplantation; (3)

student development through a sojourn abroad; and (4) factors that influence adaptation in cultural transplantation.

Current Trends in Educational Exchange

In the 21st century, the world is facing economic, political, cultural, environmental and technological changes that will require new attitudes and behaviours as well as language proficiency to promote interdependence and cooperation among individuals and nations. In the 1983 annual conference of the Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada (SEVEC), many participants, such as Dennis Dawson, Denise Deshaies, Josianne Hamers, and Patrick Fleck expressed the idea that educational exchanges stimulate significant learning development, change of attitudes, flow of knowledge and increased sensitivity towards life in other cultures (Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada, 1984). Consequently, exchange programs have gained ground in national interests.

Assured by these circumstances, Marlene Johnson, chair of the Alliance for International Educational and Cultural Exchange, affirmed, at a United States congressional committee testimonial in 2000, that exchange programs should: (1) be linked to formal academic programs; (2) enhance language ability; and (3) focus on raising international specialists who will increase the prosperity of their nation. "Educational and cultural exchange programs . . . establish the foundation for effective public diplomacy, economic competitiveness, and national security in the next century" said Johnson (2000, Body section, ¶ 4). In Canada, domestic exchanges between different

regions in the late 70s started expanding internationally to Europe during the 1980s. With rising Asian economic markets, exchange programs have since expanded into Asia (Tillman, 1988). It is of interest to note that further developments in the area of international education have included the overseas campus and joint-programs, both of which aim to provide student exposure to another country's culture, science and economy (Chambers & Cummings, 1990). Above and beyond the scope of culture and education, exchange programs have advanced as a way for nations to strengthen foreign relationships, leading to enhanced economic profits and greater national security (Barnett & Wu, 1995; Bu, 1999; Chen & Barnett, 2000; Council of Ministers of Education Canada, 1996).

Objectives and Impacts of Educational Exchange

For Hanna, Smith, McLean and Stern (1980), the value of educational exchanges falls into two curricula that include language education and socio-cultural education. Based on their investigation of exchanges, they specified five educationally important objectives of educational exchange that are achievable: improved second-language ability, language-learning strategies, cultural knowledge, contact and experience. Meanwhile, Kauffman, Martin and Weaver (1992) identified three areas in which a sojourn abroad is believed to have an impact: intellectual development, such as language learning; personal development, including self-confidence; and expanded international perspectives. The latter two areas are shared by Dudden and Dynes (1987) in their review of the Fulbright International Exchange Programs' contribution to participants: increased awareness and appreciation of different cultures, as well as cultural and personal growth, such as better ways of thinking and career development.

Some impacts of exchange programs, such as language ability or knowledge of the host country, have been assessed through measuring instruments or participant self-ratings. Cultural development through exchange experiences, however, is difficult to conceptualize and evaluate since every exchange experience is, in itself, a cultural phenomenon and the participants' individual memories of exchange are their own cultural effects (Banton, 1988; Cumming et al., 1994; Hanna et al., 1980). Certainly, participants in the time of sojourn may experience cultural dissonance. Nonetheless, any experiences of international exchange are positive, where "positive" does not mean that a participant has to like everything: doubts, questions, and criticisms can be more desirable than uncritical euphoria. A research effort must be undertaken to appreciate the valuable aspects of an exchange, for example, the establishment of contacts, friendships, and communication with culturally different groups.

Socio-Cultural Phenomena in Transplantation

The phenomenon of personal transformation from one culture to another, as experienced by exchange participants, exists in many areas of human life involving cultural and geographic transplantation. Examples include migration, religious spread or conquest. Scholars from different disciplines (Edgerton, 1971; Hanvey, 1982; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) have examined this challenging and difficult process, giving rise to various terms describing the same phenomenon. Terms like *acculturation* often used in psychology, *cultural awareness* in sociology and education, and *adaptation* in ethnology and social work are widely found in scholarly writings; *transculturation*, a term used by

anthropologists and literary critics is less popular. Many anthropologists and literary critics associate acculturation with a subtext involving abandonment of one culture in favor of another. Transculturation suggests that a subject selectively adopts a host culture. For example, after his research on Cuban culture and history, Fernando Ortiz (cited in Marquez, 1999) called a simultaneous and spontaneous process of resistance against assimilation "transculturation" in which the values, norms and beliefs of a subordinate group are transferred onto that of an oppressor's. The concept of transculturation implies that subordinate peoples may not have control over the materials that the dominant culture transmits, but they have control over what materials get adopted and used.

The term acculturation, has been utilized in the field of psychology where research often raises topics such as "the relationship between the majority and minority" or "the psychological well-being of a person who experiences social change." Theoretically, two perspectives on acculturation are formed: the unidirectional and the bi-directional. Unidirectional acculturation is considered equivalent to assimilation. Gordon (1978) defined it as "change of cultural patterns to those of the host society" (p. 169). In this unidirectional perspective, acculturation is conceptualized as a process in which people lose connection to their original culture. Similarly, Garcia and Lega (1979) stated that acculturation is "the acquisition of values of a host society by members of a minority of immigrant group" (p. 247). While the bi-directional perspective acknowledges individual differences in adaptation to a dominant culture based on personal choice, the concept has gained increased scholarly support with emerging multiculturalism and a postmodern view of the relationship between a minority and a majority. LeVine and Padilla (1980) argue that acculturation ranges from: (1) a low commitment to host culture and high

commitment to ethnic heritage culture; through (2) equal preference for both cultures; to (3) a high commitment to host culture and low commitment to ethnic culture. A number of scholars explain that acculturation is a dynamic, interactive process between the individual and the host culture (Berry, 1983; Sodowsky & Plake, 1991; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Teske & Nelson, 1974). More specifically, this means that minorities adapt through selective integration of their value systems and cultural practices in order to integrate with or differentiate from the dominant group within their environment.

The underlying difference between a unidirectional and bi-directional perspectives lies in whether one views acculturation as a linear process of attitudinal development within a host culture, or as a set of various options indicating different levels and degrees of adaptation. Taylor's (1996/1997) work assumes a unidirectional perspective. Within a framework based on Kalvero Oberg and Sverre Lysgaard who supported the notion of sequential development of attitude in overseas adjustment, she suggested phases of acculturation based on a study of returned exchange students. Her study focused on the experiences of American undergraduate students participating in the International Student Exchange Program (ISEP) at the University of Malta. A qualitative methodology including participant observation and interviews revealed four major themes of acculturation: (a) dealing with initial confusion and frustration in an unknown context; (b) dealing with physical discomforts and inconveniences; (c) building a family away from home; and (d) transforming within the new context. Other researchers (Laroche, Kim, Hui, & Joy, 1996; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) argue that a person in a multicultural context constructs a cultural and ethnic identification based on acculturation to the host culture and affiliation with one's own ethnicity or nationality. From this bi-

directional perspective, Berry (1983) describes acculturation as a myriad of adaptations influenced by a participant's active role. He proposed four acculturative options: assimilation, integration, rejection (separation) and deculturation (marginalization). Similarly, Sodowsky and Plake (1991) suggested three adaptation options from their study of foreigners in the United States, which correspond to Berry's first three acculturative options.

Dubois and Ntetu (2000) propose a conceptual model of cultural adaptation. They undertook an exploratory and participatory study with Canadian students enrolled in a training program in Burkina Faso, Africa. Their concept of cultural adaptation has four key components: cultural adjustment, the explanatory model, the social support network and roles. Cultural adjustment is the phase where differences in others are accepted. Individuals reach this phase by experiencing the excitement of euphoria and dissonance of culture shock. Those in the phase of cultural adjustment rebuild their explanatory model (a construct based on past socialization) used for analysis of the world. The social support system relates to an individual's affiliation tendency. A social network provides mental support to individuals and affects cultural adaptation in a variety of ways depending on whether individuals choose to affiliate with groups from their origin or with local support groups. Reinforcement from support groups helps newcomers deal with role conflicts derived from different social expectations.

Ward and his associates described adaptation as an ability to fit into a host society (Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Ward & Searle, 1991). These scholars have attempted to establish a distinction between psychological adjustment and sociocultural adaptation during cross-cultural transitions. Psychological adjustment,

referring to emotional well-being, depends on an individual's affiliation with his or her culture of origin (co-national identification). Sociocultural adaptation is relevant to an affiliation tendency to the host culture (host national identification). Psychological adjustment is strongly influenced by a sojourner's personality, social support and life changes. Sociocultural adaptation is dependent on learning variables such as language ability, length of residence, cultural distance between the origin and host society and the amount of contact with host nationals.

Many scholars within educational disciplines have emphasized that the phenomenon of cultural transplantation increases cultural awareness amongst those who experience it (Iriye, 1990; Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993). Tomalin and Stempleski (1993) argue that the term cultural awareness encompasses an awareness of one's own culturally-induced behaviour; an awareness of the culturally-induced behaviour of others; and an ability to explain one's own cultural standpoint. Since cultural assumptions often are taken to reflect a universal truth, through cultural transplantation students can increase their consciousness of cultural differences in values and attitudes. They become more aware of the assumptions their culture makes, of their own culturally influenced assumptions, and of the diversity of ideas and practices found across cultures in general (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993). For postmodern educators, cultural awareness through multicultural education provides a path towards human emancipation and empowerment. Cross-cultural exchange is an important instrument in building cultural awareness.

Some advocates for postmodern global education try to map different modes of cultural awareness with respect to individual differences and contexts. A number of these advocates (Bennett C., 1999; Bennett M., 1986; Hanvey, 1982) suggest that a stage of

competent cross-cultural awareness could be achieved through a transition from the denial of the host culture (i.e., disbelief) to a condition of acceptance (i.e., belief). In other words, many people may approach another culture with a superficial stage of intercultural awareness; they may not accept, as part the normal human experience, either findings that are different from their familiar practice or the existence of cultural diversity. As they start realizing significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast remarkably with their own, they may find themselves in a state of conflict and frustration. A major conceptual shift occurs when people become intellectually curious and begin pursuing cultural realities different from their own. Some exchange students, through their transplantation into another culture, may even gain an understanding of how another culture feels from the standpoint of an insider. This final level of cultural understanding may not be reached by all exchange students. Hanvey (1982) argued that students who reach such a level must have a readiness to respect and accept differences and a capacity to participate in local culture and activities. In addition, their participation must be approved and reinforced by the host family and friends.

Various scholarly efforts have approached the phenomenon of cultural transplantation to explain how people experience it and what changes they bear afterwards. At the same time, a lack of interest in individual experiences of transplantation is apparent. Because people who experience cultural transplantation show different degrees of change within their social circumstances, precise definition and measurement of the phenomena in individual cases of cultural transplantation still demand further research (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Student Development while Sojourning

As universities promote educational exchanges, scholars seek to elaborate on the educational value that exchanges have on participants. They seek information on the impact on students of participation in exchange programs. They seek to explore what helps students have successful experiences in their participation. Specifically, they seek the factors which enable a program to be efficient and effective in achieving objectives of an educational exchange. Research has attempted to answer evaluative questions on an educational exchange by measuring participant development. Various developmental categories can be assessed depending on the researcher's choice of methods and themes. In terms of exchange objectives, however, it seems that researchers have used common categories in order to observe impacts of an exchange on participants: language, cultural empathy, attitude (including self-efficacy and interpersonal skills), knowledge and global mindedness.

A number of studies have examined the linguistic impact of exchange programs on participating students after their sojourn (Hoff, 1986; Kauffman et al., 1992; Seya, 1996; Waldbaum, 1996/1997). In her rigorous study of a year-long reciprocal exchange program, Waldbaum (1996/1997) investigated host language competence, program structures and participant development through multiple methods and informants. Students who participated the overseas exchange program showed significant development in verbal and written language skills during the study abroad year. Seya (1996) investigated the linguistic impact of a study abroad program on Japanese college students between ages 18 and 28. The three-week friendship exchange program included

an English course, field trips and a ten-day home stay with a Canadian family. Extensive data sources, including pre-and post-test, observation, student questionnaires, student journals and instructor questionnaires revealed that students in general improved their English communication ability. In addition, findings suggested that students benefit most when they possess qualities such as strong motivation, good language learning strategies such as anxiety control, and a socially active personality. Interaction with supportive native speakers also contributed to students' positive language-related outcomes. In sum, cultural context can have a positive impact on language learning.

The cultural context of an exchange is indispensable to student language learning and, in turn, language competence may induce culturally fitting behaviour in a host society. A study of cultural learning reveals that it is similar to language education insofar as they both require a degree of cultural empathy. However, it is important that the two be examined as separate processes. Studies (Deshaies & Hamers, 1984; Rifkin, 1996; Wilson, 1985) have reported that direct interaction between two different cultural groups broadens understanding and perspectives among people. Rifkin (1996) examined a reciprocal visit between Jewish and Native Indian third graders from the United States. Various activities were prepared, providing an opportunity for each group to understand one another. Through the learning experiences of cultural exchange, students were emotionally closer at the end of the visit. These experiences also gave participants a better understanding of different people by allowing them to form their own impressions within a positive and motivating environment. Intercultural exchanges among Canadian provinces have shown similar outcomes (Deshaies & Hamers, 1984). Wilson (1985) explored what exchange students recall about their overseas experiences. A survey of

returned Youth for Understanding (YFU) students who had spent the summer in Japan found that: exchange students seem to be cross-culturally aware; most exchange students understand the concept of cultural relativism and are able to deal with the ethnocentrism of Americans.

Meloan's (1991/1992) research included assessment of attitudinal change as well as that of cultural empathy. He investigated claims of increased psychosocial development, including self-confidence, self-esteem, goal orientation, autonomy and tolerance in domestic exchange participants who had returned. The subject group consisted of participants in the National Student Exchange (NSE) programs within the United States who were administered a test prior to and following the exchange term. The results showed that developmental increases occurred over the exchange term. However, these increases were not statistically significant. Similarly, Moose (1995) questioned the claim that cultural contacts allow for advancements in open attitudes and cultural awareness. She examined benefits for host families of Japanese international students using a three-part instrument to measure the openness of host and non-host families towards other ethnic groups and races. The instrument included a demographic survey, knowledge of Japanese and their culture and the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance[2]. The demographic survey showed no significant differences between the host families and non-host families. The Bogardus Scale of Social Distance, too, presented no significant difference in cultural openness between the two groups; both gave evidence of being open to other ethnic groups and cultures. An explicit difference appeared on knowledge of other cultures. A test analysis of the knowledge section indicated that host families showed a

greater socio-cultural knowledge about Japan than non-host families did, while both showed similar degrees of openness.

Meanwhile, In the study that compared non-exchange and exchange students before and after their one semester of study abroad, Bates (1997/1998) cautiously re-investigated this attitudinal similarity between groups with and without cultural contacts observed in Meloan's (1991/1992) and Moose's (1995) studies. In pre-tests, Bates (1997/1998) reported that exchange students possessed a less positive attitude than non-exchange students towards oneself and in sociability. However, after the exchange, post-testing revealed that the difference was insignificant. In other words, as a result of their exchange experiences, exchange participants displayed greater growth in the development of personal attitudes and characteristics than non-exchange students. Agreeing that student personal development seems to be equally balanced amongst those within a home and a foreign campus setting, Waldbaum (1996/1997) suggested that student development within the context of study abroad may actually be more intense than that within the local setting in her study of a year-long international exchange program. Guadarrama's (1998) research reported that many returning American university students who participated in the Volunteer Teaching Project in Mexico during summer were more open-minded and flexible than when they left home. Interviewees also commented that their five-week sojourn would affect their future attitude in teaching performance. These studies suggest that, while both exchange participants and non-exchange participants showed signs of development, differences in the degree in which they developed were more salient in the participants.

Bates (1997/1998) examined the effects of international exchange in the areas of intellectual development, attitudinal development of a global perspective and personal development. Survey instruments eliciting intellectual information on motivation, learning style, knowledge, views of other countries and career objectives were administered before and after the study abroad term to two groups of university students. The first group was made up of students who spent a semester studying in the United Kingdom; the second group consisted of students who remained on the home campus in the United States. Within the issue of intellectual development, two groups were asked to rate their opinions on knowledge of the host country and 16 methods of learning such as thinking reflectively, using the textbook, cooperative learning and developing ideas before and after the exchange occurred. This study supported the conclusion that significant change occurred in knowledge of the host country, but no significant difference in methods of learning.

Cultural contacts and interactions that occur through the exchange term seem to increase the knowledge gained, to the benefit of both visiting and hosting parties (Bates, 1997/1998; Cumming et al., 1994; Moose, 1995; Wilson, 1985). The American Field Service (AFS) Impact study undertaken by Neal Grove and Bettina Hansel confirmed this (Grove, 1984). The AFS promotes year-term and short-term exchanges in several countries for high school students and graduates; short-term exchanges are eight to ten weeks in duration. Over 1200 high school students, including both AFS year and short program participants, as well as non-participants, completed a self-assessment known as the Behaviorally Anchored Rating Scale (BARS) before and after the exchange duration. The results indicated that the greatest and most explicit average increase from pre-test to

post-test were in "awareness and appreciation of host country and culture," and "foreign language appreciation and ability."

Meanwhile, Weiss (1998) and James (1998) report that cultural distance in the sojourners' mind seems to be long lasting. A quantitative and qualitative study by Weiss (1998) addressed American undergraduate students who participated in an international internship program in Sidney, Australia. The result indicated that students' initial perceptions of cultural distance between the home country and the host country were long lasting and were not significantly changed during their sojourn, though most of the participants managed to culturally fit in.

In Campbell's (1988) study of the International Cultural Service Program at the University of Oregon (a program that offers international students a chance to share their experience with local citizens and students), he concluded that direct interaction with other cultural groups has a positive influence on the development of global interests and on the understanding of cultural differences and similarities. Of the participants observed and interviewed, all showed increased global perspectives and tolerance for difference. Global understanding is one of three stated goals of the Young Diplomats Exchange Program. This program includes a short-term, reciprocal, and direct exchange between selected high school students from New York and other countries. Cox's (1988/ 1989) case study of the Young Diplomats Exchange Program concluded that it had successfully increased international understanding in addition to interest in foreign language study and global mindedness on a personal level. The AFS Impact study (Grove, 1984) indicated that after the exchange term, participants, on average, showed an increase in their "understanding [of] other cultures and differences" (p. 36) and in "international

awareness; a capacity to empathize with people in other countries" (p. 36). Although these increases were not as great as the increase in cultural knowledge of the host country, it was still significant compared to non-participants. These characteristics overlap with Bates' (1997/1998) account of global-mindedness and global perspective, where global mindedness is construed as a sense of belonging to a global village. In her study, Global-Mindedness indicated that the exchange students made significant changes in globalcentrism and interconnectedness.

The studies reviewed here (Bates, 1997/1998; Campbell, 1988; Cox, 1988/1989; Grove, 1984; Guadarrama, 1998; Kauffman et al., 1992; Rifkin, 1996) indicate that international exchange programs encourage language improvement, empathy for people and culture, personal and attitudinal development, knowledge growth, and an international perspective. Although Cumming, Mackay and Sakyi (1994) reported similar findings, their research on 120 participating high school students in an inter-provincial exchange program which put an emphasis on multicultural, anti-racist education across Canada suggests that the impact of an exchange program can be influenced by the focus of the program. While an increase in knowledge in regard to the host country and leadership skills was most obvious after participating in the program, students' ratings placed racism and discrimination as other areas where learning was significant: using language related to race and culture, identifying causes of prejudice, identifying barriers between people and awareness of their own biases and prejudices. Most of the respondents reported that they benefited from learning specific facts or incidents, from developing their personal skills, from learning concepts, and from gaining greater awareness of others through their visit. The development of tendencies to act for social

equality and against prejudice in schools and communities were rarely reported or observed amongst the changes that occurred in students who participated in the exchange. In summary, students seemed to be uncertain on how to use distinct personal skills and knowledge they had gained for social action in their schools or communities. In a separate survey, families and teachers of participating students reported positive observations: increased awareness of anti-racist policies within the school and community, more open relations between ethnic groups in the school, improved communication with diverse community groups and reduction of racism and other kinds of prejudice.

Factors Influencing Cultural Adaptation

Both terms, cultural adjustment and cultural adaptation, address a transformational process influenced by interaction with a host or a dominant culture. In the same sense, overseas adjustment and adaptation indicate a developing sense of competence while living in a host country (Weiss, 1999). Some researchers (Garcia & Lega, 1979; Naidoo & Davis, 1988; Olmedo & Padilla, 1978; Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindholm, 1985; Sodowsky & Carey, 1988, Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987) have suggested that minority adaptation to a dominant host culture is affected by sociocultural characteristics, which takes into account various social and cultural factors such as preferences for ethnic food and friendships, religion, community ties or entertainment; and residence status in the host country. Berry and Annis (1974) emphasized that non-cultural factors affect adaptation to another culture; they name types of education, urbanization, pressures to

change and biological growth of individuals. Whether it is overseas adjustment or inland adaptation, as people experience cultural transplantation, a process of adaptation occurs which can be influenced by a number of factors.

Noble (1999) has emphasized the influence of personal traits and attitudes on gaining cultural competence. From work experiences with diverse cultural groups, Noble argues that learning amongst adults across cultural differences demands openness of spirit that goes beyond the assumptions one has formed as a result of one's own acculturation. It requires the ability to recognize other's perspectives as valid and the openness to listen to others. Other characteristics, such as sociability, sensitivity, self-confidence or initiative, personal values and goals tend to influence a student's successful adjustment to a dominant culture, overall program satisfaction and academic achievement (Crust, 1998; Hopkins, 1982; Okamoto, 1992; Young, Ekeler, Sawyer, & Prichard, 1994). In addition to character traits, some scholars suggest that a student's developmental "readiness" might also be a factor in overseas adjustment (Cumming et al., 1994; Hopkins, 1982).

Individual differences in readiness may be attributed to students' biological age, mental maturity or motivation. Deshaies and Hamers (1984) support the overall positive effects of educational exchange on student personal development, but they also observed influences that seemed to be related to individual differences. The exchange had a more positive influence on older participants by changing attitudes towards the learning of language, different people and other cultures. On the other hand, younger students were more attracted to the excitement cast by the exchange itself. In general, students in their study showed more favorable attitudes towards other cultural groups and in learning foreign languages when they had frequent, informal contact with other cultural groups.

This conclusion is supported by Weiss' (1998) overseas adjustment study. Of 43 undergraduate American students participating in Boston University's internship program in Australia, students with some cultural pre-knowledge adapted to the host country's cultural norms easier than other students. Students with previous overseas travel experience were the least troubled by cultural differences.

The presence of activities with local people and the establishment of local friends are factors that have an influence on an exchange student's level of satisfaction (Crust, 1998; Dubois & Ntetu, 2000; Merrick, 1993; Okamoto, 1992). As exchange students get more involved in extracurricular activities, their language ability improves along with their level of satisfaction in the exchange program. Games can help bridge students from different cultures and close local friends can help weaken the impact of culture shock.

Another influence observed was student socio-cultural background. Students who come from a culture similar to that of the host culture adapt more comfortably than those from a substantially different culture (Triandis, 1991; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Confirming the advantage of cultural similarity, Barratt and Huba (1994) reported that, generally, students from a Western culture adjusted to North American culture easier than students from Eastern or African cultures. A difference in the effectiveness of adjustment between exchange students from a similar culture and a less similar culture was noticed by Pollard (1985/1986), who hypothesized that gender stereotype compatibility between students and host families is one factor in how a student adjusts. Program staff and counsellors were surveyed on how well Latin American and West German students adjust within a home stay exchange program in the United States (in a Youth For Understanding program). Analysis showed that gender stereotype compatibility was not a factor in a

student's adjustment. However, a notable point is that the orientation program focusing on gender role expectations was effective in improving how well Latin American students adjusted to North American culture. In addition to cultural background, researchers suggest that a student's socio-economic circumstances, social status of home and host families and family communication affect how well exchange students adjust (Okamoto, 1992; Young et al., 1994).

As indicated by Pollard (1985/1986) and Dubois and Ntetu (2000), institutional administration and program features, such as orientation sessions, can affect student effectiveness in their exchange performance. Cumming et al. (1994) found considerable differences in the learning variables among students from different exchange programs; he suggested that organizational features in an exchange setting such as program emphasis, teacher preparedness or community activities might be factors affecting the learning process. As well, while assessing the extent of positive change undergone by participating students, Grove (1984) demonstrated slight differences between participants enrolled in 1year programs and those in shorter programs. The mere fact that neither type of program was consistently superior on all change-variables in his survey suggests that the length of exchange may be an influencing factor. Such belief is supported by other researchers (Olmedo & Padilla, 1978; Padilla et al., 1985; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranade, 1978). There seems no consensus on the most beneficial length of an overseas sojourn (cf. Taylor, 1996/1997).

The importance of the host family has long been emphasized. Seya (1996) discovered that a friendly home-stay environment would promote exchange student language learning. Satisfaction with host family and housing is related to student socialization at

school and community and to an adjustment to a host culture and society (Crust, 1998; Dubois & Ntetu, 2000; Okamoto, 1992). In the extensive research by Grove (1984) on the AFS International Program, host families seemed to have a significant role in student development. Anecdotal evidence suggests that students who experience and undergo certain stresses with host families end up learning and developing at a faster rate than students who have a relatively smooth home-stay experience. However, the study-results indicated that students who had changed families in times of difficulty did not improve more than students who remained with the same family. Students who changed families developed at a notably slower rate in three categories: critical thinking, exchange of ideas and personal growth and maturity.

The degree of cultural adjustment for each international exchange student varies. Previously reviewed studies suggest that individual, institutional and human contexts influence how and to what degree exchange students learn and adapt. Individual factors include student characteristic differences in personality, maturity, motivation, experience and ethnic socio-cultural background. Student experiences can be affected by institutional arrangements including class and extracurricular activities, orientation, staff support and program emphasis. Many students recall memorable impressions of exchange experiences with people in the host country. Friendship, neighborhood, frequency of contacts with local people and friendliness of host family affect students in how they experience cultural transplantation.

Related to the matter of human contextual influence, other literature notes that international people of colour in the United States claimed they experienced prejudice during their stay in the United States (Smith, 1985; Sodowsky & Plake, 1992; Sue, 1981).

Sodowsky and Plake (1992), for instance, surveyed the international population of a United States university, using an American-International Relations Scale (AIRS) that they had previously developed (1991). Results showed that Africans, Asians and South Americans were significantly less acculturated than Europeans. Residence status, length of residence in the host country and religion also have an apparent influence on differences in acculturation. Findings suggest that international participants related their identity to the values, religion, physical appearance and language of their national origins. The level and degree of cultural adjustment to the host society seem to vary, depending on the complexity of the interaction amongst these factors.

Conclusion

A variety of research has been undertaken on people who have participated in cultural transplantation. Approached from diverse disciplines, almost all of the studies agree that people change during or after their transplantation. Many studies tried to explain how and why this change occurs, while others focused on how people expand their learning through this new change. Educators who studied students' international experiences have defined this learning with variables such as language, openness, attitude, knowledge and awareness. Previous research regarding international student exchange programs has suggested that factors related to student personality, readiness and activity level, environmental and residential features and administrative support affect learning experiences.

This study approaches the experience of cultural transplantation in a more dialogic and people-focused way. Numerous previous studies have attempted to categorize culturally transplanted people and their experiences into modes of cross-cultural transition and to ignore the meaning of individual experiences and feelings. Yet, it appears that individual experiences and feelings are especially important in studies probing exchange programs, since one of the educative goals of such programs often involves changing young participants' way of life. Instead of measuring "how good multicultural experiences were'" or "what this exchange program increased in student ability," this study returns to the people and examines how they experience their exchange participation and how it relates to their lives.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology and Procedure

The design of a study begins with the selection of a topic and development of a paradigm for the study. This study is about cultural transplantation processes in educational exchange programs. It involves entering into the perception of people who actually experienced the phenomenon. Accordingly, the overall paradigm for this study is qualitative. A paradigm for a study is important since the assumptions of any paradigm provide directions for designing all phases of the subsequent research (Creswell, 1994). The research paradigm, the phenomenological approach to the study and study procedures are discussed here.

Research Paradigms

Educational research has utilized diverse approaches. Some approaches involve the study of samples and populations in general, therefore making heavy use of numerical data and statistical analysis. Others involve the study of particular cases, relying on verbal data and subjective analysis. The type of research approach depends on the paradigm for the study; a quantitative paradigm has roots in the positivist, experimental or empiricist tradition, while a qualitative paradigm has origins in the constructivist, naturalistic (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), interpretive (Erickson, 1986; Smith, 1983) or postmodern perspective. Although an actual study seldom demonstrates all of the ideal characteristics of either paradigm (Creswell, 1994), scholars have contrasted the

assumptions of each in order to illuminate the nature of alternative research strategies (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1995; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Creswell, 1994; Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Worldview: The Objects that Researchers Study

Positivism originated in the social theories of Comte and Durkheim in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and became refined in the logical positivism of the 1930s and 40s (Atkinson & Hammersely, 1995; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). Positivist researchers assume that features of the social environment have an objective reality and exist independently of the individuals who create them or who observe them; thus, to the extent that a researcher is free of subjective bias, he/she can collect data that accurately represent social reality. Accordingly, positivism promoted standardized procedures of data collection including experimental and survey research and quantitative forms of analysis with neutral language. Replication of a study can reproduce similar outcomes, because social realities remain the same across time and space. The task of positivist scientific inquiry, according to Gall, Borg and Gall (1996, p.18), is to "make bias-free observations of the natural and social world out there."

On the other hand, the research reported in this study is based on an assumption opposed to positivism, namely that social reality is constructed by the individuals who participate in it. In this paradigm, features of the natural and social world are not "out there," nor are their existences separated from the meanings that individuals ascribe to them. Social reality is constructed through individual interpretations of social phenomena and environment. Jean Piaget's well-known theory of intellectual development in

children relies on this view of social reality. Children gradually build their own understanding of the world through experience and maturation. Social phenomena have some influence on human behaviour and development but they are not coercive. Nor are they external in the sense that a human imitates them consciously with internal judgment (Dasen, 1977; Hyde, 1970).

Constructivists focus on multiple social realities created by different individuals that cannot be studied by analytic methods of positivist research. Positivists view the world as available for study in a more or less static form (Hutchinson, 1988), whereas constructivists, since they argue that reality cannot be fully captured, rely on multiple methods to understand as much of reality as possible. Consequently, these researchers approach the study object with a unique method that will fit their own conception of the reality.

Positivists perceive that reality of the world exists to be found and is unchangeable. For example, a scientific method that investigates the whole population of interest can reveal objective social features. Because of study feasibility, the positivist researcher often selects a manageable sample, representative of the population. Tests of the sample group would produce evidence for a social reality objective to everybody in the population. This is confronted by postpositivists in that they believe the world is subjective.

Postpositivists, represented by constructivists, insist that the study of individual interpretations of social reality must occur at the local, immediate context, because the way that a person constructs meanings in a particular time or place may not be the way he/she constructs meanings at another. This also means that postpositivists study events

in their natural settings. The study of a particular case may inform one about another case, but not the whole population. Qualitative research involves postpositivist, interpretative, naturalistic approaches and attempts to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

Furthermore, Atkinson and Hammersley (1995) explain "naturalism" as the proper nature of social research. Naturalism assumes that reality can be found only in the empirical world where reality remains and appears as it happens. Therefore, a researcher should study the social world in its natural state without any control of variables. Research is utilized to provide an explanation of the culture under study, as it probes events, context, reasons, interpretations and reactions in a natural setting. Atkinson and Hammersley (1995) call this type of research ethnography, a rich description of cultures.

Influences on Postpositivism from Critical Theories

Postpositivists deal with multiple layers of construction or interpretation. Individuals construct their own social reality, but researchers cannot fully reveal a participant's interpretation. A research participant creates a construction depending on her/his view of the researcher and her/his ability and willingness to communicate with the researcher. The researcher interprets and recreates the research context, as do readers of a study report. That is, any human agent has a significant influence on construction of social reality.

Since the mid-1980s, critics of positivists and postpositivists alike have claimed that any proposed research is biased by the researcher's values. The researcher may affect the definition of social features in inquiry and the variables to investigate in the data-

collection process. Her/his language may only approximately convey what is meant by another language user. That is, whether researchers seek an objective reality or a constructed reality, a researcher cannot represent social features without his/her interpretation. No absolute basis for determining the truth exists. Including a researcher, members of a social world are always engaged in a society and its politics of value affect how the members see social reality. A researcher can reflect on his/her own bias as well as those of others by being aware of inequalities in material life, in gender and power, and in the rhetoric of all existing authority that influence "the truth" that people believe. Truth may be sought through a dialogue among many voices, including not only those in power but also in the margin. Hence, the researcher's reflexivity, an integral constructor of the social reality studied, may have consequences in the knowledge produced. Critical theorists such as those who espouse postmodernism and feminism try to change the world into a more equitable place for all groups of people. Their goal is emancipatory (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1995).

The Phenomenological Approach

The research reported here takes a phenomenological approach to fit its need to explore experiences of people who had undergone cultural transplantation. In this section, the philosophical ground of the research topic, a research approach known as phenomenology, and the research procedure are discussed.

Philosophical Base

The topic of this research derives from the study of multicultural education in Canada. Canadian society is multicultural since it incorporates multicultural policies and diverse ethnic groups. Yet it is uncertain how each member of Canadian society may accept and move towards multicultural understanding of people from different races, genders and ethnic cultures. Multicultural education is often mistaken as an integration of the minority into the mainstreaming culture of a society. And little discussion occurs regarding how to help students of the majority to view the world critically. Sleeter (1991) contends that multicultural education needs to be redefined in the era of postmodernism.

Postmodernism, including a variety of perspectives under its name, is a set of critical ideologies that reject the boundaries between normal and abnormal as socially imposed orders (Sackney, Walker, & Mitchell, 1999). Therefore, postmodernism tends to encourage people to appreciate and respect different ways of life. Such appreciation and respect can be an ideological root of multiculturalism. As well, postmodernism values multicultural experiences since postmodern authors suggest they promote social transformation as well as personal change (Banton, 1988; McLaren, 1997). An awareness of differences in life may become a catalyst for personal change that, if many were to change, could lead to the reformation of a social system. Therefore, from the postmodernist perspectives, multiculturalism is not a means to produce only assimilation of immigrants or new-comers, but a powerful means to pursue a more inclusive society. It needs to actively engage people of the majority group in multicultural learning such as cross-cultural experiences.

The cultural transplantation that Euro Canadians describe in this research is not only a phenomenon of environmental change. It involves a shift of identification from "us" to "others." An understanding of how individuals experience and interpret this phenomenon may deepen our understanding about multicultural learning in Canadian society.

Deriving from these fundamental ideas, the research reported here was designed as qualitative research in order to examine the phenomenon of cultural transplantation and answer such questions as (a) How do Euro Canadian students experience cultural transplantation? (b) What do Euro Canadian students value in their exchange within an Asian culture? (c) What do Euro Canadian students consider to be significant factors that affected their adaptation in cultural transplantation?

Phenomenology

Phenomenology began in the philosophical movement founded by Edmund Husserl during the late 1890s and the early 1900s (Creswell, 1998). He argued that when individuals experience a social phenomenon, the objective meaning of an experience and its consciousness are not separate but inextricably related. The task of phenomenology is to study the essential structure of consciousness, for example, of desires, feelings, values or natural objects (Creswell, 1998; Moustakas, 1994). Three principal concepts of Husserlean inquiry are those of epoch, reduction and bracketing (Creswell, 1998; Gall et al., 1996; Mott, 1994). Epoch refers to the suspension of all presuppositions about what is real. Reduction is the consideration of only the basic elements of objects studied. Bracketing the researcher's experiences is required to look at the whole phenomenon. From the Husserlean philosophical stance, the examination and suspension of all

assumptions about the nature of any reality is important to fully examine the structure of consciousness observed.

Phenomenology in the twentieth century is "the philosophical movement dedicated to describing the structures of experience as they present themselves to consciousness, without recourse to theory, deduction, or assumptions from other disciplines such as the natural sciences" (Dreyfus, 1999, Introduction section, ¶. 1). Therefore, the primary focus of phenomenological methodology is the understanding of the essential structures and meanings of a lived experience from the perspective of those experiencing the phenomenon (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Creswell, 1998; Embree, 1997; Gall et al., 1996; Mott, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989). Due to various philosophic strands of phenomenology, one finds a lack of agreement as to which is the ideal way of conducting phenomenological research. A few methodological distinctions can be considered for this study. The phenomenological approach involves (a) the unassumptive and non-intervening study of a personally or socially significant phenomenon; (b) data collected from individuals who have experienced the phenomenon being studied; (c) consideration of the phenomenon investigated as a lived natural experience, rather than as a conceptualization, with (d) a goal of understanding the essential structure of the experience, and (e) utilizing research based in a solid understanding of the philosophical perspectives of phenomenology (Creswell,1998; Patton,1990; van Manen,1990).

A phenomenological researcher views what people say and do as a product of how they interpret the world and examines how the world is experienced by people. His/her aim is to capture the "structure" of participant interpretation. Although the researcher is a human agent who interprets verbal data, the study of a phenomenon can be best

understood as experienced by those who participate in it (Creswell, 1998). Accordingly, phenomenological study chiefly embraces individual experiences and descriptions inferred from in-depth interviews.

Research Procedures

This study was designed to examine the meaning and influencing features of cultural transplantation as experienced by Euro Canadian exchange students from two post-secondary institutions in British Columbia: the University of Victoria and the University College of Fraser Valley (UCFV). It was designed specifically to ask how these students see their exchange participation and what they experienced during the exchange. Placing individual experiences centrally, the researcher employed the practical approach of psychological phenomenology as preferred by Creswell (1998) and Moustakas (1994). Four phases of this approach include (a) choosing a topic of personal and social significance that will engage the researcher both intellectually and emotionally in the study; (b) selecting appropriate participants who are able to provide a comprehensive description of the phenomenon being studied; (c) interviewing each participant in a way that is relatively unstructured but focused on eliciting all aspects of the experience; and (d) analyzing the interview data.

Creswell (1998) observes that the data analysis step is generally similar for all psychological phenomenologists who discuss the methods: data analysis progresses from an individual statement through clusters of meanings to a general description of the experience. However, some phenomenological researchers who call their method

heuristics approach this step by incorporating the gathered data with their personal experience (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985; Moustakas, 1994). Both phenomenology and heuristics reveal a meaning of an experience. Whereas phenomenology generally requires a researcher's detachment, heuristics elicits any intimate connection between the researcher and the issue of inquiry. As well, the subjects in heuristic research are portrayed as whole persons throughout the research procedures, while definitive descriptions of the experience itself is more valuable in phenomenology. "Phenomenology ends with the essence of experience; heuristics retains the essence of the person in experience" (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p. 43). The study reported here involves the descriptive approach of phenomenology, while considering the visible existence of the subjects in analyzing personal data.

Methods of Data Collection

Phenomenological research begins with an individual's everyday world rather than with his/her conceptualization; and in perception rather than in cognition (Montgomery-Whicher, 1996; Swingewood, 1991). A phenomenological approach focuses on individual descriptions in order to obtain general meanings (the distilled structures of experiences); it suspends the researcher's judgments about what is real in the phenomenon and it relies on the voices of people who have an experience. As a number of authors suggest (Creswell, 1998; Giorgi, 1985; Moustakas, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989; Stewart & Mickunas, 1990), a phenomenological study of the topic of Euro Canadian exchange students would explore the meaning of the lived experiences of cultural transplantation by means of interviewing several individuals, leaving the researcher's

preconceived ideas behind. The researcher asked that the study participants contribute their personal documents such as essays, diaries or journals to the study for in-depth understanding of their feelings and thoughts. Only two of them had resources available for the researcher. Information on demographic factors was collected from the participants through the interviews. Artifacts about international exchanges offered by the University of Victoria and UCFV had been collected from an international education office of each university and relevant web sites.

Setting

All seven interviewees went to school in British Columbia and six of them were living there at the time of the study. British Columbia is the westernmost of Canada's ten provinces, facing Asia over the Pacific Ocean to the west and sharing a southern border with the United States. Its population is around four million augmented each year with approximately 35,000 immigrants from around the world (BC Stats, 2000). British Columbians are people of many different origins, cultural traditions, languages, ethnicities and religions, but, as a prominent Anglophonic province of Canada, its dominant spoken language is English followed by Chinese, Punjabi, German and French (BC Stats, 1996). Even though the lower part of the province is highly industrialized, British Columbia's vast natural areas together with mild west coast weather, attracts many individuals interested in outdoor activities.

Located in Victoria, the capital city of British Columbia, the University of Victoria serves more than 17,000 students. It operates two types of educational exchange programs. Departmental exchanges are arranged and administered by the departments

involved, whereas university-wide exchanges take place under the supervision of the International and Exchange Student Services Office (IESS). Students selected to be participants are given between one term and one academic year of exchange opportunity. The usual eastern destination of these students is Japan. UCFV is located in the Fraser Valley region of BC, operating various programs for about 6,500 students on its three campuses.

Japan is a chain of islands running along the north-eastern rim of the Asian continent. Its people are believed to be descendents of Korean, Siberian and Polynesian migrants. Buddhism, introduced from China in the mid 6th century, was adopted by Shinto, the traditional religion of Japan, and became the state religion, subsequently having a great influence on cultural development in Japan. Despite its beginning as a kingdom, for a number of centuries Japan was ruled as a feudal system. With the restoration of a strong monarchical power at the end of the 19th century, westernization and industrialization rapidly arose. Japan's growing confidence and nationalism were embodied in many wars during which Japan took aggressive roles, including World War II. In the late 20th century, Japan's economic prosperity and cultural confidence, built on the ruin of a defeated land, has fascinated the world and Western people.

Two interviewees of this research were on exchange from UCFV to Takushoku University Hokkaido Junior College (Hokkaido College henceforth) that lies in a small town called Fukagawa, Japan[3]. Fukagawa is a small agricultural city in the region of Hokkaido, the large island at the northernmost of Japan. Despite its vast landmass, Hokkaido has a relatively small population of 6 million people, about 5 percent of Japan's total population, conceivably due to its massive nature and inclement weather.

Hokkaido College is the only post-secondary educational institute in Fukagawa, playing an important role in the community. The two schools have been exchanging students and faculty members since 1990. Their relationship gained a greater acclamation when Abbotsford, where UCFV has its main campus, and Fukagawa twinned themselves as sister cities in1998. The two cities are similar in geographical characteristics and industries such as agriculture, manufacturing, commerce and tourism.

Another school in Japan that hosted two other interviewees is Konan University. It is located in Kobe's residential area, Okamoto, 10 minutes by train from downtown Kobe. Located in the center of Honshu, Japan's main island, Kobe and its neighbor cities, Osaka and Kyoto, form the focal point for the economy of western Japan. With its popular seaport, Kobe has been developed as a well-known international city. It has attracted mainly port-related industries, but with its strong cultural elements and scenic beauty, tourism is also prosperous. With a large number of academic institutions and benefiting as the capital of Hyogo prefecture, it has a population of nearly 2 million, concentrated in the urbanized residential area in the south. At the northern and western areas of Kobe, the population density is low and farming dominates.

One interviewee went to Doshisha Women's College in Kyoto, a spiritual home to the Japanese as it had been the capital of Japan for thousands of years. Traditional and cultural events occur throughout the year, and traditional industries are the production of textiles, ceramics and paper. The central area of Honshu Island including Kyoto, Osaka, Nara, Shiga, and Hyogo prefectures is called Kansai. It is one of the favorite attractions of travelers in Japan due to its rich fabric of cultural resources, historical properties,

traditional events and cheerful environments. Founded as a girl's school in the 19th century, Doshisha Women's College has a long academic history.

Taiwan is another popular destination among students who want to go to Asia for their exchange. Two interviewees of this research had spent their exchange term in Taiwan. Since the 17th century, when the Chinese made Taiwan a county of Fujian Province, the population of this small, beautiful island has grown. A Japanese colony during World War II, it declared itself the Republic of China in 1949, when the nationalist party of China led by president Chiang Kaishek fled to Taiwan as a result of the civil war in the Chinese mainland. An uneasy relationship between Taiwan and China has lasted since. Although the traditional Taiwanese culture is quite similar to that of China, its rapid economic growth in modern times has left Taiwan crawling with industrialized cities.

One interviewee went to National Chengchi University (NCCU) in the WenShan district, the southeastern suburb of Taipei. As the capital of Taiwan, Taipei is the political, economic, cultural and educational center of Taiwan and the biggest city. Post-secondary institutions are concentrated in a few highly developed cities, favoring Taipei. NCCU is one of 20 post-secondary institutions in packed Taipei, with about 13,000 students enrolled. However, WenShan district, the home of NCCU, has abundant natural resources and offers outdoor life as well as the benefits of city life.

Another interviewee went to National Sun Yat-sen University in Kaohsiung, the southwestern seaport city of Taiwan. Well known for its scenic beauty and pleasant weather, it has attracted not only tourists, but also residents, becoming the second biggest city in Taiwan. The university is the only comprehensive university in the busy

Kaohsiung and Pintung area, with about 6,500 students, half of whom are enrolled in graduate programs. It is academically very competitive and plays a leading role for local developments.

Sampling

In qualitative research, the purpose of selecting a sample case is not to represent accurately a defined population but to develop a deeper understanding of the phenomena under study (Gall, et al., 1996). For this reason, researchers in qualitative inquiry tend to choose study cases that are likely to be "information-rich" with respect to the purposes of the study. This sampling procedure is known as purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990), or "nonprobability sampling" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Purposeful sampling was considered suitable for this qualitative study that requires individuals with certain qualities in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of Canadian experiences of cultural transplantation.

Cross-cultural experiences are likely to be more pronounced for those whose cultural roots or physical appearances are visibly different from those of the host culture. With this consideration in mind, a few purposeful sampling criteria were devised to meet the needs of this particular study: (1) students had participated in the University of Victoria international exchange program; (2) students were ethnically Euro Canadian, who had spent the exchange term in Japan or Taiwan; and (3) students were over 20 years old at the time of interview. Among these three, the first criterion was later changed to "students who participated in an international exchange program from a university in BC" due to lack of participants from the University of Victoria. This strategy of criterion

sampling (Gall, et al., 1996) helped to determine subjects who could yield information useful for this study.

To protect student privacy, arrangements were made so that the IESS of the University of Victoria, not the researcher herself, made preliminary contact with students. Recruiting letters were prepared and passed to the IESS office for distribution to students. Also, posters about the research were placed on message boards at the University of Victoria and sent to the researcher's graduate schoolmates for personal distribution. However, random participation was very hard to gain. Four out of total seven interviewees decided to participate after they were introduced to the research information through their friends or other participants. Eventually, all students who desired to participate in the study voluntarily contacted the researcher. Based on the correspondence between the researcher and these potential participants, in-depth interviews were scheduled and interview participants were required to fill out a consent form.

Data Collection

An in-depth interview is described as a "conversation with a purpose" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 80) that allows the researcher to enter into participant thoughts, feelings and interpretations. However, in the interactive context of a personal interview, people may be affected by what they believe the researcher would or would not like to hear and, therefore, sometimes give socially desirable answers. Hence, creating a sense of trust between the researcher and the interviewee is very important (Alasuutari, 1995; Van Dijk, 1987). An interview should have an atmosphere of rapport and confidentiality in order to produce honest responses.

In this study, the researcher's strategy was to be empathetic and friendly, but remain as an active listener to their experiences in Japan or Taiwan. The interviewees may have felt safer expressing themselves since the researcher is neither an insider to nor a stakeholder of Japanese or Taiwanese culture. On the other hand, the researcher's Asian ethnicity in Canada may have provided a level of comfort for interviewees who perceived that she would be able to understand their cross-cultural experiences. During the interview, the researcher did not to make any assumptions and let the conversation flow freely through semi-structured interviews in order to avoid the risk that her own prejudices would intervene in the interview process.

The interviews were open-ended, carried out from a rough "interview protocol" prepared and pilot-tested by the researcher (cf. Creswell, 1994, p.152). Throughout the in-depth interviews, the researcher asked participants to articulate the meaning and essential features of cultural transplantation obtained from their own diverse experiences. All audio-taped information was transcribed and analyzed and all materials from each person were filed together. The qualitative design is one in which the rules and procedures are not fixed but rather are open and emerging (Creswell, 1994). Along with analytical procedures, the researcher and participants stayed in correspondence so that the researcher's need for clarification or elaboration could be addressed.

Participants

Table 1 summarizes demographic characteristics of the participants. Interviewees of this research consisted of two female and five male students or ex-students. Six interviewees had graduated from university at the time of the study. One interviewee was

in Japan doing the work term for her post-degree program. Two of them were preparing for graduate school to study international matters at the time of interview. Two others were in their professional career paths, neither one of which related to their international experiences. The last one was applying for the Japan Exchange and Teaching program (JET) while working casually. One interviewee was still in school.

Table 1. *Demographic characteristics of participants*

Participants	Age **	Gender	Exchange				
			Place	Age	Time	Duration	Housing
Cindy	21	Female	Japan, Kobe	19	1999, 3rd year	A year (Sep-Aug)	HS
Bill	21	Male	Taiwan, WenShan	18	1998, 2nd year	A year (Aug-Jul)	SD
Mark	23	Male	Japan, Kobe	22	2000, 4th year	Two terms (Sep-Mar)	HS
Nancy	26	Female	Japan, Kyoto	21	1996, 4th year	One term (Sep-Dec)	HS
John	25	Male	Japan, Fukagawa	20	1997, bet. 2nd & 3rd yr.	2 months in summer	HS
Tim	28	Male	Japan, Fukagawa	23	1997, bet. 3rd & 4th yr.	3 months in summer	HS
Rob	25	Male	Taiwan, Kaohsiung	23	1999, 4th year	A year (Sep-Aug)	SD

Note. Pseudonyms are used: HS = Home Stay: SD = Student Dormitory.

** Age at the time of the interview

Data Analysis

Qualitative researchers face abundant data with which they must deal. When they analyze the data, they look for anything that stands out, such as patterns, commonalities, inconsistencies among the views of different groups, and how the data relates to what they expect (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1995; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Merriam, 1988). No consensus is available for the analysis of the forms of the qualitative data, as qualitative research retains flexible and emerging procedures. However, at the various stages of data analysis, the researcher referred to the "General Data Analysis Strategies" suggested by Creswell (1998, p.141). Advanced by three qualitative authors (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Wolcott, 1994), Creswell presented a number of *strategies of qualitative data analysis, in three analytic phases: (1) a general review of all* information, including jotting down notes, reading through all collected information, and writing reflective notes; (2) a key verification and analysis, embracing feedback on ideas and working with concepts in the words of the interviewees; and (3) a phase of reducing of the data through developing displays of information, identifying codes or categories and reducing information through repeated reviews.

Data collection and data analysis were almost simultaneous in this study. Analytic notes and memoranda were made immediately after each interview in order to preserve themes and senses that arose from an interview. In other words, data collection and analysis were an interactive process throughout the study. An important starting point was to find emerging patterns that frequently occurred in the data (Merriam, 1988) because it might provide a general focus of data collection and analysis. Finding patterns was concurrently conducted as the researcher listened to the audiotapes of interviews

several times during the verbatim transcription. Next, each interview was scrutinized in terms of the written verbatim transcript, interview notes and audiotapes to find specific themes, patterns and narratives as well as common patterns. All data resources on each interview were studied numerous times to code themes and patterns associated with the interview questions. Any interview statement that had a notation of theme or pattern was colour-coded through each page of the transcripts. A different colour was assigned to each interviewee in coding the transcript in order to preserve identification at a later stage of analysis. From these colour-coded interview statements, a summary of each interview was made. These initial summaries of the interview transcripts and the additional questions that came up were taken back to the participants to ensure that the ideas had been accurately captured and understood. Any comments and questions were carefully discussed through constant correspondence between the researcher and the participants. Their feedback was reflected in the transcripts where modifications were made. Then, re-coded themes and patterns were cut and grouped. This process of coding and grouping was repetitive as it required that the researcher constantly compare emerging categories, condense information and return to the full context of original interviews. The initial categories of themes and patterns were re-scrutinized and sorted along salient themes. The collective information provided from interviews was built and a profile of each participant's response to the questions was reconstructed in light of collective frames.

The whole procedure of research and findings was discussed with the peer group and the supervisory committee to obtain the credibility of the findings as a part of the validity check. Generalizability of the study findings was re-checked through comparison of the profiles and disconfirming evidence was noted. Although qualitative researchers believe

that a particular case cannot be exactly the same as another, it can contribute useful information to another case along relevant dimensions. Establishing comparability and translatability is necessary. By providing a thorough description of the context, readers and other researchers might gain knowledge regarding the phenomenon to the extent in which they can apply the findings of one study to other situation (Gall, et al., 1996; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Merriam, 1988).

Many qualitative researchers emphasize the importance of using multiple methods to collect data about a phenomenon as a way of enhancing the validity and confirming the interview findings: triangulation (Creswell, 1998; Gall, et al., 1996; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). In order to ensure validity of the research through triangulation, the researcher pursued an alternate source of data for verifying the information obtained by other methods. Two interviewees agreed to have the researcher look at other documents from the exchange term. Artifacts from the University of Victoria and the University College of Fraser Valley were made available through the use of the internet. In addition, the researcher's effort to include interviewees in checking for the accuracy of data analysis and maintain communication with them after the interview would ensure the validity of her reconstruction.

In reporting the study analysis, the researcher attempted to focus on delivering and reconstructing participant narratives. In doing so, although reduction of the data is normally required (Alasuutari, 1995; Creswell, 1998), the researcher showed the full context of a statement by making a long quotation when it might prevent misunderstanding. As well, the researcher avoided interpreting or judging participant

narratives on her own assumptions because only participants can make the best sense of their experience. Pseudonyms were used to protect participant anonymity.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore the process of cultural transplantation drawn from Euro Canadian students' words. In this chapter, the researcher has described the philosophical ground of the research and the procedures used. The procedures include specific methods of data collection within a specific setting, well-defined methods of sampling and choice of participants and repeatable methods of data analysis.

CHAPTER 4

Findings

Findings are reported here in accordance with the main themes that arose in the analyses of personal interviews. The main themes were: (1) People in a process of cultural transplantation experience a few common stages regardless of the length of the sojourn; however, the stages are not linearly directed towards assimilation to a host culture; (2) Cross-cultural experiences are the result of interactions between a person, a host community and a culture; (3) White ethnicity and the ability to speak English positively contribute to Euro Canadians' experiences in Asia, through which they develop self confidence and racial awareness; (4) The value of cross-cultural experiences lies not in academic improvement, but in increased empathy and a newly gained dimension of life. Many themes overlapped and were repeated across the interviews. A synopsis of the themes is included in Appendix I. These synopses, described in an analytic and objective reporting style in order to focus on participants' voices, contain brief personal descriptions of each interviewee that will complement the essence of experience reported in this chapter.

The Process of Cultural Transplantation

One critical focus of this research was to ascertain what exchange participants experience in the process of international exchange. Discussed here are a few common emotional features that interviewees of this research experienced throughout their cultural

transplantation. Seven interviewees reported in this research had been on exchanges of different lengths and places; however, the interviews showed, despite dissimilar conditions, that they experienced common feelings such as excitement, depression, joy, frustration and self-fulfillment.

Most of the excitement and anxiety was reported at the very beginning of the exchange term or even before. John described that "everything was kind of new and interesting at first, and afterwards I was starting to get homesick. . . . Just things were totally different, and I probably really wanted to have just a piece of pizza." Meanwhile, the abrupt change of living environment seemed to cause many other Euro Canadian exchange students depression in the early stage of exchange. This lasted until they settled down and became familiar with others in their new setting:

> These are really, really small and pretty bad dorms in my opinion. I'd never lived in a place as bad as this before. . . . 23 years old that point, I never lived in the dormitories before my life and all of sudden I'm living in the dormitories in Taiwan. . . . The first two months . . . that was probably my most depressing time. I was a little sad, just because I just couldn't move away . . . a little culture shock, I guess. And for the first time, since I was 16 years old, no transportation and the bus system was very bad there. (Rob)

> For the first three or four months? I would go right into my room, and I was telling myself "I'm doing my homework, I'm doing my homework", but actually I was watching TV. Then I would go out and eat my dinner with my hostmom and go back into my room, so for the first three months or so, I was very, I guess, antisocial? But then, eventually, do you know Katatsu? It's like a low coffee table with a blanket

> and heated rug underneath, and that's what made me come out of my room, as soon as my host mom put out the Katatsu, I was like under it everyday, chatting away, doing my homework. It was about in December [About three months in Japan had passed by then]. (Cindy)

As shown in these excerpts, the period of exchange was not entirely joyful to these exchange students at the start. However, early feelings of excitement, anxiety and depression gradually faded away as they started getting along with many people and enjoying things offered in a new environment. Finding support, whether from within oneself or from others, appears to have been very important for these exchange students to turn depression into joy.

On the other hand, it is of note that frustration was reported as an underlying condition even at the most joyful moments. As they got used to their lives in the host culture, different types of frustration still sporadically arose from their limited ability to speak the host language, from feelings of being a stranger in their host society, or from misunderstanding due to a different youth culture. Nancy's statement demonstrates the frustration of being an outsider.

> Everybody has their own background in Canada whereas in Japan, everyone has the same background. . . . Either you are a Japanese or a foreigner, there is nothing . . . like I could never become a Japanese person, because I am not of Japanese ethnic background. . . . I could be born in Japan, raised in Japan, I could be fluent in Japanese, but people would still look at me and think I'm a foreigner or outsider. I found that hard sometimes. And now, I know . . . I can live here for ten years or 20 years, and I would be still treated the same way as they treated other foreigners . . .

> even if I speak to somebody in Japanese, they look at me, and they only hear in English, they just can't accept speaking Japanese to them, so they won't even try to understand my Japanese.

In a different tone Cindy expressed the same feeling:

> I think I did really get frustrated at it sometimes. Especially whenever anyone looked at me, they were thinking "oh, I've gotta speak English, I've gotta speak English," right? And . . . seven to eight months later, I could speak Japanese. And then to have people still like looking at me, think "I've gotta speak English, I've gotta speak English." That drove me crazy . . . just the fact that when I tried so hard to get my Japanese up to a proper level, and they're still looking at me like "I've gotta speak English, she won't understand me if I speak in Japanese." Actually, I think it frustrated me almost into tears at one point in, I was in an airport.

In another interview, Bill's story illustrates how he had to compromise as to what to do for fun in his free time with his Taiwanese friends whose culture was different from his.

> University people over there are a lot different in that I think they are more conservative. . . . So they are kind of biased to drinking, eating, going out. . . . They have stories or assumptions that I would go out and drink with a group of people and I'm never gonna see them again, so there is no consequence in my action which is not the case at all. There were, I see, some misunderstandings. But a lot of other things that I would do with just my Taiwanese friends, would be maybe to go to see a movie, we play a lot of Majong, we would probably do that a couple of times a week. . . . We'd just go out to eat, go to a night market, maybe

> get a nice meal. . . . It was just nice being so close to so many people. . . . It's just fun.

While these emotional features were indicated in regard to various aspects of the exchange lives, interviewees did not specify feelings of self-fulfillment while they were on exchange. Nonetheless, all interviewees were certain that they became better people through their international exchanges. Also interviewees all agreed that their exchange participation was not a time of loss, but a time of gain as exemplified in Tim's assertion: "But I feel that I'm further ahead in my life because I've done other things besides flying." Cindy's experience illustrated more details as to how the feeling of self-fulfillment evolves and last:

> I've never regretted it [going over to Japan]. . . . I think I made a right choice. It was really good for me because I had such a good time, and because it's focused me in a lot of ways, 'cause before I left, I had no idea what I wanted to do with my degree . . . [now] I definitely want to get "business Japanese". . . and hopefully grad school or law school. And I would like to focus more on international law. . . . It was a while after, after Japan, I started thinking about that [plans to utilize exchange experiences]. . . . [Before,] I was not focused on my degree. . . . Now I do have a specific reason [for my study].

It is apparent that interviewees' satisfaction has increased since they returned to Canada, where they could take time to reflect on their exchange experiences and changes in themselves and to develop plans for the future. Even John, the interviewee who was working in an area that had no relevance to his exchange experiences acknowledged his

satisfaction with his experience: "I often, well, not often, but I wondered how I would be different, from not going. And I'm definitely glad that I did go."

Emotional features such as excitement, anxiety, joy, frustration and fulfillment were suggested in the most of interviews, but they did not occur in exact order along a time line, nor did they result in any observable assimilation to the host cultures. A certain pattern, however, could be discerned among the emotional features of the interviewees, and with time the interviewees developed emotional stability in the host cultures. Yet, their experience throughout the whole time depended on their own efforts and various external aspects. This finding needs to be compared with the discussion of cross-cultural encounters.

In a number of studies on cross-cultural encounters, a process of cultural transplantation was viewed from unidirectional as well as bi-directional perspectives (Berry, 1983; Gordon, 1978; Laroche et al., 1996; Taft, 1957). The main premise behind a unidirectional perspective is that personal adaptation in a different culture eventually develops towards assimilation to a host culture, and it naturally occurs along a continuum, with culture of origin at one extreme and host culture at the other extreme. On the other hand, a bi-directional perspective arising from studies of short-term sojourning explains that personal adaptation is a result of complex influences from support groups, affiliation tendencies and social background or cultural traits, and that it does not necessarily produce so comprehensive a change in sojourners that they become absorbed into the host culture.

Interviews with seven Euro Canadian exchange students did not fully support a unidirectional model. Even though interviewees of this research reported some common

features throughout their exchanges (such as anxiety, enjoyment, frustration and long-lasting satisfaction), no indication appeared that these were aligned stages that occurred naturally. Four of seven interviewees experienced observably different stages of feeling, while others did not. In addition, interviews did not support the unidirectional model in that the conclusion of cultural transplantation for these interviewees was not to assimilate to the host culture, nor to lose their home culture. Rob's assertion exemplifies this:

> But I mean, all of sudden I would start going to Chinatown more often, so I could try to practice speaking Mandarin with people or stuff like that. I mean that's the only life style change I think that I noticed from that [my exchange participation].

All seven interviewees stated that they had enjoyed trying and learning many things from the local culture as exchange students; because their stay was short, however, their trial should be counted as different from those who were intending to permanently live in a new culture. Nancy's interview shows how her clear awareness of being a short-term sojourner affected her experiences:

> No, [I didn't miss home,] I should've. I guess I'd been away at university. I wasn't living with my family, anyway. So I was used to being away. And I knew it was only for a short time, like I knew it was only four months and I would be home. And I talked to my mom maybe once a week on the phone . . . too busy. . . I didn't have time to think about it very much. . . . Just trying to get out and do things, 'cause I knew it was a short time, so I wanted to experience things as much as I could. Anything, I was willing to do anything, just to try it.

All interviewees seemed to have had a clear awareness that they were there for only a short term to learn about and experience a different culture. Interviews demonstrated that

this awareness, together with a student's personal style and surroundings, cultivated his/her process of cultural transplantation.

Influences on Euro Canadian Student Experiences

Emotional features that interviewees experienced through their exchanges did not support a unidirectional model of cultural transplantation. A bi-directional model explains how a person who experiences cultural transplantation is influenced by complex interactions between a person and external environments. The influences on exchange experiences elicited from interviews in this research can be categorized as those belonging to macro surroundings, to micro surroundings and to personal characteristics of the students.

Macro Surroundings

Macro surroundings are characterized by strong Western influences on the modernization and prosperity that both Japan and Taiwan have shared through economic leaps since the 1950s, and homogeneity of the two host countries.

Western influences. Given the fact that their political, economical and cultural relationships with the United States of America (USA) are greater overall than with other Western countries, it is inevitable that people are affected by Americanized mass culture and consequently by its rhetoric which fosters racial stereotypes and strong capitalism. Traditional enthusiasm for education among Japanese and Taiwanese people has also been tinted by the desire for learning English. The interviews indicated that these

underlying Western influences in the host society functioned to encourage a more favourable social reception to the interviewees than general hospitality to non-native visitors. For example, interviewees reported that their being Western or white had enchanted many people in host countries and made many opportunities possible.

> There is different thinking about Western culture, but definitely Taiwanese people respect and admire [Western culture], this is why they want young white people to teach English to their kids, like none of the schools wanted American born Chinese to teach their kids. (Rob)

> I guess there's something about being a Canadian in Japan, they want to talk to you and be your friend and speak English. (Mark)

> [There were] constantly, always invitations for us to go somewhere, or to go to somebody's house for dinner, people in the community sort of want, in the beginning, they wanted to learn from us, to learn how to speak English. (John)

While cultural and racial stereotypes were reported in the host Asian cultures, cultural insensitivity was additionally mentioned in regard to the underlying Western influences. Bill stated how a white ethnicity could affect a European foreigner's cultural experience in Asian countries:

> I guess there's some idealization of America and American of having money, and yet being just a free, fun country. So there's favor, right, but it's also like prejudice or biases. . . . I think there's a lot of people who are dissatisfied with their life in Canada, Europe or America, so they go over to Asia and play upon these misconceptions or these prejudices or the myths positively affect them to get a well-paying job that they wouldn't be able to get here [Canada], to have a

> relationships with women that they wouldn't be able to get here [Canada], based on biases, right. A lot of foreigners, European, Canadian and American foreigners who live over there [Asia] enjoy the attention they get from being a minority, don't try to assimilate. A lot of people want to speak English to you because they consider that hip or prestigious. So they could function just speaking English.

The observation that the host society was influenced by a strong American culture appeared to lead interviewees to further speculate on themselves and their country. Being from Canada, which they considered tolerant towards multiculturalism, they expressed their willingness to be open to other cultures. All seven interviewees admitted that they had grown in their understanding and appreciation of Canadian culture by opening to a different culture and experiencing it. Two interviewees also pointed out that their Canadian identity was reinforced while in Asia when they were mistaken as American and felt they had to explain their uniqueness.

Homogeneity. Both Japan and Taiwan are ethnically homogenous, which made Euro Canadian students easily distinguishable as non-natives. All interviewees expressed the oddness of being watched all the time. For example, Cindy depicted how this feature may have shaped her attitude, saying, "I was more self-conscious, because I felt more people were looking at me. So I was thinking 'do things normal, do things normal.'" Mark, in his interview, stated how positively he had taken the attention on him:

> The people that I was friends with, they looked after me. . . . It's just very different from here. I tried to put myself in their shoes. In Canada, the truth is there are a lot more foreign people in this country, so it's not a big deal or it's not strange to see a Japanese person. But in Japan some people have never seen a white person before,

> so they get all excited. . . . Even my friends here and my friends I met in Japan, put them [my friends here] in their [Japanese friends'] place, it wouldn't have been the same experience, anything close to it. It wouldn't have been that great. . . . I guess there's something about being a Canadian and in Japan. . . . A lot of Japanese students would like, come up and talk to us, 'cause . . . English is becoming more and more popular there. . . . The people I met there were very, very kind generous people, just the people were great.

All interviewees agreed that this kind of special attention and treatment was likely given to European foreigners on exchange. However, they also agreed that their obvious physical difference, in the end, would eventually stop them from being fully accepted as a member of the host cultures, whereas a different appearance would not exclude anybody from being a Canadian. John described this in the interview:

> We see them [Japanese friends] all day at school, and we hang out at night, so we felt involved in the group and I think we felt like they were our own friends we've known since forever. And then, they kind of break up, start talking in their own language . . . and then we would kind of be out of the loop of what they were talking about. It was kind of, 'oh, yah, we are not. . . .' I can remember kind of feeling [like a visitor].

Micro Surroundings

The second type of influence is from micro surroundings, including the arrangements of administrative bodies, the places of exchange, the culture of host university students and the living environment.

Administrative arrangements. The administrative arrangements include funding, academic assignments, management of an exchange program and support staff. Six of seven interviewees benefited from external funding given for their exchange to make care-free cultural exploration possible. A less than expected academic workload also contributed to a relaxed time to enjoy the exchange participation. An exchange program managed by Hokkaido Community College in Japan had a very small group of exchange participants, but a long history of the program. Understandably, the college had taken detailed care of exchange students. It had a coordinator who could help practically in conflict situations between exchange students and a host families, and who arranged social commitments for exchange students so that they could get actively involved in the local society.

Places of exchange. Meanwhile, those exchange students placed in less urbanized and less crowded areas of exchange tended to interpret their experiences in the local host society as more personal encounters. For example, by interviewees who went to a very small town, motivation of local students to approach Euro Canadian exchange students was assumed to be more a desire to get to know interesting people rather than to learn English. Within a large host city, it was likely to be explained by a need to learn English or obtain social favours. Cindy exemplified this by her comment, "because I think like 'oh, you just want to use me to learn English', so maybe I was a bit suspicious to people who're trying to like search me, like find a foreign friend." As well, a small host town tended to produce a more intimate relationship between the community and the exchange students than big cities did.

The culture of host university students. The cultural difference between local students and the exchange students also contributed to the influence of micro surroundings. Bill described the conservative youth culture of the university in Taiwan: "People who go to the university are very studious and their experiences are pretty limited to just education." Nancy explained with more detail:

> in Japan, it is so hard to get into university or college. So once you get in, you should just have fun. . . . Once you get in, and you graduate, that's all that matters. . . . It surprised me that so many girls would skip the classes and not do their homework, and they don't care, they just want to go out and enjoy life. . . . A lot of people were just like people in Canada, wanted to be young and play, hang out with their friends. . . . The other students, we would not really get along with them, they were a lot more serious. They were friendly, but we didn't have as much in common, maybe?

Lack of outgoing sociality in this conservative youth culture not only frustrated interviewees but sometimes skewed their scope of friendship. Interviewees reported that the culture of their Canadian university was different from that of the local university in the host culture and this difference, mingled with language difficulties, usually resulted in a limited range of local friends. Six interviewees described their local friends as having similarities to Canadian university students; they were likely to be outgoing and English-speaking.

Living environment. A final element of influential micro surroundings suggested in this research is the living environment. Five interviewees out of seven lived in home-stay families while two others lived in a school dormitories during their exchanges. The more experienced a host family was in having foreign exchange students, the less family

interference was given to an exchange student. However, a certain level of tension between family responsibility and personal independence was commonly expressed through the interviews. In cases of students' living in a dormitory, interpersonal tension was less but more bewilderment from the dorm itself and student life was apparent.

Personal Characteristics of Exchange Students

While macro and micro surroundings are external aspects that influence exchange experiences, how exchange students take and respond to the experiences greatly depended on their personal characteristics such as personality, readiness, goal-consciousness and language ability.

Personality. As seen in Nancy's statement that "I was willing to try it in the way they wanted me to have it," her personality was critical to her interpretation and experience of her exchange life. In an interesting contrast, five male interviewees enjoyed outgoing activities, while two female interviewees reported a somewhat withdrawn social life but strong commitments to their host families. Also, all interviewees described that they were very respectful in general and became even more conscious in the situation of foreign sojourn. However, they reported that in many cases, other exchange students remained as ignorant of the host culture as they were before their exchanges.

Readiness. Another personal characteristic that influences exchange experiences is readiness, that is, the motivation and attitude for an exchange, the maturity to deal with the frustrations of living abroad, and the degree of pre-exposure to a different culture. Motivations to apply for an exchange opportunity were not identical, but interviewees articulated that they enjoyed their time primarily because they did not go with an explicit

expectation or agenda. They knew what their exchange opportunities were for but they did not have any preconceptions of what the experience would be like. As Tim described: "You just have to keep an open mind because things are gonna come up, there're always problems, it's never gonna be perfect." Willingness to try different things was also reported by all interviewees; however, those who stayed for shorter terms tended to explicitly emphasize their enthusiasm for new experiences. In regard to this open attitude, it was also interesting that all interviewees described themselves as not having any cultural and racial stereotype, while they reported their observations of other Western exchange students who were preoccupied with cultural stubbornness or with their Western superiority.

In addition, previous experiences and maturity of a person appeared to help in dealing with stress in a foreign situation. Through the exchange terms, interviewees described recurring feelings of frustration because of the unfamiliar environment; nonetheless, those with previous travelling or life experiences seemed to deal better with it. Similarly, two students over the age of 23 at the time of exchange described no less frustration than other interviewees; apparently, however, they were more assertive in dealing with problems. Rob, the interviewee who went to Taiwan with other younger exchange students, commented:

> Like, the first couple of months there, I wasn't having the best time. And that's because I hadn't found what it was like, if you are not having a good time, find what it is that can make you have a better time. So for the first two months, I wasn't doing that very well. And then I started doing that, and the middle part was good and the

end part was excellent. So it kind of just built on itself. So try to find out what those things are as soon as possible.

He also added his opinion on younger exchange students in his program:

I mean, they might not have felt that they were having a hard time there, but in my opinion, they just didn't get out and meet enough people or didn't get out and do enough things. So in that way, I would say they weren't getting as much done.

Goal-consciousness and language ability. Goal-consciousness and language ability compose the last two parts of personal characteristics. Exchange students with a strong goal, whether it was language or cultural learning, were more likely to immerse themselves into the local life in order to achieve their goal than were students without goals. Meanwhile, four exchange students tended to stay within their ethnic support group because they felt either that their language ability was not adequate or that it was easier to empathize with others like themselves. This tendency may have, in turn, discouraged extensive local contacts or chances to improve the host language skills. Cindy's statement indicates that her inability to communicate in Japanese might have diminished her exchange participation.

Because I couldn't communicate . . . if I could've done something differently, I would've studied more Japanese before I went there. Because I feel like my language ability really limited a lot of what I could've done, could've seen, could've experienced, yah, I think my language ability was the one thing I really wished would've been better when I went. . . . I also wish I worked harder on my Japanese while I was there. Like 'cause I had friends toward exchange students and we always talked in English and so. I wish I tried harder with the Japanese.

Gains from Cultural Transplantation

Most international exchange programs offer participants a chance for language immersion. As a result, it is typically expected that exchange program participants achieve a certain level of host language ability. Interviewees of this study concurred that their host language skills had improved by the end of their exchange terms. However, language learning was not mentioned as a primary outcome when interviewees were specifically asked their thoughts as to what they had achieved or learned during (and from) their exchange participation. The answers include developed self-awareness, racial awareness and awareness of Canada and the world.

Being apart from a familiar environment often requires people to be independent, as they are expected to deal with things happening outside their comfort zones by themselves. Interviewees all agreed that during their exchange, they constantly explored what they would have to do or could do and what they were or would become. This time of self-reflection led them to find that they were able to do things that they would not have known otherwise. Having seen themselves succeed on their own, interviewees expanded their self-confidence in order to be nurtured by international exchange. John, one of interviewees, stated that his self-confidence had even grown from his commitment to go on the exchange:

> a certain degree of self-confidence to be able to go there, kind of drop everything there and go there. . . . I learned that I've got that within me. . . . It was my own idea, I applied on my own and made it happen.

Cindy said that she had become aware of better interpersonal manners, skills and patience from her experiences with culturally different people, which necessarily involved a lot of courtesy. The opportunities of international exchange, according to the interviewees, appeared to cultivate self-awareness in dealing with new situations and, in doing so, encouraged self-confidence and consideration for others different from themselves.

Awareness of differences among people was likewise increased. During their experiences, interviewees speculated on their own identities as they experienced being part of a racial and cultural minority. Remarks on racial awareness were shared in all the interviews of this research. Interestingly, three interviewees with more non-Canadian exposure before their exchange described their increased racial awareness in general, whereas three other interviewees who had mainly stayed within a Canadian exposure tended to relate their awareness to Canadian multicultural reality. Cindy's story illustrated the first type of interviewees:

> it's good because in Japan, it's not a negative thing. But you are definitely different, so it's not like they are looking down on you, but they are looking at you. . . . I felt that self-conscious in just the way people looking at me not in a bad way, not in a good way, just looking. I can't imagine what it would be. . . in North America or something like that, and people staring at you and looking down on you at the same time. . . . I couldn't imagine how horrible that would be. Just, you just have to know, you know, how much it affects you when people, who don't have like a precautious notion, just staring at you, they are like not negative not positive, just staring. But that

if you were cautiously negatively staring, oh god. . . . Yah, It definitely opened my eyes to a lot of things I think, when it comes to the stuff like that.

Meanwhile, the type of interviewees who tended to relate their awareness to the Canadian frames are exemplified by Bill and Nancy, who reported the re-found concept of multicultural Canada through their exchange experiences.

It's presumptuous for me to say that the immigrants that come to Canada and America feel they need assimilate into Canadian culture, and try to fit in, learn the language, and become Canadian. . . . I met a lot of people over there [in Taiwan] who weren't even interested in learning Chinese and were fine speaking English because there's kind of snobbery over speaking English. . . . I think it's kind of arrogant of Westerners and Europeans. (Bill)

I am more aware that there are other religions and cultures. People who come to Canada, would still wanna carry those with them, because it's their strong belief. They would want to have it when they are in Canada, we have to respect that. . . . They should not have to give it up if it is something important to them . . . if it means more to them. . . . I think they should bring it with them [to Canada]. (Nancy)

Similarly, Tim compared the multicultural characteristic of Canadian identity to the homogeneity of the Japanese by an example of his friend from Japan living in Canada and another friend from Canada living in Japan:

One frustration [in Japan] would be that you would never really fit in . . . like even my friend who's been there for three years . . . he's always separate, he's still not a Japanese, he's still a guest, he's still separate. . . . I don't think they [foreigners] would be allowed to become Japanese 'cause they will be always looked upon as the

> Canadian or the American or. . . . In Canada, there's many people from many different countries, so it's not so much in novelty than as it would be in Japan. . . . [At a college in Canada] they don't know you are on an exchange from Japan or you are just another [Canadian] student. . . . To me, she [my friend from Japan] is no longer an exchange student, she is now Canadian, she has become one . . . if I introduced her to somebody that didn't know her, they would just, think, oh, she's a Japanese Canadian. She's not Japanese, she's a Japanese Canadian. And somebody even goes far, just says she's a Canadian. 'Cause she's got a, like a passport, she works in Canada, but going the other way, I don't think it's possible. Even in Tokyo, even in the big cities, you would always be a foreigner.

Whether his awareness of Canadian multicultural identity was newly gained after his cultural transplantation or existed before, Tim's story indicated that he was clearly aware of Canadian multiculturalism that acknowledges different ethnic groups in Canadians. After all, exchange students' perspectives as Canadians appeared to have been re-examined during their exchange participation. In other words, encounters with those who were not Canadian, including other foreigners as well as Asians in their host cultures, encouraged them to critically view Canada and the world.

For example, Nancy comments on the revisited uniqueness of their identity as Canadians: "Some people mixed up [Canadian with American]. A lot of people don't know the difference, sometimes it bothered me so much." "Because you are white and you don't speak Chinese, you are American, you are not a Canadian nor European," Bill observed. He added that globalization in Asian countries is often misunderstood as Americanization and claimed that he developed awareness of cultural and racial

imperialism throughout his stay in Taiwan. As well, John's realization of the individualism of Canadian society was confirmed by finding the Japanese communal society:

> I think maybe in Japan, there's more an emphasis on balanced life, sports and community and that kind of thing, whereas [life] here has a more individualistic thinking, the society as opposed to, kind of, like, teams, it more would be what individuals can do. I think in Japan, there's more of an emphasis on team sports, and on playing things together. . . . There's much more of a kind of communal feel, and a kind of communal decision making. Nobody wants to socially stand out.

How Euro Canadian Interviewees Value Exchange

All interviewees overwhelmingly valued the exchange for providing them with the opportunity to expand the horizons of their lives and to develop people-related skills and contacts. For example, Tim, without hesitation, described "discovering Japan" as the thing that had most pleased him about his exchange experiences:

> just discovering, discovering Japan. . . . The greatest thing is it introduced something new to my life, a new hobby, new interest other than aviation[4] [that is my job]. Before that, I'd straight focused on just becoming a pilot, to getting a job.

Other interviewees expressed similar feelings of fulfillment from learning new things and going new places. With financial support given to them as a way of encouraging foreign exchange in conjunction with a lighter academic load, they could explore the new culture as much as they wanted. Cindy explained her emotional satisfaction:

> I had such a good time, and like with the scholarship, I got to go traveling, I went to Hokkaido, I went to Tokyo, I went to Kyusyu, Sikoku, I went to all these places. I can't just think of one thing, it was so good.

Bill agreed:

> I was just learning because I wanted to learn Chinese. So I had no stress from schools, financially I was fine, I didn't have, basically I had no responsibilities. So I had a care-free year, and then combined that with the fact that I was learning stuff not only about language but also about culture, and just a lot of new experiences. I enjoyed that.

These experiences of exploring different places and expanding new hobbies appeared to lessen a degree of intimidation that interviewees may have felt in any unknown situation, therefore nurturing the interviewees' confidence towards life and the world. Confidence in life is well illustrated by Tim's comment:

> Career-wise, I should've [stayed here in Canada], everyone else that I'm involved in my career, they stayed home, or they did their training, now they are a little further ahead in their career. But I feel that I'm further ahead in my life because I've done other things besides flying. So I don't regret it for a minute.

Mark supported the idea that exchange was gain for life:

> I had a few problems there, but looking back on it, like there is an expression "no pain, no gain," like I learned so much over there and I am a better person for it.

Another value interviewees placed on the exchange was to develop people-related skills and contacts. Despite the admission of cultural differences between the host cultures and their home culture, interviewed Canadian students argued that they had

found more similarities than any experienced culture shock. The host people were as kind as any whom the interviewees could have imagined in their own country. Students also expressed their amazement at the generosity of the people in a different culture. They often described their good memories of the people they had met through their exchange.

> There are so many stories I can tell. The first thing that comes to mind is I think all the people I met there were awesome people. I think that's the one thing that wants me to go back. It's just that the people I met there were very, very kind, generous people. Just the people are great. That's the thing that comes to mind when I think of Japan and my experience there. It was just the experiences I had with these people. (Mark)

John concurred, saying:

> the biggest take away that I got from going was just how similar we are just as people. Everything I was taught before was all the differences. . . . And when I got there, no matter where you go, people are just people. They have the same basic needs of life, and just kind of probably the warmth of the people that were there . . . it [the relationships that he and the host people had] developed kind of some meaningful relationships. . . . We were able to kind of make real friends as opposed to acquaintances. That was a part of the rewarding thing, just discovering the similarities, learning about the people . . . I lost contacts, but at the same time, if I was to go back, there's probably a dozen people I can just knock on their door.

Cindy appreciated her relationship with her host family:

> If I were to say everything of Japan exchange, probably my host family [pleased me most]. My host family was really, really wonderful and just the fact that my host

> mom wanted to spend time with me, she wanted. . . . [Consider] the lack of interest that so many host families, Canadian host families have in their [ESL] students, and I just feel lucky that my host family was so good to me, my host mom was so interested in [me].

To conclude, what interviewees valued highly was not only meeting people, but getting into the local people's lives beyond being one-time acquaintances. Rob elucidated this, saying:

> They were really, really nice and friendly. I found Taiwanese people very friendly once they got to know you. Once you were introduced and brought in, then everybody was very, you know, asking questions, tried to include you doing everything. I thought like they were really, really good friends once you knew them.

In addition, interviewees also valued their internal growth, such as discovering themselves, others and the different world more than external growth such as improving a language skill or getting intellectual knowledge of a country. However, they agreed that a person's and a society's assumptions about different cultures and peoples greatly affect a way a person experiences and values different cultures.

Summary

Distinct from Clemetson's (1998) story regarding African Americans in Asia, interviewees in this study were Euro Canadians or racially Caucasian. For them, being a member of a minority in an Asian community without language fluency was a new experience, but not an agonizing one. Even though they all experienced recurring feelings

of frustration and stress throughout their exchange, their positive outlook was enough to motivate their participation in learning about a different culture. This upbeat stance was variously reinforced by a number of features, including popular images of Western culture in the host countries, encouraging administrative arrangements in the host schools, and kind receptions from the local people. Despite the variety of emotions such as excitement, depression, joy, frustration and self-fulfillment that they experienced, interviewees in this research described their exchange participation as enlightening and rewarding. They perceived that their exchange experiences had encouraged them to see themselves and the world from different perspectives, therefore promoting their own personal growth.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion and Recommendations

In a global society in the 21st century, the need for people to become aware of lifestyles of different cultures increases as a greater number of people take opportunities to travel, work or study abroad. This study focused on how Canadian students experience living in two Asian countries where the culture is very different. Interviews with seven Euro Canadian students who had been on exchange programs to Japan and Taiwan were conducted and findings reported in the previous chapter. From the interviews, it appears that interviewees on their exchanges tended to positively interact with the surroundings of the host culture in order to reach the full range of cultural experiences. In addition, through their experiences of cultural transplantation to Asian countries, not only were they able to recognize the different cultural patterns of the host cultures, they also became more aware of their own lifestyle in Canada. The results indicate that, in a meaningful cross-cultural transplantation, participants not only immerse themselves in the lifestyles of the host culture, but also reflect on how and why these cultural patterns are similar to or different from those in their own culture. As a result, they arrive at a deeper understanding of both host cultures and their own, and they are better prepared to communicate with people from other cultural backgrounds and to handle their own lives (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993). Here, further discussion about cultural transplantation and Canadian multiculturalism, and implications for future research are articulated.

The Effects of Definite and Indefinite Terms on Sojourners

The researcher has considered many issues in this study, such as how a person adapts to another culture different from his/her original one, and the reasons why one person's adaptation is different from that of another. For decades, students of the field of cross-cultural studies have questioned cultural adjustment and its relationships with factors such as ethnic relations, personal traits, social and economic resources, politics and social values (Barry, 2001; Crispino, 1980; Edgerton, 1971; Gordon, 1964, 1978; Leung, 2001). Recently, studies of short-term sojourns have focused on more practical matters, for example, how short-term sojourners might undertake cultural transplantation in a less stressful way that would encourage desirable cultural experiences (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Ruben, 1989; Ward, Okura, Kennedy, & Kojima, 1998). However, Kim (1988, 2001) argues that short-term sojourners and long-term sojourners have much in common when entering a new and unfamiliar cultural environment, and that, to a certain extent, a generalizable theory of cultural transplantation can apply to both types of sojourners.

In the interviews conducted for this research, returned exchange students who were on a fixed term cultural exchange acknowledged that they had experienced a few stages of adjustment such as anxiety, excitement, frustration and contentment that may often be seen amongst long-term sojourners. Their anxiety about unknown adventures gradually turned into feelings of enjoyment and comfort as they acclimatized themselves to their surroundings and to new people. At one point, these stages seemed to be natural and linear, as the feeling of interviewees proceeded, in general, towards a sense of pleasant

congruence. On the other hand, interviewees admitted they were pressed to make numerous decisions in their adjustment process, as they had to constantly deal with situations that involved complex feelings in their daily lives. For example, they often reported recurring moments of frustration that they had to overcome, and that some other exchange students appeared to be unsuccessful in their transplantation due to a lack of determination. The importance of personal determination was expressed as:

> Afterwards, I was starting to get homesick, then, probably it got worse when I was maybe two weeks into it. And after the first month, I thought, "Holy cow, the first month is already gone, I'm only here for another month, I better have fun while I'm here" so I just kind of forgot about home. (John)

> OK. I guess my feelings throughout the year there changed dramatically. Like, the first couple of months there, I wasn't having the best time. And that's because I hadn't found what it was . . . if you are not having a good time, find what it is that can make you have a better time. So for the first two months, I wasn't doing that very well. And then I started doing that, and the middle part was good and the end part was excellent. . . . Everybody's got their own personal ways for dealing with stress or dealing with frustration. So, just try to find out what that is for you. (Rob)

It is not to be overlooked that these exchange students were promised a definite term of transplantation. Because they were aware of the limited time given to them to explore another culture, their determination to make the best of their time was likely strong. In contrast, societal demand for cultural adjustment to mainstream culture is likely greater for long-term sojourners, such as refugees or immigrants, than it would be for short-term sojourners. Short-term sojourners may be subject to the same societal demands, albeit to

a lesser degree, whereas immigrants or refugees might discern the social needs expected of them in a more sensitive way since they tend to live permanently in the host culture. Therefore, societal expectation of adjustment may be a stronger factor than personal determination in producing the actual adaptation of long-term sojourners.

Relevant here is that Euro Canadian exchange students in Asian societies may get a different reception than Asian exchange students. Interviewees' obvious distinctiveness as Westerners, and general Western influences on Asian societies seem to have lowered the severity of societal expectations for their adaptation. In other words, as long as the people of the host society considered interviewees as guests in their society, the hosts' strategy was not to make guests assimilate but to help them explore. Consequently, the attitude of the host society may have encouraged interviewees to develop desirable impressions of the host societies, as well as frustrated them with the constant feeling of being a guest. Euro Canadian exchange students' specific characteristics in Asian societies may have functioned to generate a feeling favoring the host culture without an actual assimilation to it. Thus, it seems that the acculturative pattern of these Euro Canadian exchange students did not end with assimilation to the host culture as suggested by Gordon (1978).

Interviews for this research illustrate that personal determination such as personal readiness, goal-consciousness and attitudes, and societal factors are important in shaping the process of cultural transplantation. It was not described as natural and linear, nor as solely a matter of individual choice. From this study, features such as a definite-term and an explicit Western-appearance could be further explored in regard to cultural transplantation, and will need more future scholarly attention. In addition, future studies

may give further attention to the relationships between participant motivation and their adaptation that this study did not fully address.

Racial Awareness as Canadians and Multiculturalism to be Revisited

The potentiality of an individual approach to social justice implied in the interviews of this study needs to be reconsidered. Corson (1998) argues that, despite greater prominence given to issues of diversity, our society also marginalizes the minorities even more strongly in many ways and serious advocates for diversity are often ignored. Discovering lives of culturally different people can stimulate racial awareness in people, and increased individual awareness can promote collective discussion in which all participants in a given setting are encouraged to freely and openly exchange their different perspectives to issues. For Corson (1998), postmodern multiculturalism is something that extends far beyond tolerance or simple inclusion. It should be a way of promoting individual as well as collective awareness about culturally different and disadvantaged people, and as such, a way of reaching social justice (Corson, 1998; McLaren, 1997).

Racial awareness. Although the interviewees acknowledged that Westerners in Asia could be misled by Western superiority, experiences that Euro Canadian exchange students had in their Asian transplantation appear to have been significant in enhancing their racial awareness. Tim admitted that he became more sympathetic with the visible minorities in Canada after his frustrating experiences. "I've been more sensitive to students from other countries; [before] I didn't really understand them, why they were

there, I couldn't really see where their perspectives were from, but now I can sort of sympathize with them." Frustration described by the interviewees included lacking communicative capabilities, getting stares from the local people everywhere, feeling left out, and realizing they were regarded as a guest. Although long-term sojourners, too, may suffer from feelings of exclusion, the degree of exchange students' suffering may be lower than that of long-term sojourners. Therefore, one might assume that exchange students can overcome their stress and frustration from being a guest, if they are determined to do so. Although managing stress is not easy, doing so may increase racial awareness in the students' mind. "In a culturally pluralistic and geographically dispersed country such as Canada, with more than one official language, and with heritage languages frequently spoken at home" (Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada, 1984, p. 6), racial and cultural awareness is crucial to the understanding of the different ethnic groups contributing to Canadian society. Nancy's comment illustrates how this awareness is helpful in integrating new Canadians:

> Before, I assumed everybody in Canada should speak English, but now I realize that there are a lot of people living in Canada who are learning English and studying English. They are trying, so when I speak to them, I should understand that. It's not their first language and they are trying. And it's very similar to how I had to try when I was in Japan.

Thus, cross-cultural exchanges can help people build cultural awareness. Strongly supporting this perspective, Tomalin and Stempleski (1993) argue that people transplanted into a different culture not only obtain fluency in the host language and information about the host culture, the experience also encourages comparison and

discussion of how the host culture may be similar to or different from their own culture, thus achieving a deeper understanding of both. That is, they attain a "cultural fluency" (Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993). No doubt, people in the global society need such cultural fluency as much as they need linguistic fluency. As well, to Canadians it is also crucial for domestic communication since Canada's multicultural landscape demands tolerance and understanding of various lifestyles and behavioral patterns. Canadian multicultural education needs to include every person who lives in Canada.

Critical pedagogy in postmodern multiculturalism. Sleeter (1991) contends that many people believe that multicultural education belongs only to the disadvantaged, the oppressed and the minority. To Sleeter, multicultural education should empower not only those disadvantaged groups but citizens so that they can forge a more equitable society for all. She acknowledges that it is difficult to help the majority of students to view the world critically, because they tend to accept society as it is and believe in a role of maintaining the majority understanding of society. Like Tomalin and Stempleski (1993), she emphasizes student critical analysis and descriptions of their experiences in order to perceive and understand the social reality around them. Ideally, people nurtured in such a multicultural process will become critically aware of socially disadvantaged people and minority ethnic groups, and be encouraged to actively emphasize with them. To achieve this postmodern state of multicultural education, cross-cultural experiences seem very useful. Interviews showed the possibility that Euro Canadian students may develop awareness of racially and culturally different people by participating in cross-cultural exchanges. This study did not extensively address exchange participants' views on racial issues, nor on reconstructed identity. Further studies on the issue of perspectives towards

other ethnic groups and exchange participation may reveal interesting relationships and help Canadians enrich multicultural education and its goal of social empowerment.

Significance and Implications

The relationship with a host family seemed to be significant. Some host families showed an overwhelming hospitality, while others encouraged the independence of the host students. It was noteworthy that a long term with one host family did not guarantee a long-lasting relationship, when even one month could be enough to establish a meaningful relationship in other cases. In the long term, overwhelming hospitality could be too tiring for both a family and a student, whereas, in other cases, lack of interaction with the host family could hurt the student's feelings. Interviews suggested that during the process of cultural transplantation, exchange students might need different host families with different styles.

Another issue raised during the interview process was the conflict between academic loss and cultural gain. Academic progress was not valued in the interviews, understandably, as most of the exchange participants' language skills were not good enough to take a regular university class. In his interview, Bill stated, "I was gonna get nine credits no matter what I took. Even though they [other exchange students] took more difficult courses, we got the same credit." For an exchange program to be pursued as an academic program at the post-secondary level, it appears necessary to select students with a fluent host language skill. With an exchange program, which can select students with no language capability and award unrelated credits, it is impossible for exchange students

to take regular academic courses and compete with local students. An exchange program with less worrisome academic or financial responsibilities may enable exchange students to be more focused on cultural and language learning, resulting in a greater awareness of different cultures and peoples. However, exchange program administrators must notice that a loss of academic achievement during years of university could be critical to a student. Interviewees in this study also admitted that they had experienced anxiety when they felt their academic progress toward graduation and a profession delayed. Nonetheless, all interviewees were very convinced of their personal growth in international exchange.

Future research may address how an international exchange at university might be better designed to satisfy participants' diverse needs. Having a credible goal for an international exchange program is very important, as it is a costly project for participating individuals and institutions. Likewise, having supportive details as to how to achieve the goal is no less important. For example, if the goal of international exchange is to expand participant understanding of the world and its cultural differences, researchers need to explore how to aid participants to achieve this goal without fear of academic loss.

This research cannot fully answer this need, but may motivate future researchers to continue studying this situation. Interviewees who went on their exchange for a short term between May and August reported that they had gained a great deal of cultural awareness and self-confidence, as did interviewees who stayed abroad for a longer term. The researcher recommends that future studies take a closer look at short-term exchanges which can take place during summer between semesters, and which can concentrate on cultural and language learning.

Footnotes

[1] Keep on; do your best, hang in there.

[2] Social distance has been measured since the 1920s, when the sociologist Emory Bogardus invented what is known as the Bogardus scale.

[3] Note that information described here was gained through the web sites of University College of Fraser Valley, Hokkaido College, Canada-Japan Friendship Association of the Fraser Valley (CJFAFV), and City of Abbotsford.

[4] Tim is employed as a commercial pilot.

[5] Racial consciousness is his term and is defined as an awareness of physical features as socially significant. Practically, it has the same implication as cultural awareness for this study given the study-circumstance. The term had a more collective meaning in his argument.

[6] For Banton, the term "race" is not a culture-free designation of different appearance. It brings along a cultural bond from its host environment. The connotation it has seems to make it interchangeable with the term "culture."

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APPENDIX I

Researcher Positioning

As phenomenology focuses on participant description, this study has avoided carrying the researcher's own voice into the study procedure. However, the researcher inherently conveys her presence throughout the study. The researcher's interpretations are more credible and useful if she demonstrates sensitivity in how she relates to the situations studied (Gall, et al., 1998) and where she stands. Herein lies a discussion of postmodern perspectives that have encouraged multicultural education and the researcher's postmodern stance relevant to the topic of this study.

Postmodern Perspectives: Realization of Self as "Other"

Postmodernism values the perspectives of the minority and unprivileged. Acknowledging a wide-range of perspectives under its name, Sackney and associates (1999) have defined postmodernism as a set of critical ideologies that reject, in whole or in part, ancient, medieval and modern/enlightenment world-views of normality and homogeneity. The basic concept of postmodernist thinking is that what we believe to be acceptable and rational simply reflects socially generated and imposed ideologies or orders. That is, in other social systems, things are neither as they appear to be (to us) nor what we believe they are. Therefore, postmodernism encourages people to deconstruct the rationality held by the majority in society in order to appreciate otherness, difference, pluralism and marginality (Banton, 1988; Blackmore, 1989, 1999; Corson, 1998; Sackney et al., 1999).

Education is both a leading force and an enlightening power of society. As such, building a more inclusive social and political environment in which people respect and help each other is its fundamental leadership task. Rorty (1989) argues that a postmodern education system should encourage kindness and tolerance that goes beyond just avoiding humiliating others. Appreciating and listening to others and respecting the dignity of others are critical to postmodern educational relationships. An international exchange program can be very educational in this way. As I believe that I am changed here in Canada by re-constructing myself as an Asian woman from Korea, I support that people can change their ways of life by being exposed to different cultures and contexts. Sometimes, I hear "red neck" comments that quite upset me; other times, I meet people who try to understand my cultural perspective. If society has more people who are truly trying to understand other cultural groups, it will become less racially conflicting and more respectful. Multicultural education from postmodern perspectives must promote respect for others in their otherness, in the preferences they have, and in their right to have those preferences.

Banton (1988) offers a number of further thoughts on postmodern perspectives of race and culture. He contends racial consciousness[5] is the most difficult issue to study, because it is a distillation of personal experiences that vary from one context to another. This means that studying the same person in one culture and then in a different culture will give the researcher the best portrait of this person's cultural awareness. Banton (1988) and Guadarrama (1998) suggest that only the discovery of other ways of life makes one conscious of one's ways; for example, when people travel to another cultural sphere, they realize that certain customs are specific to their own society. Once people

become aware that social features, previously taken for granted, could be different, their attitudes change by becoming more (racially[6]) open. They may even attempt to deconstruct their previously held beliefs regarding racial issues and begin to dialogue with others. These individual changes, followed by alterations in collective awareness of race and culture, are the clue to institutional change.

Revolutionary Multiculturalism: Beyond the Latent Cultural Imperialism

Postmodern perspectives have left a strong influence on me, since I have understood myself as an "Other" in Canada. Born in Korea, I was raised in the same homogeneous society as other Koreans. Few opportunities existed to make me aware of cultural and racial diversity. Since I have come to Canada, however, I have faced people from many different cultures. Sometimes I have been frustrated with a lack of cultural understanding in others, or with overly assertive statements about a culture with little insight. However, I found it was relatively easier to make friends with students who have been, in some way, exposed to a non-Canadian culture. One day, a white girl I met in a party told me how much she was Japanized from her exchange experiences. It was interesting how she came to learn and assimilate Japanese culture and how strange she felt in her own country. I began to be interested in how Canadians experience an encounter with a different culture. An international exchange program was one good means to explore this.

Some exchange students may experience cultural transformation in a way that significantly affects their cultural awareness, while others may take it with a more casual attitude, with less of an effect on their value system. Likewise, I have met many Asian exchange students who have resided in Canada for a year or so. Unlike some immigrants

who consciously stay within their home culture, these short-term sojourners seemed to take their time as an opportunity to assimilate Canadian culture without fear of losing their own identification. Some of them told me that they became very "Canadianized" during their sojourn. "If it is the case that cultural transplantation during an exchange term is substantial for Asian students who come to North America," I wondered if it would be the same for Canadians, specifically Euro Canadian exchange students, in Asian cultures.

Some might not distinguish what Euro Canadians feel from what Asian students feel. But when few research papers were accessible about the cultural assimilation of racially Caucasian, English speaking, white people, I asked myself why research focuses only on people who come to an English speaking country. Even though cultural exchange can occur in any geographical direction, research showed an obvious imbalance. That is, few studies have focused on the dominant group of Canadians and how they learn about culturally different people, despite the fact that cultural learning is important to all Canadians. Many people often think multicultural education is about having English as Second Language classes, teaching a second language, holding ethnic festivals, or simply having diverse people in a class. Even more, people tend to forget that multicultural education should also teach the dominant group of Canadians, not only immigrants.

McLaren (1997) advances an eloquent argument into this matter in *Revolutionary Multiculturalism*. He argues that multiculturalism of the 1900s tends to overlook the social structure in which the term "multiculturalism" is used. "Multiculturalism" is the term of the majority and it is likely to encourage minorities to assimilate into a majority culture. For example, West Indians or Vietnamese are often negatively described in

cowboy movies or Vietnam war-movies, while a "white sheriff" or "Rambo" represents the white heroes. But the image movies present of Indians in the 1880s is not a true depiction of reality. It is "what we have been told it was." Thus, McLaren (1997) encourages people to oppose the concept of "racial superiority" and unthink "whiteness."

In this revolutionary multiculturalism, racially and culturally different people are not taught how to become like the majority of a society. The simple principle of new multiculturalism is, whoever one is, one has to respect others. The process of growth in a multicultural society depends largely on the extent to which the majority is willing to share its advantage with all minority ethnic groups including visible minorities (Jones, 2000). The provision of education in a culturally diverse society needs to accommodate differences in order to enhance education for all (Benn, 1996). Multicultural education in Canada has to nurture the concept of participatory and democratic citizenship, especially among Euro Canadians, the ethnic majority of Canada. I deny cultural or racial superiority, because I believe every culture is beautiful on its own terms, race is just something naturally granted, and everybody has his/her own dignity.

APPENDIX II

Synopsis of Personal Interviews

Findings of this study were reported in Chapter IV, where details of each interview were reduced and placed among common categories within the space permitted. Brief personal descriptions of each interviewee are given here in order to complement the findings reported in Chapter IV. Note that pseudonyms are used to protect participants' anonymity.

Cindy

Cindy was 19 when she went to Japan, her first experience of going away from her family. Her culture shock was not big as she was prepared to experience more. Recalling her experience when her family moved to the United States, she said that when the expectation for difference was smaller, she got a larger culture shock. Her motivation to go on an exchange to Japan originated in her casual interest in Japanese cartoons and culture. Language learning was not the primary goal of her exchange, as she had not decided on which language she would focus in the Pacific Asian Studies program at that time. She took a Japanese language course before she left for her own preparedness, but could not speak well at all.

Konan University had a well-organized exchange program that offered first-time exchange students to Japan a very detailed curriculum including weekend trips, orientation and gatherings with local students. She described her host family with which she stayed through her one-year exchange term as very experienced:

> The big difference between our [my and my friend's] host families that I noticed was that my host mom, always, she acted like "you can do that, go on your own", "you can explore", because she had all these other students who could explore on their own no matter their level of Japanese, it did not matter, like "oh, you are fine, just go on your own, you'll be fine." Well, my friend's host family, they were like, holding her hand, like "do you want to go Himeizy? We'll take you to Himeizy." It was like, they'll take her on all these amazing trips, but it is also like they are holding her hand through the whole thing, you can't do anything on your own, "we'll help, we'll help." Well, my host mom was like, "go", you know, "you can go to Kyoto, that's fine."

However, Cindy was not too adventurous and she relied on her safety network in Japan, her Japanese boy friend who she still has at the time of interview, her friends, and her host family. Her poor Japanese skills and her personality as shown in her very close relationships with her own family were factors that strengthened her tie with this support group. Interestingly, almost all the friends she met in Japan were fluent English speakers as she was not quite social or open with the Japanese people. She admitted that she expected that they approached her only to learn English. Also, she was not in strong need for contact with local people since everything was well taken care of by her support group.

The university program was very structured. She took language courses in Japanese and all other courses in English. She explained how her workload was eased as time went by:

> It was a heavy course load, however the grading system was very relaxed, so in the beginning when I thought I had to do all homework to the best of my ability, I was

overwhelmed, but with time I learned that I could put less effort into things without worrying, which is why it was time consuming in the beginning, but less so in the end.

She said "realizing herself as a foreigner in Japan" was often frustrating:

It was just a frustration after a while. I was always being treated like "oh, you are the guest, you are the guest." Actually, I found because my Japanese language was not up to fluent ability, it was, instead, like I am trying to show like I know Japanese manners, I've been here for a while, kind of I know. But even so, because my Japanese was so basic, people still treated me like "oh, you are a guest," so that was something that I threw my head up against a couple of times. I don't know. That really frustrated me while I was there.

This kind of experience obviously stimulated her perspective on racism:

Being a minority for the first time, it was a very interesting experience. When you noticed people are staring at you a little bit more, you know, oh well, especially for me, I am pretty tall too. So, I felt so big and lousy the entire time like shopping and everything. I don't know, like, just the fact that you are so different, like, it does not, it did not occur to me here at all because you know, like somewhere like UVic before. Yah, it does not. And then when you realize "wow, I am different now, I am like. . . " and it is good because in Japan it is not a negative thing. But you are definitely different, so it is not like they are looking down on you, but they are looking at you. So, it is a strange situation like, I felt that self-conscious in just the way people looking at me not in a bad way, not in a good way, just looking. I can't imagine what it would be like to, say, be in North America or something like that, and people

> staring at you and looking down on you at the same time. . . . I could not imagine how horrible that would be. Just, you just have to know, how much it affects you when people, who do not have like precautious notion, just staring at you, they are like not negative not positive, just staring. But that if you were cautiously negatively staring, oh god. . . . Yah, It definitely opened my eyes to a lot of things, I think, when it comes to the stuff like that.

On the other hand, in relation to the feeling of being a guest, her comments show how it could turn foreign students away from the host society:

> After a while though, I think I got into this "I am a foreigner, so it is ok" kind of mentality. That is, if I, like blew my nose on a train, I am like "I am a foreigner, it is ok", it was kind of taking advantage of, because I really got frustrated with the stereotype that foreigners do not understand Japanese culture, you know, foreigners are always outsiders, and kind of different. Opinions people have like they see the white, they are like "you can never really understand" you know, a lot of the time, so, after while, I started like manipulating that, I am like "ok, I can never understand your culture, I'll blow my nose on the train".

Her exchange term was supported by a scholarship and this allowed her to have a relaxing term without additional financial worries. The low workload of the exchange curriculum and her financial freedom greatly affected her exchange experiences. The exchange program appeared to have given her a great career development as she hadn't had an explicit goal in her studies before she left for Japan. Now she is planning to continue studying Japanese and law so that she can utilize her language skills through a practice in international business law.

Bill

Bill was the youngest of the interviewees. He was 18 and he had just finished his first two terms of university when he left for Taiwan. He became interested in Chinese through his high school class and it led him to major in Chinese within his Pacific Asian Studies program at university. With a firm language interest, he made considerable effort to immerse himself in the host Taiwanese culture. As a result, he gained a good understanding of the local society, including a fluent language ability. His observation that a strong American influence could be found in Taiwanese culture turned to speculation on his Canadian identity and on a trend of globalization that was mistaken as Americanization or westernization. He is very critical about assumptions that Western culture is superior to Asian cultures, as he believes that many Western people (which means, for him, the white) take advantage of those misconceptions.

> One thing about being a European minority over there is it is a little unfair. The fact, I think, you can get away with a lot over there. Like it is kind of difficult to explain. I think, it is just dangerous in the fact that some people develop an attitude, like, what I am saying is, when you go over there, and you are white, and you receive a lot of attention, because you are a minority, and that can kind of go to your head, so I was not really glad with that. I think people are, like for example, if you come over here, and you do not speak English, I think you'd receive a lot of resentment from Canadians, like the stereotypical stuff like that; "why can't you speak English, what is your problem?" If you get pulled over by a police officer, and it would be like, give you a ticket, and then say, "why can't you speak English?" You know, there would be some kind of resentment there, which is not right. But over there, if you are an

European and do not speak English. . . . I had a motorcycle over there, and if I'd be speeding and get pulled over, I just take off my helmet, and because I was white, the police officer would feel embarrassed or awkward, trying to give me a ticket, because he did not speak English. So, like the language over there is Mandarin or Taiwanese, so, he would feel awkward about [pause]. Like I would basically get out of the speeding tickets, because he is too embarrassed, he would just let me go. So that way, you can get away from a lot of things over there, and I think that's dangerous to fill in your head and not really fair. It is the same with [pause], some people say it is easier to get a, girl friends over there, and hanging out with women, because of the fact that you are an ethnic minority, and there's a lot of stereotypes, and stuff like that. So it is kind of, you can go ahead, take advantage of it, it is a kind of problematic situation, it is not really fair over there.

And at the same time, there's a lot of assumptions, like . . . because you are white and you do not speak Chinese, you are an American, you are not a Canadian. . . . Like people always, often call me an American. And just assumptions about ignorance, they assume me pretty ignorant, and they assume I have a lot of money, stuff like that. It was very strange. I think it was because of global culture, and global American culture, Americanization, like proliferation of McDonalds, American movies, and stuff like that.

Because I am not a Canadian immigrant, it is presumptuous for me to say that the immigrants that come to Canada and America feel they need to assimilate into Canadian culture, and try to fit in, learn the language, and become Canadian. But people, a lot of foreigners, European, Canadian and American foreigners who live

over there enjoy the attention they get from being a minority, do not try to assimilate. I met a lot of people over there [in Taiwan] who were not even interested in learning Chinese and were fine speaking English because there's kind of a snobbery over speaking English. A lot of people want to speak English to you because they consider that hip or prestigious. Do you understand what I mean? So they could function just speaking English. So it is very strange and I think it is kind of arrogant of Westerners and Europeans. And I think a big factor is that, like Japan and the four dragons of Asia, I think their economic development was based on a relationship with US, like positive balances of trade with the United States and they are export led growth, so I think there's been a connection with the West that a lot of places like mainland China, and other countries would not have, and with that has become some assumptions and some biases, some positive biases about the West.

He did not show a sign of frustration from the feeling of being treated like a traveller or a guest. Rather, he compared the phenomena with his perspective of Asian immigrants in Canada and their frustration of which he became more aware than before:

[Foreign] people were exploiting the fact they were allowed to do a certain thing over there. I just do not figure out it is fair. I had to think I grew up here, I had friends who are Canadian immigrants and their experience, I think, as an immigrant was difficult. And there's the necessity to assimilate that's based on Canadian arrogance, right? Like you are guest here, you should know the language, you should embrace the culture, you know that stuff, but at the same time there is the idea that Canada is multicultural. But I think specially now there is a lot of underlying resentment in especially a city like Vancouver. You hear a lot of resentment towards Asian

immigrants and assumptions like that. And so that, I was very worried about being Canadian and tried, you know, tried not falling to prejudices [cultural/racial biases] and so on stuff like that, and realized there was not a whole lot of benefit to immigration. And so when I went over there, and saw the exact opposite where Canadian full-exchange students, American full-exchange students go over there, and get treated very well, and kind of take advantage of that, I would, I just felt that was inappropriate and unfair in the other way. It is kind of, it is very hard to articulate or hard to explain, but I would just see people go over there, and not have a lot of stuff for Taiwanese culture or language, and, and just acting in a way and do things over there that I do not think they would do over here.

Despite his concerns, he still tried to remain focused in immersion. However, he consciously avoided getting close to people who seemed to have hidden agendas of various kinds, because he did not want to take part in mutual exploitation.

I tried to communicate in Chinese all the times. It [My Chinese] developed really quickly. . . . I found my, because I tried to really immerse myself in, I guess, the culture of Taiwanese people, like I found, a lot of foreigners would just hang out with foreigners over there.

Some, foreign friends of mine, he would, I am not sure, people always take him out and treat him for meals in hopes of learning English, and stuff like that. People would get jobs, teaching English, tutoring, and, and just seem to take advantage of that. . . . I guess a lot of people were using foreigners and you were using Taiwanese people to get things in their life [pause] because the medium of exchange was Canadian or Western culture or Western language. . . . I tried to develop friendships

where we both had common interests, like we both like basketball, both like movies. I tried to make a commonality, not linguistics but a hobby or an interest.

The more he was aware of the pitfalls, the harder he tried to get along with the local people. Since he was living in a student dormitory, it was easier for him to spend time with other students. Unlike home-stay exchange students, his independence was not discouraged by host family obligations. However, the special culture of Taiwanese university students caused him to feel a gap. He noted a rather conservative culture among Taiwanese university students, especially through his encounters with roommates, but he seemed to manage a balance between two cultures:

University people over there are a lot different in that I think they are more conservative, because of the education system and the amount of pressure on junior high and high school. People who go to the university are very studious and their experiences are pretty limited to just education. So they are kind of biased to drinking, eating, going out. Some of my friends in the statistics department are the only guys that I know who would enjoy drinking, going out and having a good time. In fact, all my roommates in the foreign diplomacy department, they were my new roommates. They'd never drank, had a girl friend, any thing like that. I think that's the average experience for a university student over there, that's the norm. So it is kind of different. And I think they would not quite understand if I'd go out drinking maybe to a bar or club with some, mostly with foreigners who I go out with to the bar. I tried not to do it very often, but when I did, I did with foreigners. They did not understand that. They thought, I don't know [pause]. Like one time, they celebrated their graduation, they went out to a tea house and came back. I asked them if they had

had some drinks, they said no, and I asked them why. And they said because there were some girls there. And I said so? And they said they did not want to make a fool of themselves. Right? They did not want to drink, they thought it was stupid. And then I am like "well, because you drink, you do not have to look upon yourself as stupid". They said "It's not like you, where you can just go out on the weekend and hang out with people who you're never gonna see again". Like they have stories or assumptions that I would go out drink with a group of people and I am never gonna see them again, so there is no consequence in my action which is not the case at all. There were [pause], I see some misunderstandings. But a lot of other things that I would do with just my Taiwanese friends, would be maybe to go to see a movie, we played a lot of Majong, we would probably do that a couple of times a week, yah, we would do that in, we were not supposed to do in the dorm, but we would play in the dorm anyway. Just have to be really quiet, stuff like that. We'd just go out to eat, go to a night market, maybe get a nice meal.

Still, it is interesting to note that his strong friendship with locals was established only with those who were very active and outgoing. "Because of linguistic and cultural differences, I found it hard to really connect with [many of them]," he stated.

Having a good time seems to be one of systematic benefits of an exchange program, as foreign students would not be expected to sit in a regular class with local students nor to compete with them. He commented on the problematic credit transfer system, because no matter what he took, he would get the same credit as for other courses. But in his case, the flaws of the system seem to have been beneficial to him in terms of cultural enrichment. With scholarship funding and a system that reduces the emphasis on

academic achievement, he was free from academic responsibilities or financial obligations. As a result, he could maximize his efforts in cultural immersion.

> Over here, I have more responsibilities, like, and educational responsibilities to my classes. I feel like I've got to get good grades, family responsibilities, and financial responsibilities like working and stuff. Over there, because I was on a scholarship, and teaching English is an easy job to get and pays really well, because I was receiving transfer credit ah, that was not really based on my grades so much, ah, basically it was pretty easy to get very good grades on language schools, I think it is, international schools, it is not very difficult. And then, other than that, I was taking mostly P.E. classes. So I had very little homework, and I had very little educational responsibilities. It is just learning for the sake of learning a language, which is, you know, learning what is functionality and practicality. I was just learning because I wanted to learn Chinese. So I had no stress from schools, financially I was fine, I did not have, basically I had no responsibilities. So I had a care-free year, and then combine that with the fact that I was learning stuff not only about language but also about culture, and just a lot of new experiences. I enjoyed that.

In his fourth year of university, he does not yet know how his future will be affected by his exchange experiences. Feeling a lack of curriculum-like learning, other than in the form of language, he is not quite sure if his exchange will be helpful his career development.

Mark

As a mandate of a commerce student's curriculum, Mark participated in a foreign exchange and co-op program. Including his co-op term, he stayed in Japan for sevem months, but only the four-month period of his exchange experience was relevant to this research. His motivation to go to Japan had been growing since a previous high school exchange experience to Japan.

> And ever since I experienced it, I think I kind of realized that I was gonna go back, I really wanted to go back. I just had a great time there, people over there were awesome to me, and just very very generous people. Like I could not speak a single word of Japanese there, and the people I speak with, they knew very very minimal English, so it is kind of cool in a sense that they are just a completely different culture and completely different.

He had a positive belief in his Japanese transplantation and, in addition, he seemed to have been experienced enough to deal with his foreign life. He was in his fourth year of university when he went on his exchange and previously he had travelled away from home often.

> It was not too shocking actually. I was very mentally prepared for doing the exchange. A number of other students got homesick at some point in their stay in Japan, but I never did. Kobe is very similar to Vancouver in a lot of aspects, and I think that that helped. It was a beautiful city, I do not know if you know, it had an earthquake in either 1995 or 1996, I cannot remember, so most of the city is rebuilt and has a lot of new buildings, very very clean and neat.

He appeared to have been greatly impressed by Japanese people and their kindness since his high school exchange. For him, the people in Japan were the major attraction. They took such good care of him that it could be considered a kind of a special treatment. He acknowledges that being white, and speaking English, gained him attention from others in Japan.

> There are so many stories I can tell. The first thing that comes to mind is I think all the people I met there were awesome people. I think that's the one thing that wants me to go back. It's just that the people I met there were very very kind, generous people. Just the people are great. That's the thing that comes to mind when I think of Japan and my experience there. It was just the experiences I had with these people.
>
> Even my friends here and my friends I met in Japan, put them [my friends here] in their [friends in Japan] place, it would not have been the same experience, anything close to it. It would not have been that great. . . . I guess there's something about being a Canadian and in Japan. They want to talk to you and be your friend and speak English and, I don't know.
>
> The people that I was friends with, they looked after me. Like my ice-hockey friends, for example, they drive me, they come to my house and pick me up, and drive me to ice-hockey every practice or game, or whatever, which was a bit of a big ordeal. I did not live very close to any of my friends. And they looked after me and they'd be my interpreter all the time. It's just very different from here. I tried to put myself in their shoes. In Canada, the truth is there are a lot more foreign people in this country so it is not a big deal or it is not strange to see a Japanese person. But in Japan some people have never seen a white person before, so they get all excited,

> "Oh, he is so tall!", right. And a lot of Japanese students would like, come up and talk to us. . . . English is becoming more and more popular there. So they are all excited about wanting to learn English. And I guess a lot of them had studied English through high school over there. I think it is their second language there. So they are eager to practice their English, they want to come up to you and say "Hi". Sometimes you are just like "I just want to be alone." But for the most part, you know, you'll talk to them.

Through his seven months in Japan, he stayed with two host families. He explained what he wished to get from his home stay life and how his experience fell short of his expectations:

> My expectation of the home stay was for me to get firsthand experience of Japanese culture, experience that I could not obtain by living with other exchange students in a dormitory. But my first host mother did not make much of an effort in accomplishing this. Only once did she take me out around Kobe. I feel like I did receive caring from my host mother, and that I was a part of the family most of the time. What I expected, however, was to receive more insight and involvement into the Japanese culture; practical experience.
>
> It was difficult. Not the whole time. She, my host mother just had a very difficult personality. She had been a host mother for, I think, twenty years before, she is been a host mother through Konan university. 'Cause she has done it quite a while, she knows what to do whatever, right? But she still had a very difficult personality, I guess. I guess, it did not really help that I did not speak Japanese and she did not speak English very well. But we got along quite well. It was just that I was being in

these small cultural differences right? Like something, in Japan, it gets very cold in the winter, and it is very hot in the summer. For some reason, in her house, she has this air conditioner/heater unit. And she has it in every room. But she believes that it is wrong to use it, it is bad for your health, because, for example, if it is freezing cold outside, if you come into the warm house, it is not good for your body. So I did not understand why she had the heaters and air conditioners. But we were not allowed to use them. So that caused the problems. On the very first day, she had a very few rules, one was not to use that. I guess because the electricity was so expensive in Japan, right? And a couple of other little things, I can't remember. Oh, if you gonna be late for dinner, make sure that you call. And another was, I did not have a curfew or anything like that. But she always locked the door at midnight. I had a key, but she had like another paddle lock kind of thing. . . . Because I am Canadian and I am so used to our using the heater and air conditioner, so I used it, and I got in trouble for that. She got really angry actually. I said I was sorry, and I would not do it again. . . . So I just wore lots and froze to death, and everything. But it was just one occasion. Another time, she got really angry at me. And we were sitting on the dinner table, having dinner. I asked her if she wanted me to move out. And she looked at me straight and she goes "yes". So I was sure that she wanted me to move out. But then later on she is like "you know, I was kidding around, right?", but I did not know that. So she was playing all these weird games and I just said "well, I have two more months left in Japan, so I decided that I want to move out" and I went to another host family and they were awesome. The second host family was a host mother and father, a daughter who's hardly ever there. So it was more a host family, I guess. They took

> care of me very well. They were very kind to me. They took me on tours around Japan, we went to Kyoto once and went to an Onsen which is like a hot spring. And we went out for dinner, like I had lived with my widow host mother for five months, but we did not do anything together. I was excited about living with a host family because I wanted them to give me the full Japanese experiences and everything, right? If I lived in the dorm, then I would just be living basically with other exchange students and would not be getting a full cultural experience. So I was a lot happier with my second host family because they helped me with that in two months. And they were just very very kind people. So I did not have one problem with them.

His support group seemed to be from the local Japanese network, not from other exchange students. Despite his poor Japanese skills, communication was not a problem as his friends spoke English very well.

> I found that there were about 30 exchange students and maybe 40. And all these students had very different personalities. So I found it kind of hard to get along with most of them, 'cause they were, they were not exactly the people like my friends back home is basically what it amounts to, or just people that I normally hang out with which was kind of hard because over there, they were a support group, kind of, right? If you had a problem or whatever, and they were not normally somebody that you talk to, then it is kind of difficult. I actually would say that three out of all those 45 people are good friends of mine, that I made good friends with. The other people, I did not really talk to them. I guess that was hard to make sense with them, but I found it very easy to make sense with Japanese people. I made more Japanese friends than exchange student friends. They [my Japanese friends] spoke English.

He stated that he felt somewhat awkward about the attention he received, as it was something he never experienced in Canada. But his close relationships with his friends were very helpful.

> You kind of know that you are different from everybody there. You know that you are a foreigner in Japan, from your everyday life, from the moment you step on, out in the public. I just ignored it, and I talked to lots of people about it. Talking to people about it helped.
>
> I did not feel like a stranger around any of my friends. I got along tremendously well with all of my Japanese friends, and still consider some of them to be some of my best friends.

His financial freedom allowed him to have a more active life style in Japan than he could have had without it. He was on a large financial scholarship and without the burden of work or a tight budget, he could explore many extra curricular activities such as ice hockey and travelling.

> The scholarship basically gave me about $1000 per month for spending money. Since everything is expensive in Japan, this was a comfortable amount to get by on. The amount was enough so that I did not have to watch how much I spent every day, but it also prevented me from partying too much. Booze is a little bit more expensive there than here in Canada, so I did not go clubbing much. I decided to spend the money on travelling and doing activities with my friends.

He seemed to be quite confident in his ability to adjust to many other things. He gained a great deal of appreciation for different cultures and languages, as well as developed a knowledge of himself while he lived away from home for seven months. He stated, "now

I understand how difficult it is and must be for foreigners to live abroad somewhere, even in Canada" that is multicultural. As long as people venture off with an open mind, ready to experience every aspect of the host culture, it will be a fun and educational experience. He states that although the point of an exchange program is language learning, he personally believes people should try to experience its culture, not only its language. Ironically, he realizes it may be hard for foreigners in Canada to experience all that Canada has to offer because it is hard to get close to Euro Canadians without the ability to speak English fluently.

Nancy

Nancy, who graduated from the University of Victoria in 1998, is now doing a work term in Japan for her postgraduate program. Her exchange term investigated in this research occurred in 1996. Her two-week exchange to Japan during high school motivated her to study Asia at university and led her back to Japan. She studied for her fourth year of university in Japan. Interestingly, her maturity and personality seemed to have greatly affected her way of learning about other cultures. Open, and describing herself as "people oriented", she tried to be very considerate and respectful to her host family and others. She was the first home stay student for her host family. Unlike Cindy's host family, who were very experienced, Nancy's family was very concerned about her ability to do things on her own in a safe way. Even though it was different from Canadian family behaviour, she accepted and respected it as their way of treating her. She spent a great deal of time doing things with her host family, but, as she explains, this kind of caring could become overwhelming for both parties:

> They treated me well, but then, as time went on, they got a lot busier, they did not spend so much time with me. At first, it was noble and new, they wanted to like, they tried their English, listen to my Japanese. And then, at the end, I think it got hard, they wanted to go and do their own thing, but they were not ready to let me be independent. I think they felt like they had to take care of me . . . but they were still good, I liked them. But I think if I stayed with the same family for a year, it would've been too long. They have their own lives, own schedules and routines. And all of sudden, someone has come, and you can focus your energy on this person for a while, but after a few months, you know, you've taken them out everywhere around. And it is a lot more energy and effort to keep them happy. Then, I think they wanted to get back to their own routine, maybe. But they still did not want me to do things on my own. It got harder just gradually. Yah.

In addition to the fact that she had been committed to the host family for the majority of the time, her school schedule did not help much in that she did not have many local friends. For her, four months did not seem to be long enough to develop strong friendships with Japanese people as she did not have much time on her own and her classmates were mostly English speaking or foreign exchange students. She only became friends with those locals who enjoyed having fun and spoke good English; she did not feel comfortable being with Japanese students who did not speak English nor those who took their studies too seriously.

> It was only four months. It takes a while to meet people, feel comfortable enough to keep [in touch], and the language. I wish it had been longer, because it takes four months just to get used to living there, and then it is time to go. Very short.

I always got along with everybody but it was harder to become friends. It took longer maybe and we did not have much time, so . . . maybe if I was there one year, I could've got to know different people. But in such a short time, it was generally only the people with a lot of confidence, or people who would, could try to speak English to us and were not afraid to speak English.

Overall, a great part of her safety group in Japan lay in her host family. She illustrated touching and pleasing experiences of "inclusion" from her host family and contrasted it with sore cases of "exclusion" from the general Japanese public:

It was happy and sad, it was just before I was leaving. My family had a little Christmas tree up there and we were all taking pictures. Just being part of the family, like I felt I was one of their daughters. It was right before I was leaving. So I was sad to leave, but I was happy that they treated me like a family member. They had like a going away party, and they invited all the neighbors from the area to come. All these ladies brought the cakes and cookies . . . it was nice.

It was not a new thing [that I enjoyed doing with them], little things like. . . . So one day my host sister and I, we were out in the back yard, to show how to pick the chestnuts off the trees, things like that. It was fun, because it was with her, and it was something new.

Even if I speak to somebody in Japanese, they look at me, and they only hear in English, they just cannot accept my speaking Japanese to them. So they will not even try to understand my Japanese, it is just like, oh, sorry, I do not understand, do not want to, like, help you or listen to you . . . even if I am trying. Not everybody, there are some, a few people.

Even though she was very accepted, this feeling of exclusion frustrated her sometimes. She explained, from the perspective of a Canadian, how she perceived being a foreigner in Japan.

> [In] Canada, we do not really have a cultural history, whereas Japan has many festivals, they have a lot more cultural activities, kind of Japanese activities. We do not have that in Canada, everybody has their own background in Canada whereas in Japan, everyone has the same background. It is a very homogeneous society, so, either you are a Japanese or a foreigner, there is nothing . . . like I could never become a Japanese person, because I am not of Japanese ethnic background. Even if I lived here, I could be born in Japan, raised in Japan, I could be fluent in Japanese, but people would still look at me and think I am a foreigner or outsider. I found that hard sometimes. And now, I know I am a foreigner, I know I am an outsider, I can live here for ten years or 20 years, and I would be still treated the same way as they treated other foreigners.

Cultural ignorance often affects how foreign students experience a host culture and people. Nancy, a vegetarian, commented on how she made a compromise to make her cultural experiences work:

> People, no one in Japan is a vegetarian, so they do not understand, they are like, "oh but you can still eat hamburgers" or, "we can cut it up small and in pieces". It does not matter. That's not the point, you do it for a reason, they don't understand the reason. So it is just too hard to explain. And actually if I had to do it again, I would probably, I think I would just, I don't know. Like now, I eat meat and fish now when I have to, because it is too hard not to. I still, I will not cook it at home or order it, but

> if I am at other place and some one serves it to me, then I will eat it. It is just too much hassle to explain.

Related to her experiences in Japan, she developed an understanding of multiculturalism in Canada. Not only did she study and share Canadian culture and facts with Japanese students who were interested, she also was given opportunities to discuss Canadian realities such as communication amongst people with different backgrounds and language abilities, diverse cultures that people bring to Canada, and the respect that all Canadians should have towards different ethnic groups and their beliefs.

> Sometimes you meet other international students, you have to change your level of English, realize it is not their first language. Maybe that's what I learned too. Before, I assumed everybody in Canada should speak English, but now I realize there're a lot of people living in Canada who are learning English and studying English. They are trying, so when I speak to them, I should understand that. It is not their first language and they are trying. And it is very similar to how I had to try when I was in Japan. I never really realized it before, nor thought about it. I mean, I did a little bit, but, now I really felt and understood what people are going through because I was going through the same thing when I was in Japan.

She has strong social adaptability and sees the necessity of compromise. As an exchange student, she realized that she was not in her country but in another country where an open mind and a willingness to try and learn should be adapted right from the start. She tried to speak Japanese to people as often as she could, since she believed Japanese was the language she should speak in Japan. For her, to deny the culture and customs of Japan was rude.

When I was there, there were some Canadians, and there were also a few girls from the United States. I do not want to be stereotypical but these girls happened to be from the States, not Canada. They did not enjoy Japan at all. Right from the first month, they started counting down how many days until they could leave, cause they missed their families, they did not like sushi, all these things. I think they started out with the bad attitude. They were like "oh we don't do it that way in America" and I just wanted to tell them "you are not in America, you are in Japan." They were not willing to try very many things. It is ok, you don't have to do everything or like everything. But they do that for everything and they did not enjoy their time because they did not even try to enjoy their time. They did not give it a chance, and then right from the start, they just did not want to be there which was really sad, I think. It is not because they are American, but they just happened to be from the States, they really love their country and they were not in their country, so, they found it hard. Certain things, like, it is not very common in Japan for people to wear a short shirt where your belly button shows, kind of taboo, not very polite, people would never do that. One girl, even lots of people told her not to wear her little shirt, had her belly button shown. It offended lots of people around her. She did not care, she is like "It is what I wear at home, so I wear it here". She did not realize people don't do that, it offended people. You have to be more considerate, you can do what you do at home, but not when you are [pause]. It is not something I would do.

It was interesting hearing her comment on the Canadian identity as it relates to her experience:

> Some people mixed up [Canadian with American]. A lot of people do not know the difference, sometimes it bothered me so much. Canada, America are similar, so I understand why people would not know the differences. I can tell the difference when I meet somebody if they are Canadian or American, but especially if you live, like people who live close to the border like Vancouver and Washington, are very similar, I think.

She did not have much administrative support, as the exchange program she participated was very new. No orientation was provided before going to Japan, or upon arrival.

> We had a lot of assignments, papers to write, and a lot of work. And before I left, I was told, it would be like, I guess I was doing my semester in Japan. So I did my work, and I studied to get everything done. But when I got back to Canada, they would not count the classes, I did not get credits for them. I got only maybe half the credit. They said we did not spend enough time doing school work. As opposed how many hours would be spent on class in Canada, they felt we did not spend the same amount of hours in Japan. So it made me kind of upset that I spent all this time and energy doing these classes, thinking that it was getting credit and then I did not get anything for it. So if I had known that, I would not have put so much work in it. I would've tried harder to just enjoy being in Japan. I was upset because I took away some of my free time to do school work, it did not end up counting for any marks. Actually it made me upset, because when I wanted to graduate from UVic, I was short one class, because that would've been the class I had taken in Japan. I could not graduate when I wanted to graduate, so I had to wait another semester to graduate. It

> was the first year of this exchange program. They did not look into it very well. And they told us it would be ok, but once they actually reviewed the classes, they said sorry, it is not ok, but then we were already back, we already finished. It was too late. I was not very happy with the way this. UVic did not deal with it very well because it was [pause]. Sure, we were going there and learning like studying history classes and things, but part of it is just being in Japan and learning the culture and stuff. [But] we had no credit, nor recognition for it.

Considering that her exchange participation occurred at a very early stage of the exchange program, it was understandable that she did not receive much financial support during her stay in Japan. Unlike the other six interviewees of this study, she remembered her exchange term as being financially tight.

> Homestay accommodation was free, I paid the normal tuition to Uvic, and I was on a very tight budget in Japan using money I saved while working, I worked and went to school full time.

However, as she stated, living abroad on her own enhanced her confidence in herself:

> And then I learned a lot about myself, 'cause you are out of your comfort zone, like when I was at home, you know, you are always surrounded by your family, your friends. It took me going away to realize, like, to see myself in a different life, and see that I have the confidence or courage to do different things, that I would not do in Canada.

John

John's interest in Japan had grown through his high school classes where he learned about Japan. Encounters with Japanese tourists while working as a ski instructor further raised his interest. Having taken a Japanese course at the university, he was excited to find out about an exchange opportunity that would provide a full agenda in Japan during summer break. His exchange to Japan, through the University College of the Fraser Valley, was for two months, which was short enough to not affect his studies in the commerce program, yet long enough to give him an "adventure," as he described.

John's exchange participation was at Fukagawa, a very small town in Hokkaido Island, Japan. He recalled how the geographical characteristics affected his ego and experiences in the community:

> Yah, we were the only ones there. Basically, when we went there, there were two JET teachers in the town who were the only white people there before we got there. So very . . . we stood out. Like we walked down the street and everybody knew who we were, because it was in the local paper that we were coming and that kind of thing. It was weird in that way. It was almost like we were celebrities, kind of. I had never experienced anything like that before. . . . People, they just kind of wanted to stare little a bit, cause they hadn't really seen that many white people.
>
> [There were] constantly, always, invitations for us to go somewhere, or to go to somebody's house for dinner, people in the community sort of want, in the beginning, they wanted to learn from us, to learn how to speak English, but then, sort of rather strange because we were getting along with everybody, and kind of everybody wanted us to come to their house for dinner. . . . Kind of get caught up with us as

> well, I don't know. It was just even [pause] it was very odd because it was such a small town, and everybody does know each other. So you could kind of tell there was a kind of a couple of people who I guess, wanted to be friends with us, wanted to hang out with us, because we were getting attention. And they wanted to get attention too. Had it been in a bigger town, it definitely would not have been like that.

Getting attention was sometimes enjoyable, but knowing that somebody was always watching or bumping into the familiar people all the time was tiring. All he wanted was to be independent and blend with others:

> It got old. It got kind of, I got tired of the attention. I don't know, I am the kind of person who just kind of likes to go up to the mountain myself every once a while. I just like go for a walk down the street, and kind of blend in, do my own thing. But it was kind of, everywhere you went, somebody was always popping over you, and maybe, that was just because the people there felt that we were away from home in the strange country, they were trying to make us feel at home. But, yah, I was young, I was 20 years old, but I was overall very independent, so you know, I did not need somebody fussing over me all the time.

However, overall he had a very positive people network which included his host families, Canadian friends, and local Japanese friends. He had two host families as the university wanted him to have exposure to different people. He explained how each of the two different family styles suited his exchange life:

> That was interesting. My second family seemed to be less willing to want to do stuff, 'cause they were busy with three children, you know how business owners, how they always are busy with that. And I think they were active in the community, but they

had a lot of meetings and stuff to go to. And by that time as well, I had met a lot of friends there, so I was kind of spending more time with them, and they were spending more time with the family. I guess, there was less, kind of reliance on each other to make it work, because the house was more chaotic, whereas the first family, it was just husband and wife, nobody else to talk to but me. So they were more open I guess, more willing to show me around sometimes on their free time.

Three other Canadian exchange students were in the same exchange program:

We were four males all about the same age. So we were all four guys who were all in pretty good shape, fairly young and wanting to do, seeing things as much as we could.

He spent a great deal of time with the local Japanese people while on exchange. He described how meaningful the relationships that he and the host people had were:

I developed kind of some meaningful relationships as opposed to, you know, you can meet people and you can talk to them, but you do not really learn anything about them, but I think in a lot of cases they went a little bit further than that. So we were able to kind of make real friends as opposed to acquaintances. That was a part of the rewarding thing, just discovering the similarities. . . . To be ironic, I lost contacts, but at the same time, if I was to go back, there's probably a dozen people I can just knock on their door.

So then, when we were gonna go, there was a whole bunch of people in the train station to say good bye to us. Like students, they got off their school and came down. People were crying, it was very emotional, 'cause you all had a good time, and we made some pretty good friends, it was like scenes from a movie. Everybody was crying.

The host school greatly contributed to his positive exchange memories by offering him strong support and well organized plans. In addition, the fact that the host school was very small seems to have made more personalized interactions possible between foreign exchange students and the school.

> The university gave us all bikes, so that we can ride to, like get us around from school, lots of things . . . . If we doing our bikes, we'd arrive at the next town, and then get on the train, go to next town, just do and see as much as we could while we were over there. And through the weekends, the university had actually set up like trips for us to go with, like driving tours, around the island to go see different culture, historic things, unique kind of things about Japan.
>
> We were at the university for five days a week. All those days, we were taking Japanese classes, like Monday to Thursday, and on Tuesday and Wednesday night, we were teaching English, helping to teach English class to the community. And on Friday we were entitled to teach English classes to students all day long. So, like four different classes of students would come in . . . . Yah, they [the university] organized those. There were four students that went, and one teacher. And the teacher was an ESL teacher from here, so she went there and she led the class. And we just helped with the discussion groups, and we were like helpers in the class.
>
> And the university was also very good about it. Like . . . there were lots of very social events that were put on, where people from the community and students and everything all got together at the university . . . . That was the response by the university as well as by the individuals. So there was lots of opportunity to be always talking to people.

> I think I was treated . . . there was more concern given definitely, because I was visiting and they were trying to forge a relationship with Abbotsford and with the university and if I had been angry with it and gone home and told everybody "you know, those Japanese, they would go out and arrest anybody. . . ." You know what I mean? I think they were concerned that way.

In addition, the size of the host school, located in a small town, was very small. The class operation was different from that of Canadian universities. A comment shows how the operation of classes could affect his daily interactions with people:

> When I was there, everybody was there, pretty much all day long from the same hours. . . . So it was more like a high school there. I guess. It was a small college, maybe 2000 people there. It was a little bit different than universities here. . . . And at lunchtime there, they had the gym open, you could just grab a basketball, play basketball at lunchtime, where at university here, you can't just walk in to the gym and start playing basketball. You have to be on the team, or the gym is booked for a certain thing, or the class is going on in the gym. . . . There, because the whole school had a break at lunch time, so everybody is around, so you can always find people to make a team to play with, where university here, there might be a classroom from 12 to 1, your friends are all over the map, you do not know where they are, when they come, when they go. There's a lack of consistence I guess.

This system was likely to encourage communal activities among students. His statement went further in regard to Canadian individual culture at university:

> I think maybe in Japan, there's more an emphasis on balanced life, sports and community and that kind of thing whereas [life] here has more individualistic

thinking, the society as opposed to, kind of, like, teams, it more would be what individuals can do. . . . It is more of an attitude like . . . if you are not gonna win all the time, there's kind of no point to play. . . . I think people here are more competitive, or people here need to feel more, maybe, dominant in their sports as opposed to doing it just for fun. [In Japan]

There's much more of a kind of communal feel, and kind of communal decision making. Nobody wants to socially stand out, or socially make a decision that somebody else in a group might not really go along with. There seemed to be a little bit more kind of talk within the group as to what you are gonna do tonight. Like one person saying "I want to go see this movie and that's what I am gonna do, and if you want to come, you can come with me," there's less that way, more kind of thinking as a group and doing things with a group.

He believes that, in this atmosphere of communal decision, his free and open-minded attitude benefitted him most. He argued that a person who wanted to be firm on his/her own way would get frustrated in Japan. Like Nancy, he had tried to be respectful to Japanese ways by letting the Japanese people take charge of what he was to experience:

So if you were to go to Japan, I would say, with a very strict agenda of things you wanted to do, things you wanted to see in a time table, you would get frustrated, because that was all totally changed. I basically went there with no plan. I'd just kind of show up and see what happens . . . for two months I had no idea what I was gonna do. . . . So I was positively surprised at everything that came along while I did not have a plan. Again, I was there only for two months, so my kind of experience of going there was almost more like a vacation. I wanted to learn, but I know that things

> I wanted to learn about was the culture, you just have to learn by experience . . . and by doing what people there do, not by doing what I think I should do while I am there. I was pretty open-minded.

Ironically, both Nancy and John admitted that they had become concerned about the fact that their host families and friends might have been overwhelmed with exuberant volunteering:

> There were so many offers for help over there. So many offers for . . . somebody to take us somewhere, show something, that kind of thing. Looking back, I wondered maybe we took advantage of the situation, because there were so many people over there offering. Sometimes I wonder "did they really want to drive us all that way just to show us that? Or they were just suggesting it jokingly, and we say yes, because we did not really understand. . . ." [I gained] more sensitivity towards people, individuals, like their likes and dislikes. . . . And I guess that comes from the thought afterwards, maybe they were trying very hard to make sure that we had a good time, and in doing so, [they] may have been taking themselves outside their kind of comfortable zone by suggesting things that they really thought that we would like to do or be happy to do. . . . Like to make sure you are not, I guess, taking advantage of somebody's good natureness. Like make sure that they are actually into it or want to do it, not just trying to be polite or trying to make you feel at home even though you do not like it. I would not want to put anybody else out by their trying to accommodate me into their life. Like my first home stay family per se, they did not speak any English but they volunteered to take me into their house and spent a lot of time with me. They were always offering to take me places here and there.

> Sometimes I wonder if they were just doing it because they felt that they had to entertain me all the time, and if one of those days they would've really liked to just spend a day together the two of them.

Even though he stayed in Japan only for a short-term, he seemed to experience the whole circle of adjustment steps. Initially, he had no time to miss home because he was busy exploring his surroundings. Eventually, he got home sick, and he settled down by the time he got to know more people and got comfortable with his life in Japan. Just before coming back to Canada, he took a trip on his own and had time to reflect on his experiences in Japan. He stated that this trip eased a reversed culture shock, as he could speculate and wind up his time in Japan, and get ready to go back into the Canadian culture. After he came back, for a while he missed the activities with his friends in Japan. He tried to pick up Japanese language on the street, but as time went by, he got back to his own life in Canada.

Working in a financing company at the moment, he does not seem to utilize his exchange experiences. However, a comment shows how he interprets his exchange participation:

> It was not . . . like us being at the university there, it was basically, strictly to learn Japanese language and culture, not to go there to take other courses at the university. Like it was only for two months, so it was very specifically to go there and to learn language and to learn the culture, not to go and study at university. 'Cause it was done during our summer program here, so it was kind of like when we were not at our studies, we went there to this, it was a kind of extra sort of thing. It was not supposed

to be like a . . . like none of the courses that I took there transferred back here for credit or anything like that.

For instance, the three of the guys that I went with, they are all living in Japan now. It has very directly affected the direction of their life. Whereas for me, I see it more as. . . . it, it has given me a lot of stuff inside. I think I learned a lot of things that I take away, there were a lot of things that I think about, and I often reflect on from experiences. But I guess it did not directly open any specific doors that I never ever could've done without going there. I look at it more as an experience in my life as opposed to something I did for a career or for training.

What he came back with was along the line of self-development. He learned about himself and increased his general understanding of the world. He thinks he achieved the feeling of self-confidence or self-fulfillment by being on his own. As his important gain from his experiences, he spoke about the notion that people are all the same. Before he went to Japan, he had heard about the differences he would face. What he found was, instead, the same generosities among people and that humans are similar in that they love and care about others. Interestingly, he admitted that his appreciation of their hospitality had an influence on his way of serving people:

I try more now to figure out what it is that they really want to do instead of what I really want to do. I am more sensitive to [pause], somebody may agree to go to a movie or agree to go to dinner because they just hadn't any thought of anything better or whatever. But now I am more like "what do you want to do?" I was shown a very good time there by people who went out of their way to make sure that I was having a good time, so now I feel like I am trying to repay the favour to people by making sure

that they are having a good time. I've been more sensitive, I guess, to their needs as opposed to my own. I don't know.

Tim

Tim's exchange was done during three months of his summer term, as he, too, was on the exchange to Japan from the University College of the Fraser Valley. He agreed that a financially funded experience in a foreign country during summer time had attracted him very much:

I probably could not have done that without the funding. 'Cause it would've been like 5000 dollars probably. And I would not be able to come up with that, so funding helps.

He did not have any pre-exposure to Japan such as language, knowledge, or culture before his exchange and also had a non-relevant profession, working as a commercial pilot. His motivation to go to Japan was influenced by stories that he had heard about exchange life from his friends who were on an exchange to Japan. Another influencing factor was encounters with Japanese students who had stayed with his parents in Victoria. His interest in Japan was not related to his criminology major and he decided to go without expectation or agenda.

I went there with the expectation of nothing. I did not even know where I was going really. I knew I could look on a map and say somewhere on that island was where we were going. So, no expectations probably helped. If you go up there, full of expectations, some of the expectations are not gonna be met, right? You gonna be

> disappointed. But if you go open minded, I mean, you've got goals, like you want to learn English, you want to learn about Japan, Japanese, you can accomplish those. But if you had expectations that it is gonna be the world's greatest thing going there, it is not gonna be that great. And you have to be assertive, outgoing, like I said, open-minded but in the sense of willing to try different things.

He articulated that willingness or openness to anything would result in inclusion in various activities, which would consequently expand the range of one's possible experience.

In addition, factors like age, safety group, and countryside environment seemed to aid in his enjoyment of life in Japan. He was 23 years old at the time of exchange and there were only three other exchange students from the same school, about the same age, and equally energetic. The group consisted of a small number of visibly white people which helped form a strong and positive bond. Interestingly, he acknowledged that he could have learned more Japanese had it not been for his group of friends. In other words, the drawback of being with a supportive co-ethnic group was that it could also discourage his immersion into Japan. For example, he said that the local friends who they used to hang out with all wanted to practice English. Consequently, English remained the dominant language. Although he was concerned about his opportunity to learn Japanese, it became apparent that it was difficult to change.

His visibility and that of his friends, brought them not only attention, but also stimulated the community to involve them in many social events. He and the other exchange students were popular in their small local community. However, he emphasized

that foreigners were excluded from certain things and that they did not completely "fit-in" to Japanese society:

> You would always be a bit of . . . like even my friend who's been there for three years, he is not, still not Japanese, he is still a guest, he is still separate. So if somebody was going over there in the hopes of becoming a part of Japanese culture, that would be frustrating, 'cause you can probably never do it. I have a friend, she came from Japan to here maybe four years ago to study English. Now she is a flight instructor in Vancouver. To me, she is no longer an exchange student. . . . 'Cause she's got a, like a passport, she works in Canada. . . . She is now Canadian. She has become Canadian. I do not think somebody could go to Japan and start settling and become Japanese. They might want to. But I don't think that they could. I don't think they would be allowed to become Japanese 'cause they will always be looked upon as, the Canadian or the American.

Despite this observation, he recalled that in the small town where he stayed the locals included them in all sorts of activities. Their social life was very busy and many time social obligations and host family obligations were not compatible. He explained that his independent side sometimes wanted to be alone, do things without having the host families worry about his every move, or simply enjoy his own private space alone. He stated that he luckily received necessary help from a personal counsellor who the host school had arranged specifically for the exchange students:

> What I would do was I would explain to the Liesan teacher, the teacher that sort of was in charge of us, he studied music in New York, so his English was perfect. So I would phone him and say "you know, this is happening, what do you think I should

> do" and then he would say "you should go on the camping trip" whatever. Then he would just phone them [my host family] up and say duh duh in Japanese. Perfect. Problem solved, whereas if I would try to explain that, we'd keep pointing out dictionaries and probably nobody would understand. It was very good to have him as a Liesan, and to this day, best friends with him, too.

He had two host families and still keeps in close contact with both. His best memories with his host families are from memories of small things they did together. What appears to be important is that togetherness and acceptance have a greater influence on perspectives than the occasion itself. He expressed his disappointment when he witnessed lack of acceptance and inclusion in the university class he helped teach:

> The students in my English class, I was a little bit surprised at how kind of lazy they were. Like disinterested in the class we were teaching. That displeased me, 'cause we were putting a lot of effort into the lesson plans and stuff. You get there, and nobody wants to participate in, nobody is paying attention, so that was a bit of a disappointment. I don't know if they were, they just seemed almost scared to participate. 'Cause a couple of people in the class did not like it, and they were sort of tough, stronger people, and the other people did not want to show any interest in the fear that these people would come down on them. You can tell. You can tell that was what's happening. You could tell this group of maybe four guys were keeping the class down. It was interesting but disappointing.

However, his community class involvement that was arranged by the university, positively affected his people network, his feeling of fulfillment and various other experiences.

> We got to meet a lot of people through, specially through the community English classes in the evening . . . different people from all different walks of life in Japan. And you would not just talk about English, you would talk about their jobs, they would ask you questions about your family in Canada or your job in Canada, and you would ask them what it is like to be, say, the chief of police in Japan, what that job is like. I got more, I wouldn't say enjoyment, but more fulfillment out of the community English classes than I did of the school English classes. People were very eager, motivated. And we would have like a BBQ with everyone from the community English class maybe on a Saturday night, everyone would come for a BBQ, and the weather was beautiful, so it was a lot of fun. I'd like to do that again.

Besides his involvement in teaching within the community, the university assigned the exchange students an office to promote interactions among students.

> They gave us a small office, just for us, where we could study, where we could spend our free time, and other students could come into the office and maybe have a chat or tea with us. Then we can talk about Canada, English, anything they want to talk about. So we had our own little area, little miniature Canada with a little flag on the door. Like a little Canadian embassy. It was good.

He added how his public commitment affected his self-confidence:

> Just achieved a new, achieve more confidence, I would say that, in going there. I became a better public speaker, 'cause we had to give lots of speeches, had to be appear confident, because we were representing, to the school we were going to, we were representing Canada, so a little more togetherness.

He agreed with all other interviewees of this study that living in a totally different culture and coming out of one's comfort zone would be a critical factor for increased self-confidence.

What he appreciated about his exchange participation was the feeling of growing. He gained a strong friendship with three other exchange people and discovered new interests. He learned Japanese, but he believes his exchange was primarily about learning new aspects of a different culture and about different people's lives. Having observed and experienced other ways of life, he argued that he had learned a bigger worldview not limited to Canada. His exchange experiences have been utilized in an effort to understand the difficulties of ESL students and foreigners in Canada and to help them.

> I've been more sensitive to students from other countries here in that when I had students at my house from other countries, I did not really understand them, why they were there. I did not, could not really see where their perspectives were from but now I can sort of sympathize with them. Or I would say that, the year since I been back, I've done things to help other students, like students from other countries in Canada. Just trying to help people from like walking at the college, help people who might need help. Otherwise, I would've just walked by, not cared. But [now] I can understand their maybe confusion or perplexity.

Rob

Unlike the rest of interviewees, Rob has a very strong international background. His parents grew up in Asia and he had relatives living in Asian countries. Consequently, he had traveled in Asia with his family or by himself since childhood. When he was in university, his father moved to China for business. He stated that this had triggered his

concentration on Mandarin language and China as a Pacific Asian Studies student. In other words, he had an explicit language motivation to go on a year-exchange to Taiwan. It was his fourth year of university. In addition, although he was not well informed of Taiwan or of exchange life, the option of no financial responsibility did leave him with a feeling of a paid adventure. He thought his exchange participation might help his study and career as well. Even if it turned out poorly, nothing much could be lost.

> I participated in the AUCC [Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada] exchange through the University of Victoria to the National Sun Yat Sen University in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. . . . It was a language exchange, really. . . . Not much [orientation] from UVic. AUCC sent me a package and then I also received a package from National Sun Yat Sen University in Taiwan. So that was about it. I did a little internet search
>
> myself. . . . But I was not very worried 'cause I knew that it was a pretty good deal, right? They pay for you to go, they pay for you while you are there, and so on, so forth. I was not very worried. I was kind of excited.

Financial support by the AUCC was a definite inducement. He pointed out that an exchange student is better off without a worrying about finances:

> How much would rent cost, how much does this cost, does that cost. That did not really matter because I was on scholarship. So it was kind of like exciting to go there, not knowing anything. The more easy going you are, the better it will be for you. Just trying to go with the flow, and see what happens as opposed to. . . . You keep it really open minded. The less expectations, the better. Definitely.

Having considerable international experience and an older age than other exchange students does not mean that he did not experience cultural difficulties. However, it implied that he might be more mature than others, making it easier for him to handle the frustrations of living abroad. For one year of his life in Taiwan, he stayed in a student dormitory and his unfamiliar surroundings were not always pleasant. He observed that the dorm facilities were not supportive and that dorm mates had a different culture. He explained how he dealt with them:

> These are really really small and pretty bad dorms in my opinion. I'd never lived in a place as bad as this before. . . . I could've moved out, but for my Mandarin, it was like the best thing to do was to stay. And also, for a more real different experience. So ten months in bad bad dorms. . . . I felt like the dormitory was the most repressive place I'd ever lived in before, just cause it is so small, dirty, and different life styles. . . . I was pretty happy when I was walking away. It was not even just coming back but leaving. It was both.
>
> I guess, the biggest culture shock for me was the dorm. I remembered what dorm life was like in first year of university when my friends were living there, I mean, like we kind of partied and went crazy and stuff like that. But this was an Engineering dorm and it was very serious. People had fun, but just differently. Culturally speaking, it was a very like, we [pause] coming from the very independent kind of family where I already travelled by myself, lots of times in different places so on so. For these fellows, none of them haven't been out of Taiwan, not many of them had been out of their home cities except for the university. . . . Most people in the dorm, were a lot younger than me. People studied a lot, there was a lot of studying,

everybody had computers, it was not very social in the dorm. I mean, it was in some points, like everybody would cook together somedays or go out for food, but it was not a lot of fun, in my idea of fun. Not much music and play, no one had girl friends, stuck to themselves, and in the dorm played on the computer a lot, so I think for them, it was a big shock to have me in the room, because I had my stereo, I had my friends coming over and taking them, [pause] they had never been to a night club before, took them to a night club, they had never been to a concert before, took them to a concert. . . . We were just very different.

I bought a motorcycle after two months. The first two months, I did not have one, and that was probably my most depressing time. I was a little sad just because I just could not have moved away, a little culture shock, I guess. The bus system was very bad there. Like I tried to use the bus a lot, but it was just nothing connected very often, I had to walk a lot. It was ok, because it helped studying your Mandarin.

I guess my feelings throughout the year there changed dramatically. Like, the first couple of months there, I was not having the best time. And that's because I hadn't found what it was, you know, you have to, like, if you are not having a good time, find what it is that can make you have a better time. So for the first two months, I was not doing that very well. And then I started doing that, and the middle part was good and the end part was excellent. So it kind of just built on itself. . . . So try to find out what those things are as soon as possible. [For me,] the motorcycle was the big one. That was number 1, number 2 was meeting people outside my dormitory, outside the university. That was a big one.

His outdoorsy life style that he had built in Canada did not quite fit in Taiwan's packed urban environment. Rob explained how he learned about urbanized Taiwanese culture in his exchange environment:

> It was just so urban. Like here, still living in the city, people make quite a bit in outdoor effort, people try to go out and do things. . . . People [in Taiwan] did not like to go very far, did not like to travel great distances. Everywhere I would say that I was going, "do not go there, it is really unsafe. . . ." Interesting thing was like, in Mandarin language, and this is a different one that I saw in Taiwan than in Mainland China, people always use the word "convenient" to describe a lot of stuff. "It is good because it is convenient, it is relaxing because it is convenient", stuff like people always say that in Mandarin. I never used, I very rarely use the word convenient in English. So that's interesting to see this different kind of mindset. My Taiwanese friend explained it as Chinese culture but especially as Taiwanese culture, where it is so urban, it is so packed in. In that area, you have it self-contained, maybe [within] one block you have tons of different restaurants, a shopping mall, everything was right there, very convenient. You don't have to go far, there's not much distance in Taiwan.

Instead of joining his Taiwanese friends' shopping tours, he developed a few different groups of friends with whom he could find common interests. He enjoyed outdoor activities with some foreign friends, he joined a tennis team where he met active Taiwanese friends for local excursions, and he could improve his language by studying with dorm-friends or university friends. He got along with people very well and tried hard to expand his friendship and experiences with students at the university. In the

beginning of his exchange term, in particular, those who were studying English or who were interested in speaking English would often come up and talk to him.

> Because by that point, the people who approached you were always people who were studying English. And so by after few months, I've met most people who were studying English. New people would not come up. But they would come up and talk to you if you introduced yourself and said something to them. So I'd always try to say something to someone, some people get embarrassed or shocked. It's still quite a surprise, I think, for a lot of people to speak with a foreigner. There were not many foreigners at university. I think there were not many opportunities to speak with foreigners. In Taipei, it is different, there's a lot more foreigners in Taipei but not in Kaohsiung.

His good memories about Taiwan come from meeting different people and being involved in their lives; for example, being invited to meet their families. He argues that in such a packed and busy society, people do not care much about strangers outside of their lives. However, if a person is introduced into their lives, they show incredible care and friendliness. He insisted that many foreigners who complain about the coolness of Taiwanese culture should know and understand Taiwanese' standards and norms because of the relativity between different cultures:

> Take a look at it there from their perspective, something at home that you do, they are gonna find boring, gross, whatever. Take a look at why they do this. I mean, 'cause if you can understand why someone does this, then you have an understanding of a bit more of the culture. Kind of what happens behind when people do this and that. What makes people do that, why is not everybody smiling. Sometimes people say "no one

smiles here", I would say "we are just in the wrong environment, you'll go to some places where everybody is laughing", but I did find, people here sometimes, tend to smile more, would be more happy and friendly to each other, but it is just politeness, it is different format of politeness, cultural politeness, whatever, maybe even fake, too. I think it is just making people aware that it is not that people are not doing it [in order] to be impolite, they are just doing it because that's their standard, that's just normal. Understanding the normal [there]. There's not as much of that everyday politeness unless you are part of that group.

From his perspective, many other exchange students and his Taiwanese roommates were rather young and less able to understand cultural relativity.

A lot of people were having a hard time, like when you're first time out of the country stuff like that. A lot of people compare everything with what they see back at home. "This is better, because. . . ." For me, that was, I guess, a little frustrating just because I had been away a bunch of times before. . . . It is funny a little bit, sure. . . . But to complain about it, or have a negative attitude as a result of that is a little boring. . . . I was trying to expand my roommates' horizons, 'cause they've never been out of the country, never met foreigners. So for them, it was like the same as what happened to my foreign friends calling "why do people do this, do that?" For them it was the exact same but now towards, like, us. "I can't believe you do this, do that, you can't do that". And that one was a little frustrating sometimes 'cause a couple of people you tried to explain why, and they get it a little bit, but then slip back into it, being negative a little bit when it is gone.

> The younger exchange students spent a lot more time in a group together. There's, like say, there's anywhere between 8 and 13 foreign students who were together everywhere. Go for lunch, everybody goes for lunch, go for dinner, everybody goes for dinner. And that frustrated me. That was one of the things I do not like, 'cause they would say to me, "why won't you come with us and do this, do you think you are better than us" stuff like this. And just sometimes a big group just moves so slowly and you do not meet other people. . . . [Maybe that was for] safety net. Safety like just how you feel personal, like, you are more comfortable with the bigger group, like support. [But] when you are by yourself travelling it is a lot easier to meet people. You are more approachable than if you are with a group of people. A little more independence.

Instead of being in a big group, he got his support from his two Canadian friends who had already moved there to teach English.

> I had these two really good friends, who were English teachers. So every time my roommates or my dorm would get to me too much, I'd just go to their apartment and I could sleep on the couch, watch tv, go out, get a beer something like that. So I did have definitely like . . . it was nice. These were friends that I went to elementary school with, known all my life, so.

However, a person dealing with a frustrating situation abroad does not always have a safety net. Rob believes his diverse experiences and maturity helped him to find a way to confront and solve problems:

> Everybody's got their own personal ways for dealing with stress or dealing with frustration. So, just try to find out what that is for you. . . . Those ones, those little

things are for your life. Those are life things, they are not easy to find sometimes. But once you find them, try to go for it, because if you are frustrated with your roommate, one day you'll be frustrated with your husband or wife or your kid. I mean, you can still use that same technique for different [things].

Being a visible foreigner in a homogenous country such as Taiwan attracts attention. He agreed that in many cases, he felt that he was getting special treatment and that this kind of local hospitality from the public tends to favour Euro-foreigners over other English native speakers. For example, the host university organized many events to have the exchange students go to the university to meet students and professors. He explains the reason as profit and reputation driven.

[Having more foreign students around] makes you look like a broad-base university. Foreign students always make your reputation as . . . I believe, I think, as universities look better. I mean, it means money, too. Foreign students here are paying a lot of money. Even though I was not paying money, whatever the association that sent me there was paying money.

There is definitely, Taiwan is a very hetero-ed, homogenous nation. You know, it is like mostly Taiwanese people, so their perception towards different races is in a lot of cases, stereotypical . . . you know, a lot of people think about this, especially towards other Asian country people like Ti people, Filipino people. These people, they are there to do jobs, like, [that] a lot of Taiwan people did not want to do. . . . Although I do not think Taiwanese people think white people are better or something like that, but they did definitely respect them in a way that they did not respect other Asian people. Maybe just because they did not know them. There are different

> thinkings about Western culture, but definitely Taiwanese people respect and admire [Western culture], this is why they want young white people to teach English to their kids, like none of the schools wanted American born Chinese to teach their kids. They wanted to have a white young face in front of the classroom.

His ethnic uniqueness even got him out of trouble with local policemen. His non-licensed motorcycle did not become a big issue when a policeman let him go, feeling embarrassed of his inability to speak English.

> It was illegal for me because we had no license, no insurance. But the police officers could never speak English, so they pull you over and tried to ask if you can speak Chinese, just pretend you can't understand them, then eventually they'll send you away. I do not think it will be like that forever. But for the moment, it is still like that. For the moment, foreigners like Euro foreigners, Euro Canadians, Euro Americans, like these definitely receive special treatment in Taiwan.

This type of special treatment may hinder the potentiality of acquiring a full Taiwanese experience, even though being a noticeable guest can also expand the range of one's experience as it makes it possible to elevate the level of hospitality from Taiwanese host people.

> There is definitely examples where I received special treatment; however, I think this did add to the experience as we were given chances to see things that maybe we would not have otherwise, more than just examples with the police; like being invited to friends' homes for social events, meals, sharing food and drink with strangers on the bus, train, etc . . . I think it was more like that the Taiwanese were very good hosts more than anything else.

One year of Taiwan seems to have contributed significantly to his self-confidence. Being on his own in a foreign country, apart from his family, was not entirely new to him. But during his life in Taiwan, he improved his Mandarin language as he had originally proposed. His Mandarin capability in turn revealed his potential for other languages and new skills. It also helped him to utilize his plans for a career and future study.

> But as for sub conscious thing, I do not know, I do not think [it made a change], except for the whole language. Mainly language. I think my study in one language kind of opened my mind . . . it is almost like it opens up that part of your brain, the language part of your brain, and then so it makes it easier to. . . . It inspired me to learn other languages . . . 'cause I knew I could do it.
>
> The best was the language. And it just made me realize that you can probably do anything that [pause] it gave me another example of being able to do something that you wanted to do or anything that you want to do. Get thrown into a new place, new rules, new language, new faces, new everything and if you just work out a little bit, you can do whatever you want to do there. I never taught before, and all of sudden I am a teacher. I never spoke Mandarin, and all of sudden I can speak Mandarin. You know, I am not like a great teacher, not like a great Mandarin speaker. I never rode a motorcycle before, not a great motorcycle rider, but I mean, you can do it. . . . And it gave me a job because now I send [pause], I can start a little company where I send teachers to Taiwan teaching English, so all around it was a great year. And good for me as a person, too. I mean, just being away for year, gives the opportunities for work, like I said. So I now [pause], it actually give me an idea for future studying. . . .

> I think actually the exchange programs are great. . . . Because it is such a good time to learn. When you are a university student, you do not have all these worries about your profession so much or family. Like, you do not have anybody depending on you, so it is a very good time for this kind of broad life learning. You are not just learning about little things, you are learning about culture, you are leaning about yourself and place. You are learning about so many things besides the actual course that you are in when you are there.

His assertive attitude to learn and explore in Taiwan functioned positively, giving him many special opportunities and encounters within the local Taiwan society. However, it should be noted that some of these opportunities may not have been possible had he not been a Euro Canadian.

APPENDIX III

Interview Protocol and Recruiting Form

Interview protocol

(1) A heading

(2) Opening statement – ask for honest opinions

(3) Question protocols

A) Tell me about your exchange experiences in Japan (or Taiwan)

B) Tell me about people/friends there

C) What would you advise those who are going to be exchange students to Asian Countries such as Japan or Taiwan?

(4) Examples of probing questions to follow

Aa) How was your weekend?

Ab) How was your school life?

Ac) What pleased you most/least during your exchange term? Why?

Ad) Tell me your memories there

Ae) Can you recall anything you became consciously sensitive about after your exchange?

Ba) How did you make your friends there and do you plan to keep in touch with them?

Bb) What did you do with people there?

Ca) What surprised you about Japan/Taiwan?

Cb) Would you like to recommend others to participate in international

exchanges? Why so?

(5) Transition messages

(6) The interviewer's comments

(7) The interviewer's reflective notes

Sample questions

1) Please introduce yourself, anything you want to tell me about you or anything you can relate yourself to this being an international exchange student.
2) Let's start from the very first you found out this opportunity of international exchange. Can you remember?
3) What was your first day of Japan/Taiwan like? Can you remember the day you and arrived in Japan?
4) What were your living arrangements while in Japan/Taiwan?
5) How was the life in Japan? Tell me about weekdays there?
6) How about weekend or evening when you didn't have school?
7) How about people? Can you tell me about people through your life in Japan?
8) How did you make your friends there?
9) How is your Japanese/Mandarin? Tell me about your language level.
10) About your exchange to Japan/Taiwan, what pleased you most/least?
11) Let's talk about memories. Any memory about Japan that comes to your mind now first?
12) Would you say that you feel you had more/less/same difficult time than other exchange students?

13) Can you recall any embarrassing moments or experiences in Japan/Taiwan?

14) What surprised you about Japan/Taiwan?

15) What do you think can be the big frustration to the exchange students to Japan/Taiwan?

16) Did you miss home? When?

17) What was your last day of Japan/Taiwan like? Can you remember the day you left Japan?

18) Did you experience any difficulties to readjust in Canada when you came back?

19) Since you came back, have you ever thought 'I could've stayed in Canada instead of choosing to go to Japan/Taiwan'?

20) Tell me what you think you have learned or achieved during your exchange term.

21) Can you recall anything you consciously would do or not wherever you go? Anything you consciously try to be sensitive about?

22) Do you have any plan to utilize your exchange experience?

23) Do you have Japanese/Chinese or Asian friends? More than other your Euro Canadian friends do you think? Has it changed since you experienced Japanese/Taiwanese sojourn? Why?

24) Would you participate again?

25) Do you have any suggestion that you would like to pass on to next year's exchange participants to Japan (Taiwan)

26) Do you enjoy talking with ESL speakers (here in Canada)?

Recruiting form

Looking for a Study Participant

Hello, my name is Eunah and I am a graduate student of the UVic. I am looking for a student who can participate in the study for my thesis.

1) Have you been to **Japan or Taiwan** as an **EXCHANGE** student from the University of Victoria?
2) Are you ethnically **Euro Canadian**?
3) Are you currently over 20 years old?

If so, would you please **consider participating in this study about exchange experiences. Your experiences are valuable and I definitely need your help!!**

Participation will include **an interview** at **any time convenient for you**. This will be a casual meeting where you will describe your experiences and feelings about your exchange participation.

Please reply back to me at riena@uvic.ca. You can let me know when you will have time to meet me and we will arrange the time and place together.

Thank you very much for your time and hope to meet with you soon.

Sincerely,

Eunah Kim

VITA

Surname: Kim Given Name: Eunah

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Educational Institutions Attended:

Seoul National University of Education	1990 to 1994
University of Victoria	1998 to 2002

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Title of Thesis:

A phenomenology: Cultural transplantation of Euro-Canadian Exchange students, its value and influencing factors

Author 

Eunah Kim
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