UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

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School of Modern Languages

The Cultural Transition Cycle and Repatriation of Taiwanese Academic Sojourners in the UK

By

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ABSTRACT
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This thesis emerged from concerns expressed by a Taiwanese respondent in an earlier study as to the changes manifested in her cultural identity during an academic sojourn in the UK and the implications of such changes on her return home. Employing qualitative interview techniques, this study explores the cultural transition cycle through the narratives of twenty-four Taiwanese academic sojourners all having returned home following a period of study spent in UK Higher Education. Particular focus has been placed on the role of individual, situational, and societal variables on the perception of the experience.

  Findings from this study suggest patterns of socialisation to be broadly predictive of repatriation affect in that the more sojourners report social integration into the host culture, the more discomfort felt upon repatriation. Reports of extensive social integration do however make up a small minority, this occurring through either cohabitating with local host families or instigating romantic relationships with host nationals. The remaining majority of respondents perceive their contact with host nationals as limited to the functional. This has been seen to come as a result of perceived indifference/hostility of host nationals, problematic intercultural communication incidents, and behavioural expectations preventing social interaction with other nationalities on the part of the expatriate Taiwanese collective.

  In terms of repatriation, three groups have been broadly identified: grateful repatriates, unwilling repatriates, and accepting repatriates. Firstly, grateful repatriates make up the majority group, those whose social interaction with the host culture was limited to the functional. Manifesting little self-concept disturbance as a result of minimal social integration, these sojourners are able to benefit from their improved status as returning English-speaking, international academic sojourners to secure competitive working opportunities with higher salaries at home. Repatriation discomfort is largely minimal for these respondents, resistance to the home cultural environment being limited to explicit, surface-level features such as environment pollution, population density, the political situation, and the transition from a relaxed student life to a busy working environment. Secondly, unwilling repatriates make up the minority group, those whose levels of social integration into the host culture were much higher. This group of sojourners, despite trying to remain in the UK, found that circumstances, most frequently inability to secure work due to visa restrictions, militated against them doing so. Their repatriation experience is characterised by discomfort, difficult interpersonal relationships with family and work colleagues, and a sense of being between two cultures, foreigners in Taiwan. Discomfort comes largely as a result of newfound cultural frames of reference conflicting with the norms, values and behavioural expectations of Taiwan's collectivistic society upon returning home. Finally, the accepting repatriate group is something of an anomaly. Limited to one respondent in this study, this cultural transition cycle demonstrates high levels of adaptation and integration into the host society. This narrative differs from the unwilling group in that repatriation shows very few negative features. Whereas the unwilling repatriate group were seen to resist many facets of the home culture upon return to Taiwan, the accepting respondent was able to largely accept these, this even extending to cultural values, norms and behaviours found to be in conflict with reported revised cultural frame of reference.

  Of further significance is the observation that the academic sojourn for Taiwanese students in the UK is characterised by increases in ethnorelativism, intercultural awareness and cultural sensitivity. Furthermore there is much evidence in the data of a greater sense of national pride and a more pronounced appreciation of the home jurisdiction as a result of the sojourn. This is in part due to presojourn expectations of the UK being unrealistically high resulting in much of the sojourn being characterised by a re-evaluation of the host environment in a less positive light. This is also reportedly a result of the development of a strong sense of solidarity among the Taiwanese overseas sojourner group in the face of continual denial of a sense of national identity by many of the Mainland Chinese encountered during the sojourn.

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INTRODUCTION

"At first I can't realise I changed a lot (...) if I call my colleagues and my family they all told me 'you've changed, you've changed a lot', even my son, he says 'mummy why did you say that one?'. I worry sometimes for going home because I'm not the same. Maybe problems". – Mei Li, 2003.

It was with this remark, uttered during an interview investigating academic acculturation of Taiwanese students in the UK, that a seed was sown which has slowly germinated, sprouted, matured, and blossomed into this doctoral thesis. That seed took the form of the questions: Did Mei Li change over the course of her academic sojourn in the UK? If so, in what ways? What happened when she went home to Taiwan? Did she really have problems? The academic journey is undeniably one of life-changing learning and growth for its many travellers and, with the added dimension of necessary cultural learning, arguably even more so for the increasing number of overseas academic sojourners in UK institutions of higher education. How such cultural learning and development impacts upon the return home experience and the wider home community seems to be an issue of considerable importance.

As international sojourners, students seem to be of particular interest to researchers in that they are not only partially or fully immersed in the host culture, they are also actively participating in the education system of the country of sojourn. A society's educational institutions will characteristically reflect that society's cultural values, norms, assumptions, and even cognitive processes in academic syllabuses, pedagogic methodologies and expectations of the student. Indeed, French philosopher Jules Henry argued rather pessimistically in his 1963 *Culture Against Man* work that "the function of education has never been to free the mind and spirit of man, but to bind them [...] to the culture pattern" (235). Therefore, whereas many corporate expatriates sojourn in a host culture with which they have little meaningful social interaction, academic sojourners are required to engage with the host culture in, at a minimum, an educational context. Furthermore, it can be argued that to be successful in the host culture's education system, academic sojourners will need to adapt their own cultural and educational schemata to meet the expectations and requirements of their host educators.

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This proposition makes international academic sojourners an interesting sample group that has been the focus of intense study over the past half-decade.

In fact, international students are probably the most intensely studied group in the culture contact literature (Ward et al, 2001). This may be as much for their status in higher educational institutions as an easily accessible sample group for academic researchers, as for the more commercially motivated reason that, since the Second World War, international students have become of increasing economic importance to their host nations. According to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics Online, international students in worldwide tertiary education have increased by 50% since 1999 numbering in excess of 2.5 million in 2007. In the UK alone, estimates place the contribution of overseas, full-fee paying students (not including EU) at £1 billion in fee income to universities and some £8 billion to the UK economy annually (BBCNews, 2004). As a consequence, the international student has become an important and attractive commodity resulting in research which has most commonly sought to improve the experience of the sojourner in the host culture, perhaps with a view to generating continued income through positive word-of-mouth upon sojourners' return home (Middlehurst and Woodfield, 2007).

Some twenty years previously, Kagan and Cohen (1990) argued that much of this research was focused on the affective, behavioural and cognitive consequences of cross-cultural transitions in an attempt to identify individual, social, interpersonal and economic factors which could reliably predict adjustment to the host culture. As such, the earlier literature covering international student sojourners was broadly divided into four albeit interrelated areas seemingly emphasising the cultural psychological aspects of the cultural transition. This centred around problems sojourners face in the host culture, the psychological reactions of students sojourners when coming into contact with a new cultural environment, the influence of social interaction and communication on sojourner adaptation, and the culture learning process apparent in the cross-cultural sojourn (Hammer, 1992). However, the current body of literature reveals that research into academic sojourners seems to have since developed into the two broad paradigms of firstly the educational and pedagogic (including learning styles and strategies, e.g. Jones, 1999; Samuelowicz, 1987; contrastive rhetoric, e.g. Connor, 1996; Wu and Rubin, 2000; intellectual property and plagiarism, e.g. Li and Cheung, 1999; classroom

participation strategies, e.g. Liu and Littlewood, 1997), and secondly the socio-psychological (including linguistic identity and cultural adjustment, e.g. Noels et al., 1996; culture shock, personality traits and adjustment, e.g. Furnham, 1993; and sociopragmatic adjustment, e.g. Salter-Dvorak, 2004), both of which tend to focus on the experience of the academic sojourn itself.

Significantly less research has been carried out investigating to what extent the cross-cultural academic sojourn causes change in the cultural identity of the sojourner, how this is manifested and, furthermore, the impact this has on the nature of the experience of returning to the home culture. Moreover, academic repatriates, having completed their overseas academic sojourn, seem to be of less interest than, for example, professional, work assignment repatriates for the reason that organisations generally continue to employ the latter and thus have a vested interest in their psychological wellbeing. Consequently repatriation research tends to be centred on the return of managers and their families from a perspective of reducing the negative effects of *reverse culture shock* and minimising potential repatriate discomfort. This is despite the seminal works of influential cross-cultural psychologists such as Adler (1975) arguing some thirty years previously that research into cultural transitions should move beyond culture shock as a negative experience and consider how culture shock can be useful for personal growth and self-development. Milstein (2005) argues for a more positive approach to cultural transitions:

> "Speak to people about their time abroad and often their eyes will light up. Many who have sojourned describe their experiences as profoundly meaningful, often crediting them with changing them at fundamental levels. Some sojourners describe a transformation in their very sense of self, both in how they experience their own cultures and in how they view their life paths. Some speak of an increased sense of empowerment, an enriched sense of belief in their own capabilities" (217-218).

The present study therefore has been designed to explore Milstein's notion, to see how meaningful an overseas academic sojourn is for a sample population, to investigate the extent to which transformation in sense of self has taken place, and to establish how the target sample experience their home culture and view their continued life paths upon their return. Selected for this research study was a sample of Taiwanese academic repatriates returning from an academic sojourn in UK higher education. The academic justification for this choice of sample is that the large majority of existing repatriation

research has focused on the experiences of Western returnees frequently from Eastern host cultures (Sussman, 2005). It is felt that the study of Eastern sojourners returning from a Western host culture would enrich the existing body of literature and present an alternative contextual perspective on current theory.

In recent years, the international student nationality group most represented in UK higher education come from the Chinese Mainland, sheer numbers and indeed cultural exoticism making them a very popular source of academic research. In the early stages of conception and development of the present study, research into the cultural transition cycle of the Chinese sojourner group was considered. However, the decision was taken to focus on the Taiwanese repatriate student population since, while, as will be demonstrated subsequently, far from being culturally and ethnically homogenous, this group was considered to have a narrower diversity range than that of the Mainland. Furthermore, contemporary Taiwanese society is widely regarded as philosophically underpinned by the Confucian school of thought, an ideology that places great importance on the value of education. Still regarded as something of prestige, an overseas education is particularly advantageous for graduates competing in the Taiwanese job market. Consequently Taiwan has long appeared in the top ten non-EU source jurisdictions for international students in UK higher education representing in excess of 6000 for the academic year 2005/2006 (HESA, 2007). Numbers of Taiwanese academic sojourners have steadily increased over the last decade and this trend is predicted to continue into the future. Research has found that the Taiwanese are heavily influenced by word-of-mouth when making decisions as to where to spend their academic sojourn (Yang, 2008), therefore a greater understanding of the cultural transition cycle of a sample of these sojourners may prove beneficial to and inform policy of the international offices and overseas recruitment strategies of UK academic institutions.

Taiwanese Academic Sojourners in UK Higher Education

As mentioned previously, it is generally agreed that Taiwanese culture, as will be elaborated upon in the ensuing chapters, continues to be influenced by the ideology of Confucianism, a school of thought which places considerable emphasis on the importance of lifelong education for the benefit of the self, the family and ultimately,

society. Taiwanese work ethic is also highly developed, as is Taiwan's tendency to look outwards for inspiration (Weiss, 2002). As a consequence, academic sojourners are motivated to study overseas by their perception that potential employers look favourably on interviewees with qualifications obtained in Western countries. This, coupled with Taiwan's relative economic strength and accumulated wealth in the last half century, has meant that Taiwanese students have long represented a significant proportion of international students in the UK higher education system.

Table i.1 below offers some statistics as to numbers of Taiwanese students studying in UK HE, more than 75% of whom study at postgraduate level. From the table it is clear that females outweigh males by almost two to one. This could be attributed to the more developed interest in foreign languages and inherent linguistic ability often seen in female language learners (e.g. Chambers, 1995). This could equally be attributed to the Taiwanese males' enforced eighteen month military service and its implication as lost years for career development and achieving financial security to start one's own family. The traditional expectation of the Asian male to be financially independent was indeed found to be of significance in a study of the Japanese academic sojourner population in the UK wherein the tendency is equally that females outweigh males by approximately two to one (Nishio, 2001). To relativise these figures and demonstrate the importance of Taiwanese students, particularly to the postgraduate sector of UK higher education, in the 2000/01 academic year, while Taiwanese students made up some 1.9% of the total international student body, the proportion of total international postgraduate enrolments they represented was more than 5% (HESA, 2007).

Academic Year	Total	Female	Male
1994/1995	1885	Not available	Not available
1995/1996	2505	Not available	Not available
1996/1997	2670	Not available	Not available
1997/1998	2897	Not available	Not available
1998/1999	3240	Not available	Not available
1999/2000	3410	Not available	Not available
2000/2001	3845	Not available	Not available
2001/2002	3865	2915	1950
2002/2003	5465	3345	2120
2003/2004	5710	3555	2155
2004/2005	5880	3750	2130
2005/2006	6180	4020	2160

Table i.1 – Statistics of Taiwanese students in UK Higher Education (HESA, 2007)

The continually increasing numbers of Taiwanese academic sojourners present in the UK HE system would seem therefore to justify the timeliness of research into the cultural transition cycle experienced by this particular sample group. The repatriation of these sojourners is equally important since the vast majority of Taiwanese sojourners return to Taiwan rather than becoming settlers in the UK.

Post Academic Sojourn Repatriates to Taiwan

UK Home Office statistics show that between 2000 and 2003 the number of Taiwanese passengers given leave to enter the United Kingdom totalled at approximately 165,000 (Chen, 2006). Of these, some 100,000 were tourists, 35,000 were business visitors, and 31,000 were study sojourners. UK Census figures reveal that during the same period, 175 (2000), 165 (2001), 200 (2002) and 255 (2003) Taiwanese were granted permission for settlement defined as those "subject to immigration control who are allowed to remain in the UK indefinitely" (Home Office, 2004:90). In addition to those granted permission for settlement, 107 (2000), 80 (2001), 195 (2002) and 170 (2003) Taiwanese were naturalised and granted British nationality. The significance of these statistics is that less than 1% of the Taiwanese people given permission to enter the UK actually settled for the long term. This would indicate that the population of Taiwanese in the UK is dominated by sojourners who, by definition, are characterised by the notion of temporality. Thus, a three stage cultural transition cycle is experienced by the large majority which begins in the home cultural environment, continues with the physical movement of the sojourner into the host cultural environment, and concludes with return to the home cultural environment. Academic sojourners will in general spend a longer period in the UK than tourists and business sojourners and tend to engage, to at least a moderate degree, with the values and attitudes of the host culture. This is a further reason therefore that this group has been selected as the target of focus for the present study.

While the literature abounds with examples of research and theory pertaining to the adaptation strategies and learning experiences of Confucian Heritage academic sojourners during the second stage of the cultural transition cycle (time spent in the host cultural environment) presented above, there is a paucity of research into the home coming experience of these subjects. Sussman (2005) draws attention to the fact that

most research on cultural transitions has "focused on Western sojourners who, when returning to their home countries, experienced substantial identity conflict, negative emotions, and confused thinking" (2). Hyder and Lövbad (2007) equally highlight the overrepresentation of the American perspective in the literature and suggest further study into the repatriation experience of Asians.

Research Purpose

It is from these observations that the present research study was borne. Its purpose is to contribute to the current body of knowledge through the exploration of the experiences of Eastern, Taiwanese sojourners returning from an academic sojourn in the UK. Until recently, as Sussman (2002a) points out, research has had a tendency to take a rather piecemeal approach to the cultural transition cycle, placing focus on one or another stage in the cycle with little consideration for the interrelations between them. With this in mind Sussman developed her Cultural Identity Model of Intercultural Transitions (CIM) which is currently one of the few theoretical frameworks which propose a broader, more integrated theory of the cultural transition cycle framed within the discipline of social psychology. Adopting this framework as a starting point, the present study employs qualitative methods to explore in depth the cultural transition cycle as documented in the narratives of a sample of Taiwanese academic repatriates who have all returned to Taiwan from the UK.

The two fundamental research questions guiding this enquiry are therefore the following:

1) How do Taiwanese repatriates narrate their academic sojourn experience in the UK and, in particular, what is its perceived influence on cultural identity?

2) How do Taiwanese repatriates narrate the return experience to Taiwan and, in particular, what is the perceived interplay between cultural identity and returning home?

In exploring these two questions, the influence of individual, situational and societal variables on emergent trends in the cultural transition cycle will be considered in detail

in order to build a coherent and comprehensive picture of this phenomenon in the relatively unexplored context of Taiwanese academic sojourners returning from the UK.

Thesis Structure

In order to best present this thesis, the document has been divided into the following chapters:

This introductory chapter has provided a brief overview of the background to the present study together with an academic rationale for its aim and a presentation of the specific research questions guiding the enquiry. The structure of the document has also been defined.

The following chapter presents a thematic critical review of existing academic literature and previous research in the domain of the cultural transition cycle. Through this literature review, the present study will be situated, its timeliness and contribution to existing academic debate demonstrated. It is important to note that this chapter offers an overview of the theoretical constructs forming the foundations of the present study rather than providing in-depth discussion as to the contextual particularities of Taiwanese academic sojourners returning from the UK. As such, the subsequent data analysis chapters will draw further on more contextual literature in the presentation of the findings.

Chapter Two presents and justifies the methodological choices, both theoretical and practical, guiding this enquiry. Discussion will focus on the steps taken in order to best ensure a rigorous research process.

Chapter Three begins the data analysis with a presentation of the principal themes emerging from the data in relation to the sojourn stage of the cultural transition cycle.

Chapter Four continues the data analysis through the discussion of individual, societal and situational variables influencing the acculturation patterns and repatriation experiences seen in the data.

Chapter Five presents the main emerging themes regarding perceived cultural identity change and the resultant repatriation experience of the target sample. Embedded within the data analysis chapters will be reference to relevant literature as the journey of the sample group unfolds.

The final chapter offers conclusions to this research study by revisiting the research questions identified in the introduction. The practical and theoretical implications of the findings are also discussed together with directions for further development of this research area in the future.

The following chapter therefore will present the theoretical underpinnings of the present study through a critical review of the developments which have culminated in the current body of knowledge in the field of cross-cultural transitions.

CHAPTER 1 - LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 <u>Introduction</u>

In the Analects of Confucius, reference is made to the principle of *Zheng Ming* (正名), meaning that one first needs to call things by their proper names. In other words, the condition of composition (the what, when, how and why) must be stated before approaching a theme or thesis (Wu and Rubin, 2000). With this in mind, this chapter aims to present and analyse existing literature and previous empirical research in order to build the academic foundations for the present research study. In this discussion, reference is made to seminal works which have influenced the field of cross-cultural psychology, many of which were developed several decades previously, as cultural transitions became more commonplace. However reflection upon the current state of knowledge in this field is deemed to be incomplete without reference being made to early theory.

The discussion in this chapter is broadly divided into three main sections. The first section will consider the psychological concepts of self and identity. This will be followed in the second section by discussion as to culture's influence on identity. The final section will then present an overview of the overseas sojourning literature following the themes of culture shock, cultural learning, acculturation, and reentry. Through the analysis of the existing literature, the research questions underpinning this study will ultimately be revisited by way of conclusion to this chapter.

1.2 <u>Self and Identity</u>

"Every man is in certain respects

    a.   like other men (due to biology and physical environment),

    b.   like some other men (if they belong to the same socio-cultural unit),

    c.   like no other man (each individual has a unique mode of feeling, perceiving, needing and behaving)." (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1949:35)

Abstract and philosophical discussion on the subjects of the self and identity are present in abundance in the literature. Earlier conceptualisations in the field of human psychology proposed that the self is "the essential core of the individual, the part that calls itself I, the part that feels, thinks and originates action" (Becker, 1968:194). One's image of self is generally argued to be one's identity, is the focus of strong emotion (Wallace, 1968), and tends to stress the importance of a perceived sense of continuity, as Weinrich (1980) argues:

> *One's identity is defined as the totality of one's self-construal, in which how one construes oneself in the present, expresses the continuity between how one construed oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to the future* (cited Rex, 1991:5).

As with any conceptually complex notion, debate between scholars takes different forms. Often it is articulated as a tension between biological and social constructionist approaches, the influence of nature vs. nurture on identity, while at other times it takes the form of a dispute between the view of identity as fixed on the one hand, and fluid on the other (Woodward, 1997:4). Gilroy (1997) for example seems to propose that one's identity is at the core of the self and is fixed and unchanging, an essentialist view of identity which can arguably be traced back to the 17th and 18th century enlightenment period and Descartes - 'I think therefore I am'. This contrasts notably with the child developmental perspective of Rex (1991) who proposes that the concept of identity implies a sense of continuity and that, as such, identity should not be thought of as static. As the individual is faced with new situations and new objects, he or she must continually redefine his or her identity in relation to these objects.

This popular opinion points clearly to the significance of the role of society on the formation of identity. As social beings, our concept of individual identity is socially created and that identity carries distinctiveness in terms of personality and sameness in terms of group (Jacobson-Widding, 1983). Bauman (1999), in developing the concept of identity further, drew on the distinction made by Tajfel (1982) between personal identity and social identity. While personal identity gives meaning to the 'I', social identity gives meaning to the 'we', which refers to group membership, inclusion, acceptance and ultimately, confirmation of self. This is echoed by Rex (1991) who

argues that identity is socially created and implies belonging to groups of significant others. When strangers are encountered, the individual develops a group identity whereby 'we' the group confront 'they' the outsiders. This is Bauman's 'we' as being in contrast with "the frightening wilderness of an outside populated by 'them'" (1999:xxxi). Identities therefore depend on the marking of a difference between a 'we' and a 'they' (Gilroy, 1997).

A further significant theory of self and identity expands on the personal/social identity dichotomy above and was proposed by Greenwald and Breckler (1985). Simply put, they proposed that each individual has a private self, a public self, and a collective self. The private self can be seen as the self portrayed to an inner audience, supposedly a "true, privately accepted self - not one that is harbouring, deep down, a less worthy being that it hopes to prevent others from discovering" (126). From this definition of the private self, it can be concluded that the public self, in the opinion of Greenwald and Breckler, is a 'too good to be true self' presented to others in order to obtain social accreditation: "when an individual appears in the presence of others, there will usually be some reason for him to mobilise his activity so that it will convey an impression to others which it is in his interests to convey" (Goffman, 1959 cited ibid: 126). The collective self is defined as a *we* facet of the self, in contrast to the *I* facet of the private self and the *you-they* facet of the public self. Triandis (1989) argues that the probability of referencing each of these three aspects of self is dependant on cultural variation, thus introducing the importance of culture on self-identity.

1.3   Culture and Self-Identity

> The significance of culture for development is likened to that of a womb, enclosing and feeding the growing mind (Serpell, 1994:160).

It seems to be widely accepted that the process of self-identity formation and development involves the establishment of a conceptual relationship between the individual and his or her social environment. Maslach et al (1985) propose that the formation of self-identity is based on two simultaneous and necessary mechanisms: individuation and identification. Individuation, they argue, is the cognitive separation of self and not-self, leading to the development of an image of the world as being made up

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of a number of separate individual objects, an 'I' vs. 'They' differentiation. Identification, by contrast, "blurs the boundaries between 'I' and 'They' and fosters a conception of self as similar or identical to others" (Reykowski, 1994:279). Parallels can be drawn with Tajfel's (1982) personal identity (the effect of individuation) and social identity (the effect of identification) seen previously.

If this then is seen to be true, at least part of the role that culture plays in the development of self-identity now becomes more apparent. Some cultures such as contemporary heterogeneous Western industrial societies, Reykowski argues, foster individuation, thus laying the groundwork for the individualist orientation. Other cultures, for example more homogeneous Confucian heritage cultures, foster identification, a precondition for the development of the collectivist orientation. Figure 1.1 below is derived from Markus and Kitayama's (1991) *Culture and the Self* and demonstrates in (A) independent construal of the self and in (B) interdependent construal of the self.
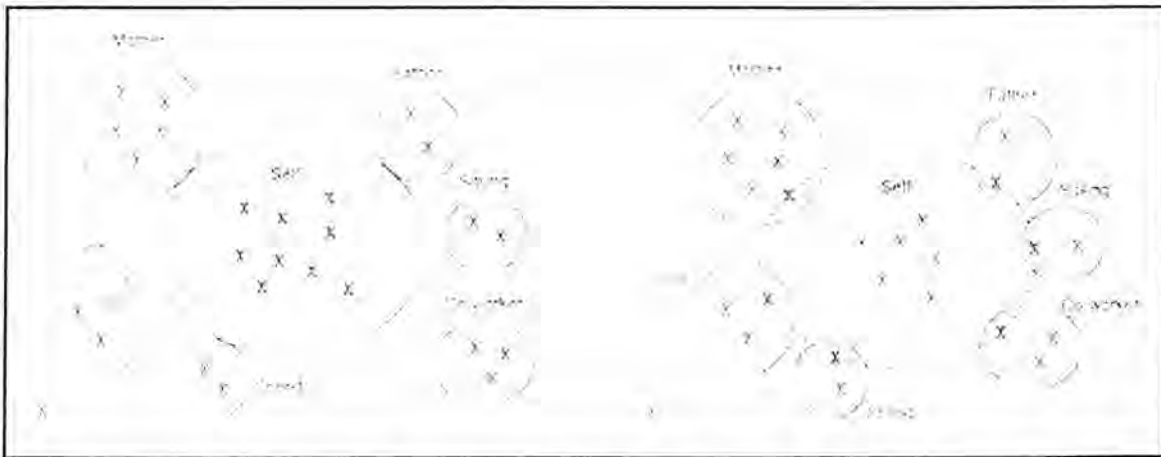
Figure 1.1 – Independent and Interdependent Self (Markus and Kitayama, 1991)

The notion of culture, for its fluidity, dynamism and complexity, is problematic in conceptualisation and has been defined in many ways. An early consensus between anthropological definitions proposed by Kluckhohn (1951) suggests:

> Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values (cited Hofstede, 1984:21).

However, the desire to provide definitions of culture is criticised by Street (1993) who argues it best thought of as a verb. In part this entails reflecting on culture not as that what makes us as we are, rather that what makes us do what we do. Reacting to the essentialist desire to nominalise complex concepts and the problems this creates:

> Part of the problem that besets our current efforts to understand culture is the desire to define it, to say what it is. To define something means to specify its meaning clearly enough so that things which are like it can be clearly distinguished from it. Clear definitions are an essential part of any successful science, or of good speech and clear thought (Thornton, 1988:26 cited ibid.:25),

Street argues that "there is not much point in trying to say what culture is… What can be done however is to say what culture does" (loc.cit). He continues:

> What culture does is precisely the work of 'defining words, ideas, things and groups' The job of studying culture is not of finding and then accepting its definitions but of 'discovering how and what definitions are made, under what circumstance and for what reasons' (…) Culture is an active process of meaning making and contest over definition, including its own definition. This, then, is what I mean by arguing that *Culture is a verb* (25 – italics in original).

The inherent desire to define, categorise and nominalise concepts is argued to be a Western trait (Nisbett, 2003), inherited from the ancient Greek understanding that categories were the basis for discovery and application of rules. Nisbett reports on several comparative research studies which suggest that Easterners are less concerned with categorisation and rather more inclined to consider relationships in their organisation of objects and concepts. As such, research demonstrates that American children tend to be socialised to see the world as being made up of nouns whereas Eastern children are socialised on the basis of relationships which involve, tacitly or explicitly, a verb. Nisbett and colleagues' comparative work into the cognitive processes of Easterners and Westerners will be revisited in subsequent discussion however, it is clear that Street's suggestion that culture itself influences the understanding of what culture is and therefore definitions of what culture is will vary across cultures, seems to make sense.

Hofstede (1984) does however provide a useful metaphor in proposing that "culture is to a human collectivity what personality is to an individual" (21) suggesting that culture defines the identity of a group rather like personality defines the identity of an individual. This implies that while usually being reserved for societies (or nations),

ethnic or regional groups, the term *culture* can and is equally applied in other human collectivities such as organisations, academia or families. Culture, he argues, can therefore be broken down into systems of norms and values which, from the Western *noun* perspective, make up the building blocks of its structure and from the Eastern *verb* perspective, influence what people do.

Norms have been defined as a society's expectancies of a person's behaviour, including for example perceived hierarchical power differences, directness or indirectness of communication and conception of time. Those who transgress norms, particularly in what have been labelled as tight cultures (the concept of tight and loose cultures refers to how far deviant behaviour is tolerated in a given society), will find social acceptance to be problematic and may potentially be liable for ostracisation or social sanctions. Values on the other hand are often seen as "desirable standards of orientation in a person's life" (Bierbrauer et al, 1994:191). In this way, values are seen to differ from norms in that they do not have sanctions in place to support them. Norms and values are evidently far from universal between cultures but are ever present and influential during the development of self-identity. Ultimately then, "one's culture imperceptibly forms a mental framework through which individuals define their ontology, motivate and select their behaviours, and judge and evaluate the actions of others" (Sussman, 2000:356). Cultural anthropologist Chris Barker (1999) summarises this inextricable link between culture and self-identity: "What it means to be a person is social and cultural 'all the way down'" (10) pointing therefore to the notion of the cultural identity.

Sussman's quotation above introduces us to a very interesting dimension of culture, the imperceptible. She is not alone in contesting that many people understand how to operate inside their own culture without being consciously cognisant of its influence on their values, attitudes and behaviours. It is also rare for people to question the underlying assumptions behind their norms and values. Bond (1994) explains: "many who travel thoughtfully come to realise that a cultural system is an adaptive set of conventions. These operating assumptions are unconsciously held by most people, but may be shaken loose by the confrontation with a different culture" (42). The question needing to be asked here then is presuming as discussed that culture has a significant influence on the development of self-identity, when confronted with a different culture,

can this also influence the continuing development of self-identity? Such confrontation with a different culture is the topic of the next section, cross-cultural transitions.

1.4   Cross-Cultural Transitions – The Overseas Sojourn

The study of cross-cultural transitions has attracted increasing numbers of researchers and psychologists worldwide as developments in international transportation, technology and communications have made human geographic movement more and more commonplace. The vast amount of recent cross-cultural research has investigated the many facets of the cross-cultural transition in a variety of different contexts using various methodologies. This broad field has studied psychological, sociological, communicatory and anthropological consequences of cultural contact in areas as diverse as colonisation of indigenous groups, overseas work assignments, refugeeism and overseas study sojourns often with the aim of obtaining insight into how to improve the quality of the cross-cultural transition. Many of these writings however seem to largely neglect how cross-cultural transitions contribute to evolution of sojourner cultural identity.

As seen previously, a very small proportion of Taiwanese travellers granted entry into the UK stay for the longer term. This distinction between *settlers* and *sojourners* is important since, as Bochner (1994:245) reminds us, "their respective contact experiences, and hence their reactions, differ". Whereas *settlers* are in the process of making a permanent commitment to their new environment, *sojourners* see their stay as temporary. Since the sample of respondents in the present study have all spent varying amounts of time studying at tertiary level in the UK and have subsequently returned to Taiwan, they can, with perhaps one exception presented subsequently, largely be considered as being encompassed by the second category, sojourners. Before discussing cultural identity change resulting from cross-cultural transitions, the next section will provide an overview of the historical foundations of the body of knowledge relating to intercultural sojourning.

1.4.1   The Development of Intercultural Sojourn Theory

To make sense of the enormity of research and debate in this field, it is worth thinking chronologically about its development over the past 50 years. Interest in intercultural sojourns is usually traced back to the mid 1950s and Karlervo Oberg who is credited with coining the term *culture shock* which, despite its extensive popular usage, is often maligned for its negative connotations. In reality it seems that the term was first used publicly by anthropologist Cora Dubois in 1951 to describe the disorienting experience anthropologists face when entering different cultures and was subsequently expanded by Oberg to apply to any person entering a new culture. At that time, research was arguably rather disjointed needing a theoretical framework within which to work.

Lysgaard's (1955) study of Norwegian Fulbright students provided an intuitively attractive framework which despite since being discredited on numerous occasions, still holds a central place in the toolkits of cross-cultural trainers, the U curve Model. He argued that "adjustment as a process over time seems to follow a U-shaped curve: adjustment is felt to be easy and successful to begin with; then follows a 'crisis' in which one feels less well adjusted, somewhat lonely and unhappy; finally one begins to feel better adjusted again, becoming more integrated into the foreign community" (1955:51). This can be seen in Figure 1.2 below.
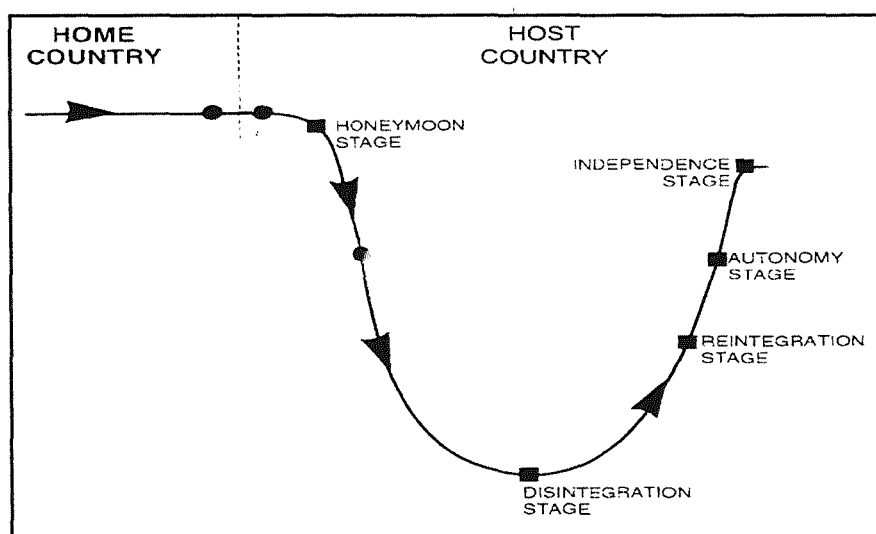
Figure 1.2 – The U-Curve Model (adapted from Lysgaard, 1955)

Despite the intuitive appeal and resultant popularity of the U-curve model, lack of significant empirical evidence has led influential cross-cultural psychologists such as

Colleen Ward to argue that "the U-curve has been on-trial for almost 40 years, and the time is long overdue to render a verdict [...] the U-curve model of sojourner adjustment should be rejected" (Ward et al., 1998:290). However, its influence on subsequent theory cannot be denied, paving the way for a wide range of stage-models of cross-cultural adjustment and acculturation, many of which can broadly fit the U-curve pattern, as demonstrated in Table 1.1 below.

YEAR	AUTHOR	STAGES OF ACCULTURATION
1960	Oberg	Honeymoon, Crisis, Recovery, Adjustment
1963	Smalley	Fascination, Hostility, Adjustment, Biculturalism
1973	Sergeant	Fight, Flight, Filter, Flex
1975	Adler	Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Autonomy, Independence
1996	Kohl	Initial Euphoria, Irritability & Hostility, Gradual Adjustment, Adaptation/Biculturalism
1996	Shnell	Honeymoon, Crises, Resolution, Stabilisation
1997	Armitage & Powell	Excitement and Optimism, Uncertainty, Recovery and Adjustment
2001	Hofstede	Euphoria, Culture Shock, Acculturation, Stable State
2004	Ito	Building the Dream, Discovering, Surviving, Overcoming Obstacles, Reflecting on the Journey
2005	Varner & Beamer	Euphoria, Disillusionment, Adjustment, Integration

Table 1.1 – Stage Models of Intercultural Sojourns (LaBrack and Berardo, 2007)

From the labels of the stages in the models above, the influence of the U-curve model is undeniable. This is despite the model's conceptual simplicity, theoretical thinness, and proven lack of methodological rigour. LaBrack and Berardo (2007) argue that the continued influence of the U Curve model indicates that the theoretical field of the intercultural sojourn is one that is still in its infancy. Nevertheless, the common elements in the majority of these models are striking, pointing to an initial euphoric stage (many studies however found that in some contexts there is no empirical evidence for this stage, in fact many sojourners feel depressed during this initial stage due to separation from significant others, see for example Ward et al, 2001; Westermeyer et al, 1989), in time leading into a stage of disintegration followed by adjustment or acclimatisation to the new cultural environment to some degree. Research attempting to understand the progression through these stages was traditionally grouped into the domain of the study of *culture shock* which carries with it negative connotations of discomfort experienced by people moving into new cultural environments.

1.4.2 Culture Shock

As previously mentioned, Oberg is credited as the first to conceptualise *culture shock* which he argued is "precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse" (1960:177). Therefore the removal or distortion of the many familiar clues one encounters at home and their substitution by other cues that are unfamiliar can provoke what Oberg argued is a medical condition, leading in severe cases to physical symptoms. If one is to overcome *culture shock*, one must recuperate from this disease or malaise.

Subsequent definitions of *culture shock* do not seem to have diverged much from Oberg's. Cray and Mallory (1998) for example argue that "all humans navigate through social settings by reacting to cues from others. In unfamiliar cultural contexts cues may be unclear or they may be interpreted in ways which are at odds with local constructs" (92). Where they often differ however is in their proposition that *culture shock*, rather than being a disease, is actually a crisis of identity. Upon contact with an unknown culture, all the familiar underpinnings of one's sense of self are said to be torn away, depriving people of the most familiar reference points that provide cues for their behaviour as well as the substrate for their sense of identity (Anderson, 1994). To recover from *culture shock* for such theorists is to work out new identities incorporating both the old and new selves (Adler, 1975), and developing new cultural frames of reference.

When sojourners experience culture shock, they often feel homesickness, isolation and a longing for reinforcing events. Removal of the latter frequently provokes defensive behaviour such as increased sleeping, decreased social contact and self-deprecation. Furthermore, sojourners in this situation will tend to make negative interpretations of the motives and character of host nationals (Marsella et al, 1979) and, if possible, will often rely on fellow nationals for reinforcement (Oberg, 1960). It is not uncommon as a result of this for sojourners, seeking to avoid uncomfortable cultural misunderstanding, to isolate themselves from the host culture, forming cultural subgroups and expatriate enclaves.

However, many theorists look at *culture shock* as a product of the intercultural sojourn and draw a parallel with, on the one hand, transition shock resulting from any other stability threatening transition in one's life, and on the other, the notion of alienation of people from members of their own culture. In the first instance, Bennett (1977) for example likens culture shock to life events such as going to university, getting married/divorced or experiencing the death of a close friend or family member. The symptoms she argues are similar in many ways (irritability, frustration, disorientation, helplessness and withdrawal), as are the stages for recovery; therefore the term *change shock* would seem more appropriate. In the second instance, Seeman (1959), in a seminal study into the multidimensionality of alienation, identified five dimensions of alienation from a social-psychological perspective. These dimensions were labelled isolation (values and goals of the society not shared), normlessness (lack of understanding of social norms regulating behaviour), powerlessness (feeling of no control over socio-political events), meaninglessness (inability to understand events), and self-estrangement (finding no intrinsic reward from any activity).

There certainly seems to be some crossover in the symptoms proposed here and those identified by culture shock theorists. It is argued that when finding oneself in a new cultural environment, language differences, lack of support networks and cultural frames of references, and homesickness can all contribute to aggravating these feelings further. Notwithstanding the extensiveness of the literature on the negative aspects of culture shock it is worth considering that empirical evidence points to the fact that many sojourners report to experiencing no negative manifestations of culture shock (LaBrack and Berardo, 2007). Perhaps more significant to this study, however, is the considerable body of literature which moves beyond the negative connotations of culture shock and sees the intercultural sojourn as a significant cultural learning experience.

1.4.3   Intercultural Sojourns, Cultural Learning and Acculturation

The various stage models of intercultural sojourns propose that following the *culture shock* stage of disintegration, in many cases, the sojourner develops strategies for reintegration to varying degrees into the host culture. This usually will involve some degree of introspection about oneself as a cultural being. Adler (1975) argues that "the transitional experience begins with the encounter of another culture and evolves into the

encounter with the self" (18), implying that the transitional experience is a movement from a state of low self and cultural awareness to a state of higher awareness.

There are several schools of thought as to how sojourners move from the *disintegration* stage to the *adaptation* stage which have been categorised, as is the Western tendency, by Anderson (1994) into four schools. The first theory discussed previously argues that the points of passage from *crisis* through to *recovery* are stages in the working out of new identities incorporating both the old and new selves. A second group of theorists see cross-cultural adaptation as a learning process. One strand of this school argues that the learning of social behaviour is of paramount importance. To adapt to a new set of implicit norms the sojourner must learn the parameters of the new sociocultural system and acquire the necessary sociopragmatic skills to participate in it. Another strand of this school of thought, encompassing communication theorists, suggests that intercultural sojourning is a process of stress, adaptation and growth focusing on the role of communication in the sojourning process. The reaction to stress, it is argued, is to adapt. The sojourner adapts by communicating with people of the host culture and through communication the sojourner gradually learns the ways of the new culture. The sojourner therefore "grows into a new kind of person at a higher level of integration" (Gudykunst and Kim, 1997:362). Anyone spending time in an unfamiliar culture would likely agree that developing competence in the language of the host culture will usually afford opportunities for an enhanced understanding of the new sociocultural context and subsequently result in higher levels of social integration.

A third school of thought, the so-called homeostatic models, suggests that acculturation involves the development of a relativistic cultural outlook. The basic premise of these models can be considered to stem from Piaget's (1975) equilibration theory arguing that cross-cultural adaptation is a process of reducing internal imbalance that is introduced to the sojourner when confronted with a foreign culture. The sojourner has their own criteria of adequacy and uses this to evaluate the changing relationship between the individual's frame of reference, their behaviour, and the ambient environment. This may go some way to explaining why high self-esteem individuals frequently have greater difficulty in adjusting to contrasting cultures and have a greater propensity to react with aggression and hostility (Kernis et al., 1992).

A final school of thought considers acculturation as a process of both recovery and of learning, and has been conceptualised as the *acculturation as a psychological journey* model. The sojourner moves from the fringes to the centre of a foreign culture and from a state of ignorance or denial to a state of understanding and empathy. Milton Bennett's (1986 cited Bennett 1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity is perhaps the most celebrated of these models and argues that the sojourner evolves from the *ethnocentric* early days to a position of *ethnorelativism* whereby differences observed in the host culture are integrated into their worldview. Figure 1.3 demonstrates how intercultural sensitivity develops over time in Bennett's model.

Development of Intercultural Sensitivity

Experience of difference

Denial   Defense   Minimization   Acceptance   Adaptation   Integration

Ethnocentrism ⟹ Ethnorelativism
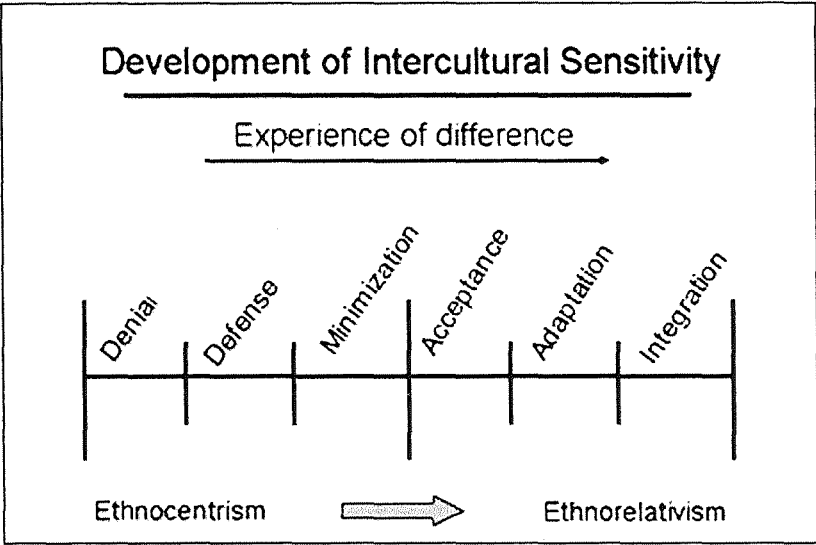
Figure 1.3 – Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennett, 1993)

The initial ethnocentric stages of development are characterised at first by *denial* that cultural differences exist and the assumption that "the worldview of one's own culture is central to all reality" (Bennett, 1993:30). *Defence* takes the negative forms of denigration of and superiority over the host culture. The concept of reversal is also introduced here suggesting that some sojourners may denigrate their own cultural background believing in the superiority of the host culture. *Minimization* is the tendency to ignore cultural differences and focus on cultural similarities.

Bennett's model argues that *acceptance* marks a fundamental difference in how cultural difference is treated and is the first of the ethnorelativistic stages. This stage is characterised by an understanding that differences exist between cultures. The *adaptation* stage implies the development of the skills necessary for effective

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functioning within the cultural frames of reference of others. The *integration* stage is reached according to the model when a sojourner manages the internalisation of bi- or multicultural frames of reference. In this stage, a further sub-stage is suggested labelled *integrated marginality.* This implies that one has developed a meta-awareness of culture and an ability to create a worldview outside of any one cultural frame of reference. This ability is frequently cited as a desirable goal of intercultural education and was refined from a concept first articulated by Adler (1977 cited Sparrow, 2000), a decade prior to the conception of Bennett's model. It seems that the Bennett model can be equally applied to contexts outside of the overseas sojourn wherein contact with alternative cultural frames of reference takes place. There may for example be evidence of reciprocal development of intercultural sensitivity when a host family welcome an international sojourner into their home.

Sparrow argues against *integrated marginality* in that through her research with four highly interculturally experienced women, all deemed to be have adapted and ultimately integrated into their host communities, the reality of intercultural settlers she claims is that "while the Cartesian capacities for objectivity, detachment, and cognitive sophistication which he [Adler] described are valuable attributes in an interculturalist, the results of this study and its brief investigation of research into non-western and multicultural identity development theories suggest that the capacity for subjectivity, connection and commitment to specific communities provide an important complement to Adler's ideas" (2000: 198). In other words, Sparrow argues that in a sojourner/settler context, intercultural learning and cultural adaptation occur through meaningful and successful interactions with members of the host culture.

From the discussion above, it can be argued that each of these models has contributed to the general understanding of cross-cultural adaptation. They seem to have a common thread in that all propose psychological acculturation to be a phenomenon at the individual level and that changes, referred to by Berry (1994) as behavioural shifts, generally occur in the participants' values, attitudes, abilities and motives. As a result, this will often lead to shifts in sense of self as relativised in new cultural contexts, in other words cultural identity change. However, taken in isolation it seems that none of the models can provide a complete picture of the process. For this reason, Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) have attempted to draw together a holistic and

encompassing framework for intercultural sojourning, integrating much of the research and theory on cultural learning to date. This is presented in Figure 1.4 below and identifies the acculturation process as seen in the various stage models incorporating a range of micro and macro variables which are suggested predictors of adjustive outcomes of the sojourn.
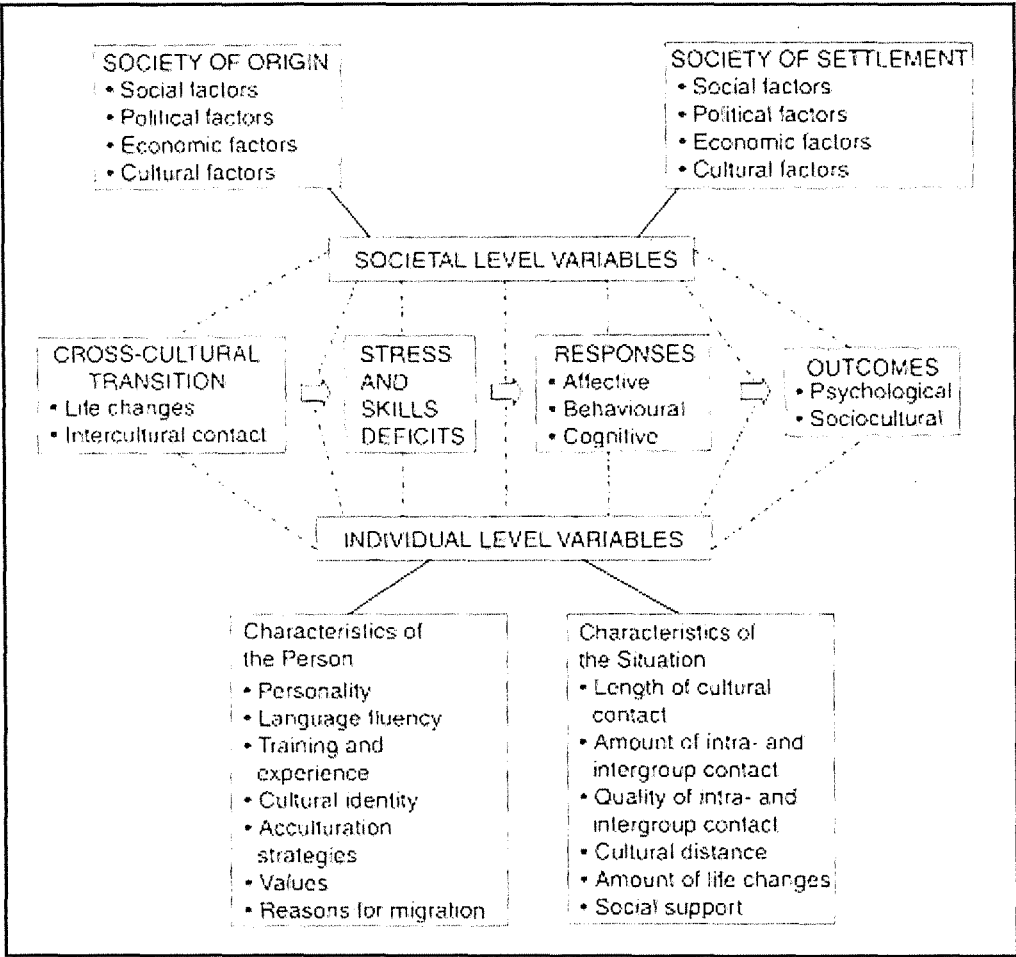
Figure 1.4 – The Acculturation Process (Ward et al., 2001)

The model therefore suggests that variables exist at both the societal level and the individual level which may exert an influence on the response a sojourner will have to a cultural transition. Also important is the affective, behavioural, cognitive (ABC) categorisation of responses to cultural transitions which seems to be very much present as a guiding framework in much of the cross-cultural psychology literature. In the context of Taiwanese academic sojourners in the UK, behavioural acculturation might mean actively participating in seminar debates, cognitive acculturation might be an understanding of the cultural and pedagogical reasoning as to why students are

encouraged to participate in seminar debates, and affective acculturation may mean enjoying participating in seminar debates.

The models presented in this section, while offering useful insight into the acculturation process, have the Western tendency of being rather linear in their categorisation of the complex phenomena with which they are concerned. This has been highlighted in the recent work of Shaules (2004; 2007) whose *deep culture* model attempts to address this issue through the distinction between acculturation at shallower and deeper levels of culture.

1.4.4 Levels of Culture and Acculturation

The philosophical complexity of the concept of culture has led to numerous attempts at conceptualisation into cognitively manageable frameworks. One such attempt is that of a layered model of culture originally proposed by Edgar Schein (1985) and developed by Trompenaars (1993) as in Figure 1.5 below:
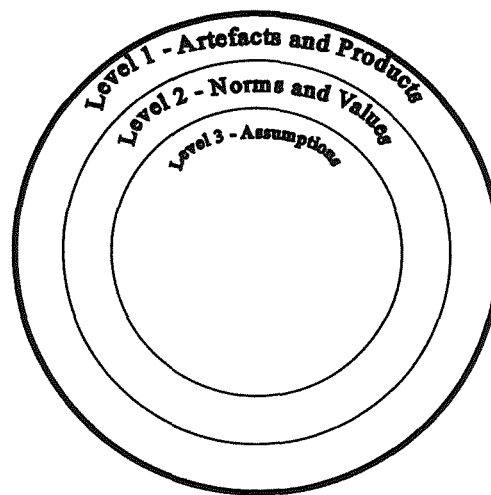
Figure 1.5 – A Model of Culture (Trompenaars, 1993)

The outer layer described by Trompenaars as *explicit* culture, refers to the observable realities of the culture such as language, fashions, agriculture, monuments, observable habits and behaviours. The middle layer, norms and values, reflects deeper layers of culture. Norms, as seen previously, are a sense of what is right and wrong and can develop on a formal level as written laws, and on an informal level as social control. Values, by contrast, determine an individual's definitions of good and bad. Finally, the

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core layer, assumptions about existence, refers to the core of human existence and the basic human need for survival. Another common conceptualisation of levels of culture can be seen in the metaphorical *Culture Iceberg* model. This suggests that above the surface is the observable and the behavioural while below the surface is the hidden, the cognitive and the affective (Figure 1.6).
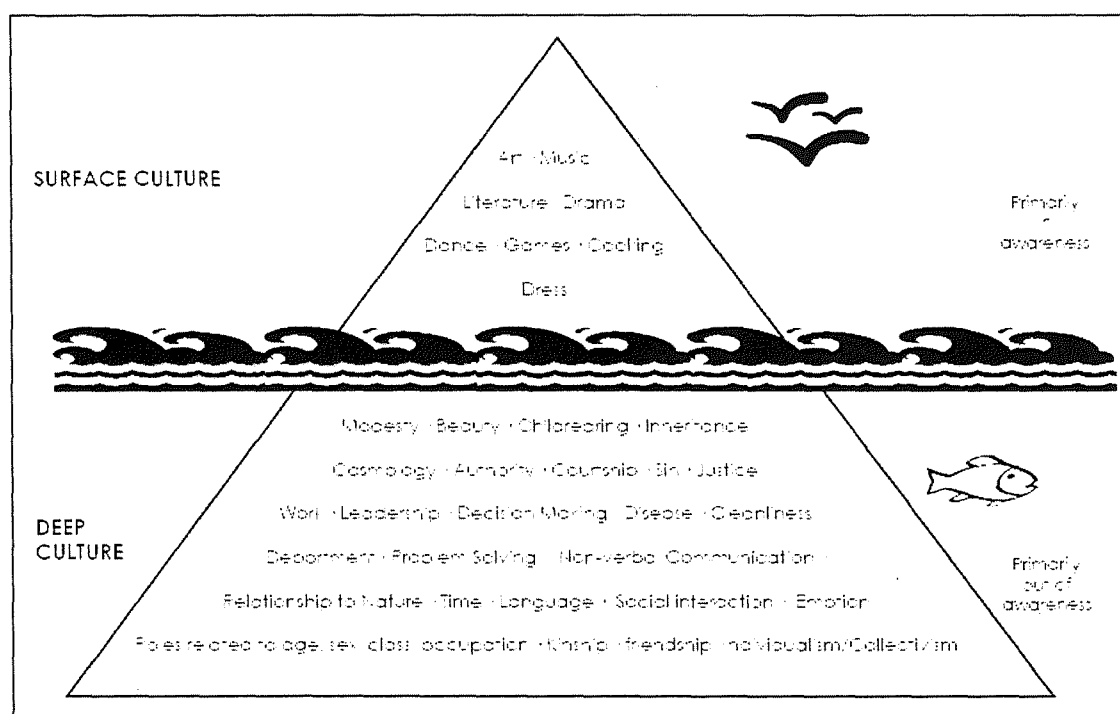
Figure 1.6 – The Cultural Iceberg (adapted from www.hsp.org)

Shaules's (2004) deep culture model of acculturation is a result of research into deep and shallow cultural learning theoretically constructed on the Bennett model. In his model, Shaules argues for three possible reactions to intercultural experience, *resistance, acceptance,* and *adaptation,* each of which, it is proposed, can occur at varying degrees of cultural depth. Summarising these concepts, *resistance* is used to describe negative judgements related to cultural difference, may involve denigration, and can be seen to correspond broadly to the ethnocentric stages of Bennett's model. *Acceptance,* the first of Bennett's ethnorelativistic stages, refers to an acknowledgement that a cultural difference exists without any attempt to make a change in response. *Adaptation,* a higher degree of ethnorelativism, suggests change, conscious or unconscious, in order to respond to the demands of an intercultural environment. Shaules posits that resistance, acceptance, and adaptation can occur at different levels of

culture and that the same sojourner may not necessarily manifest the same reaction at different levels. A diagrammatic representation of this can be seen in Figure 1.7.
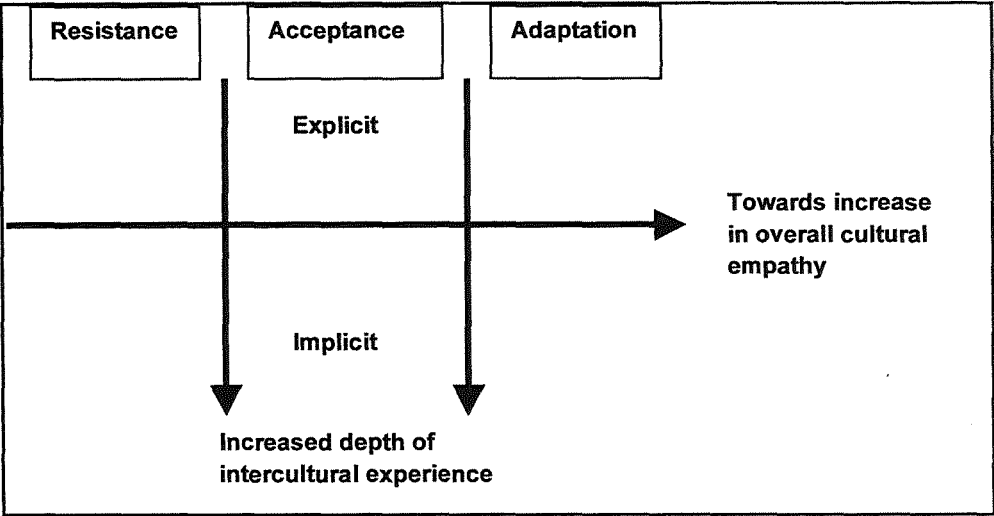
Figure 1.7 – Shaules's Deep Culture Model of Cultural Learning (Shaules, 2004)

Applying this model to the present study for example, a female respondent Catherine started drinking tea with milk, a manifestation of *adaptation* at a shallow, explicit level of culture while at the same time berating and therefore *resisting* the culturally deeper practice of parenting and childrearing in the host culture which she perceived as producing undisciplined children. Whereas applying such contrastive reactions in the linear Bennett model would evidently be problematic, Shaules's multidimensional model can accommodate such complications in reported cultural learning as in Figure 1.8 below.
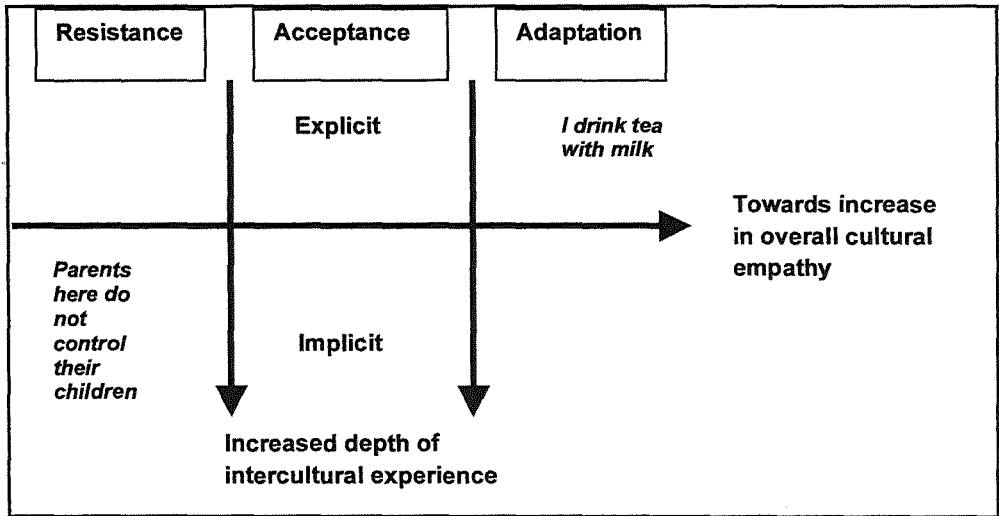
Figure 1.8 – Application of Shaules's Deep Culture Model of Cultural Learning

This extra dimension of cultural learning adds a richness to the explanation of the cultural transition experience which has arguably been lost in the linear models prior to Shaules's study. Caution needs to be taken however when applying this model in that visible cultural artefacts at the surface level are frequently underpinned by the deeper norms, values and assumptions of that culture. Taking another example from this study, Jimmy made the following comment in his narrative:

> "I think my looking is a little bit different, I use hair gel to sticking my hair, that is more like an English" (Jimmy).

In the context of Shaules's model, this would suggest *adaptation* with cultural learning occurring at the superficial level of visible behaviour. While the debate continues as to whether importance of physical appearance is more pronounced in individualistic cultures, as a way of asserting individualism, or collectivistic cultures, concerned to a greater degree about how they are seen by others (Sun et al, 2004), Jimmy considers that using hair gel brings him closer in his behaviour to that witnessed during his sojourn in the UK. Whether Jimmy's adaptation in behaviour is a mimicking of surface level behaviour or an internalisation of deeper cultural assumptions is not entirely clear from this statement. Therefore, when applying the model in a research context, the researcher should remain cognisant of this fact and attempt to probe into the nature of the cultural assumption behind the visible modifications in behaviour. Due consideration is given to the concept of deep and shallow cultural learning throughout the analysis of the data with the Shaules model playing a central role in the theoretical underpinnings to the present study. Having explored some of the seminal and more recent theoretical foundations in the field of intercultural sojourns, the next area of focus in this chapter concerns the third stage of the cultural transition cycle, that of the return home.

1.5   Cross-Cultural Transitions – Returning Home

Firstly, it is important to consider the definition of reentry guiding this inquiry with reference to Adler's early yet poignant: "the transition from a foreign culture back into one's home culture. It is the experience of facing previously familiar surroundings after living in a different environment for a significant period of time" (1976, p.343). With

this definition in mind, seminal and more recent research and theory as to the nature of reentry will be presented and discussed.

1.5.1 Theories of Reentry

Among the first discussions of the issue of coming home in the literature was raised by Gullahorn and Gullahorn who in 1963 extended Lysgaard's (1955) U-Curve model to include the sojourner's return home. They found that when the sojourner returned home, they often experienced a very similar adjustment process to that during their sojourn This is now frequently referred to in both theory and practice as *reverse culture shock* or *reentry shock*. The sojourner's readjustment to their home culture results in two U-curves (one when going to the foreign culture, one when returning home), or the W-curve model of intercultural transitions as seen in Figure 1.9 below.
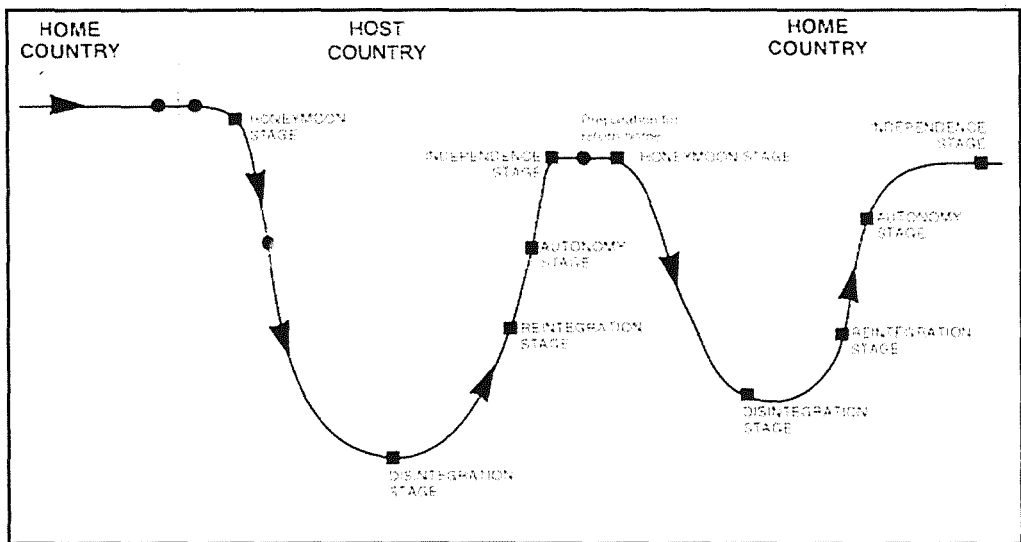
Figure 1.9 – The W-Curve (Based on Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963)

Again an intuitively attractive model frequently used in cross-cultural training, the W-Curve, like the U-Curve, has equally been the subject of scepticism fuelled debate. Researchers soon began arguing that the return home stage of the sojourn was psychologically unlike that of the cultural adjustment stage into the foreign culture. Martin (1984) for example is one prominent theorist who remarked that readjusting to one's home culture may well be more difficult than the adjustment process taking place during an overseas sojourn. She proposed that reentry should be considered as one form of cultural adjustment, academics needing to understand how this process is similar to and different from adjusting to life in a foreign culture. At that time of writing, she also

remarked that there was relatively little research into understanding the reentry process of overseas sojourners.

Since that time, research momentum has slowly increased as wide lacunae in the literature have been revealed and researchers have set about examining the re-entry experiences of sojourners moving between a variety of cultures, in a variety of contexts, with an inevitable variety of contradictory results. The discussion of the primary data in this study will present certain among these studies in more detail however, by way of example, if the W-Curve model is to be believed, a universal negative response to reentry would seem to be predictable. While this is a fairly consistent finding among North American population samples, who remain the most studied cultural group, research, especially with population samples from other cultural backgrounds, does not result in uniformly negative responses (e.g Wilson, 1986). This is reminiscent of the significant percentage of sojourners who never experience negative culture shock on contact with the host culture, as seen contradicting the U-Curve model previously.

Sussman (2000) argues that despite the increase in re-entry research, much of this has remained largely descriptive. She does nevertheless provide a useful three part categorisation of the various theoretical models proffered. First, she argues, is the school of thought which she names the reductionists who argue that all transitions or adjustments are variants of the same process. Referring back to the discussion of culture shock previously, a similar theme was proposed by Bennett (1977) wherein the psychological process of re-entry is likened to going to university or having a baby.

The second view identified allows for the distinctiveness of cultural transitions from other transitional experiences but, like the W-Curve Model, still views moving to a new culture and returning home as essentially the same. These models, Sussman contends, emphasise the response to changing environments and sociocultural contexts. As with the overseas transition, the reentry experience is considered to be a response to an unfamiliar environment and unexpected social cues. While there is empirical support for these factors being relevant to the sojourn stage of the cycle, there seems to be little support for this theory in the context of reentry except in uncommon cases of exceptionally long sojourns or adolescent sojourners whose social context changes very rapidly.

The final perspective recognises the unique qualities of the re-entry process as distinct from the adjustment process to a new culture (e.g. Uehara, 1986) highlighting that typically returning home does not involve linguistic challenges, removal of familiar social and behavioural cues, or the learning of new cognitive schemas. Despite this, several studies have revealed that frequently sojourners actually find re-entry adjustment more psychologically challenging than the initial overseas adjustment (e.g. Adler, 1981; Sussman, 1986), explained by Sussman (2000) as the result of self-concept disturbances and subsequent shifts in cultural identity during the overseas sojourn. On coming home, interpersonal relationship difficulties, feelings of loneliness and loss, contempt for one's culture of origin, and even clinical depression and feelings of grief (e.g. Chamove and Soeterik, 2006) are not uncommonly reported in the literature (Ward et al, 2001). Besides shifts in cultural identity, the key concepts that differentiate reacculturation from acculturation have been identified as the following: (a) the unexpectedness of re-entry problems, (b) a fixed perception of an unchanged homeland, (c) the returnee's unawareness of his/her own changes, (d) family, friends and colleagues expecting an unchanged returnee, and (e) a general lack of interest in a returnee's foreign experience (Onwumechilia et al., 2003).

As mentioned above, unexpectedness of re-entry problems is a major factor and is believed to represent among the most significant predictive variables of possible intensity of the negative re-entry experience, as identified in a study of American students returning from New Zealand (Rogers and Ward, 1993). The study showed that the students largely had inaccurate expectations of re-entry and were generally unaware that they may face readjustment difficulties when arriving home. Significantly, when re-entry was more difficult than expected, students reported greater levels of depression and anxiety. Among other predictive variables that have been found to affect reacculturation to the home culture identified by various research studies (although sometimes contradicted in others) summarised by Martin and Harrell (2004) are sojourn length, level of desire to return home, past experience of travel abroad, motivation for the foreign sojourn, satisfaction in the foreign country and at home, extent of cultural identity shift and value change, tightness of home culture (Kidder, 1992), and a variety of individual personality traits such as age (Uehara, 1986), gender (Rorhlich and Martin, 1991) and two concepts which will be discussed in the subsequent section, cultural

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centrality and cultural flexibility (Sussman, 2000). How these variables play out in the specific context of the present study will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters to come.

From the above discussion, it is apparent therefore that the nature of the sojourner in this context is one of cycle, the movement into a new culture and then returning back again. Sussman (2002a), in her review of the existing theory on the sojourner cycle, observed that "existing research rarely addresses the complexity of the relationship between the points in the transition cycle, generally preferring to focus on one point in the cycle, either individual cultural adjustment to the host culture or less frequently, on the return to the home country" (391). It is from this observation that her Cultural Identity Model of the Cultural Transition Cycle (CIM) was borne through the conceptual lens of which the present study will in large part be focused.

1.5.2   Sussman's Cultural Identity Model of the Cultural Transition Cycle

Sussman's (2000) Cultural Identity Model of the Cultural Transition Cycle (CIM) is the product of a desire to provide a more complete and integrated perspective of the entire sojourner cycle and, in particular, has a view to identifying antecedent factors which can be used to predict re-entry affect. The inspiration for its development comes from early observations made by Sussman that re-entry cognition and behaviour is influenced by self-concept disturbances and identity shifts resulting from cultural transitions. The degree to which a sojourner experiences identity shift, according to the model, is related to two variables at the level of the individual: *cultural identity centrality* and *cultural flexibility*. Cultural identity centrality is defined as "the significance of cultural identity to the sojourner" (Sussman, 2000:364). The more central an individual's cultural identity, it is argued, the more likelihood that it will be maintained during a cultural sojourn. Cultural flexibility is defined as "the sojourner's ability to make the necessary modifications in behaviour and thought [to adapt to the host culture]" (ibid.). Individuals with low cultural flexibility, it is argued, might find the new culture too different from their own and consider even the most basic social behaviours incomprehensible, a phenomenon labelled *confusionism* by Shweder (1991).

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Moreover, the model states that both *cultural identity centrality* and *cultural flexibility* have an important role to play in the level of adaptation of the sojourner to the host culture. Individuals with lower centrality but higher flexibility, it is argued, have a tendency to experience a higher level of adaptation to the host culture. Adaptation in Sussman's model is conceptualised as "the successful endpoint of the accommodation process [...] whereby sojourners use to some extent the behavioural repertoire of the host culture to smoothly engage in social relationships" (Sussman, 2000:364). Seemingly focusing on the behavioural component of acculturation, it is however important to note that adjustment is not considered by the model to be a continuous variable, rather a multivariate, where different scripts are more or less resistant to change. This could be reminiscent of Shaules's multilevel approach to cultural learning which can arguably provide a more comprehensive conceptualisation of adaptation than that offered in Sussman's model. The latter argues that dependent on the antecedent factors of cultural identity centrality and cultural flexibility, a sojourner will manifest a *Low, Medium* or *High* level of *adaptation* to the host culture ("the outcome in which individuals modify their cognitions, behaviours, and interpretations of behaviours to match the new cultural environment better" - Sussman, 2000:360). For the purposes of this study then, Shaules's *resistance* could be mapped onto Sussman's *low* adaptation, Shaules's *acceptance* would imply Sussman's *medium* adaptation, and Shaules's *adaptation* could be seen to correspond largely to a *high* level of Sussman's adaptation.

Using her model, Sussman found significant statistical support for the hypothesis that there is an association between a sojourner's shift in cultural identity and their subsequent repatriation experience. Her argument for this is that the higher the level of self-concept disturbance, the higher the level of cognitive dissonance on returning to the home culture. However, in her study of American sojourners returning from Japan, statistical findings rejected the hypothesis that there is a direct positive correlation between level of adaptation to the host culture and repatriation distress. This finding is in counter to the more prevalent view in the literature that the more successfully integrated the sojourner was into the host culture, the more repatriation discomfort felt upon returning home (e.g. Suda, 1999; Rohrlich and Martin, 1991; Kim, 2001).

Below are presented three variations of Sussman's model which posit four identity profiles resulting from significant cultural sojourns. The first (Figure 1.10) shows what

are labelled as *additive* and *subtractive* identity shifts, the second (Figure 1.11) presents the *affirmative* identity shift, and the final figure (1.12) shows what Sussman considers to be the less common *intercultural* or *global* identity. Commencing with Figure 1.10, subtractive and additive cultural identity responses, the sojourner begins the sojourn unaware of culture as being part of their identity. Cultural identity salience occurs as the sojourner is immersed in the host culture. As seen previously, it is generally accepted that "the cultural component in all kinds of behaviour is difficult to grasp for people who have always remained embedded in the same cultural environment; it takes a prolonged stay abroad and mixing with other nationals there for us to recognise the numerous and often subtle differences in the ways they and we behave, because that is how our society has programmed us" (Hofstede, 2001:18). For these two identity shifts to occur, Sussman argues that individuals will experience a *high* level of adaptation to the host culture either, in the case of the subtractive shift, because cultural identity centrality tends to be low and cultural flexibility is of a moderate level or, in the case of the additive shift, because centrality is moderate and flexibility is high. Ultimately, it is proposed, adaptation will be *high* due to the sojourner's instability of self-esteem and lack of clarity about their own self-concept. Sussman (2000) does however point to the significance of features of the host culture in the adaptation of overseas sojourners when she argues: "despite low cultural identity centrality and high cultural flexibility, a sojourner might find adaptation stymied without the cooperation, encouragement or at a minimum the lack of hostility by host individuals" (370).

Upon returning to the culture of origin, both subtractive and additive identity shifts tend to result in negative reentry affect manifesting itself in stress, anxiety and uncomfortable interpersonal relations. In the case of the subtractive identity shift, this is because the sojourner feels that they have less in common with their compatriots and are less comfortable with the home culture's norms and values. This is, on the one hand, corroborated by studies such as that of Ward (1999) who found that many of the sample of US sojourners in Singapore she researched felt less American over time but equally, on the other, contradicted by Yeh et al. (1973) who noted in their study of US sojourners in Taiwan that "what is ironic is that despite their alienation and escapism, the Americans in Taiwan, almost without exception, experienced a substantial increase in their identities as Americans" (370). The feeling of discomfort resulting from a subtractive identity shift has been likened to the feeling of the *marginal man* (Park,

1928), an individual living in two different worlds, in both of which the individual is a stranger. Park used this metaphor for children of immigrants "living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two different peoples; never quite willing to break, even if permitted to do so, with past and traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which they now sought to find a place" (892). However this definition, it can be argued, is equally valid for sojourners experiencing a subtractive identity shift.

For those experiencing the additive identity shift, this is characterised by the sojourner feeling more similar in their cultural frames of reference to others in the host culture. This is often manifested in the sojourner seeking contact with host culture nationals when they return home with beliefs and behaviours adopted in the host culture being brought home with them. It is important to note the model proposes that the additive and subtractive cultural identity shifts are not mutually exclusive and may occur in tandem in the same sojourner. Indeed, it could be argued that in most cases an additive shift towards the behaviours, values and beliefs of a host culture would imply a subtractive shift away from those of one's home culture.

Figure 1.10 – Sussman's CIM – Additive and Subtractive Identity Shifts

| SALIENCE | | ADJUSTMENT PROCESS and Self-Variables | | ADAPTATION | | SELF-CONCEPT DISTURBANCES |

Cultural Identity → *Cultural Identity* →

C.I. Centrality-*Low*
Cultural Flexibility- *Moderate*

C.I. Centrality-*Moderate*
Cultural Flexibility-*High*

→ *High* →

Stability of self -esteem *Low*

Clarity of self-concept *Low*

Repatriation Commences →

Cultural Identity Response

SUBTRACTIVE

ADDITIVE

→

Repatriation Affect

NEGATIVE-- Stress, uncomfortable interpersonal relations

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The third identity shift proposed by the model, labelled *affirmative* (see Figure 1.11), proposes that the sojourner's home-culture identity is maintained and ultimately strengthened through the transition cycle. As with the additive and subtractive shifts, the sojourner manifesting an affirmative shift begins the sojourn with little awareness of a cultural identity, the salience of which becomes stronger on contact with the host culture. High cultural identity centrality and low cultural flexibility mean that this individual manifests a low level of adaptation to the host culture and tends not to be interested in cultural discrepancies. This ultimately leads to a rejection to a large extent of the host culture. This reaction would seemingly correspond to Bennett's ethnocentric stages of acculturation and Shaules's *resistance*. Time tends to be spent with other home culture expatriates engaging in home culture activities. When the sojourner returns home, they report a sense of relief being happy to be back, and feel that their earlier cultural identity has been affirmed. Sussman's model argues that individuals experiencing this type of cultural identity shift have little self-concept disturbance because they have high levels of stability of self-esteem. However, it could also be argued that this type of sojourner may have a lower self-esteem, rejecting the host culture as a defensive mechanism to help overcome feelings of discomfort resulting from the unfamiliar situational cues characterised by culture shock. Perhaps in many cases this type of sojourner never moves beyond the disintegration stage through into the adjustment stages of Lysgaard's U-curve model seen previously.

The fourth category of cultural identity shift, the *intercultural* or *global* identity shift (Figure 1.12 below) suggests a self-concept which allows the individual to interact appropriately and effectively in more than one culture. Low cultural identity centrality and high cultural flexibility facilitate adjustment resulting in a high level of adaptation to the host culture. Also noteworthy in the model is the sojourner, prior to commencing the sojourn, already has an awareness of a cultural identity, resulting from either previous international sojourns or from minority status in their home country. The model predicts that individuals manifesting intercultural identity shifts experience relatively little re-entry distress and once home are inclined to maintain an international perspective through multicultural friendships and continued international travel. Sussman also draws attention to the fact that repeated travel, in itself, is not sufficient to result in an intercultural identity. In fact, research suggests that often multiple repatriation occurrences result in more distress rather than less (Suda, 1999).

Figure 1.11 – Sussman's CIM – Affirmative Identity Shift

SALIENCE		ADJUSTMENT PROCESS and Self-Variables	ADAPTATION	SELF-CONCEPT DISTURBANCES

Cultural Identity → *Cultural Identity* → Cultural discrepancies ignored → **C.I. Centrality-***High* **Cultural Flexibility-***Low* → *Low* → **Stability of self -esteem** *High* **Clarity of self-concept** *High*

Cultural Identity Response

Repatriation Affect

Repatriation Commences → *AFFIRMATIVE* → *POSITIVE--* Comfort at being home; Grateful repatriate

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Figure 1.12 – Sussman's CIM – Intercultural Identity Shift

SALIENCE	ADJUSTMENT PROCESS and Self-Variables	ADAPTATION	SELF-CONCEPT DISTURBANCES

Cultural Identity → *Cultural Identity* → Cultural discrepancies recognised → **C.I. Centrality-***Low* **Cultural Flexibility-***High* → *High* → **Complexity of self-concept** *High*

Stability of self -esteem *High*

Clarity of self-concept *High*

Cultural Identity Response

Repatriation Affect

Repatriation Commences → *INTERCULTURAL* → *MODERATE to POSITIVE--* Comfort at being home; Eager to travel again

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Sussman's Cultural Identity Model of Cultural Transitions was conceived and has been tested in the context of American sojourners (students studying abroad, English teachers, corporate expatriates), and more recently with Japanese and Hong Kong returnees (e.g. Sussman 2005). Despite the support found in these more recent test studies, Sussman herself argues that the model "is most applicable to sojourners from cultures in which individualism is high and cultural identity is low in centrality and salience" (2002a: 394). Furthermore, as generalisation of the results was required in previous studies, testing of the model has until recently been primarily carried out quantitatively with large-scale survey questionnaires. More recent reentry research has begun taking a more qualitative approach to its methodological approach: French sojourners returning from Australia (Patron, 2006), Cypriot students returning from the US (Thomson and Christofi, 2006), and qualitative data collected by Sussman (2005) herself with Hong Kong returnees following working sojourns in North America.

The aim of the present study therefore is to contribute to this growing body of literature through the exploration of the sparsely researched context of the cultural transition cycle of the Taiwanese academic sojourner to the UK, using the Sussman model as one framework within which to situate discussion. Furthermore, through qualitative data gathering techniques, it is the intention of this study to go beyond the generalisable and into more in-depth exploration of this undeniably important phenomenon.

1.6   Research Questions

Following the critical analysis of existing theory and previous research, it is worth now revisiting the research questions guiding this enquiry as presented briefly in the previous introductory chapter. Constructed primarily upon the insights of the Sussman, Bennett and Shaules models presented earlier, this study therefore seeks to explore the cultural transition cycles of Taiwanese academic repatriates having returned home following a study sojourn in the UK. The following research questions have therefore been identified:

1) How do Taiwanese repatriates narrate their academic sojourn experience in the UK and, in particular, what is its perceived influence on cultural identity?

2) How do Taiwanese repatriates narrate the return experience to Taiwan and, in particular, what is the perceived interplay between cultural identity and returning home?

Furthermore, as mentioned previously, the influence of individual, situational and societal variables on emergent trends in the cultural transition cycle will be the subject of detailed consideration throughout the research process.

1.7   Conclusion

This chapter has sought to position the present research study amidst the growing body of academic literature pertaining to the relatively young domain of cross-cultural psychology theory. Through discussion of many of the influential theoretical frameworks and seminal research studies, it has traced the development of this academic field from its early origins until present day. It seems evident from the discussion that the timeliness, academic value, and contribution to practice of the present investigation can be well justified. The following chapter will now continue with a presentation of the methods of enquiry selected in order to best carry out this study with the required rigour of doctoral research.

CHAPTER 2 – METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide details of the methodological choices made in this research study and the reasoning behind these decisions. It will begin by considering philosophical and theoretical research concerns before proceeding to discuss the practical research design considerations of data collection method, sampling techniques, data quality and ethical issues and, finally, data analysis techniques.

2.2 Research Philosophy

Cohen at al (2000) contend that there exist two broad schools of thought influencing the research process, namely normativism, interpretivism. Proponents of objectivism in research would tend towards the normative paradigm, sometimes referred to as positivism, which is an approach that seeks to collect data in order to test hypotheses with the intention of establishing objective, measurable laws. For positivists, the aim of social research is to discover the patterns and regularities of the social world by using scientific methods used in the natural sciences (Denscombe, 2003). In order to achieve its objectives, positivistic research will typically employ quantitative data collection methods and statistical analysis techniques (Saunders et al, 2003).

The ontological and epistemological bases of positivism have been the focus of sustained criticism for their mechanistic and reductionist view of nature, giving rise to the anti-positivist, interpretivist paradigm. The interpretivist paradigm centres on the understanding of the socially constructed, subjective world of human experience predominantly through the collection of qualitative data. It therefore strives to understand and interpret the world in terms of its actors, as opposed to positivism, which focuses more narrowly upon forming generalisable laws and rules of behaviour (Collis and Hussey, 2003). It is important to note that these paradigms should not be considered as purely separate entities and that the "practical reality is that research rarely falls neatly into one philosophical domain" (Saunders et al, 2003:85).

Much of the existing research in the domain of cross-cultural psychology has tended towards a quantitative approach to data collection and analysis. Until recently, the same held true in the study of the cultural transition cycle and, as such, research mostly seems to have largely neglected to carry out in-depth exploration of the phenomenon. It is frequently argued that "both [quantitative and qualitative] poles are necessary to express the life of human beings" (Aldridge, 1996: 93), therefore from this perceived lacuna the decision was made to tend towards an interpretivist stance so as to hear the individual voices of the target sample and explore their perceptions of the cultural transition cycle at a more personal level. The strength of this approach it has been argued is that it allows a richer, more in-depth understanding of the complexities of phenomena. However critics of the interpretive paradigm identify a weakness in that the data collected can be specific to the particular sample studied, therefore caution should be taken when generalising to a population (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

In his consideration of generalisability in anthropological case study research, social anthropologist J. Clyde Mitchell (1984) introduces the important distinction between 'typical cases' and 'telling cases'. He writes:

> What the anthropologist using a case study to support an argument does is to show how general principles deriving from some theoretical orientation manifest themselves in some given set of particular circumstances. A good case study, therefore, enables the analyst to establish theoretically valid connections between events and phenomena which previously were ineluctable. From this point of view, the search for a 'typical' case for analytical exposition is likely to be less fruitful than the search for a 'telling case' in which the particular circumstances surrounding the case, serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly apparent (238-239).

'Telling cases' are therefore used to investigate theoretical propositions and make visible often contextually specific conceptual issues that have not been seen or discussed previously. This contrasts with the construction of 'typical cases' that are intended to be generalised to all cases everywhere. The 'telling case' approach has informed in large part the understanding of the research process in the present study.

2.3   Research Approach

Research is generally conducted either to test existing theories or to establish new theories in the light of findings. The former refers to deductivism based on Aristotle's logic syllogism and Popper's hypothetico-deductivism, whereby the researcher starts

with a theory or hypothesis and collects data in order to test the theory or prove/disprove the hypothesis. The latter refers to inductivism, an approach to reasoning often credited to Baconian thinking, whereby the researcher collates and analyses data and forms a theory based upon the research findings. Research with interpretive philosophical underpinnings does not seek to provide robust statistical evidence to prove or disprove an existing theory or academic model. Rather, taking an existing theory or model as a starting point, qualitative data can be used to explore the complexities of the necessarily simplified generalisations of these models. This is true of the present study which takes existing academic theory, in particular the Shaules and Sussman, and to a lesser extent, the Bennett models as theoretical frameworks within which to explore, through the use of 'telling cases', the complexities of the cultural transition cycle in this particular research context.

Closely linked to the positivism/interpretivism debate is the quantitative/qualitative dichotomy which refers to the nature of the data being collected. Whereas carefully designed survey instruments collect quantitative data which can offer statistically validated proof of theoretical assumptions, in-depth exploration of human experience can be probed more deeply though the collection of qualitative interview-based data (Creswell, 2003). In an earlier publication Creswell (1998) proposes that:

> Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The research builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting (15).

Creswell emphasises the complex, holistic nature of qualitative inquiry which "takes the reader into the multiple dimensions" (ibid:15) of the phenomenon under scrutiny. It is with this in mind that a qualitative approach was best felt to fit the aim of the present research study.

A further theoretical decision a researcher needs to consider concerns the research timeframe. A clear distinction is drawn between longitudinal and cross-sectional studies, the former gathering data over an extended period of time, the latter collecting data at one particular point in time (Cohen et al, 2000). Ward et al (2001) argue that the best research into the sojourns of international students is that which is carried out

longitudinally. However, given the length of the sojourn cycle of the students in the present study (ranging from 3 years to 9 years in total from before leaving the home culture until returning to that same culture), the time constraints imposed on this study required data to be collected from each respondent at one point in time, after returning home, using retrospection technique.

Retrospection takes place after a process and, in linguistics research, is often criticised in that subjects can forget what has happened to them and may have the tendency to distort their observations (Hansen, 2005). However as Mey (2000) advises, the "problematic implications about the process of retrospection – e.g. the questions of 'Nachträglichkeit' [deferred action], i.e. the (re-) evaluation of past events due to the respective 'Aktualgeschichte' [actual situation, concepts of a person, etc.] – this should not tempt to neglect the potentials of this approach, too" (6). Indeed, due to the adoption of a retrospective approach to data collection, the study is not intended to measure the sojourners' cultural transition cycles in any quantifiable sense, rather to explore individual *perceptions* of the cycle. Karl Weick (1995) suggests that retrospection is the most distinguishing characteristic of sensemaking and therefore using this technique allows respondents' to employ their memory as a guide in terms of making sense of the cultural transition process, as it is perceived by them.

Furthermore, since the overseas academic sojourn is reported in the narratives of the respondents in this study as among the most significant events of their lives, the life changing nature of the experience allowed it to be recollected with seemingly little difficulty despite some respondents having returned several years previously. Two respondents who will both be introduced shortly offer good examples of the clarity of recollection of the cultural transition cycle:

> *Interviewer- How long did you spend in the UK?*
>
> "19th of September of 2003 and I back on 2nd of January 2005, I remember the exact dates because it is very important to me, it's a really new experience in my life" (Mabel).

> *Interviewer- How long did you spend in the UK?*
>
> "Eight and a half years, September 23rd 1996 till January 9th 2005. I remember when I went and I remember when I came back" (Jill).

However, Hansen's words are well taken and special care was taken to allow the respondent the time to recollect events as perceived. Furthermore, analysis of the data paid particular attention to potential inconsistencies in the telling of stories of each respondent, evidence of which proved in fact to be nonexistent throughout the data set.

2.4   Situating the Researcher

"The great misunderstanding over Chinese rites sprang from our judging their practises in the light of ours" - Voltaire (1756)

Were Voltaire alive today, he would likely be disappointed to read Chang's (2000 cited Watkins and Biggs, 2001) observation some two hundred and fifty years later confirming that research into the Chinese people has a tendency to "find 'Chineseness' in all the wrong places" (188). Definitions of Chineseness, in her opinion, are expressed in terms of deviance from Western norms, and generally as being "interestingly different from the world defined by and constructed within mainstream, that is Western, psychology" (188). Watkins and Biggs (2001) advise that the *right* places to look are in the places where the Chinese normally exist, that is, in the world of conceptual constructs contextualised within their communities. They label this *vernacular Confucianism* or Confucianism as it may be relevant and interpreted by ordinary Chinese people today. This advice was continually reflected upon throughout the process of the present research study.

The positivistic paradigm's claims to provide a world where truth is absolute and statistically provable, reality is singular, methods are standardised, and objectivity is an obtainable commodity, seems to provide quantitative researchers with many philosophical comforts (Bruscia, 2005). The position of the researcher as an outside observer, emotionally removed from their sample group with a very distinct line drawn between themselves and their data is deemed to increase the rigour of the research findings. While the reality of positivistic research cannot deny the influence of personal cultural schemata on the design of data collection tools, it seems that when moving away from such numerical, quantitative philosophical underpinnings to a more interpretivistic approach, the epistemological, ontological and axiomatic stance of the researcher becomes more of a concern.

It is with the observations made in the previous two paragraphs in mind that the decision was taken to spend an extended academic sojourn of one and a half years immersed in the linguistic, cultural and academic milieux of the respondents' home culture, Taiwan. The cultural insight gained during this profoundly rich experience undoubtedly altered the ontological and epistemological stance of the researcher and had this sojourn not been undertaken, it is felt that the data collected in this thesis would have been significantly different in its interpretation. However, it should be noted that the development of the researcher's understanding of and affiliation to the host culture was influenced greatly by an unstructured, undocumented self-aware immersion into Taiwan's culture through living and interacting with local host nationals. Much of the formal data collection, analysis and interpretation in this study has therefore consciously and, in all probability, unconsciously intersected with this loosely ethnographic experience. For example, a number of the respondents in this study became well known acquaintances of the researcher and social interaction with many was not limited to the formal data collection for the purposes of this research study. The role and indeed importance of these interactions in the researcher's research design and data interpretation is well understood and their transparency considered to add rigour to this study.

In addition to the cultural insight gained during the sojourn, a further significant interaction between researcher and data is that upon return to the UK, the researcher had undergone a cultural transition cycle similar to that of the respondents in the study, only in reverse. This experience again had undeniable consequences on the epistemological stance of the researcher. The perspective taken in this study therefore is forcibly that of a *relativist*, embracing the notion that meaning is constructed by the observer and that it is context dependent. Consequently, there was little interest in obtaining absolute truths and universals. Furthermore, no distinct line was drawn between the researcher and the data, in preference, understanding the interaction between the two.

Mruck and Bruer (2003) argue that subjectivity in much research is inevitable, indeed welcomed, but often not addressed with rigour in the research process. They ask the question "Why is it so difficult to talk about ourselves and our presuppositions, choices, experiences, and actions during the research process in a sufficiently precise way so that it allows others to follow what we mean and did?" (no page). This thesis makes no

claim to scientific objectivity but aims to be transparent in its reflectiveness for the very reason that the French ethnopsychoanalyst Georges Devereux (1967 cited ibid.) argues:

> The behavioral scientist should not ignore the interaction between the object and the observer, hoping, that in time this interaction would fade away, if [s]he for a sufficiently long time continued to act as if such an interaction did not take place. Refusing to look for ways to creatively interpret this we will end with collections of more and more meaningless, increasingly segmented, peripheral and even trivial data ... Researchers should stop exclusively underlining treatment and manipulation of the object. Instead, they should simultaneously and sometimes exclusively reflect and understand their role as observers."

The most important then is to remain, as the researcher has attempted in this research process, questioning of one's research practices for "this vigilance from within can aid in a rethinking and questioning of the assumptive knowledges embedded in reflexive practices in ethnographic and qualitative research and work not to situate reflexivity as a confessional act, a cure for what ails us, or a practice that renders familiarity, but rather to situate practices of reflexivity as critical to exposing the difficult and often uncomfortable task of leaving which is unfamiliar, unfamiliar" (Pillow, 2003: 177). That said, as a means of rendering some of the unfamiliar more familiar, the time spent in Taiwan allowed for much of the narrative collected in this study to be discussed with local Taiwanese. Their ontological and epistemological stances, informed in large part by her cultural background and educational upbringing in Taiwan, provided valuable insights and alternative interpretations of comments contributing to the avoidance of an overly westernised interpretation of the data. In this way, the great misunderstanding highlighted by Voltaire above of judging Chinese practises in the light of Western practices was deemed to be addressed with measures necessary to ensure a rigorous research process.

2.5   Research Design and Strategy

The philosophical considerations discussed in the previous section are important in a practical sense as ontological and epistemological assumptions will dictate the decisions made in respect to the research design. This section of the methodology chapter will present the practicalities of the data collection and analysis methods.

2.5.1 Qualitative Interviews

Classifications of interview types are numerous and may cater for different research purposes (Liu, 2002), however they are usually categorised under three headings: fully structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Robson, 2002). In fully structured interviews, the researcher asks respondents a set of pre-determined questions with fixed wording, phrased in a pre-set order normally with a view to collecting quantitative data. Semi-structured interviews also have predetermined questions but contrast in that they offer more flexibility in enabling the researcher to modify their questioning to investigate new ideas raised by the respondent during the interview. Unstructured interviews are based on a general area of interest, but questions are spontaneously posed to the respondent. Unstructured interviews therefore more closely resemble daily conversations. Both semi-structured and unstructured approaches are often referred to as qualitative research interviews (Saunders et al, 2003) and are seen as being non-standardised, where questions may differ from interview to interview. However it should be noted that sometimes a combination of styles may be used within one interview, where one section may ask factual closed questions (such as personal details), while the following sections could explore issues in a more qualitative manner.

In this study, a combination of styles was adopted for all the interviews conducted. The first section was comprised of a standardised set of factual, structured questions. This was in order for the researcher to establish the interviewees' personal demographic details together with previous international experience. The subsequent sections were designed to elicit qualitative responses through open-ended questions and, as such, this latter questioning was based on a number of themes, drawn in large part from the Sussman model, rather than on fully standardised questioning (see Appendix A for the interview outline). Furthermore, a number of triggers were also identified for each question designed for use both as a memory aid for the researcher and as a prompting tool for the respondent. The researcher did however remain mindful of the potential threat to validity through interviewer bias when designing the triggers and care was taken not to encourage respondents to answer in any given direction. The subject of interviewer bias is considered in more detail in subsequent discussion pertaining to data quality below.

It is argued that qualitative semi-structured interviews are particularly advantageous for exploratory research where individual accounts are sought, where establishing personal contact is important and where flexibility to probe interviewees' responses is required (Robson, 2002; Saunders et al, 2003). In noting these points, adopting qualitative research interviews as a method of inquiry was best felt to match the research aims where exploratory accounts of people's perceived experiences and opinions were to be investigated. It is worthy of note that group interview or focus group was also entertained by the researcher at the onset of the study, but was later dismissed as inappropriate in that "the emerging group culture may interfere with individual expression, the group may be dominated by one person and the group format makes it difficult to research sensitive topics" (Fontana and Frey, 1998:55). As some interview questions were considered to be of a personal nature, the possibility of group interview was further obviated.

2.5.2 Interview Question Theme Design – Applying the Sussman Model

Careful consideration was given to the design of the question themes in the interview schedule. It is important to use the concept of *question theme* as it indicates the semi-structured nature of this data collection method. Freedom to elaborate on certain themes through further probing was expected and commonplace throughout the interview process. Given that the overlying research question guiding this enquiry was to explore the cultural transition cycle of Taiwanese academic sojourners in the UK through the conceptual framework of Sussman's model of cultural transitions, question themes were designed to probe specific factors of the cultural transition cycle identified in her model. The interview was pilot tested with two respondents in order to identify and clarify areas of ambiguity and to verify the validity of the schedule. Themes were divided chronologically moving from a pre-sojourn section, through a sojourn section, and into a reentry section. This allowed the interviewee to chronologically recall and trace the journey made, thus facilitating recollection of significant events in the transition cycle. The interview schedule and justification for included question themes will now be discussed.

2.5.2.1 Demographic Question Themes

The questions in this first section were designed to identify possible variables affecting the transition cycle. The first two concerned duration of the sojourn and time elapsed since return. Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity introduced in the Literature Review Chapter suggests that sojourners who have stayed for a long time in the host country are most likely to reach the later stages of ethnorelativism and show sentiments of fondness and allegiance towards such countries (Louie, 2005). Equally, the U-curve and other related stage models of acculturation would suggest time as a factor in reaching the later stages of adaptation and integration to a host culture. Question theme (1a) was included to explore this proposition in the context of Taiwanese academic sojourners in the UK.

Question theme (1a) - How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

Question theme (1b) was interested in the variable of time elapsed since repatriation and whether this had an effect on the sojourners' perception of the cultural transition. Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963) W-curve model would suggest that over time, repatriation distress would lessen as the sojourner worked their way through to the reintegration stage.

Question theme (1b) - How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

The third question theme was designed to explore previous sojourns to gather possible evidence of the influence of this variable on type of cultural identity response. Sussman (2000) indicates that multiple cultural transition experiences are not sufficient to result in an intercultural identity and indeed frequently multiple repatriation occurrences result in more distress rather than less.

Question theme (1c) - Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

Respondents' age, gender and choice of academic course were also identified in this preliminary section of the interview. A conscious effort was made to develop good rapport at this stage, to put the respondent at ease in order to gain confidence and potentially more valid data from the question themes of a more sensitive nature in the later sections.

2.5.2.2 Pre-Sojourn Questions Themes

Pre-sojourn questions themes in the second section were designed to explore characteristics of the individual's motivation, intentions post-study and emotional sentiments immediately prior to the academic sojourn.

Question theme (2a) - Why did you decide to go abroad?
Question theme (2b) - What were your plans after studying in the UK? (Triggers – return to Taiwan, stay in UK, go elsewhere)
Question theme (2c) - Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK? (Triggers - readiness for change, reluctance)

Responses to these three question themes were analysed for evidence of cultural identity centrality and cultural flexibility together with any further demonstration of causal correlation between these variables and the rest of the cultural transition cycle. In addition to the above, the graphical representation below was used as a starting point for discussion into respondents' perceived cultural identity centrality. Respondents were requested to imagine that they were the white circle and Taiwan was the black circle. They were asked to identity how much a part of Taiwanese society they felt prior to the sojourn and to elaborate as to why. This conceptualisation model of cultural identity centrality was adapted with thanks from an online survey conducted by Tetrick, Buffardi and Herman (no date, available at http:// www.crossculturalsurvey.com), the results of which are yet to be published.

YOU AND TAIWAN – PRE-SOJOURN (Cultural ID Centrality)
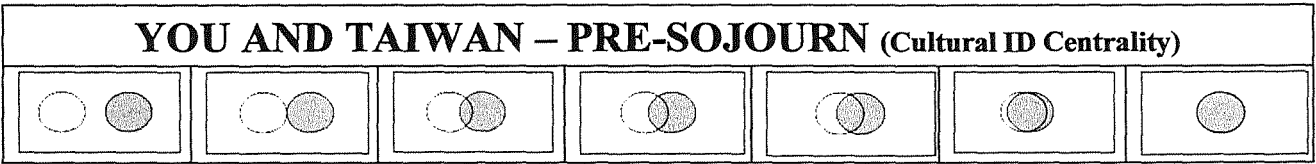
2.5.2.3 Intra-Sojourn Questions Themes

The third section of the interview was designed to elicit the narratives of the respondents concerning the sojourn period spent in the UK. The nature of the interview as semi-structured dictated that if a respondent was felt to have already discussed an issue in their response to a previous question theme, the interview would continue on to the following question theme.

Question theme (3a) - How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

- Exploring – Memory aid for narrative. First and subsequent impressions of the UK. Perception of cultural identity discovery. Acculturation strategies.

Question theme (3b) - What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

- Exploring – Perception of and attitude towards the UK. Cultural identity and awareness development.

Question theme (3c) - How did that make you feel?

- Exploring – Cultural identity development. Cultural flexibility.

Question theme (3d) - With whom did you live? Spend your time? Why?

- Exploring – Cultural flexibility, level of adaptation/integration into host culture. Perceived social networks. Environmental variables contributing to sojourn experience.

Question theme (3e) - Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

- Exploring – Development of cultural identity centrality. Perception of host attitude towards sojourners.

Question theme (3f) - Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK? In what ways? Did you become more English or less Taiwanese in any ways?
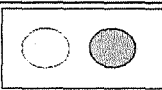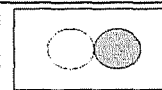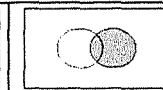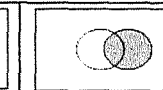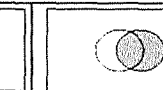
- Exploring – Perceived cultural identity shifts.

Question theme (3g) - How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK? Did you ever feel that the UK was your home?

- Exploring – Depth of adaptation/integration. Cultural flexibility.

Question theme (3h) -

YOU AND THE UK – SOJOURN (Cultural ID Centrality)						

- Exploring – Cultural identity centrality, perceived integration into host culture, cultural flexibility.

Question theme (3i) - Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan? How did you feel about returning to Taiwan before you left the UK? Did you think about

coming back to Taiwan a lot before you left the UK? (Correlation between preparedness and re-entry experience)

- Exploring – Willingness and preparedness to repatriate variables.

2.5.2.4 Post-Sojourn Question Themes

The final section of the interview was designed to explore the repatriation experience of the sojourner in the final stage of the cultural transition cycle.

Question theme (4a) - How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

- Exploring – Memory aid for narrative, willingness to return, repatriation discomfort.

Question theme (4b) - Is this how you expected to feel?

- Exploring – Preparedness for repatriation discomfort.

Question theme (4c) - What did you find easier, going to the UK or coming back to Taiwan? Why?

- Exploring – Level of difficulty reintegrating. This question was discarded after several interviews when it became clear that the theme was being covered adequately in other responses.

Question theme (4d) - When you first came back, had anything changed in Taiwan while you were away?

- Exploring – Changes in home environment can lead to higher levels of repatriation distress (Ward et al., 2001). This question was also discarded in most cases due to the limited length of the sojourns of the majority of respondents.

Question theme (4e) - Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan? Expand.

- Exploring – Perceived cultural identity shift.

Question theme (4f) - If you have changed, does this affect your life in Taiwan? Have you had to change your behaviour to get back into Taiwanese life?

- Exploring – Reintegration and reacculturation to home culture conventions and behavioural expectations.

Question theme (4g) - Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back? Have your relationships changed in any way?

- Exploring – External perceptions of cultural identity change. Implications of sojourn on interpersonal relationships.
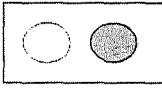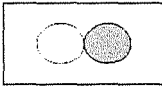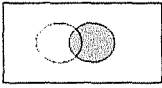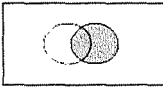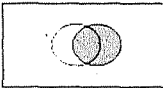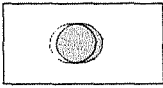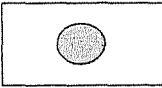
Question theme (4h) - Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country? If so, in what ways?

- Exploring – Cultural identity awareness, cultural identity centrality.

Question theme (4i) - Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK? (Are these friends other Taiwanese students/international students or local people?) Have you been back to the UK since you came back? Do you plan to?

- Exploring – Cultural identity shift, sense of affiliation to host culture.

Question theme (4j) - How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life? Has this changed between the time you first came back and now? Do you feel it has been easy/difficult to get back into Taiwan life?

YOU AND TAIWAN – POST-SOJOURN (Cultural ID Centrality)

- Exploring – Reintegration into home culture. Change over time.

Question theme (4k) - What are your plans for the future?

- Exploring – Life plans. Planned application of the overseas sojourn into respondents' lives. Desire to return to host culture or for another overseas sojourn.

Question theme (4l) - Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally? Why/why not?

- Exploring – Perceived life satisfaction.

Question theme (4m) - Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

- Exploring – Overall perception of sojourn and any further comments.

The question themes presented above were designed both to explore concepts within the Sussman model (cultural identity centrality, cultural flexibility, extent of adaptation, cultural identity shifts, and repatriation affect) and the Shaules model (depth of resistance, acceptance, and adaptation), while simultaneously allowing for further inductive insights into the cultural transition cycle in this context beyond the confines of the theoretical frameworks. Interviews were carried out based around these themes

lasting between forty minutes and three hours in duration depending on the respondent. Two pilot interviews and twenty-two full interviews were conducted on a sample discussed below.

2.5.3 <u>Sample</u>

Since it is impossible to study everyone everywhere, sampling is an important aspect of both quantitative and qualitative research. However, while it is often assumed that principles of sampling are more important in quantitative research (Mason, 1994), this is to overlook the role that rigorous theoretical sampling can play in strengthening the claims made on the basis of qualitative data (Platt, 1988). Indeed "the quality of a piece of research not only stands or falls in the appropriateness of methodology and instrumentation but also by the suitability of the sampling strategy adopted" (Cohen et al., 2000:92).

A variety of strategies for selecting an appropriate sample exist and cleave along two major dimensions: probability sampling (random sampling aimed at representativeness and generalisability) and non-probability sampling (deliberately identifying suitable respondents). The propensity of a probability sample to provide generalisable results makes this method more suitable for quantitative research. Conversely the deliberateness of a non-probability sample makes it recommended for qualitative research (Punch, 1998). Saunders et al (2003) place non-probability sampling techniques on a continuum, where one end (e.g. quota sampling) seeks representation of the entire population, whilst at the other end (e.g. convenience sampling) "are techniques based on the need to obtain a sample as quickly as possible where there is little control over the content and there is no attempt to obtain a representative sample" (171).

As mentioned previously, representativeness, generalisability of findings, and the attainment of fixed, transcendental truths through the collection of 'typical cases' was not the aim of the present study. Therefore convenience sampling was felt to best match the nature of both the aim of the research study and the resources available. The researcher's position as a lecturer of large numbers of international students at a UK university allowed interviewees to be enlisted with little difficulty through a

combination of direct emailing of former students already returned to Taiwan and through snowball sampling whereby interviewees recommended other contacts to approach. Respondents were offered a small incentive of NT$500 (about £8) for their time and not only was there was no shortage of willing participants, the interviewer was forced to turn away interested parties. Interestingly, many respondents expressed the opinion that they welcomed the opportunity to discuss their sojourn as they had frequently found it impossible to discuss with their friends or family who had not experienced this seemingly life-changing experience with them. Indeed, as seen in the previous chapter, lack of interest in the sojourners' foreign experience is a frequently cited reason for feelings of discomfort on re-entry (Onwumechilia et al., 2003), Smith (2002) emphasising the need for:

> Meaningful communication with friends and family regarding the returnee's intercultural experience and identity related changes. If successfully accomplished, this communication leads to improved relationships, greater social and emotional support and ultimately the refinement of one's intercultural identity and that identity's orientation to the home culture (251).

Twenty-two interviews were conducted with Taiwanese repatriated academic sojourners all of whom had studied in the UK at postgraduate level for a least a year. Of these, twelve respondents were female and ten were male, broadly reflecting the ratio of male to female Taiwanese students in the UK Higher Education System. As seen previously, a considerable majority of Taiwanese students in the UK Higher Education study at post-graduate level. This is reflected in the sample, twenty had been postgraduates studying at Master's level and two were doctoral students. It is normal practice to transcribe qualitative interviews to facilitate data analysis (Cohen et al, 2000) and interviews in the present research study were meticulously transcribed and the resultant transcriptions used in the data analysis (Transcriptions can be found in Appendix C). As the transcriptions in this context were to be used for content analysis rather than linguistic analysis, the use of strict transcription conventions documenting prosodic and paralinguistic features were deemed to be unnecessary. It is however recognised that the data collected in this study would produce rich insight into many linguistic features contained within the spoken English of Mandarin Chinese speakers from Taiwan. Of great interest for example would be further exploration of L1 interference and prosody in the spoken English of Mandarin Chinese speakers from Taiwan, patterns of code

switching and its interrelation with Taiwanese repatriate identity, or further exploration into cross-cultural narrative construction.

Table 2.1 below provides a detailed breakdown of the biographical and academic backgrounds of the respondents and provides each with a pseudonym which is used in the data analysis chapters of this document. A full profile for each respondent presenting a summary of salient points from each narrative can be found in Appendix B.

Respondent	Gender	Age	Level and Course of Study	Time in UK	Time since Reentry
Kathy	Female	30	MA International Marketing Management	5 years	1 year
Jimmy	Male	28	MA Information Systems Management	30 months	9 months
Doris	Female	30	MA International Marketing Management	20 months	18 months
Yen	Female	28	MA International Marketing Management	30 months	23 months
Anna	Female	27	MA International Business Administration	2 years	15 months
Will	Male	32	MA International Marketing Management	15 months	3 years
Karina	Female	29	MA Media Studies	15 months	3 years
Eddie	Male	30	MA Financial Services	16 months	2 years
Ashley	Female	30	MA Marketing Communications	1 year	4 months
Catherine	Female	28	MA Marketing	14 months	3 years
Claudine	Female	27	MA Retail Management	18 months	9 months
Sandra	Female	28	MA International Marketing Management	20 months	3 years
Mabel	Female	29	MA International Business Administration	16 months	2 years
Simon	Male	29	MA International Marketing Management	2 years	10 months
Steve	Male	34	Professional Architect Qualifications	9 years	3 years
Shaun	Male	28	MA Marketing Management	1 year	4 months
Olly	Male	27	MA Banking and Finance	18 months	2 years
Raymond	Male	33	MA Tourism Management	2 years	18 months
Winston	Male	29	MA International Public Relations	1 year	3 years
Fatima	Female	34	MA Marketing Management	18 months	3 years
Jill	Female	39	PhD Translation Theory	8 and a half years	2 years
Trevor	Male	41	PhD	4 years	1 year

				Management			

Table 2.1 – Interview Sample Selected for Data Analysis

As can be seen in Table 2.1 above, the sojourn duration in the UK ranged from one year to nine years with a modal length of stay of between eighteen months and two years. Time elapsed since re-entry was between four months and three years. Age of interviewees ranged from 26 to 41 years old and all respondents had studied in the UK at postgraduate level, most frequently in business, finance or management related fields, thirty-three at Master's level and two at doctoral level. The Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) report into chosen fields of study and academic levels of Taiwanese students in UK higher education would suggest this sample to be broadly representative of the Taiwanese academic sojourner in the UK.

With three exceptions who had previously sojourned in Japan and the United States for language study, none of the respondents in the present study had experience of long-term sojourns in other countries. Intercultural sojourn researchers have pointed out that the traditional definition of intercultural reentry, i.e. the process of reintegration into primary home contexts after an intercultural sojourn, is questionable in that increasingly individuals leave and return to their home cultural contexts multiple times (Martin and Harrell, 2004). This appears not to be the case for the majority of the Taiwanese population arguably reflecting, at least in part, the logistical difficulties Taiwanese people face in obtaining long-term visas to other nations, besides those for study sojourns. Certainly Taiwan's ambiguous diplomatic status in the world arena does little to facilitate the transnational movement of the Taiwanese population, limiting long-term sojourns in most cases to international study trips generally for the more privileged sectors of Taiwanese society. Very often, this will be the sole opportunity for an extended overseas sojourn for many of the respondents, a fact which, as can be seen in the following excerpt, plays a significant role in the perception of the sojourn:

> "when I stay in UK, I just must enjoy my time there because I know that will be the only chance in my life to stay in a country for such a long time" (Claudine).

The perception of the temporary nature of the sojourn has already been considered in relation to statistics of Taiwanese sojourners vs. settlers in the UK. Later chapters will elaborate upon this in an exploration of how this perception influences the lived

experience of the sojourn. It is important to now give consideration to the importance of measures taken to ensure that data collected is of suitable quality to lend rigour to this research study.

2.5.4   Data Quality Issues

When designing a research study, neglecting issues of data quality could potentially limit or even invalidate the findings of the investigation. Data quality issues considered for this study centre on the development of improved interview techniques and encompass such potential validity threats as interviewer bias, researcher appearance, approach to questioning, listening skills, and finally approach to recording the interviews. Each issue is now discussed in detail to illustrate the importance of consideration in order to best ensure a rigorous and disciplined research practice.

2.5.4.1 Interviewer Bias

Studies have shown that one of the principal threats to validity of data is interviewer bias (Scheurich, 1995 cited Cohen et al, 2003) whereby the interviewer attempts to impose their beliefs upon the interviewee by seeking responses that support preconceived notions. This bias may be achieved through the interviewer's tone of voice, non-verbal behaviour, or though leading questions (Saunders et al, 2003). Conscious attempts were therefore made to control tone of voice and body language, where in the former, a neutral but interested tone was adopted as far as possible, and in the latter crossed arms and legs were avoided in order to project a non-defensive posture. Had a more defensive posture been adopted, interviewee or response bias may have occurred whereby interviewee's perceptions of the interviewer could have undermined the validity of responses. However, given that the respondents were of a similar age to the interviewer, in order to foster a comfortable interview atmosphere, it was felt best to create within the interviews an informal atmosphere. In this way, respondents felt more at ease to share what at times amounted to very personal and emotional experiences, this informal approach ultimately proving to be very conducive to collecting valid data.

A conscious effort was also made to avoid leading questions although as the researcher is a teacher, trained to elicit required responses, this proved to be more challenging than anticipated. Since the interviews were carried out in a semi-structured format, when the interviewer wished to probe more deeply into an issue, care was taken to avoid emotionally loaded wording, for example, rather than asking 'were your parents happy when you returned?', the question 'how did your parents feel when you returned?' was deemed more suitable for achieving lower levels of bias and hence improved validity in the data collected.

2.5.4.2 Researcher Appearance

Researcher appearance also relates to perceived credibility. Saunders et al (2003) point out, "where [the researcher's appearance] has an adverse effect on credibility in the view of the interviewee, or results in the failure to gain their confidence, the resulting bias may affect the reliability of the information provided" (256). Having previously taught a number of the respondents on presessional programmes and research methods courses, credibility, in many cases, had already been established. However in order to put individuals at ease, attempts were made to avoid overly formal attire and to match similar styles of dress to those being interviewed.

Linked to researcher appearance is the issue of interview location. Due to situational factors, it was felt best to conduct all interviews in coffee shops or teahouses local and convenient to the interviewees' home or place of work in Taipei, Taiwan. Despite the public nature of coffee shops and teahouses, every effort was made to conduct the interviews in a sheltered area on an individual and private one-to-one basis as to avoid distractions as much as possible. One unavoidable distraction however was the frequent ringing of interviewees' mobile phones which interestingly, in most cases, were answered without hesitation on the part of the interviewee. Calls received were almost exclusively job related, even when interviews were conducted in the evening or at weekends, reflecting perhaps the perceived importance of work and company for large segments of the Taiwanese population. This issue will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

2.5.4.3 Approach to Questioning

As most interviewees were familiar with the researcher, the opening comments made upon commencement of the interviews, although important, were not deemed as crucial as cases where the respondent has not met the researcher before. As Saunders et al. (2003:257) indicate, in the case of a first meeting "the first few minutes of conversation may have a significant impact on the outcome of the interview- again related to (...) credibility and the (...) interviewee's confidence".

More relevant to this particular study is the threat to data quality originating from the perceived relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee (Cohen et al., 2003), particularly relevant for high power-distance cultures such as that in Taiwan (Hofstede, 1984). Since there was a risk that the previous teacher-student relationship may have discouraged students from expressing their true feelings, an attempt was made to reduce this threat to validity through an initial ice-breaking session with unthreatening general conversation, the development of an informal, relaxed atmosphere and an assertion that the information given in the session would remain confidential.

Style of questioning also received considerable attention. Questions need to be clearly phrased, avoiding too many theoretical concepts and jargon (Saunders et al, 2003). This was achieved through invaluable consultation with the thesis supervisor during the design process of the interview schedule and through the rigorous pilot testing process. This is particularly true for the present research since the interviews were conducted primarily in English (although the option to respond in Mandarin Chinese was presented to respondents upon commencement of the interview), a foreign language for all the respondents. Although linguistic ability did not compromise the data in most cases, on occasion it was evident that having to put complex ideas into words actively discouraged a response from some participants. This is what Harris (1995:89) calls "intellectual self-censorship (...): if one cannot express a complex idea, the idea will not appear". In these instances respondents were actively encouraged to express the opinion either in an alternative way or reminded that should they wish to answer any questions in Mandarin Chinese, they were free to do so. The interviewer, having spent 18 months studying Mandarin Chinese prior to the interviews, was, in most cases, linguistically able to continue to conduct the interview in that language.

2.5.4.4 Listening Skills

In a semi-structured or unstructured interview, careful listening helps the interviewer to identify comments of significance and to explore these with probing follow-up questions (Frey and Oishi, 1995). Although challenging at first, this became easier as the interviews progressed and the researcher attempted to keep his words to a minimum, allowing respondents the scope to elaborate freely on their answers. Appropriate eye contact and head nodding also further helped to communicate attentive listening.

2.5.4.5 Approach to Recording Interviews

Interviews were recorded using two digital voice recorders, one as a backup, with the expressed permission of respondents, in order to retain data for the analysis procedure. Recording interviews can nevertheless pose certain disadvantages in that they draw the interviewee's attention away from the interviewer to the recorder, and awareness of the recorder may inhibit some interviewer responses. In addition, audio recording only captures the verbal utterances while missing any non-verbal communication and signals which occur during the interview (Denscombe, 2003). For this reason the researcher carefully observed and noted any interesting non-verbal behaviour of the respondents throughout the interview process. It was felt that through careful attention to the aforementioned issues, data quality could be improved significantly. Furthermore, of equal importance to a rigorous research approach are ethical concerns, discussed further below.

2.5.5   Research Ethics

Research ethics refers to the appropriateness of the investigator's behaviour during all stages of the research process (Saunders et al, 2003). This implies that following ethical guidelines is as important in the stages prior to and after, as it is during the research process itself. Full declaration of the intentions and methods of this research study was made to the University of Southampton in order for ethical approval to be granted. The following paragraphs detail the ethical considerations made throughout the research process.

Individuals have the right to privacy. Privacy may be affected by "the nature and timing of any approach (...) to intended participants- say by telephoning them at unsociable times, or (...) by 'confronting' intended participants" (Saunders et al, 2003:132). Respondents were therefore most commonly approached with a single email communication or alternatively through personal contacts and were advised that their participation was entirely optional.

Informed consent calls for the agreements of respondents to participate in the research. The agreement is however supported through prior knowledge of the nature of the research. All interviewees were given an interview consent form (Appendix D) before the interview commenced informing participants of the nature of the research (general aims and intentions) as well as how the findings would be used, including how they would prove helpful to address a largely under explored area. Refusal to participate therefore had to be accepted. The interview consent form was duly signed and dated by both interviewer and respondent.

Promises to secure confidentiality and anonymity were also made at the commencement of the interviews in order to establish trust. Confidentiality means that (particularly) sensitive information is not passed on to other parties. The written promise asserted therefore, that the findings would be used for academic purposes only. Anonymity differs in that information may be passed beyond the researcher to others, however the identity of the respondent is withheld. Saunders et al (2003:139) caution that "embarrassment and even harm could result from reporting data that are clearly attributable to a particular individual". Each respondent was therefore given a pseudonym and all record of individual identities has been omitted from this document. Furthermore, institutions of higher education attended were anonymised in both transcripts and data analysis in order to further secure respondents' privacy. In addition to confidentiality and anonymity, the right of withdrawal was adopted to further underline respondents' right to privacy. Upon commencement of interviews, respondents were reminded of their right to withdraw or to refuse to answer any questions with which they felt uncomfortable. This right was seen to be exercised on very few occasions. One such occasion can be seen below where a respondent was unwilling to discuss the content of an argument she had had during her sojourn. For

ethical reasons, the interviewer did not push for further information having noticed that the respondent was unwilling to respond:

> *Interviewer- How did you feel about returning to Taiwan?*
>
> "I think I'm happy, because I feel quite happy because I know my boyfriend, my ex boyfriend was in Taiwan and that is one reason and the second reason is because I had a big fight with my flatmate (laughs) you know I can fight in English so my English was much better" (Catherine).
>
> *Interviewer- What did you fight about?*
>
> "Erm.. I can't remember the details but it was very annoying" (Catherine).

Finally, once the interviews were transcribed, copies of transcriptions were sent to respondents to allow them to review the interview and alter or edit any part prior to signing the Interview Data Release Form which can be found in Appendix E.

The practices above were adopted in the attempt to best follow a covenantal approach to research ethics, and as a result minimise harm to participants and contribute to building on the existing body of knowledge. The overall motivation to adopt the above practices was to ensure the reputation of qualitative research. With this in mind, Punch (1994) pertinently asserts "one major theme running through the ethical debate on research is that academics should not spoil the field for others" (93). Having considered the approach taken and design implemented in this research study, it is now important to give consideration to the strategies adopted for effective analysis of the data.

2.6 Data Analysis

The analysis of large quantities of rich qualitative data involves the creation of meaning through, in this case, the use of the codification practice sometimes known as *content analysis*. Content analysis has been defined as a "systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding" (Stemler, 2001). The purpose of this analysis is to explore the narratives of the interviewees in the light of the Sussman, Shaules and, to a lesser extent, Bennett models. As such, close attention was paid to identify in the responses to the themes examples of evidence pointing towards the additive/subtractive/ affirmative/intercultural cultural identity shifts and their antecedent variables, cultural identity centrality and cultural flexibility. Equally, depth of cultural identity change and cultural learning was

highlighted. By way of example, a response in the presojourn question theme section such as:

> "I want to get away from my mom and my family. Pressure, family things, I'm not normal in Taiwan, not a proper Taiwanese. Because I don't listen to my mom, I do what I want to do" (Kathy).

Was considered to point to a weaker cultural identity centrality than, for example:

> "I am very Taiwanese, like my friends" (Eddie).

An example of the type of comment that could be deduced to represent an additive/ subtractive cultural identity shift at a shallow cultural level would be:

> "when I went to the musical or other things I have done but still quite superficial and to be honest I don't think I really have chance to know you know much more deep inside what the English culture so maybe superficially I act a little bit like English but in terms of the way you think or the ideas I'm still very different" (Ashley)

And at a deeper level:

> "Taiwanese culture always makes up things what you learn from your parents, teachers or even newspapers you should be totally believing it, you don't challenge that, I think my foreign friends always challenge all about me. At first I was really offended, I think 'why do you challenge me about this and that ?' but then I think about it yeah why didn't I ever challenge anything I learnt at school, I just take whatever the people tell me and because of that I changed my values and that make people think I am really weird" (Doris).

An affirmative shift could be:

> "You know Taiwanese people always think you know probably that English, if you study in the UK, work, earn money and have the good life in the United States and I can stay, the outside country, they always assume it is better than Taiwan, and I just can't get, and why this English people, England, no better than Taiwan. (…) I always wanted to come back to Taiwan, UK was never my home" (Steve).

And a possible example of intercultural identity shift and an increased awareness of one's own cultural identity shift:

> "deep down I think the whole process was an education, not an education to be a better self but an education to get to know myself to re-evaluate my own values. I have a combination of Taiwanese and English values and which ones do I keep, which ones do I throw out, it's a process of searching for myself and to know what I want for myself" (Jill).

Through comments such as those above, a system of coding was developed to facilitate the sense making of the data through the framework of the academic models. In addition

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to this, the inductive nature of the analysis of a 'telling case' resulted in new insight, beyond the confines of the academic models, into the phenomenon of repatriation in the specific context of Taiwanese academic repatriates from the UK. As new themes emerged, these were codified and grouped. Each of these is presented in the following analysis chapters.

The possibility of using a qualitative data analysis software programme was entertained in order to provide a more complex way of looking at the relationships in the data and to aid conceptual and theoretical understanding of the data. However, upon further investigation, this was rejected for fear of potential distancing from the data and quantitative analysis of qualitative data (Seidel, 1991). However, throughout the analysis process the researcher remained mindful of his interpretative role of another's lived experiences. As Bruscia (1995) reflects:

> The only way a researcher can study another person is to experience that person's behavior within an interpersonal context. At all times, it must be understood that the researcher's experience of the participant's behavior is only his or her own, not only because he or she can never know the participant's experience of that behavior directly or fully, but also because no other researchers can ever experience the participant's behavior in the same way, within the same interpersonal context, or in any matter other than the researcher's own idiosyncratic way of experiencing other people (Bruscia, 1995: 395).

However, this should not be seen as something to try to avoid, but rather as an asset of the researcher. Greene (1994) explains, "it is precisely the individual qualities of the human inquirer that are valued as indispensable to meaning construction" (539).

2.7   Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the methodological decisions taken in order to best answer the research questions identified in the previous chapter. Thoughts must come back to the sage words of Voltaire however "the great misunderstanding over Chinese rites sprang from our judging their practises in the light of ours", an observation unceasingly in the mind of the researcher throughout the entire research process. The following chapter begins the analysis of the data by addressing a significant contributory factor to the nature of repatriation affect felt by returning academic sojourners which has emerged from the data, namely the perceived patterns of

social interaction, social capital, and resultant acculturation reported to have taken place during the academic sojourn in the UK.

CHAPTER 3 – AWAY FROM HOME

3.1 <u>Introduction</u>

This chapter begins the interpretation of the narratives as recounted by the sample of respondents in the present study. While initially seeking to apply Sussman's Cultural Identity Model of Cultural Transitions in the context of Taiwanese academic sojourners returning from the UK, the qualitative data collected has, as one may expect, produced a richness of themes falling both within and beyond the confines of the model. That said, the model has proved to be an essential conceptual resource for the framing of the findings in this study while at the same time providing the necessary vernacular of terms and concepts within which to operate.

Japanese historian Watanabe (1998), in her discussion of comparative styles of cognitive reasoning between Westerners and Easterners, suggests a fundamental difference which can be traced back into the classroom environment. The example given is that of the teaching of major historical events in Japanese and American classrooms. Whereas Japanese teachers will spend time setting up the context of an event chronologically, linking each event to its successor, in order to encourage students to empathise with the historical figures, the American teacher will begin with the outcome and then discuss the causal factors assumed to be of importance. The implications of this observation on the method of data analysis in the present research study are indeed very apparent. Having been educated in the Western tradition of effect-cause ordering, the instinct on the part of the researcher has been to begin by considering the varying nature of repatriation affect as narrated by the returning sojourners in this study with a view to determining antecedent causal factors for this affect. This is not necessarily wrong in its approach, however, it serves to provide a further example of how culture is reflected through educational reasoning and can define ontological and epistemological assumptions.

In accordance with this Western tradition of reasoning therefore, the aim of this first interpretation chapter is to present an emerging theme which has been seen to be an important causal predictor of the nature of repatriation affect observed in this context, namely observed patterns of social interaction during the sojourn. This factor has

emerged as a predictor of the affective nature of the repatriation experience due in part to resultant depth of cultural learning and subsequent manifestations of change in cultural identity. This chapter therefore seeks to present respondents' patterns of social interaction highlighting their reported perceptions of manifestations of change in behaviour, values and assumptions or, in other words, cultural identity shifts. In order to facilitate the task of the reader, it is important to remember that a summary profile for each respondent based on their collected interview data is contained within Appendix B with full transcriptions included within Appendix C.

3.2   Successful Acculturation

Even with a superficial glance at the narratives in this study, it is clear and unsurprising that there is considerable diversity in the perceptions of all stages of the cultural transition cycle across the data set. While some respondents tell of being fully integrated into the social circles of host nationals, others remember their sojourn as being spent predominantly in conational enclaves. Whereas some respondents report a positive repatriation affect, others tell of cognitive dissonance upon return to such a degree that medical treatment for clinical depression became necessary. As seen in the review of the literature previously, prevalent is the finding that there exists a correlation between the sojourn and the post sojourn experience in that the more successful the acculturation to the host culture, the more repatriation discomfort felt upon returning home. How acculturation success is measured however has been a subject of considerable debate in the literature.

Shaules (2007) highlights a distinction between the fields of intercultural education training and intercultural adaptation success. The former suggests that success can be measured in an increase in intercultural awareness and cultural relativism addressing the underlying assumption that "cultural difference has the potential to create conflict and that intercultural understanding is necessary to mitigate this tendency" (85). The final ethnorelativistic stage in the Bennett model seen earlier, the concept of *integrated marginality*, reflects such a desired outcome of intercultural training in which one develops a meta-awareness of culture and an ability to create a worldview outside of any one cultural frame of reference.

Definitions of intercultural adaptation success however provide little definite consensus in the literature and are characterised by vagueness in conceptual terminology. Shaules argues that among the varying measures of acculturation success in the literature are concepts such as increased self-awareness and self-esteem, emotion regulation, stress management, critical thinking, and the ability to perform daily tasks or work activities. A further conceptualisation of successful acculturation to a host culture adopted and drawn upon in the present study involves the importance of relationships with host nationals and is the focus of Lise Sparrow's (2000) critique of Bennett's *integrated marginality* as seen in the previous chapter. Her argument is that in a sojourner/migrant context, adaptation and cultural learning occur through meaningful interactions with members of the host culture and ultimately success can be defined in these terms.

3.3   Deconstructing Sussman's *Adaptation*

Presented in the literature review in discussion of the Shaules and Sussman models is the concept of adaptation or "the outcome in which individuals modify their cognitions, behaviours, and interpretations of behaviours to match the new cultural environment better" (Sussman, 2000:360). One of Sussman's central propositions is that depending on the antecedent variables of cultural identity centrality and cultural flexibility at the level of the individual, a sojourner will manifest a *Low, Medium* or *High* level of *adaptation* to the host culture. It is postulated that Shaules's conceptualisation of *resistance, acceptance,* and *adaptation* broadly represent, for the purposes of this discussion, more comprehensive concepts of Low, Medium, and High adaptation. However, as seen previously, Shaules's model, building on his understanding that the perceived linearity of Bennett's model provides an incomplete, two dimensional picture of acculturation, proposes a further dimension in that resistance, acceptance, and adaptation can occur at different levels of culture and that the same sojourner may not necessarily manifest the same reaction at different cultural levels.

During the process of analysing the data in the present study, it became apparent that patterns of socialisation and depth of relationships in this context had a marked influence on the degree of adaptation to the host culture. This, in turn, could be seen to be correlated with sojourner repatriation affect and perceived changes in cultural identity. Shaules (2007) proposes that the depth of an intercultural experience can be

defined through a hierarchy of relationships, leading to his classification of intercultural relationships into three types in descending order of depth: *functional, one-on-one* and *group*. *Functional* relationships tend to be superficial, short-term and information based in which the sojourner adapts to highly explicit systematic differences in order to meet functional needs. *One-on-one* relationships involve deeper extended contact and may involve some degree of mutual adaptation to cultural differences at a more abstract, implicit level. *Group* relationships also tend to be longer term and necessitate adaptation to the implicit expectations of the group. Shaules's observation that certain *one-to-one* relationships (such as those with a spouse of a different cultural background) may involve a more demanding level of cultural adaptation than certain *group* relationships should however be noted. While Shaules does not explicitly imply that relationships need be between an expatriate and members of the host culture, the depth of adaptation to a *host* culture was indeed the major focus of his research. Table 3.1 below summarises his hierarchy of intercultural relationships.

Functional relationships	Short-term, information based, formalised and (relatively) predictable, non-negotiated (waiter, clerk, acquaintance), with physical environment
One-on-one relationships	Extended contact, negotiated, feel connection, may extend into social network of others (friend, spouse, colleague)
Group relationships	Extended contact, negotiated, requires adaptation to norms of the group (working in foreign company abroad, home-stay)

Table 3.1 – Hierarchy of Intercultural Relationships (Shaules, 2004:65)

The context of post-graduate education in the UK evidently offers a more complex hierarchy of potential intercultural relationships to sojourners. Firstly, given that the academic sojourn takes place in the forum of the UK educational system, sojourners will have intercultural relationships with the host culture to some degree at an *academic* level. *Academic* relationships seem to traverse all three of the relationships identified in Table 3.1 taking concrete form at a functional or one-to-one relationship level with international student pastoral support staff, with university teaching staff and with dissertation supervisors. More abstractly, *group* level intercultural relationships may arguably be developed through the participation of the academic sojourner in the host culture's educational system. However, given the relatively low numbers of host nationals in fulltime postgraduate education, this rarely takes place in the classroom as one might expect. Rather the necessary adaptation to the philosophical and cultural

norms of the UK model of academia, together with the required engagement with academic debate in the literature of the chosen area of study could arguably be seen to constitute an intercultural relationship at a deep cultural level. Figure 3.2 demonstrates how academic relationships traverse the three levels of relationships proposed by Shaules.

Functional relationships	Short-term, information based, formalised and (relatively) predictable, non-negotiated (waiter, clerk, acquaintance), with physical environment	Academic relationships
One-on-one relationships	Extended contact, negotiated, feel connection, may extend into social network of others (friend, spouse, colleague)	
Group relationships	Extended contact, negotiated, requires adaptation to norms of the group (working in foreign company abroad, home-stay)	

Table 3.2 – Revised Hierarchy of Intercultural Relationships (adapted from Shaules, 2004:65)

Furthermore, and of considerable note, while a large part of intercultural interactions do indeed occur in the forum of the host culture, frequently these are reported not to occur between sojourner and host culture members as such, but rather between sojourner and sojourner. Sojourner *adaptation* to the new cultural environment therefore can and frequently does take place in this cultural context with minimal contact with the host environment of the UK outside of the academic or functional experience. This seems to play an important role as much in sojourners' perception of self-identity change as in the experience of repatriation. Figure 3.1 below offers a general representation of the patterns of socialisation as reported by the sample group in this study and is a result of the open-ended interview question as to with whom the respondent spent time during their sojourn. In the process of analysis of the complete narratives of sojourners, it was often noticed that reference was made to some contact with subgroups outside of that in the response to this specific interview question. Where these contacts were deemed to be functional however, these were not included in the figure. The findings in Figure 3.1 therefore represent with whom the respondents considered they had spent *meaningful* time, defined to a large extent as with whom respondents felt relationships beyond the functional were established.

Shaules (2007) urges caution in making the distinction between *meaningful* and *deep* intercultural experiences. Whereas a meaningful experience has strong emotional

impact on a sojourner, a deep experience will imply contact with, acceptance of and often adaptation to hidden cultural levels of assumptions, values and norms. The results of this study would imply that the overseas academic sojourn is perceived as a meaningful experience for all participants without exception despite many among them considering their adaptation to have not necessarily been deep, but rather limited to superficial cultural levels. However, in the context of the development of relationships, particularly with host nationals, *meaningful* could be considered to be largely synonymous with *deep*. The reason being that the strong emotional impact of relationships tends to result in adaptation to hidden cultural assumptions. It seems that further research more specifically investigating international student socialisation patterns and development and evolution of cultural identity is very much worthy of exploration in the future.

Figure 3.1 – Patterns of 'Meaningful' Socialisation

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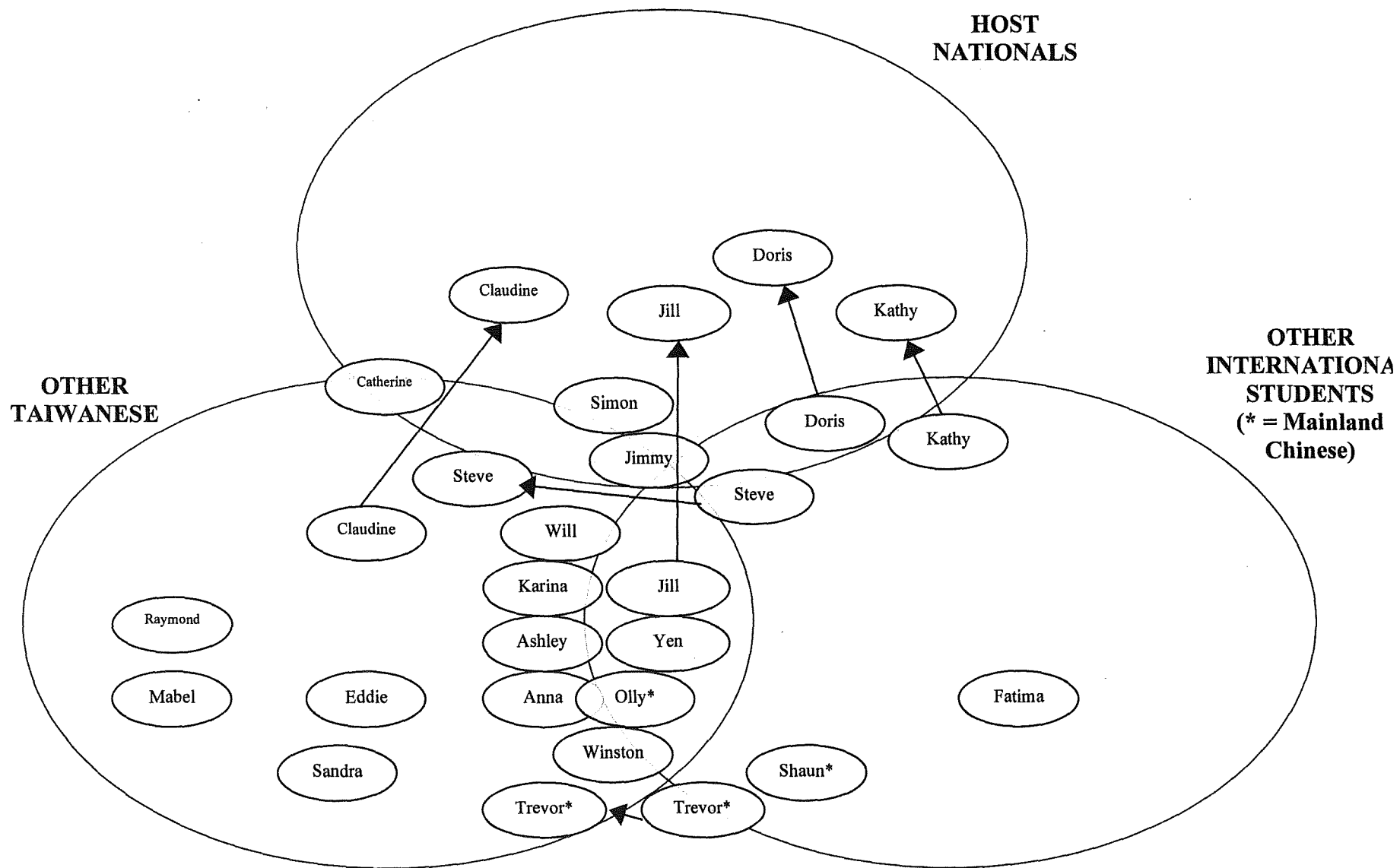
3.4   Milieux of Social Interaction

Figure 3.1 represents the three milieux in which sojourners perceived themselves as having meaningful social interaction: the monocultural Taiwanese compatriot group, the bicultural interaction with host nationals, and the multicultural social network with other international students. While the latter subculture was entirely based around the academic institutional context, this was not necessarily the case for the two former categories. Taiwanese compatriots also included reference to longer-term expatriates who had, in this context, graduated from local universities and remained in the UK. Meaningful socialisation with host culture nationals took the forms of host families and boyfriends/spouses from both inside and outside of the academic context.

Looking at Figure 3.1, it quickly becomes apparent that sojourners socialising completely outside of the Taiwanese group are something of an anomaly, the large majority socialising either entirely or at least partly with their Taiwanese compatriots. A further observation of significance is the limited number of sojourners who felt they experienced meaningful social contact with members of the host community. Most respondents do indeed claim that one of the driving motivations for a study sojourn in the UK is to gain a better understanding of the local people and their culture, for example:

> *Interviewer - Who did you want to make friends with?*
> "I think English people maybe prefer but I make some friends from other countries" (Eddie).

However, from the narratives in this study, the nature of the international student in the UK appears to lead to few opportunities for this being afforded to many among them. Therefore, whereas many take the decision to sojourn in the UK for a *UK experience*, in fact they more frequently seem to live a *Taiwanese experience in the UK*.

3.4.1 The Taiwanese Student Subculture in the UK

Maybe for reasons of the strength of collectivism and national solidarity while abroad, the Taiwanese, like other student sojourner groups from Asian countries, have developed strong support networks within academic institutions throughout the UK. Organisations such as hellouk.com and the Students' Union of Republic of China in the UK (SUROCUK) offer online forums to many thousands of active members where prospective students, current students and alumni can establish networks to share experiences of life in the UK and information about particular academic institutions. This strong support network can have both positive and negative consequences on the sojourn experience as witnessed in the accounts of several of the respondents.

Mabel, for example, was very nervous to go to the UK because she had no friends and little experience of overseas travel. Through hellouk.com she established contact with an alumnus who had, after graduation, decided to continue living in the town where Mabel intended to sojourn. Consequently, they spent considerable time communicating together before she left Taiwan. Mabel called the contact 毛姊 (mao jie – big sister Mao, Mao being a Chinese surname) in accordance with the social norms of deferentially hierarchical relationships between students which is still prevalent today in the education systems of Confucian Heritage Cultures such as Taiwan. 毛姊 understood how nervous Mabel was and maybe assumed her collectivistic, culturally expected obligation of welcoming her at Heathrow airport, taking her back to her town of study and providing her with lodgings for the week before her classes started. Mabel's disorientation upon arrival in the UK was evident as was her reliance on 毛姊 during her first few days in a foreign country, as seen in this extract from her account:

> *Interviewer- What about the first few weeks in England?*
>
> "Just…. shocking. And trying to adapt myself and I'm not very good on directions so 毛姊 take me several times to school and to the home, I stay with her, not in [university accommodation building] at that time, but I still cannot make directions at that time. She take me to the how do you say, the Square [central landmark in the town of study] and I feel, where am I?" (Mabel).

Clearly therefore such support networks provide a feeling of welcome security to those who require it. Mabel also adds that such support networks can also have the function of security in numbers against what as will be seen shortly is sometimes perceived as a host culture manifesting hostility towards international sojourners:

Interviewer- Did you have any experiences of racism?

"No, not so strong, just like that, young guys who but I think I didn't make very clear to express my meaning. Some people is not very friendly but everywhere is the same, sorry I think interesting experience is when we go to pay in a restaurant and the English guy speak very, very quickly, and me and my friends we ask him to say it again, and he just is so ignore us and doesn't want to say it very slow and my friend is very smart, he say a lot of Chinese, and we say in Chinese 你也聽不懂阿 (trans.- you also don't understand then), he say, say it again and we say nothing" (Mabel).

Nevertheless, there were also complaints evident in the commentary that the Taiwanese student collective in the UK, through their expectation that newly arrived sojourners participate in their community activity and even abide by their code of behavioural conduct, actually prevented integration of Taiwanese into the host culture. Will for example is married to Karina and both give accounts of their interest in UK cultural artefacts such as pop music and football. As such, they attempted to integrate into the host culture but were evidently met with certain barriers. Among these barriers seem to be the behavioural expectations of the Taiwanese expatriate group, Will's comments revealing:

Interviewer- Were you involved in the Taiwanese society?

"A little, but if you are outside the group, people are nasty to you. I don't think that is fair, just people have different thinking about how they want to live in England, if some people said I just want to talk to foreigners that is OK, we don't have to say you are not one of us" (Will).

It seems that, in Will's experience, the Taiwanese society in his town of study would ostracise other Taiwanese who became too close to foreigners, including the local people. This may go some way towards firstly explaining why relatively few sojourners claimed to have socialised outside of the Taiwanese group, and, secondly, the patterns of socialisation seen in the cases of Claudine, Jill, Kathy and Doris. Each of these respondents became emotionally and romantically involved with host males during their sojourn. Apparent in Figure 3.1 and their respective narratives is that each of them felt that meaningful relationships were or became only existent with the host national group, to the almost complete exclusion of other Taiwanese. This may be a result of choosing to spend time with their significant other and his local friends but it may also be representative of ostracisation at some level from the Taiwanese expatriate group. This could be argued to give an insight into the *tightness* of collectivist societies such as Taiwan in lack of tolerance for deviation from behavioural norms. An interesting

comment by one respondent, Shaun, shows a comparative observation between home and host cultures:

> "I always think that England society is 變態 (trans.- perverse), Taiwan society also but different. For example after I saw England teenagers, he row across the ocean to America, just one guy, and I see that I think, oh that is English. That is why he do that, English people always do something very crazy" (Shaun).

Shaun's remarks are very interesting in that he considers such behaviour which deviates from the behavioural norms to which he is accustomed to be "perverse" and "crazy", both heavily weighted in their emotional content. How deviation from the accepted norms of social behaviour in Taiwan affects returning sojourners will be addressed in subsequent chapters. However, what is clear from this discussion is that the phenomenon of how the cultural values and behavioural expectations of the various expatriate communities in the UK influence student sojourner integration is certainly an area worthy of more in-depth research. This would be of relevance to advancing the knowledge in this domain since the current literature on the subject of acculturation of academic sojourners tends to consider factors present in the host culture or variables in the individual themselves as barriers to or facilitators of successful integration. Mention of individual and situational factors is nonetheless equally very present in the narratives of the respondents in this study and will be discussed shortly.

3.4.2   The International Student Subculture in the UK

In addition to the monocultural Taiwanese expatriate group, Figure 3.1 introduces a second subculture into which the Taiwanese sojourners integrate to varying degrees, that of the international student sojourner in the UK. As seen previously, international students continue to make up increasingly large proportions of worldwide tertiary education. That in the UK is no exception, Clark (2006:13) for example suggesting that 12.7% of UK higher education is populated by non-UK students. Furthermore, local student populations in the postgraduate disciplines chosen by the sample of this study are notable in their low ratios. Ashley, for example, demonstrates how culturally diverse her Master's degree course in Consumer Marketing was:

> "We only got 10 students and 1 Taiwanese, 3 Chinese, 1 Polish, 1 British, 1 from Holland and another one from Brazil" (Ashley).

Several comments would seem to indicate an opinion that the low percentage of local students on UK Master's programmes was unexpected and a source of some lamentation. Eddie for example notes that he had little opportunity to come into contact with host nationals due to the nationality distribution of the cohort on his Master's programme in Finance:

> "My course, many, many international students, only I think four English people, in our course there are thirty students there. Only four English" (Eddie).

Equally Fatima asks the question in surprise:

> "What about English? All the courses for Masters are all international students, where are the English?" (Fatima).

Therefore the route many expected to have facilitated contact with the host culture, through local classmates, is seen to be very limited in the majority of the narratives in this study. Despite this, having contact with the cultural richness brought by other international students from diverse backgrounds to the higher educational institutions in the UK is seen by the majority of respondents as among the most positive features of their academic sojourn. The resultant increase in intercultural awareness through direct interaction with the wide variety of differing cultural heritages within the forum of UK academia is consistently applauded as a positive change to the sojourners' own cultural identity. Such contact can arguably be categorised as what Shaules labels cultural triangulation, in other words going beyond a binary A versus B view of cultural difference characteristic of many overseas sojourns. Shaules's (2007) conceptualises cultural triangulation as a result of multiple overseas sojourns in differing cultural environments affording the sojourner with multiple points of comparison from which to extrapolate potential combinations of cultural characteristics. The UK academic forum affords such relativisation to its participants through its highly multicultural nature. Eddie, for example, was among those respondents whose narrative least demonstrated evidence of meaningful social interaction outside of his compatriot friendships network, in particular reporting very little contact with host nationals. However, despite this, he still observes that:

> "When I was in Taiwan, before I go to British sometimes I will think this is wrong, this is right, but after I go to British I think it is OK, this way is OK, this way is OK. Because you know much when you know friends, because they have different culture and different background and of course they have different idea" (Eddie).

An increased ethnorelativism as a result of the sojourn is present in all the accounts of the interviewees, albeit some to a larger extent than others, and is supportive of previous research suggesting that an overseas sojourn enhances global perspective, intercultural sensitivity and openness to cultural diversity (Cushner and Karim, 2004). This clearly adds a level of complexity to the notion of cultural learning being limited to that of the host culture as conceptualised in the models of Bennett and Shaules. Viewing such remarks in the framework of the Sussman's model perhaps would suggest that such an increase in cultural understanding could be considered movement towards an intercultural cultural identity shift. It should however be noted that, as can be seen from Figure 3.1, most Taiwanese saw their meaningful social contact with other international students as secondary to that with other Taiwanese and as being mostly limited to the classroom environment. Further factors contributing to this trend, beyond the nature of the Taiwanese collective abroad, will be revisited in subsequent sections.

The somewhat political question of where to place the Mainland Chinese academic sojourn group arose during the analysis. It soon became clear that while Taiwanese social networks were not completely exclusive to Mainland Chinese student sojourners, although largely sharing a common dialect and cultural heritage, the Taiwanese respondents in this study reportedly considered Mainland Chinese as an out-group of a different nationality. Again, this will more precisely elucidated in future discussion, however, for the purposes of this study, Mainland Chinese students fall into the *other international students* category. Nonetheless, Taiwanese sojourners stating that their contact with other international students was in fact with Mainland Chinese students are highlighted with an asterisk (*) in Figure 3.1. For example, Shaun, through his Mainland Chinese girlfriend, spent all of his time with Mainland Chinese academic sojourners. Olly, although spending most of his time with other Taiwanese students, also had a Mainland Chinese girlfriend who, in contrast to the case of Shaun, revealed a tendency to engage predominantly with the Taiwanese expatriate group in her social interaction.

The international student subculture, perhaps for reasons of solidarity in their status as minorities in the host culture or indeed for their natural propensity for travel and cultural curiosity, is perceived by almost all respondents as more welcoming and easy to

enter than the UK host culture itself. Yen divided her time between the international student groups and the Taiwanese because she found that:

> "The most friendly people I met is foreigners, like the people who are from the Middle East, the Iran people, the Pakistan people, they are more nicer" (Yen).

Broadly perceived to be less welcoming therefore was the UK host culture. Sandra for example reports to have located almost all of her meaningful social interaction with the Taiwanese group. When asked why she had no UK friends, she replied

> "I think the whole environment, in [UK university], particularly in postgraduate course, we don't have British classmates, even we have just one or two but they have their own group so it's not easy to make British friends but other European, they are friendly, they are willing to get to know you more. British people not easy not willing to get to know you. From my experience, the students from [UK university], the British are not friendly".

3.4.3   The UK Host Culture

Respondents' pre and post sojourn perceptions of the UK are noteworthy for their lack of congruence. In general, education and media in Taiwan have a tendency to hold in high esteem the perceived economic strength and political/social stability of Europe and North America. Stereotypes held in Taiwan of the UK and her people are almost invariably positive and mostly limited to images of the British Caucasian from the higher echelons of society. Furthermore, people of Caucasian origins sojourning in Taiwan will often face positive discrimination for their perceived high social status. Indeed, Caucasian skin tones and facial features are a desired commodity in Taiwan, as in other East Asian countries, with expensive plastic surgery procedures to make noses more pointed and eyes less elliptical becoming increasingly popular (Time Magazine, 2007). Adding to this the considerable investment by universities nationwide in producing enticing marketing documentation, it is unsurprising perhaps that, as a consequence, Taiwanese students' prior expectations of the UK sojourn tend to be very high. The presojourn Taiwanese therefore may be bound by the Chinese expression, '月亮是外國的圓' (trans.- The moon in the foreign country is rounder). The effectiveness of marketing materials in promoting this sentiment can be seen in an extract from Trevor's narrative:

> "When I arrived in [UK university town], I felt excited, very tired and when I saw the buildings in campus, oh my goodness, like the factory, a little disappointed. Because I

saw the pictures on the website, quite beautiful and gorgeous so why like the factory...
marketing, marketing, marketing, marketing" (Trevor).

Several respondents therefore took the opportunity in the interview to complain that their previous expectations and their actual experience of the UK were largely inconsistent. Referring back to Sussman's model, these comments are further noteworthy in that while one would forgivably anticipate such remarks to be more commonly heard from those respondents tending towards the affirmative (grateful repatriate) cultural identity response, sojourners displaying additive/subtractive traits and relatively high levels of adaptation to the host culture equally expressed surprise at the reality they were faced with upon arriving in the UK.

First impressions of the host country upon arrival at Heathrow airport were frequently viewed as negative. This was the first time for many to enter a foreign country and be of a minority status. This led to reported surprise at hitherto unencountered and indeed unexpected feelings of ethnic marginalisation. Additionally, several sojourners were required to have chest x-ray examinations waiting sometimes for many hours for this to be carried out. Trevor, a mature student who had won a scholarship to study his doctorate at one of the most renowned business schools in the UK, clearly a high achiever in his home jurisdiction, tells of how he missed the last bus to his city of study and how this made him feel. In his tone, there were clear signs of displeasure at the marginal way in which he was treated:

> "Oh, I'm so sad but the sad is not because I leave my family but because I have to join a very, very, very long queue for medical examination. So I'm really sad, over I took the around over 4 hours in the airport before the passport control. I didn't know the regulation. I don't know why, Not SARS period, but I don't know, I found if I have examination in Taiwan and show them x-ray film or medical records then I can go through first but I didn't so I joined the very long queue. So I'm very sad (emotion evident in his voice) and I wonder why the English people are so inefficient so I get very sad. And after I get through the airport, the bus has gone. The last one, so I very sad, I sleep in the airport, hotels quite expensive (laughs). Very bad the first experience. They were not at all friendly to me" (Trevor).

Sussman's model supports the prevalent view in the literature that the majority of sojourners are unaware of themselves as having a cultural identity prior to their first international sojourn, this only becoming apparent upon interaction with a contrasting cultural environment. It may be then that the sensitive period of discovering one's self as a cultural being is characterised in Taiwanese sojourners to the UK by an impression

of cultural inferiority resulting from treatment accorded by some host nationals. When discussing how she was treated by local people, Doris, a sojourner who showed very high levels of social integration to the UK for example, argues that:

> "And they sound nice but you can feel that when they see an Asian face they think that you are lower than them so they will ask you how is your country? If they see a French girl they won't ask them, how is your country? Will they? They tried to hide that they were looking down on me" (Doris).

American philosopher George Herbert Mead's (1934) posthumously published theory of symbolic interaction was one of the first documented observations that understanding of cultural identity occurs through communication with others. More importantly for this discussion is his concept of the *looking-glass self* which suggests that the way we see ourselves is highly influenced by how others see us. Allen, Howard and Grimes (1997) carried out research which found that higher levels of self-esteem were noticeably apparent in individuals who had a more positive view of their own racial group. This study was developed two years later in collaborative research by Allen, Bradford, Grimes, Cooper, Howard and Howard (1999). Findings of this study indicate, "the degree to which a person has a positive view of his/her own racial group demonstrates a 38% improvement in academic success, a 50% increase in positive mental adjustment, a 27% decrease in delinquency, and a 35% improvement in sociability" (1999:3). Although Allen et al.'s follow-up study was carried out among ethic minority US nationals rather than in the context of cross-cultural sojourners and cultural transitions, its findings are significant in that Mead concludes that people may live up to the implications of the labels imposed on them by others (Bradford et al., 2004). This may therefore be a further contributing factor for the patterns of socialisation seen in the present study and the apparent desire or decision by many respondents to remain in the culturally reinforcing confines of the compatriot group during the sojourn.

On a societal level, respondents report to quickly becoming aware that some of the positive preconceptions they held about the British people were perhaps unfounded. Simon for example is one of the respondents demonstrating a relatively high level of adaptation to the UK who seems to have internalised many of the behaviours and attitudes of the host culture. He does however remain equally aware of some of the more negative aspects of UK society in his remark that:

"I thought England was elegant, but not true. I think England there is two class, one class is high class and one class is the low class. I didn't know there was a low class before" (Simon).

The same is true of Kathy who, although manifesting a strong desire to stay in the UK, remarked that:

"I was expecting everyone being nice, like what I saw on TV and it turns out the complete opposite and British people are the most hostile race I have ever seen. On TV, I saw everyone wearing a high hat, and being gentlemen and ladies drinking tea under a lacy pretty umbrella. At least I expect people being more friendly than they are behaving" (Kathy).

Philo (2006) presents similar findings with his study of Chinese sojourners in that stereotypes of the British are based on 18th century novels or visions of the upper classes. However, when witnessing for example the UK binge drinking culture, this seems to be incongruent to the schema respondents had previously held of the UK. Simon continues:

"Before I went to England I thought most of British man were like gentlemens but (laughs) I don't know, when I was in [UK city] my English teacher encouraged us to go to the pub as much as we can, because he said the more pub you go to, the more language you can learn and you can learn the local language in the pub so I found that British people, they are totally different when they are drunk, they went like naughty and I don't know, they think like fighting, not with me, but I used to, I seen lots of people fighting in [UK city] square, that is again different from my image, I thought most British people are gentlemen and ladies. I felt I was in the wrong country, it wasn't England. Shocked" (Simon).

The Ministry of the Interior for the Republic of China have published statistics which suggest that the rate of criminal convictions per capita is approximately five times higher in the UK compared to Taiwan with murder rates twice as high (Ministry of Interior, 2007), although given that the political motives of these statistics are unclear, these should however be treated with caution. That said, if Confucianism is still influential in Taiwan, it may be that the tenet of social harmony and benevolence (e.g. it is the primary characteristic of the superior person that his or her practice of self-cultivation is focused on helping everyone in society - Confucius, circa 450BC, The Analects, Book 14.45) has a positive influence on social cohesion less apparent in the individualistic UK cultural environment. As a result, it seems to come as a shock to the respondents to see the alcohol-related, anti-social behaviour increasingly common in UK society (Institute of Alcohol Studies, 2005). Kathy's comments as to her perception of the UK's lack of moral conduct relative to Taiwan come across in her surprise that:

"Also nobody in Taiwan will vandalise things, no smashing phone boxes, I don't know what is the matter with English people" (Kathy).

This is again consistent with Philo's (2006) study which reported that Chinese students "were shocked especially at the behaviour of young people, who were seen as drunken and out of control, with the streets unsafe to walk on" (4). That said, an interesting tendency in behavioural change emerging from the data in this study was that numerous sojourners reported to either beginning drinking alcohol or increasing their intake of alcohol over the course of the sojourn. Looking at Figure 3.2 below, it is also apparent that those who reported higher levels of contact with the host culture almost without exception began drinking regularly, and indeed reported this to be frequently to excess. When Jill, one of the longest staying sojourners of eight years, was discussing her perception of her social integration into the host culture, her comments demonstrated a high level of adaptation to this behavioural norm apparent in some sectors of UK society:

"I don't know, dying for a drink Thursday night, go out on Friday night get pissed and end up with a pizza and kebab or something. Should be English person" (Jill).

Equally Jimmy, another sojourner with a high level of integration through living with a local host family, claims:

"I started drinking in the afternoon (laughs) started to get drunk from afternoon and then like every night I went to nightclubs. In Taiwan I never do that before. But no fighting (laughs again). Before I went to the UK I think I couldn't finish one can of beer and get red" (Jimmy).
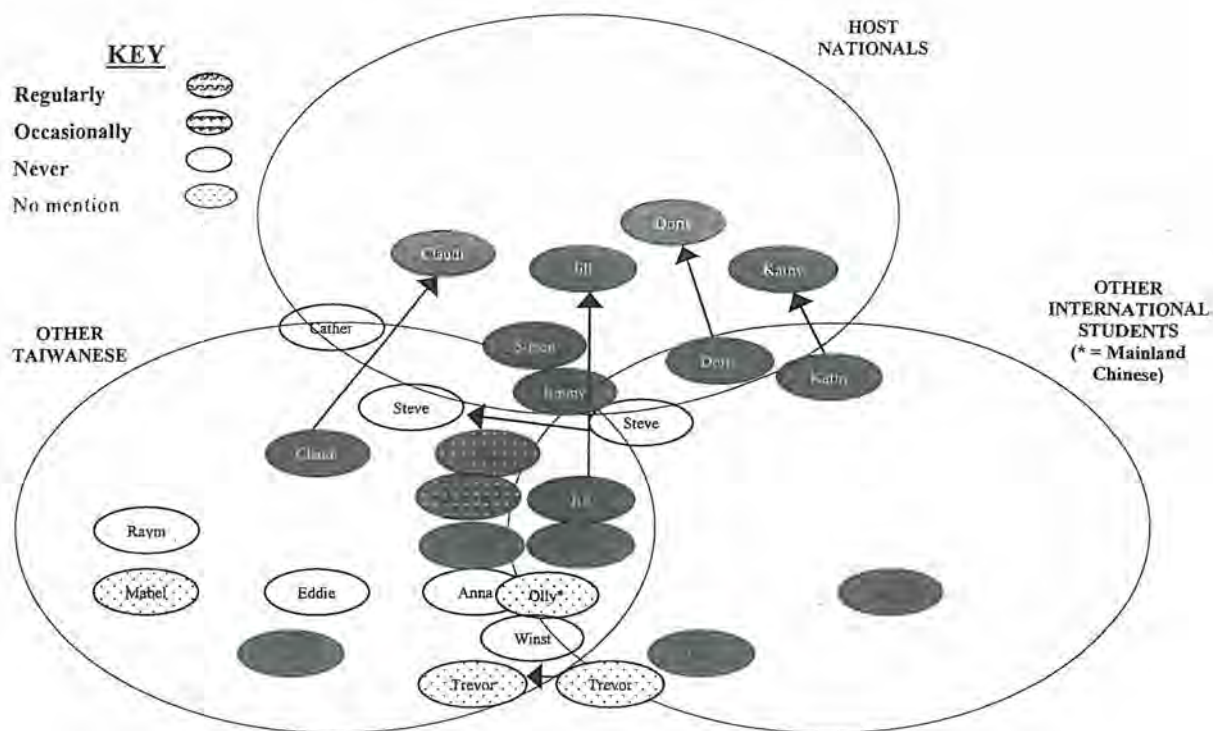
Figure 3.2 – Patterns of Alcohol Consumption in the UK

The findings are perhaps unsurprising in that previous acculturation research has repeatedly argued that a factor in successful integration into a new cultural environment is the assimilation of the behavioural repertoire of that culture. Behavioural changes in the acculturating sojourner have been conceptualised as a coping mechanism to a stressful situation induced by contact with an unfamiliar cultural context (Berry et al, 1987), as the learning of cultural skills required to survive and thrive in a given cultural context (Furnham and Bochner, 1986), and as a maturational process (Sam and Oppedal, 2002). Claudine's reasoning for increasing her alcohol consumption demonstrating perhaps not a maturation as such but certainly the learning of cultural behaviour she thought to be required to integrate into the host culture:

> "In Taiwan, I don't drink that much, I don't go pub often, but in UK, it is part of your culture, so I try to adapt to your way of life" (Claudine).

Looking at the patterns in the data, it can be argued that, in the framework of the Sussman model, the respondents reporting increased alcohol consumption demonstrate additive and subtractive shifts in their behavioural repertoire and arguably cultural identities. Furthermore, in the theoretical context of Shaules's model, there seems to be a distinction between those who drank occasionally in order to feel 'a bit British' and

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those who began to drink regularly and to excess. The former group could arguably be manifesting *acceptance/adaptation* on a shallow level whereas the latter group show *adaptation* at a deeper cultural level. Jill spent eight years in the UK and the cultural reasoning for drinking seen in the UK seems to have evolved from its beginnings as adaptation at a superficial level into later adaptation at a much deeper cultural level. This culminated in the assimilation of the culturally deeper reasoning behind alcohol consumption into her own cultural identity:

> "there were loads of international students coming to Scotland for a bit of excitement and every Thursday night we went to the pub and tried to be Scottish, drank ourselves to death and you start to sort of liberate yourself from drinking and trying to understand why Scottish people do that or the British you know, that's the young way of integrating yourself to another life and later on it became a way of life I did it because well if it helps me to relax and unwind, out of necessity really. Thursday and Friday night. It just became a way of life, if you have something to celebrate, go to the pub, you have a row with your boyfriend, you go to the pub with your friends or if you are going shopping you stop at the pub for a drink, you drive in the countryside, you stop for lunch in the pub, it just becomes part of life really, it's not something particularly you have to try to do, it's like that" (Jill).

Therefore, it becomes apparent from this discussion that accepting and even mimicking the behavioural repertoires of the host culture does not necessarily constitute cultural learning at a deep level. For this to take place, there requires assimilation to some degree of the values and assumptions behind the behavioural repertoire into the cultural identity of the sojourner. To illustrate this point for example, Karina and Will, a Taiwanese couple who married prior to the academic sojourn, state that as a result of observing the host behaviour, they also began drinking alcohol on occasion while in the UK. Upon return to Taiwan however, this stopped. In contrast, the six respondents reporting to have begun drinking regularly in the UK showed evidence of continuing this behaviour upon their return to Taiwan. This despite its relative lack of social acceptance, particularly for females, in Taiwan compared to in the UK. Fatima tells of this difference:

> "Going to 那個 (trans.- that) pub, drinking which I didn't do in Taiwan before. It is really nice, English pub, with your friends and have a drink. In Taiwan it is totally different when you drink, people will think you are bad. Taiwan 酒巴 (trans.- drinking bar) is not like bar in England. They are full of loser 老外 (trans.- foreigners)" (Fatima).

As a result of this, Fatima desisted in her occasional alcohol consumption which would indicate a degree of *acceptance/adaptation* of host culture behaviour at a shallow level.

The emergent trends obvious here certainly open up a research question for further sociological research as to patterns of and rationale for alcohol consumption in international sojourners' acculturation processes in the UK.

Figure 3.1 does nevertheless demonstrate that despite a willingness on the part of the sojourner, only a minority of the respondents in this study felt that they had been able to have meaningful social contact with members of the host culture. Among the reasons cited for this is the common perception of being unwelcome visitors to the UK. This was in fact far more apparent in the responses of students sojourning in universities in England than those in Scotland and Wales. Regional contrasts into international student experiences of contact with host nationals would again be an interesting area for further research. Jill, for example compares her two contrasting experiences:

> "I have to say people in [Scottish city] are quite different from people from the rest of Britain, years later I realised I think [Scottish city] being a city with so many tourists, they are more open to international students, they are used to international students, they are used to foreigners, they are just lovely to foreigners, they are very open minded whereas when I went to [English city], the experience was quite different but [Scottish city] made me feel very welcome" (Jill).

This sentiment is echoed in the comments of Olly, who spent his study sojourn in a Scottish university, and Winston, who attended a Welsh university:

> "People in Scotland are very friendly, when I feel confused they are very friendly. I just need to open the map and some Scottish there is someone walk to me and can I help you?" (Olly).
>
> "I found real Welsh people are quite friendly or maybe I'm the Asian never meet one before, I think they are very nice to me" (Winston).

However, many of the reports from student sojourners in England were not so positive, some of the most extreme of which demonstrated case of overt racism when sojourners came into contact with host locals, teenagers in particular. Shaun spent most of his time in the UK with his Mainland Chinese girlfriend and her friends, his motivation to avoid developing meaningful social interactions with the host culture perhaps being fuelled by several reported incidents where he felt verbally abused because of his race:

> "The teenagers sometimes if you in UK if you go alone in the night and some teenager will come to you and they will say Chinese pig or something. I feel very terrible. For me I think this happened about three or four times, in [city in the South of England]. Even in Tesco, when I am buying some food, there is a girl and she come to me and she yell at me, I don't know why" (Shaun).

Furthermore, besides the wider population, local UK students at host academic institutions were mainly perceived as being largely unwelcoming towards international students. These findings are not new and are consistently repeated in the numerous studies of student sojourner acculturation nationwide (see for example Ledwith and Seymour, 1997; Russell, 2005; Brown et al., 2007). Such a level of concordance between studies may imply that this perception is more than the negative interpretations of the motives and character of host nationals documented as being characteristic of a culture shock reaction seen previously. The International Student Experience Report (UNITE, 2006) for example found that home students were indifferent to interaction with international students and mostly were unable to identify benefits associated with intercultural contact. A poignant example of this comes from the narrative of Doris who described her first days in the UK:

> "I wasn't living in the university halls, I was living in a private home that signed a contract with the university. Most of the people that live there, they are undergraduate and Brit - English. So I think I am the only two postgraduate and foreigner. Before I went there I thought that was a good idea because then I get the chance to know locals because I want to know locals, yes I arrived on Saturday night, on Sunday morning I met a girl, English girl she knocked on my door, said she saw the light in my room so she want to say hi to me, she tried to make friends with me but I think she was shocked, she saw me as a foreign face and she invite me to go out and party but later on when I checked the time with her she didn't really tell me the time, she tried to be nice but she was also worried about whether they will be able to get along with me" (Doris).

Recent research carried out by Brown et al (2007) which investigated the perceptions of both international and local students of each other concludes that cross-cultural communication is the primary barrier to successful interactions between these two groups. Whereas data from the international students suggests that local students are not accepting of international students, data collected from local students seems to suggest that the international student tendency towards segregation was seen as "'cliquey', 'intimidating' and 'annoying'" (no page). Furthermore, local students perceive threat in the international classroom believing that working with international students could compromise their academic performance and final grade. This quotation is taken from an interview with a local student in Brown et al.'s study:

> "this sounds really horrible – when we got put into groups there were people I didn't want to work with because of their level of English" (ibid.).

This would suggest the importance of the rapid development of pragmalinguistic skills for communication in the new environment in international students during the initial stages of arrival in the UK. In support of this, Brown et al. also found that:

> "Where not threatened, UK students appeared to be 'indifferent' rather than 'closed' to contact, apparently prepared to communicate with the other *if they took the initiative*. It was the responsibility of the international students to interact and adapt" (ibid.).

This notwithstanding, the increasing numbers of international students in UK Higher Education can be seen as problematic. A recent report into international student integration in New Zealand edited by Ward (2005) argues that a critical mass of international students may tip the balance of perception and interaction from positive to negative. This would appear to be supported in many of the findings in this study. Therefore, it is evident from the data that a perceived barrier to meaningful social interactions with the host culture was the reluctance of the local people to engage socially with international academic sojourners, limiting interaction therefore predominantly to the functional level. However, despite these comments, Figure 3.1 does demonstrate that a small percentage of sojourners see themselves as having successfully engaged in meaningful social interactions with the host locals. What is particular about these sojourners will be discussed shortly; firstly it is important to consider what unites all the respondents in this study, their participation in UK academia.

3.5   The UK and Taiwanese Educational Contexts

The sojourners in this study were similar in their participation in postgraduate programmes at a number of higher educational institutions across the UK. Figure 3.3 below represents approximately how the academic environment both envelops and excludes certain channels of meaningful social interaction. As can be seen from the figure, the compatriot Taiwanese subculture is almost entirely made up of interaction with other Taiwanese students. Mabel and Raymond, however, seen at the bottom left side maintained social networks with UK resident Taiwanese outside of academia, in both cases alumni who had decided to stay in the UK (big sister Mao in the case of Mabel).

Figure 3.3 – UK Academia and Patterns of Socialisation
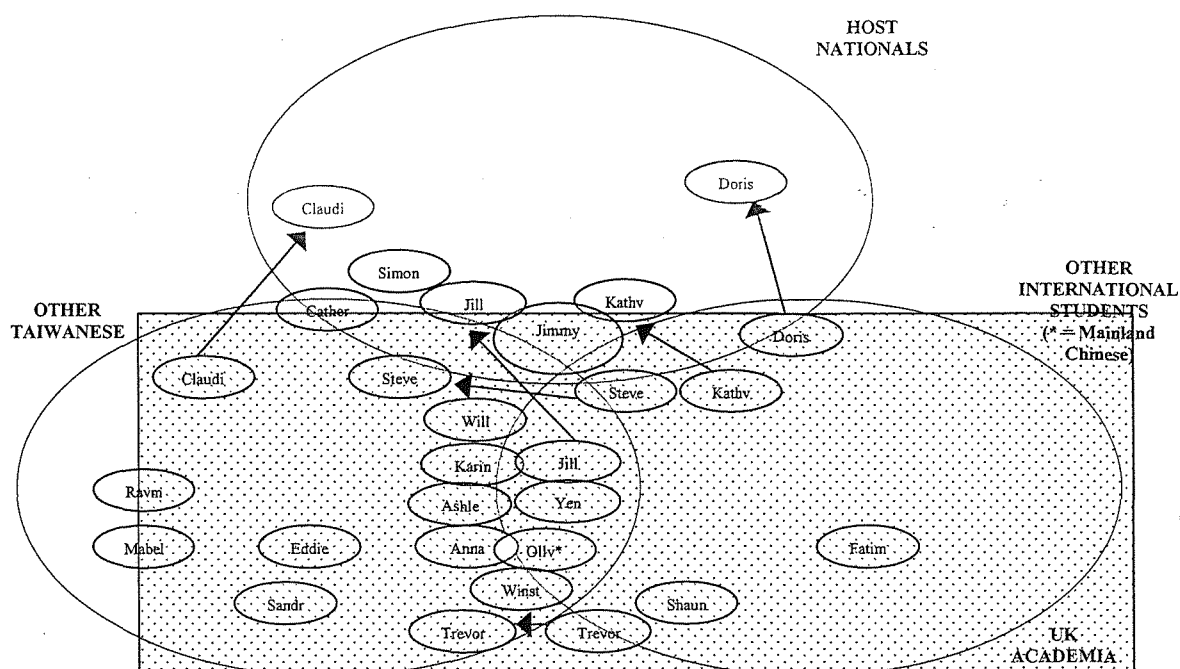
What is of particular interest here is that of the respondents who engaged in extensive contact with the host culture, only in two cases, those of Jill and Kathy, who both became involved in relationships with university lecturers, was there overlap between the academic environment and the host culture. Therefore, apart from this exception, none of the Taiwanese respondents in this study felt that they had experienced any meaningful contact with local people through the medium of the academic institution in which they were studying. Referring to Figure 3.3, meaningful academic relationships with the host culture were seemingly somewhat removed from the sojourner experience. However the engagement had with the UK education system and internalisation to varying degrees of the cultural and philosophical assumptions therein seems evidently to have led to significant cultural learning for many, if not all of the respondents. Furthermore, this is perceived in the respondents' comments as another positive outcome of the academic sojourn. It is important here to consider the contrasting educational environments of home and host culture to better understand the manifestation of cultural learning and identity change evident in the narratives.

Originating from what is often defined as a Confucian heritage culture with educational assumptions of a nature different to those in the UK, successful completion of the

academic sojourn required the sojourners to internalise to some degree the philosophical and cultural underpinnings of an alternative understanding of the nature of education. The Confucian culture of learning is an interesting topic of study that for the most part offers controversial and contradictory views. Before discussing discrepancies in accounts of the Confucian Learner, it is important to mention one feature that tends to offer more converging empirical evidence. Based on the Confucian value of education, effort and endurance are emphasised in the Confucian culture of learning (Hau and Salili, 1996). Research suggests that the Confucian Learner tends to attribute performance to effort rather than to ability. Watkins and Biggs (2001) argue that this perception can be constructive in that success is in the hands of the individual rather than dependent on some innate talent. However the downside is the pressure placed on the student by parents and teachers to achieve through long hours of diligent study. The Western notion, by contrast, tends to highlight the influence of inherent ability on performance. This notion is reported firsthand by a respondent, Steve, who spent nine years in the UK studying architecture. He remarks on how difficult this perception of hard work versus ability was to incorporate into his own cultural script in his discussion of a failed assignment:

> *Interviewer- How did you feel when you didn't pass?*
>
> "I feel sad in they are unfair with me, they are unfair with me, I did quite a lot of work, but they don't judge you on how hard you, they don't judge you how hard of your work, they just want to see the creative thinking or something in the, if some work, if they buy your story even it is only three page or the drawing, they buy it, if you go to the jury said I did this 10 models and I have the 100 drawings, if they don't buy your story, you fail. They don't judge you how hard you work, like the traditional aim. This is very different from Taiwan" (Steve).

Research into the Confucian Learner however rarely produces such convergence and two broad schools have developed. Proponents of the first school of thought assert that the Confucian Learner is obedient to authority, passive in class, reliant on rote learning and lacking in critical thinking ability (e.g. Ballard and Clanchy, 1991; Liu and Littlewood, 1997). Jones (1999) contends that these characteristics are often compared with those of Western students and carry with them implications of inferiority. Nevertheless it is argued that these qualities are intrinsically linked to the values of Confucianism whereby respect for strong hierarchical structures prevents the learners from contradicting or disputing the opinions, both spoken and written, of authority figures. Furthermore, Kim (no date) argues strongly that Confucian ideals and culture

inhibit, depress and stifle students' creativity and critical thinking from an early age through suppression of individuality and reverence of conformity. By contrast, proponents of the second school of thought portray the Confucian learner in a very different light, as valuing active and reflective thinking, deep and sophisticated learning and a spirit of enquiry (e.g. Jones, 1999; Lee, 1996; Watkins and Biggs, 2001; Smith and Smith, 1999). One of the most fundamental arguments against the former model of the Confucian Learner discussed above concerns cultural differences in the perception of the relationship between memorisation and learning (Watkins and Biggs, 2001). Rote learning, claimed to be the preferred learning and teaching method of Confucian heritage cultures, has been proven to lead to poor learning outcomes, which in fact is not normally the case for the Confucian Learner.

These two conflicting accounts may be attributable, in part, to variation across regions or recent developments in the education systems of Confucian Heritage cultures. In the case of Taiwan, educational reforms began in 1987 when martial law was lifted. As Liu and Hung (2002) point out, there has since been a shift from a focus on indoctrination for purposes of social control to an increasing emphasis on fostering critical thinking skills and active citizenship. Table 3.3 below offers a very interesting edited version of the development of the national school social studies curriculum in Taiwan persuasively demonstrating this.

1975	**Major goals**
	To guide students to experience interpersonal relationships through their schools, families, and community life, in order to develop the abilities and attitudes needed to adjust to and serve society, to practice national ethics, and to enhance the national spirit.
	To guide students to understand the relationship between Chinese culture and modern society, through the process of historical evolution, in order to cultivate love for the nation and a willingness to contribute to building the community and the nation.
	Sub-goals for Grades 3 and 4
	To guide students to understand Taiwan's history and the great men who have made contributions to the development of Taiwan.
	To guide students to understand the development of political, material, social, ethical, and psychological construction, and enhance their willingness to contribute to local construction.
	To guide students to understand the importance of Taiwan as a base for the recovery of Mainland China.
	Sub-goals for Grades 5 and 6
	To guide students to understand the superior national attributes of the Chinese, such as wisdom, competence and morality, in order to build national confidence.
	To guide students to understand and glorify Chinese tradition and culture.
	To guide students to understand China's achievements in the fields of technology, invention and institutional development during the dynastic period.
	To guide students to respect Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's and Chiang Kai-Shek's contributions to national revolution.
	To guide students to know the brutalities of the Communists and the opposition between

	liberalism and totalitarianism.
1983	To understand the evolution of China and the change of its territory in different dynasties. To understand the political, economic, social and cultural development of our nation, to enhance patriotism, love for the nation, and a spirit of cooperation. To understand our nation's traditions, our people's status and our responsibilities through the study of the history and culture of our nation.
1993	To develop a proper conception of the individual self, of the harmonious relationship between individuals and the group, and to cultivate good habits in order to develop a wholesome personality. To guide students to understand the living environment, the nation's history, geography, and culture in order to nourish their affection and love of homeland, society, and nation. To guide students to understand the development of the world, to broaden their horizons and their minds in order to promote the universal ideals of equality, reciprocity, and cooperation. To develop students' abilities in the **spheres of critical thinking, value judgment, and problem-solving** in order to prepare them for participation in a democratic society.
2000	To understand the environment, humanity, diversity and the problems of the locality and other communities. To comprehend the interaction of people, society, culture and ecology, and the significance of environmental protection and resource exploitation. To impart a basic knowledge of the social sciences. To develop local and national identity, and an attitude of concerned citizenship embracing a global perspective. To nurture democratic literacy, law-abiding concepts, and responsible attitudes. To nurture self-understanding and self-realization, along with positive, self-confident and open attitudes. To develop abilities in the **spheres of critical thinking, value judgment, and problem solving**. To develop abilities and aptitudes related to social participation, decision-making and the practical sphere. To develop the abilities of self-expression, communication, and cooperation. To develop an interest and ability to investigate, create and process information.

Table 3.1 – Taiwan's Social Studies Curricula (Liu and Hung, 2002)

The curricula above, while indicating a move away from *guiding* students into politically motivated knowledge towards fostering the critical and analytical capacity and freedom of thought necessary for a modern democracy, also points to very interesting nationalistic and collectivistic teachings of moral and ethical responsibilities to the society in which the students live. There is also seemingly an implicit move away from a Chinese identity towards a Taiwanese identity which will be considered later in discussion. The more recent goal of developing students' abilities in the sphere of critical thinking, value judgment, and problem solving arguably demonstrate a reform in the direction of the Western Socratic tradition of education as seen in the UK. However, the sample studied in this group would primarily have been educated at school level before such reforms were implemented. As a result, critical thinking is frequently

reported as a concept somewhat removed from the respondents' reality prior to the academic sojourn.

To be successful in the UK higher education system, particularly at postgraduate level, students are required to demonstrate a degree of sophistication in the critical analysis skills of the Socratic dialectic tradition. That said, it seems that a relatively small proportion, one third of the respondents in this study, equally distributed across females and males in the sample, overtly responded that they felt their own ability to critically analyse had improved and that this was a positive result of their overseas study sojourn. However, it is important to note that there is strong evidence of development of criticality in many of the narratives of those sojourners who did not express this overtly. It may be that these respondents, particularly those of a more formative age, consider changes in their cognitive functioning as a natural evolution in the maturation process.

Returning to Sussman's cultural identity shifts, one might expect sojourners tending towards an affirmative cultural identity shift not to manifest such change. However, the model seems to be more relevant in this regard perhaps to repatriate professionals or refugees rather than repatriating academic sojourners. Steve, for example, was probably the most grateful of repatriates, happy to leave the UK and return to Taiwan. Nevertheless, having spent nine years in UK higher education, he noticed considerable change in his analytical thought processes which he felt differentiated him from compatriots who had never left Taiwan:

> "I think I'm 100%, no I act like Taiwanese but inside sort of a different thinking but I 我還是覺得 (trans.- I still think), just for the education part, you think different, I don't mean you think different with the other things, but when you analyse things, when you talk about business, when you think about the plan you act, when you office, you act like a 老外 (trans.- foreigner)" (Steve).

Having decided upon his return to Taiwan to establish his own interior design company, Steve considered that the analytical skills he had developed during his sojourn in the UK education system gave him a competitive advantage in the Taiwanese business world. Another equally grateful repatriate was Trevor, a lecturer in Taiwanese academia who spent four years in the UK studying his PhD in Life Sciences Management. During his sojourn he spent a large amount of his time with his Taiwanese wife and child with comparatively little social integration into UK society. However, his observation that

his analytical approaches have changed as a result of immersion in UK academia are also very interesting:

> "For study I actually indeed I got the different thinking about doing the study. In Taiwan for example lots of people, lots of professors, they always think they just following someone's theories to see if they can apply it in Taiwan or not, but in the UK, I got another. I found English, they more like likely to develop something, some theories and some and other people can follow his theory so they can get in the leading position, so I think this is quite different. And another thing, because I was in life sciences, so I was pay some attention on the operations of the science laboratories in the UK, I found in Taiwan different, the main point is, in the UK, OK in Taiwan, professors make research to support some research project with existing theories to do their research but in the UK some professors, they will designing the special environment or do their research, I think it is difference" (Trevor).

Trevor therefore argues that, in his academic discipline, much research carried out in Taiwan is deductive in its methodological approach, collecting quantitative data in order to test existing theory. As a result of his study sojourn, he has become seemingly more convinced by the qualitative approach to research which he finds advantageous despite some problematic issues:

> "Yes, in that way because when I want to introduce some theories I need to begin with qualitative research but most of my colleagues they use, test a theory so use a quantitative approach. In this case I can hardly find someone to discuss this qualitative approach, I mean the methodology, so that's my biggest research problem, major problem" (Trevor).

A case which throws an alternative light on the understanding of critical thinking development is that of Claudine. Her narrative tells of considerable integration into the host culture for reasons of a relationship with a local male. She is very conscious of changes to her identity which include gender emancipation, increased independence, and a much augmented ability to observe the various contrasting perspectives of issues which she previously considered to be *black* or *white*. Much of her commentary would therefore suggest the development of more critical cognitive processes, however when asked if she thought this were the case her reply revealed that:

> "To be honest, I'm a very bad student, I always just pass my assignments, I never get high scores, I didn't do much work. And then when I graduate, my English boyfriend was really proud of me, he said I can't believe you graduate" (Claudine).

Therefore, Claudine seems to have associated critical thinking purely with the academic context in which she studied. However, her penetration into the host society and meaningful contact with host nationals arguably contributed to the development in her

of these skills, albeit unconsciously. Doris proves to be another example of how meaningful contact with nationals from Socratic-tradition countries can produce latent development of critical thinking in Confucian Heritage nationals. Before having left for the UK and entering the academic environment, she tells of a relationship with a UK expatriate who was living and working in Taiwan. Her observations are that:

> "Yes, I think this is through having a British boyfriend because he started me thinking what I used to believe is true, whether they are really true, because Taiwanese culture always makes up things what you learn from your parents, teachers or even newspapers you should be totally believing it, you don't challenge that, I think my foreign friends always challenge all about me. At first I was really offended, I think 'why do you challenge me about this and that?' but then I think about it yeah why didn't I ever challenge anything I learnt at school, I just take whatever the people tell me and because of that I changed my values and that make people think I am really weird" (Doris).

The development of critical thinking and analytical skills in international academic sojourners is an area of research which appears to be gaining momentum, much as a result of the need to improve host country educators' understanding of the needs and experiences of their overseas students. However, Doris's final comment above as to her compatriots' perceptions of her and the longer-term implications of critical thinking development on the repatriation experience will be considered in later discussion and is an area meriting further research in the future.

To postulate that a sojourner's analytical thought processes have changed as a result of an intercultural academic sojourn arguably demonstrates a considerable level of adaptation to the cultural underpinnings of the host culture at a relatively deep level. Furthermore, as can be seen in the narratives, such development is not limited to those respondents claiming meaningful social interaction with host nationals. Therefore, as subjects of acculturation research, academic sojourners can again be seen to differ from working sojourners in their immersion in the academic culture of the host environment. Durkin's (2008) interesting work with East Asian students in UK universities argues that in adapting to the academic environment there is a tendency among such students to adopt a middle ground position or a *Middle Way* that "synergizes the traditional cultural academic values held by many East Asian students with those elements of Western academic norms that are perceived to be aligned with these" (38). In this context, there does appear to be evidence to support her conclusion in the narratives of those respondents studying for a shorter period of time and demonstrating lower levels of

social interaction with the host culture. However, for those sojourning in the longer term, studying at doctoral level, or socialising more extensively with host locals, it seems that in many cases changes in cognitive analytical processes are significant enough to be influential factors in contributing to negative repatriation affect upon return to Taiwan. This would suggest that such respondents move beyond Durkin's *Middle Way* in their internalisation of elements of Western academic norms which are less aligned to those in East Asia. How the repatriation experience for these respondents is reported will be revisited in subsequent discussion.

3.6   Conclusion

This chapter has presented three cultural networks, the monocultural Taiwanese expatriates, the bicultural host culture, and the multicultural international student group as potential milieux for socialisation during the academic sojourn. Furthermore it has discussed some of the implications of socialisation patterns for change in sojourner cultural identities. Emerging from the data collected in this study is evidence that patterns of social interaction while in the UK seem to be important predictors of the affective nature of the repatriation experience. This is due in most cases to an apparent positive correlation between the level of meaningful contact with host locals, depth of cultural learning and, in Sussman's terms, additive/subtractive changes in cultural identity.

This chapter has also served to remind UK academia that there is still considerable room for improvement in cross-campus relationships between international and local students. Indeed, the non-governmental independent think-tank for UK Higher Education, Agora, believes that despite its paramount importance, few higher-education leaders are willing to address such a sensitive subject. In the words of Anna Fazackerley, Agora's director "vice chancellors don't want to tackle the issue of social cohesion, but if we brush it under the carpet, we'll pay in the long term, when a generation of international students have returned and shared their dissatisfaction with others back home".

Of particular interest in this research context is a factor influencing acculturation which seems to have been hitherto minimally treated in the literature. Emerging from the

narratives was evidence that intragroup behavioural expectations of compatriot sojourners can be seen as a factor in play. It is argued that the relatively *tight* collective of Taiwanese overseas sojourners can influence observed socialisation patterns in that excessive interaction with people from other nationalities, including the host culture, is outside of expected behavioural norms. This is interesting in that the literature to date seemingly considers the acculturation process to be mostly influenced by either or both host culture acceptance of international sojourners and variables at the level of the individual. Figure 3.4 below is a revision of Ward's model of acculturation seen previously which incorporates the added variable of intragroup behavioural expectations at the level of the individual situation.
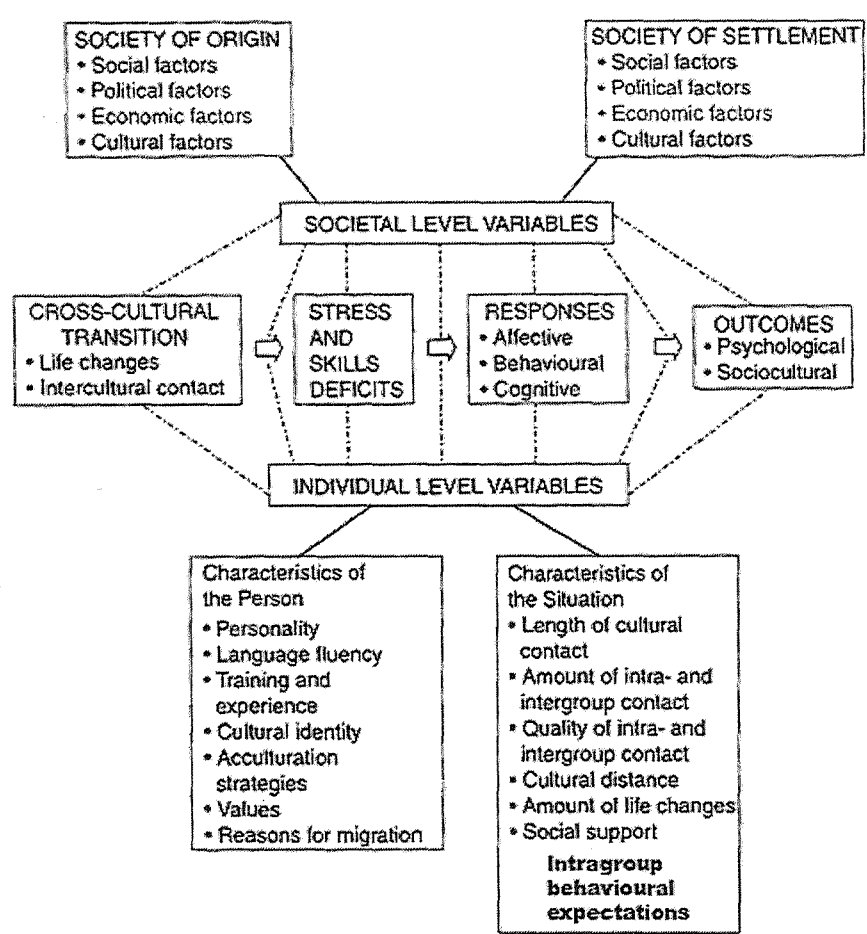
Figure 3.4 – The Adapted Acculturation Process (Ward et al., 2001)

As an area for further study the expectations of the compatriot collective clearly seems to warrant investment. Through a greater understanding of this, academic sojourner acculturation processes may be facilitated in the future through, for example, structured interaction with host locals which places the locus of control outside of the sojourner

themselves. Equally important would be comparative investigation into the social networking patterns of different nationality groups in UK academia. Ward's model above suggests cultural distance between home and host nation to be a further situational level variable of significance in the acculturation process. It would be interesting therefore to explore whether academic sojourners of a more similar ethnic and cultural heritage to the host culture differ markedly in their perceptions of acculturation, social integration and, indeed, the overall cultural transition cycle. Situational and individual variables and their role in the acculturation process have been well documented in the literature and it is now important to turn to these now and consider their contribution to the sojourner socialisation patterns seen in this research context.

CHAPTER 4 – ACCULTURATION FACTORS

4.1   Introduction

The previous chapter presented the patterns of meaningful socialisation reported by the respondents during their academic sojourn in the UK and argued for an apparent correlation between these and the nature of resultant repatriation affect. Through this presentation, three networks of social interaction were revealed, the monocultural compatriot Taiwanese group, the bicultural host culture network, and the multicultural international student circle. Ward's (2001) model of the acculturation process visited and adapted in previous chapters points to societal, situational and individual level variables which can be influential factors in the acculturation process. One of the variables at the level of the individual is that explored by Sussman's model, namely cultural identity. This section will begin by considering the two antecedent factors identified by the Sussman model as predictors for level adjustment, cultural identity centrality and cultural flexibility, and then move on to discuss other variables which seem to have played a role in the acculturation process in this particular research context.

4.2   Cultural Identity Centrality

Sussman's definition of cultural identity centrality refers to "the significance of cultural identity to the sojourner" (2000:364). Her argument is that the more central the identity, the less cultural accommodation will take place as a result of an intercultural sojourn. Consequently, if a sojourner has low cultural identity centrality, they are more likely to experience an additive/subtractive cultural identity shift, resulting, the model suggests, in a negative repatriation experience upon returning home. Therefore, in this context, someone for example who feels pride in being Taiwanese, considers themselves very much similar to their Taiwanese compatriots and a fully integrated member of Taiwanese society will be predicted to demonstrate lower levels of social and emotional integration into the UK host culture, assimilate less elements of the host culture into their cultural identity, and suffer less repatriation distress than a sojourner whose 'Taiwaneseness' is less pronounced. On further investigation, it can be claimed that,

when considered in relation to the North American sample Sussman used when conceptualising her model, the sample group in this study demonstrate some interestingly contrasting characteristics. The synopses of the beginning of Doris and Claudine's transition cycles below introduce these findings:

The case of Doris (Part One)

Doris is 30 years old and very reluctantly returned to Taiwan one and a half years ago following a postgraduate study sojourn of almost two years in the UK. She decided to study in the UK after having had an English boyfriend in Taiwan for four years which resulted in the development of what she considers to be a less traditionally Taiwanese way of thinking. Her compatriots, she believed, found her "weird" in that she would not accept her hierarchically designated position in this largely collectivist society and would tend to challenge the views of authority figures. She had hoped that following her studies she would be able to find a job and stay indefinitely in the UK.

When Doris arrived in the UK, she threw herself into the local culture, actively avoiding contact with other Taiwanese and seeking out the company of local people. She worked in local bars and during the second half of her sojourn she lived with and had an intimate relationship with a local 20-year-old male. She spent most of her time with that male and his local friends. This led to her being ostracised from the Taiwanese in-group in Bournemouth and she became the source of gossip about her sexual promiscuity. While she still felt that she had traditional Taiwanese values such as the importance of respect for the family and for society, behaviourally she started acting more and more like local people in the host culture. While not denying that she was Taiwanese, she was neither proud nor ashamed of the fact. She began drinking alcohol regularly, watching football, and cooking Western style food. She started to value her personal space and respect that of others more. The UK, she felt, became her home.

This account would suggest that Doris's low level of Taiwanese cultural identity centrality led to a high level of adaptation to the host culture through the adoption of behavioural repertoires and apparent internalisation of many of the deeper cultural values of the Western environment in which she spent her sojourn. By contrast,

Claudine also became very much integrated into the host culture but her Taiwanese cultural identity centrality was perceived to be much higher:

> "I'm totally Taiwanese. Yes and I was really conservative but UK changed me a lot" (Claudine).

A summary of narrative detailing her initial experience demonstrates this:

The case of Claudine (Part One)

Claudine is 27 years old and very reluctantly returned to Taiwan nine months ago following a postgraduate study sojourn of one and a half years in the UK. She decided to study in the UK in order to gain a more international view of the world and improve her English. She believed that prior to her sojourn she was "totally Taiwanese", very conservative, well behaved, filial, and traditional. She would never go out in the evenings and had a long-term Taiwanese boyfriend of 5 years. She planned to return to Taiwan to be with her family following her study sojourn and had no intention of staying in the UK.

When Claudine arrived in the UK, she missed her boyfriend and her life in Taiwan and questioned her reasoning for leaving. She was disappointed with the UK and the university she attended and regretted having left her job, family and boyfriend. She only socialised with other Taiwanese from the university and had very little contact with the local culture. She was very proud to be Taiwanese. Two months into her sojourn she received a call from her boyfriend in Taiwan who said he was having doubts about their relationship. She flew back immediately to discover that he had started a relationship with his best friend's girlfriend. Claudine was devastated but felt she couldn't stay in Taiwan and flew back to the UK. She spent two months unable to eat or sleep and crying continually. Eventually she was invited to go out to a nightclub by her Taiwanese friends and there found a taste for nightlife and drinking. After another month she met an older local man with whom she became intimate despite never having been interested in Western men before. He showed her around the UK, introduced her to his local friends and she began to feel that the UK was her home. She spent considerable time with host nationals from that time onwards and began to feel more independent and emancipated, valuing her own personal space and respecting that of others more.

Claudine therefore, despite implying that her Taiwanese cultural identity centrality was very high, like Doris, also showed a high level of adaptation to the host culture. It seems that the case of Claudine does not fit Sussman's prediction that a sojourner with high cultural identity centrality would manifest a low level of adaptation to a host culture. The implications of these findings on the repatriation experiences of these two respondents will be considered in the next chapter.

Figure 4.1 below provides an overview of perceived presojourn cultural identity centrality based on the responses in the interviews. As a non-quantifiable abstract concept, the figure represents an approximation and does not claim to be statistically verifiable. Nevertheless, content analysis was employed in order to categorise respondents in the four groupings of *High, Medium/High, Medium,* and *Low*. An example of comments designated to the *High* category would be of the type:

> "I'm a very active person so I'm a part of the Taiwan society because we work together, my family, we are very close, I felt very Taiwanese" (Yen).

In addition to content analysis of the narratives themselves, cultural identity centrality was also explored through the first chart in the interview schedule. This chart encouraged respondents to consider their presojourn relationship with Taiwanese culture serving as a trigger for further narrative pertaining largely to the perception of cultural identity centrality.

As Figure 4.1 shows, several respondents perceived themselves as very Taiwanese, including those who demonstrated relatively high levels of social interaction with the host culture and the international student group. *Medium/High* level responses were equally common among the sample in this study and revealed some interesting reasoning for feeling slightly outside of mainstream Taiwanese culture while still feeling the cultural significance of being Taiwanese in most respects. Among the responses all perceived by respondents to situate them slightly outside of traditional Taiwanese thinking were: a strong interest in foreign cultures (Karina); a lack of interest in politics (Catherine); feeling that men and women should have equal status in society (Anna); being of Christian faith (Fatima); not being filial (Ray); being homosexual (Winston); and having Mainland Chinese parents (Mabel) (discussed shortly). Such comments are of great interest and should encourage further study into the extent to

which the values of young people are moving away from the traditional cultural heritage of Taiwan towards perhaps a society of greater gender equality, tolerance of homosexuality and multi-faith.
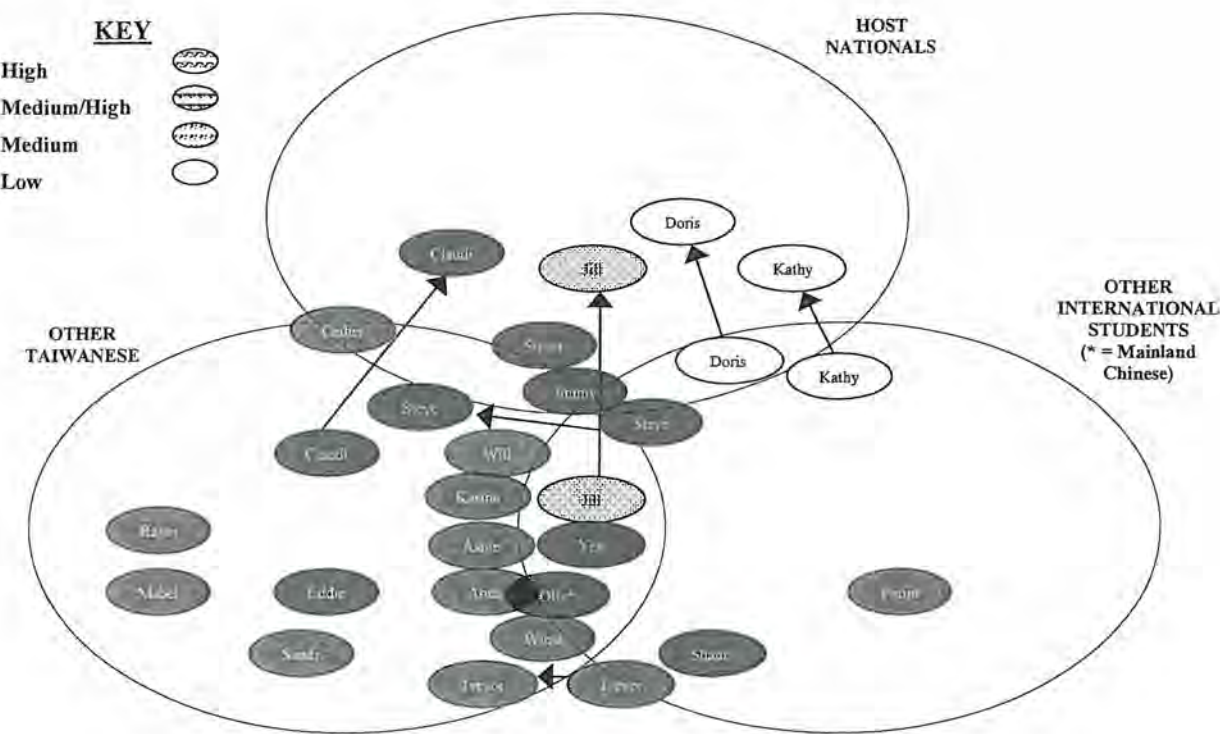
Figure 4.1 – Cultural Identity Centrality

An important finding in this study is that far fewer respondents reported to having *Medium* or *Low* cultural identity centrality. Jill's (*Medium*) response arguably demonstrates a higher level of removal from Taiwanese culture than the previous two high and medium/high groups as can be seen in her comment:

> "I was very bound by the sort of things that grew up with me but I was also very, I had a longing, I had a familiarity towards Western culture and being studying English languages and stuff and I think I was fluent in English from a very early age sort of without knowing why" (Jill).

Doris and Kathy were the only two respondents who reported tendencies towards *Low* cultural identity centrality and an important contributing factor for them both leaving Taiwan was to escape from the confines of perceived social norms and family pressures. Their reported patterns of social interaction are both unique in the sample in that they indicate a conscious avoidance of the Taiwanese expatriate group from the start of their

overseas sojourn. Kathy notes her feelings prior to arrival in the UK of being outside of Taiwanese society:

> "I wasn't integrated at all, I was a freak. I don't mind people being gay and I don't give a shit what my boyfriends do as long as they take me out for dinner so I don't really control people like other Taiwanese girls ... Also I want to get away from my mom and my family. Pressure, family things, I not normal in Taiwan, not a proper Taiwanese. Because I don't listen to my mom, I do what I want to do" (Kathy).

It is interesting to note the pattern evident in Figure 4.1 above which indicates that the respondents with Medium to Low cultural identity centrality, Jill, Doris and Kathy, all ended their sojourns in relationships with local males and consequently manifested a relatively high level of adaptation to and social integration into the host culture. Doris and Kathy equally claim to have avoided any meaningful social interaction with compatriots during their sojourn. These patterns can be seen to offer support to the predictions of Sussman's model.

It is equally very much worthy of note here to revisit Sussman's proposition that "the model also is placed within a contextual framework, suggesting that this paradigm is most applicable to sojourners from cultures in which individualism is high and cultural identity is low in centrality and salience" (2002a:395). Present in the findings from Taiwanese sojourners is strong evidence that, with the few exceptions noted, presojourn cultural identity centrality is high and seemingly in all but the case of Doris is actually reported to increase over the duration of the sojourn. Therefore the notion of Taiwanese identity strongly warrants further exploration.

4.2.1 Identity in Taiwan

Few quotations can reflect the complexity of national identity in Taiwan more than that of Hartland-Thurnburg (1990 cited Hughes, 1997:1) who postulated: "if Taiwan were a person, it would be in the hands of a psychiatrist". Jill's synopsis is equally revealing:

> "We are rich, we are highly educated, we don't behave, we behave badly, like kids and we have servants from other countries, we pay them badly and we treat them badly and we don't have self-esteem, we look down on ourselves and we fight all the time, psychotic country" (Jill).

> *Interviewer- Why no self-esteem?*

> "Because we've been abused the whole time, we thinking we don't deserve to be Taiwanese, there are no such thing as Taiwanese, being Taiwanese is equal to being a

slave. When you have been abused for long enough, you stop believing that you deserve to be yourself. Some people call it Stockholm syndrome, I think we are just more psychotic really" (Jill).

Clearly then, national identity in Taiwan is as uncertain as the island's political environment, as turbulent as its recent history, and certainly difficult to treat in all its complexity in the limitations of a few paragraphs. Nevertheless, an overview of Taiwanese national and ethnic identity follows as a means of interpreting comments made by respondents in this regard in the interview data.

Tracing the history of Taiwan's population reveals in most cases that it was not the Chinese, rather an Austronesian aboriginal people, who were the island's earliest inhabitants. Although widely accepted in much of the literature, this assertion is challenged by the Chinese government who, perhaps for political reasons, claim "modern archaeology has traced Taiwan's connection with the Chinese mainland back to primeval history" (Mainland Chinese government sponsored one China policy propaganda www.chinataiwan.org website - Anon, 2006). However, linguistic, archaeological and historical evidence points more persuasively to the former theory and has portrayed two conflicting stories, firstly that the aborigines migrated to Taiwan from the Pacific islands, and secondly, and perhaps less convincingly, that Taiwan is the ancestral homeland of the Austronesian peoples (Stainton, 1999). Whatever the origins, as is the case of indigenous people elsewhere, Taiwan's aborigines have long suffered from marginalisation for their ethnicity although recent governmental policy has made attempts to improve their status on the island. Today they make up nearly 2% of the island's population (some 350,000 people of the 21.5 million total population) and are loosely divided into ten tribes, each of which speaks its own language (Taiwan Aboriginal Rights, 2007).

The Chinese migration from the Mainland to the island of Taiwan is generally believed to have started in the 15th century, driving the aboriginal people into the central mountains as ever-increasing numbers of Mainland Chinese occupied the western belt that was most suitable for agriculture (Liu and Hung, 2002). Originating mainly from across the Taiwan Strait in Fujian province, the migrants brought with them the Fujian dialect (Minnan or Southern Min - Crystal, 1997) which has developed into the modern-day Taiwanese language. Descendents of the Fujian migrants, now known as the Hoklo,

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account for some 14 million people, which, at 67% of the total population, makes them Taiwan's ethnie (Taiwan Aboriginal Rights, 2007). Along with the Fujianese (or Minnanese) came a smaller stream of ethnic Chinese known by ethnicity and dialect as the Hakka. Victims of persecution in their home province of Henan, the Hakka first moved to Guangdong and Fujian provinces in the south of China before gradually migrating to Taiwan (Roy, 2003). Today, descendents of the Hakka account for 11% of Taiwan's population (over 2 million) and are concentrated in the North Eastern counties of Hsinchu, Miaoli and Taoyuan.

In Mainland China, both the Fujianese and the Hakka are assimilated into the Han ethnie. This implies that ethnically, culturally and historically, today's Taiwanese are predominately Han Chinese. Nevertheless, due to a number of significant influences, such as the half-century occupation by the Japanese in the early 20th century, the close diplomatic and economic relationship with the United States, the substantial economic prosperity, and the political climate ostensibly of democracy, it is hard to deny that Taiwan has developed a unique cultural environment of her own (Fu et al, 2004).

While ethnicity in Taiwan comes to a large degree from dialectal variables, equally important for acquiring different ethnic status is the timing and the manner of arrival of people in Taiwan (Hsu, 2001). Descendents of both Fujian and Hakka Chinese who came to Taiwan before World War II are considered as 本省人 *(ben sheng ren)*, meaning local people. Alongside the *Ben sheng ren* are the minority group known as the 外省人 *(wai sheng ren)*, meaning outsiders, the majority of whom came to Taiwan as political immigrants from Mainland China around the time of the defeat of the Nationalist party by the Communists (Koga, 2001). During the period from 1945-1949, more than one million Mainland Chinese followed Chiang Kai-Shek and his Nationalist government in fleeing to Taiwan. Since this time both they and their offspring are considered as *wai sheng ren* whereas the Fujianese and Hakka are defined as *ben sheng ren*, with no account being given to their common origins.

Besides historical and linguistic differences, there are political tensions which persist among ethnic groups. For several decades after WWII, the *Waisheng ren*, though a significant numerical minority, controlled most of the political power through the imposition of martial law on the Taiwanese majority (Long, 1991). Since these political

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controls were mostly justified with rhetoric of conducting a civil war with Communist China for the preservation of traditional Chinese culture, Mandarin replaced Japanese and the local Taiwanese and Hakka dialects as the official and exclusive language. At the same time the meaning of *Taiwanese* was belittled to mean a narrow-minded local consciousness, as opposed to the high-minded national interest which defined the *Chinese* identity (Hsu, 2001). In response to these developments, political science professor Peng Ming-Min (1964) argued in his famous *Formosa Manifesto* that "A powerful movement is rapidly developing inside Formosa. It is a self-preservation movement among the island's 12 million people who are willing neither to be ruled by the Chinese Communists nor to be destroyed by the Chinese Nationalist regime" (cited ibid.:371).

More recently, it is generally argued that Taiwan's four ethnic groups (the Hoklo *benshengren*, the Hoklo *waishengren*, the Hakka and the Aboriginals) are becoming more integrated through increased intermarriage following the 1987 lifting of martial law and political democratisation (Lin, 2007). Furthermore, the number of residents of the island with a sense of Taiwanese national identity has risen significantly (from 16% in 1989 to 35.6% in 1996, to 45.7% in 2004), preference for an independent Taiwan has increased (from 6% in 1989 to 18.2% in 1996 to around 30% in 2004) and desire for Chinese unification has fallen markedly (55% in 1989 to 23% in 1996 to 15% in 2004) (Chu and Lin, 1998; Chang, 2006). Evidence from recent studies indicates that this trend is continuing predicting further that this will do so into the future (Yee, 1999; Hsu, 2001).

However Taiwan still remains a hotbed of political tensions both internally and externally. Internally, Taiwan's democracy is threatened by the considerable presence of extreme opinions regarding the island's future, ultimately resulting in assassination attempts and public disorder during election periods. On one side are the staunch Taiwanese nationalists (independentists) who advocate permanent and complete separation from China and on the other, the Chinese nationalists (unificationists) who favour reunification with the Mainland (Hughes, 1997). Lin (2007) cites survey evidence conducted by the Taiwan Thinktank, an independent, non-profit public policy research organisation based in Taiwan which demonstrates that the number of Taiwanese people who believe there is a serious ethnic problem in Taiwan has increased

dramatically from 17.5% in 1995 to 57.3% in 2007 with ethnic conflict existing mainly between *ben sheng ren* and *wai sheng ren*. However, in the 2004 poll, it was found that some 71% of the population believed that ethnic problems are a manipulation by politicians and the media.

What is most intriguing about the two groups is that in terms of blood lineage and cultural heritage (Confucianism and Taoism), they are indistinguishable from one another. Indeed, whereas at the time of the migration in the 1940s, Lin argues that there were substantial differences in the levels of economic, social and cultural development between Taiwan and China (largely as a result of the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan fifty years previously), these differences are less perceptible sixty years on. However, internal tensions of a political nature still permeate all levels of Taiwanese society.

External political tension comes from Mainland China whose Sinocentric principle of one-China considers the island as one of its appendages, excluding it from world recognition as a nation, and stating unequivocally that military force will ensue should Taiwan make a formal declaration of independence (Koga, 2001). Taiwan's lack of recognition as a nation on the world stage can be seen as recently as at the opening of the Olympic games in Athens, 2004. The Taiwanese athletes were introduced as *Chinese Taipei* and were required to carry a special flag designed for international sporting events. Taiwan's national flag is only recognised domestically, much to the displeasure of those arguing for Taiwanese independence. On the world stage, China continually uses its permanent seat on the UN Security Council to veto Taiwan's attempts at membership. Furthermore Taiwan's steadily fewer diplomatic allies are constantly pressured to sever ties with Taipei and recognise Beijing's one-China policy.

The complexities of Taiwanese ethnic and national identity have been briefly considered in the paragraphs above. It does seem that the uncertainty and tension between possible unification with the Mainland and a move towards greater independence is a considerable impediment to the formation of a stable and lasting identity. This is reflected at a macro as well as a micro level, and as Fu et al (2004) suggest, "as their survival is continuously threatened from the outside, and their country's future is not totally under their control, Taiwanese tend to develop certain traits such as anxiety, insecurity, flexibility, a short-term focus and greater sensitivity"

(34). The complexities of national and ethnic identity not withstanding, the influential Chinese cultural heritage of the three Han ethnic groups (the Hoklo, the Mainlanders, and the Hakka), those who make up the entirety of respondents in this study and, partly for reasons of social mobility, the almost total majority of Taiwanese academic sojourners, is in many ways shared. However, the responses found in this study point less towards pride in their Chinese cultural heritage and more towards feelings of patriotism to a concept of Taiwan as a nation.

4.2.2   愛國 (Trans.- Love One's Country) and Taiwaneseness

The interviews revealed that feelings of being proud to be Taiwanese are prominent throughout the sample, and are even apparent, maybe in unexpected intensity, in the responses of those tending towards *low* and *medium* cultural identity centrality. To contextualise the importance of patriotism in Chinese Heritage Cultures, sinologist and cross-cultural psychologist Michael Harris Bond and the Chinese Culture Connection (1987) used an early Delphi technique to design a questionnaire exploring Chinese values, The Chinese Value Survey. Consulting several Chinese social scientists, a list of forty concepts was compiled which were deemed to represent basic values particularly pertinent to the Chinese people. Among these is the concept of 愛國 (ai guo) which can be translated as the *love of one's country*. In subsequent research which requires Chinese Heritage peoples to rank the importance of the 40 values as guiding principals in the respondents' lives, 愛國 consistently ranks as being of *supreme importance*, the highest ranking label on the scale (e.g. Garrott, 1995).

While Taiwan has arguably embraced "the new and modern values from Western culture, older, more stable values still pervade in the moral education and training of the young" (Matthews, 2000:121). The clear goals of the Taiwanese Social Sciences syllabus seen in Table 3.3 previously to educate young people to "nourish their affection and love of homeland, society, and nation" seem to be strongly at play here and the data collected in this study would suggest that the concept of 愛國 is of key importance in the complex national identity of the Taiwanese people. However, a large majority of respondents reported their sense of 愛國 actually increasing over the course of their sojourn. One would predict this perhaps in the narratives of the higher cultural

identity centrality examples; however, this was equally apparent in the cases of Jill *("I did feel proud, towards the end I became really proud")* and Kathy *("Proud of being Taiwanese")* who both reported feeling outside of Taiwanese mainstream culture. Factors seemingly intensifying feelings of patriotism towards the notion of Taiwan as a nation during the sojourn experience follow.

4.2.3 Distinction from Mainland Chinese

From the data gathered, 愛國 and feelings of *Taiwaneseness* not only serve the respondents to assert their own cultural identity, but also have the further function of giving them a means to differentiate themselves from Mainland Chinese while they are in the UK. This can be seen in the far from exhaustive selection of remarks from both female and male respondents below:

> "… because one of the reason because political issue, because I will make famous that I'm from Taiwan not from China" (Winston).
>
> "Proud, if anyone call me Chinese I very unhappy" (Steve).
>
> "I'm never ashamed about being Taiwanese, I'm quite proud of that because I'm not Chinese. One friend called me Chinese but I correct the people call me Chinese, I say no" (Catherine).

Taiwanese sojourners in the UK, it seems, continuously perceive that their national identity is undermined. Not only are they subject to misunderstandings on the part of often well-meaning local people or international students from other nations:

> "One day when I work, a very strange woman sitting on the table, she say 'where do you come from?' I say Taiwan, they say Thailand, I say, no Taiwan, they say yes I know Thailand, I have take a boy or some teenager and support him the money and help him to grow up, like 獎學金 (trans.- scholarship) and I feel they think that Thailand is a very poor country and they feel sorry for me, I told her three times, Taiwan, Taiwan, Taiwan, but they say I know Thailand, Thailand, Thailand" (Mabel).

but also, and from the data seemingly more a source of annoyance, regular assertions by certain Mainland Chinese academic sojourners that Taiwan is not an independent nation, but rather a province of China. This geopolitical understanding is very much based on the education curricula in China which gives young Chinese people no reason to believe that anyone would be of the opinion that Taiwan is not a part of China. In fact, upon arriving in the UK, it is very often difficult for the equally 愛國 (trans.- patriotic)

Mainland Chinese to comprehend the existence of an alternative opinion and to understand why certain among the Taiwanese students would want to insist that Taiwan is not a part of China. Indeed, throughout the long history of Chinese civilisation, "traditional values have held that being Chinese is culturally and socially superior to being non-Chinese (barbarian)" (Wu, 1991:160). An example of this, on a recent presessional course in a UK university, the researcher designed a session aimed at critically comparing the education systems of the UK and that in the students' own countries. The Taiwanese students duly discussed the education system in Taiwan making reference to *in our country*. In a unit evaluation form given to the students at the end of the session, on one of the forms, presumably by a student from Mainland China, was written: '*Taiwan is one part of China, tell your teachers that*'.

Such continual undermining of their sense of national identity results it seems in an apparent increase in solidarity among the Taiwanese academic sojourners in the UK. Furthermore, respondents commented that they noticed negative stereotypes and prejudices against Chinese people and consequently they felt it desirable to stress their Taiwanese identity to keep themselves distinct from Mainland Chinese, as seen below:

> "I always say Taiwan and they say I'm from Chinese and I say no, Taiwanese (laughs). Actually I don't want to be Chinese because I heard a lot of bad comments about Chinese so I don't want to be Chinese, I want to be a Taiwanese because I don't want them to look down on me" (Trevor).

> "Yes, proud. I always say I am from Taiwan, I will not say I am from China or I am Chinese because I think because of the behaviour. Some people think that Chinese people, they don't have good behaviour and Taiwanese are different" (Anna).

According to a report by the Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies at the University of Leeds (2004), the Chinese as an ethnic group are the most poorly treated of the ethnic minorities in the UK. Nationally, statistics show that 16% of adults have been subject to racial harassment and racially motivated property damage, employment rates and financial incomes are considerably lower than any other ethnic group, and living/working conditions are generally much poorer. The Chinese community (as with other ethnic minorities in the UK) is the unfortunate victim of negative stereotyping stemming from a tendency among the mainstream UK population to hold negative attitudes towards multiculturalism. A recent study funded by the European Research Council ranked the UK as seventeenth of the twenty-two European countries surveyed in terms of openness to multiculturalism despite its status as one of the most culturally

heterogeneous of the European nation states (Schalk-Soekar et al., in press). Previous discussion of the host culture has identified that several of the respondents felt hostility from locals because, they assume, of their Sinoid facial and physical features. This supports the findings of a recent Glasgow university study (Philo, 2006) which interviewed Chinese students in Higher Educational Institutes across the UK and found that more than half of the forty respondents reported incidents where they felt marginalised or abused because of their race. It seems that to some extent this is what the respondents in the present study are trying to distinguish themselves from.

Moreover, there was unanimous agreement among the interviewees in this study, even those who previously considered themselves to be Chinese, that there is a clear distinction between the Taiwanese and the Mainland Chinese encountered in the UK. Potentially politically contentious contrasting studies of Mainland Chinese and Taiwanese values, behaviour and thinking have to some extent been carried out in the literature and conclude that the two groups are both similar and distinct in numerous ways. Yuan and Shen's (1998) comparative study into the values of Taiwanese and PRC students for example found many shared Confucian based values and concerns for the world in which they live. This contrasts with the findings of the 1980 Hofstede project which proposed that there is no one Chinese culture and indeed that definitions of *Chineseness* should take into account particular Chinese cultures (Bond et al., 2000). Taking this further is the presentation of Taiwanese self-image by the agenda-loaded pro-independence media in Taiwan, in which the People's Republic of China is used as a "defining point for Taiwanese identity. The image of Taiwan is in polar opposition to the Chinese characteristics: democratic vs. autocratic, peaceful vs. warlike, benevolent vs. malevolent, open vs. close minded" (Zemanek, 2006:1). The fact that this is so clearly vocalised in the responses of the interviewees in this study provides support for increases in *Taiwaneseness* as a national identity among Taiwanese both domestically, as discussed in the previous chapter, and internationally, as seen in this study. Excerpts below reinforce this standpoint:

> "I felt proud to say I'm Taiwanese, but I hate people to call me Chinese. I argue all the time about this, Mainland Chinese people, they are weird" (Sandra).

> "Compare with Chinese, China people, ya, I will say I'm very proud of I'm Taiwanese people. Because our culture are different, compare with them we are 民主國 (trans. – a democratic country), we are democracy and we can accept a lot of culture in our country, ya, so, I think I'm very proud of. And education different, ya. Because we can accept different thoughts from other country just not like the 像大陸他們都是管制的,

網路也會有限制,各方面都有限制. 不可以,你不會知道所有的事情. 在台灣就是可以...我們不會有任何的限制,媒體的限制 (trans. – for example Mainland Chinese are restricted, the internet is also limited, in every aspect they are restricted. Some things, they are not allowed to know. In Taiwan however we can, we cannot have restrictions, media restrictions)" (Karina).

Karina's quotation above gives an insight into features of Taiwanese society mentioned by other respondents as both a source of pride in *Taiwaneseness* and as a point to differentiate themselves from the Mainland Chinese, namely Taiwan's ostensibly democratic political system and greater emphasis on freedom of speech. Interestingly, as noted previously, it was frequently mentioned that the need to differentiate themselves as Taiwanese from the Mainland Chinese was something which was only felt or felt more strongly by the interviewees whilst they were in the UK. For example:

"如果人家覺得我們是像大陸人, 我就會特別覺得我跟你不一樣, 我是台灣人" (trans. – if everyone thinks we are the same as Mainland Chinese people, I will emphasise that I am different, I am Taiwanese) (Karina).

Interviewer- *所以你不要說你是中國人?* (trans. – so don't you like to be called Chinese?)

"對, 在這個時候會. 如果我在台灣我不會特別堅持" (trans. – right, at that time yes, if I was in Taiwan I wouldn't especially insist) (Karina).

"Of course, definitely Taiwanese not Chinese. Some people from Mainland China they were a little bit too aggressive when we talking about Taiwan and China. We argue for sure. I don't like to argue but I need to speak out for Taiwanese people, we have to let them know, not just be quiet, no way, *especially when we are in a foreign country*. I am not Taiwan independence but they all say Taiwan is China, say it belongs to them" (Fatima).

Despite this apparent strong desire to be differentiated from the Mainland Chinese, it is also very significant to note that the same respondents often claimed that, on a personal level, they were able to enjoy good, meaningful friendships with certain Mainland Chinese classmates, provided any political talk was avoided. Indeed as seen earlier, two respondents, Shaun and Olly both had romantic relationships with Mainland Chinese female academic sojourners whom they met in the UK. Furthermore, Claudine suggests that some of her Chinese friends were very respectful of the political issue between Taiwan and China:

"When we because we have other friends from China right, in front of them I will feel I am Taiwanese, I'm not Chinese, not because the politics or something, political, only because we are really different so I have to tell you, I have to point out the difference between Taiwanese and Chinese" (Claudine)

Interviewer- What are the differences?

"The way we are thinking, the way we are talking and the Chinese people always want to show they are the leader for the whole Chinese including Taiwan but basically my Chinese friends are very respect us, we never have a fight about silly things. I have Chinese friends, still contact with a very lovely girl in China still" (Claudine).

The issue of respect here seems to be something of importance. From the interviews, it appears that many of the respondents do not feel that their Taiwanese national identity is respected. Such repressive treatment contributes surely to the opinions of Jill and Hartland-Thurnburg as to the confused nature of Taiwanese national identity presented earlier.

Of major significance in the data is an example of how Taiwanese sojourner solidarity while in the UK evidently surpassed the complexities of Taiwanese national identity. As noted earlier, two politically opposed sectors of Taiwanese society are the so-called 本生人 (ben sheng ren – people whose ancestors migrated from Fujian Province in China several generations ago) and 外生人 (wai sheng ren – people whose families migrated from China to Taiwan with the KMT around 1949 when the Communist Party took control of the Mainland). Traditionally the children of 外生人 are compelled by their families to consider themselves as Chinese, have a poor understanding of the Taiwanese dialect and generally come from financially privileged KMT families (Keating, 2002). One such respondent, when asked if she felt Taiwanese in the UK, offered an intriguing response:

"Yes, yes, not Chinese. Before I go to UK, I want to say I'm Chinese, I'm China, when I'm in the UK I don't want to say I'm Chinese, I'm Taiwanese" (Mabel).

Interviewer- Why?

"Because comparing to the real Chinese people, I want to say I'm Taiwanese. There's some habits or talking ways different" (Mabel).

Interviewer- How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

"Very proud, very proud, yes, you know our teacher, from Brazil, prefers Taiwanese than Chinese and, can I say it?" (Mabel).

Interviewer- Yes.

"And I like her because she is very public and very support to Taiwan, sometimes she say, when we make discussion and China people is very strong and they say some point of view is not very fair, she will say, come on Taiwanese, you should say something, you should fight with them, she always make us want to say no... normally we cannot say it but sometimes in class we argue, not very often" (Mabel).

Interviewer- Was it easy to adapt to this?

"No, because they always think they are right, they can say something for us, they think we are one small island belonging to them, some political views. At that time I feel I want to protect Taiwan" (Mabel).

The content of the above opinion has important implications for the long-standing Taiwan/China debate and the impact of intercultural sojourns on the development of Taiwanese national identity. This is an area which certainly warrants further study in the future, however its political overtones would suggest that it should be treated with some caution. Clearly from this interview extract, Mabel's question, *"Can I say it?"* demonstrates the perceived sensitivity of the topic of the relationship between Taiwan and Mainland China. Mabel looked at the voice recorder nervously in the interview and hesitated before making what she saw as a potentially contentious comment. Of further interest is the role of the lecturer in the above comment and her promotion of critical debate as a learning technique among her international students. The development of the ability to observe complex phenomena objectively and from different perspectives, although highly valued as an education outcome of Western academia should, in the case of the highly contentious Taiwan/China debate perhaps also be treated with some caution by host teaching staff.

In addition to wanting to be distinguished from Mainland Chinese during the UK study sojourn, it seems that the revised schemata about the UK itself serves to strengthen a feeling of pride in the culture and society of Taiwan.

4.2.4 Revised Schemata about the UK

Previous discussion has introduced how respondents' positive presojourn schemata vis-à-vis the UK were in many cases challenged and revised as a result of experiences lived and observations made during the sojourn. As seen in Figure 2.1 representing patterns of social interaction, few respondents felt they had the opportunity to penetrate much below the surface of the UK culture. Surface level critical observations made about the UK environment besides those discussed previously are those which affected the respondents' day-to-day living and, in particular, reference was frequently made to the UK's lower level of convenience and inferior technological resources (especially the internet) when compared to Taiwan. The relative inefficiency of the banking system

was also somewhat proudly cited as an aspect where Taiwan is perceived to be superior to the UK. This evidently came as something of a shock to the interviewees who, coming from what is still considered by many to be a developing country, had expected that a first world nation would be more advanced in these respects. The excerpts below demonstrate these surprised observations:

> "And the internet facility was not good, perhaps this was because I was in a host family, most of them were older so they didn't know what the internet is. The internet is like basic stuff in Taipei so I found it very, very unconvenient, before I went there, my agent told me the Internet facilities was very common in the UK" (Simon).

> "The working attitude, in England, ladies in the bank they will just only say, "I'm sorry there is nothing I can do at the moment", this is their typical answer, I'm sorry I don't mean to offend you (laughs) and the efficiency of bank is totally out of efficiency, I don't know why does it take so long to apply one card, I don't understand" (Will).

In reality, few countries in the world can compete with Taiwan in terms of convenience. For example, statistics show that Taiwan has the most 24-hour convenience stores per capita of anywhere in the world, totalling some 8,000 in 2004. This means that with a population of 23 million people, there is one store for every 3,000 people in the country. The same source demonstrates the importance of convenience stores to the Taiwanese public when it presents the statistic that, in 2003, 2.1 billion visits were paid to convenience stores with a spending of slightly in excess of £1 on average per visit (Taiwanese Fair Trade Commission, 2004).

Equally, given the nation's status as one of the world's leading producers of semiconductors and IT components, Taiwan is necessarily one of the world's most technologically advanced nations. Statistics in fact show that the comparative percentage of Internet users by population in the UK and Taiwan is very similar (63% and 62.3% respectively in 2006) (Internet World Stats, 2006). However, following an aggressive period of development, Taiwan's wireless infrastructure is considerably more extensive, particularly in Taipei which has the largest and densest wireless Internet network in the world, reaching more than 90% of the city's population (Wifitrends, 2006).

The few respondents manifesting cultural learning at a deeper level through sustained contact with host nationals expressed surprise when faced with what they viewed as the high level of decay apparent in social structures and value systems, particularly attitudes

towards relationships and a perceived abuse of the social welfare system, of what had previously been considered an almost *utopian* society. Doris argues that it was not until the second year of her sojourn, when she began cohabiting with a young local male of relatively low social class, spending time with his friends, and watching UK soap operas, that she started perceiving deeper social problems at the level of the family which she relativised with her understanding of Taiwanese family values:

> "I don't think I saw that in the beginning but I think I saw it after the first year because at that time I start having more connection with locals, I start talking to more locals and I start watching TV because in the first year I have no TV. I started watching TV and I realised so much values are, not twisted, but you would say twisted from Taiwanese point of view, people don't think about what family really is, they don't think about how to give their children the better future, they only think about themselves, that is what I feel." (Doris).

She continues:

> "Also the value I think I have to say I don't really like what I see in England is their attitude towards relationships because, [...] if you walk on the street during the day you see all these young women you know walk around with their baby, they look like 19, 18 years old and they walk outside means they have no job, and how can they afford the life, just having baby and do that, I just can't believe it. We don't do that in Taiwan. I think it is about welfare system because in England if you have a baby the government tries to help you, but in Taiwan, no, if you choose to have a baby you have to make money to get food for yourself and that is a really big thing" (Doris).

Equally, Kathy, another respondent immersing herself deeply into the host culture, makes observations critical of the social structures she observed in the UK:

> "what I see in England is they have a serious problem about education, they don't have proper foundation for the young people, that's why they take drugs, abuse themselves and have kids when they are 13 and that is a massive social point as well, and that is my tax money, everyone who works in England pays tax and I don't think we should waste money on those people unless you have a solution to change that, which is education, teach them properly and they will be able to have a job and not wandering outside, taking drugs" (Kathy).

Taiwanese society, being collectivistic and of Confucian heritage, fosters very different attitudes towards family relationships from UK society. A study by Yi et al (2006) into intergenerational relations of Taiwanese youth argues that the traditional Chinese family is characterized by a "strong patrilineal heritage and the veneration of age" (1042). Furthermore, besides Chinese parents, "grandparents and kin also have the authority in socializing the child" (Chu, 1974 cited ibid., 1043). The same study of two thousand five hundred Taiwanese teenagers in Taipei found that approximately half of them were

raised in coresidential living conditions with their grandparents in an Asian phenomenon known as 三代同堂 (trans.- three generations, same roof). Furthermore, evolution in a number of facets of Taiwanese society (e.g. gender roles, working attitudes, and cost of living) means that often both parents are in employment and, as such, the responsibility of looking after the children falls to the grandparents. Such strong family support, together with the relative paucity of social welfare, low unemployment (fluctuating between 2% and 4% of the population according to the IMF International Financial Statistics, 2007) and strong Confucian influenced working ethics, are in contrast with what is perceived in the UK by the respondents in the above interview extracts.

Doris and Kathy's comments represent critiques about the family structures of an individualistic cultural environment and are an interesting demonstration of the perspective of people raised in a collectivistic, family-oriented environment. Of note, these respondents both began their sojourns with relatively low cultural identity centrality, showed high levels of adaptation and internalisation of many of the deeper values in the host culture, yet despite reportedly feeling more English and less Taiwanese upon their return, were clearly not positive about all dimensions of the UK culture. This would suggest both adaptation and resistance present at Shaules's deep cultural level along with a marked increase in the abilities of critical analysis and cultural relativisation.

4.2.5   Strengthening Taiwaneseness

From the analysis of the data in this study, there is a clear development in a sense of national pride among the overwhelming majority of respondents which is not so apparent pre-sojourn. It could be argued that this comes in part as a result of the intercultural sojourn leading to an increased salience in interviewees' personal cultural identity as Taiwanese. This would suggest consistency with an early study by Yeh et al (1973) considered earlier which noted that with reference to US student sojourners in Taiwan, "what is ironic is that despite their alienation and escapism, the Americans in Taiwan, almost without exception, experienced a substantial increase in their identities as Americans" (363). Revisions made to pre-sojourn preconceptions of the host culture

and their consequent strengthening of Taiwanese sentiment can be seen in the series of excerpts which follow:

> "Yes, some Taiwanese will think that if they didn't go abroad, they will think the other countries, everything is much better than Taiwan, but after I went to UK I think some things in Taiwan are really good, so I feel proud to be Taiwanese. For example, Taiwan 高鐵 (trans. –high speed train), when I in England I feel very surprised, England train so fast, faster than Taiwan but I went to website, I went to Google and I found out that the UK normal one is 200 kilometres per hour and German is 350 Kph but now Taiwan have our high speed rail train, it's 300 kilometres, I feel very proud for this country. [...] I am much more feel to think I'm Taiwanese, we are a good country in the world" (Shaun).

> "You know Taiwanese people always think you know probably that English, if you study in the UK, work, earn money and have the good life in the United States and I can stay, the outside country, they always assume it is better than Taiwan, and I just can't get, and why this English people, England, no better than Taiwan" (Steve).

> "I would say easy to get back in to the culture. I wouldn't say I'm more Taiwanese than before, I'd say it's normal right. I appreciate Taiwan more now after the UK" (Fatima).

> "Before I went to UK, I thought everything there, very good. But when I'm there, I see many social problems, I think Taiwan is not bad now" (Simon).

Therefore, in many cases, the result of the academic sojourn is that the moon no longer appears to be rounder in the foreign country. Viewing these comments in the context of Sussman's theoretical framework, one would argue that these respondents should fall into the *affirmative* cultural identity response where "the home-culture identity is maintained and strengthened throughout the transition cycle" (Sussman, 2000:366). However, this is not necessarily the case, often respondents with seemingly affirmed feelings of 愛國 will equally make observations which could be construed as additive and subtractive cultural identity shifts. This would indicate an increased ability to relativise their home environment based on a widening of world perspective, one of the benefits some might argue of prolonged intercultural sojourning. The key difference however is in the cultural depth of commentary. Those sojourners who were superficially engaged with the host culture predominantly passed negative judgment limited largely to superficial, visible practices or aspects of the host culture such as technology, convenience and banking efficiency. Those engaging at a deeper cultural

level were more inclined to make comments at a less visible level relating for example to the implicit values underpinning familial practices.

Enhanced appreciation of Taiwan however, while occurring to some extent at the expense of preconceived notions of the UK does not, with all but one of the respondents in the sample group, lead to greater levels of prejudice or negative stereotyping. Given some of the reported experiences of racial hostility in the UK, this would suggest high levels of tolerance among the sample studied. This may also seem to suggest that all but one of the sojourners reached at least Bennett's ethnorelativistic *acceptance* stage in development of intercultural sensitivity or manifested cultural learning at Shaules's *acceptance/adaptation* stages. Will for example reported:

> "I met some little girls in Portsmouth, and they would spit at me when they saw me, and that was the first time I met racial discrimination and I was a little bit shocked [...] but I can understand They were 11 to 12 years old, three people, all girls not with their parents. But I can understand, maybe I should say I don't mind" (Will).

Such a level of rationalisation and tolerance towards negative situations forced upon them particularly by host culture teenagers was visibly apparent across the sample in this study. Simon, for example, states that:

> "I think I can accept that because in Taiwan some young people maybe are impolite" (Simon).

However, an alternative explanation may be behind this apparent tolerance. Since convenience and snowball sampling were employed in this study, interviewees were necessarily volunteers. Not infrequently did it become apparent that the respondents welcomed the opportunity to converse again using the English language. Equally, the interview afforded the opportunity to reflect on and reminisce about the overseas experience, providing an attentive listener not previously present among family and friends. Consequently, those returnees with a more negative perception of the UK may have been less enthusiastic to spend an hour or more reliving what may have been a traumatic experience with an interviewer from the host culture and thus did not volunteer to share their academic sojourn experience.

In any case, the findings of this research contrast with an early study carried out by McGuigan (1959 cited Cushner and Karim, 2004) with American students sojourning in

Geneva, Switzerland. That study found that while most sojourners decreased their ethnic distance and prejudice towards the host culture, a not insignificant number of participants left with a reinforced appreciation of their own homeland to the considerable detriment of their perception of the host nation. While schemata have been reviewed, the host culture is but in one case viewed with no significant hostility. The one respondent in the present study who demonstrated feelings of hostility potentially classifiable as xenophobic, Steve, was certainly an anomaly to this study both in terms of experience and in comment.

> "Most of my [Taiwanese] friends, they stay more than ten years, all we talking about is how we want to come back to Taiwan, how good is Taiwan, we hate England, we hate something, you know, the white people, something like that, you know, and we eat Chinese all the time and we talk Taiwanese, well we talk Chinese and it is two kind of people, what I think. 一種人剛到他們很喜歡英國, 那我們另外種我們, (trans.- one type of people who have just arrived, they love Taiwan, then the other type, we) we can't... 不是我們不能回家 (trans.- we can't go home) because parents they say you have to stay there, that is the they plan a life for you" (Steve).

Steve's case is anomalous for several reasons, one of which is highlighted in the extract above. Among the respondents in this study, he was the only reluctant sojourner in the UK and is the subject of what Shaules calls enforced adaptation. Steve's case therefore in a sense contradicts Martin and Harrell (2004) who argue that academic sojourners go abroad voluntarily. Furthermore, his sojourn is particular in that, at nine years, it was the longest in duration and demonstrates, as can be seen in Figure 3.1, unique evidence among this sample of a perceived major movement away from meaningful socialisation with the host culture at the commencement of his sojourn towards friendships limited to the Taiwanese expatriate enclave. Steve's narrative seems to express evidence of acculturation to the host culture over the first three years of his stay followed by a 'disacculturation' as his sojourn duration extended. This reportedly comes as much from a perceived sense of marginalisation by members of the host culture as a reported lack of control over his own destiny resulting from an enforced sojourn by his parents.

Furthermore, Steve commented that he had expected to learn English very quickly during his initial time at language school, a period which was characterised by disappointment at his perceived English language deficiency. Moreover, his interview revealed the greatest tendency for code switching between Mandarin Chinese and English in the sample set with both reported and visible self-consciousness at his

linguistic ability. In terms of both fluency and accuracy, despite the extensive duration of Steve's sojourn, his communicative spoken English seemed to be weaker than the majority of other respondents sojourning for shorter durations. This perhaps goes some way to contributing to the argument that the measurement of successful acculturation will frequently include a linguistic dimension (Shaules, 2007). Language competence in sojourners will be revisited in the following chapter.

The trend seen in Steve's narrative, an initial acculturation followed by a 'disacculturation', seems to run counter to the stage models of acculturation, the U-Curve model and Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity, all of which argue that duration of sojourn will largely be positively correlated with degree of acculturation to a host culture. Steve's experience will again be revisited in further detail in later discussion, however, it can be seen that, since besides Steve, the entirety of the sample were willing sojourners, this has considerable implications for the second antecedent factor predicting level of adaptation and repatriation affect in Sussman's model, cultural flexibility.

4.3   Cultural Flexibility

Sussman defines cultural flexibility as "the sojourner's ability to make the necessary modifications in behaviour and thought" (2000: 364) to successfully adapt to the host culture. This definition of cultural flexibility would seem to differentiate the concept from cultural identity centrality in that whereas the latter would be an indicator of a more conscious willingness to adapt to the alternative behavioural and cognitive scripts of the host culture, the former would suggest a perhaps less conscious, inherent ability to adapt. There does however seem to be some conceptual crossover in the relationship between these two variables.

Firstly, it could be argued that a low level of willingness to adapt may inhibit an inherent ability for adaptation in much the same way as Steven Krashen's (1981) affective filter hypothesis in second language acquisition. The theory argues that high anxiety and low self-confidence can produce an affective block to successful acquisition of a second language. The same may be argued in 'acquiring' a second culture, the affective filter arising through anxiety perhaps from unsuccessful interaction with or

perceived hostility from the host culture. In this study for example, Eddie began his sojourn, as reported by all the respondents, expecting to have constant meaningful social interaction with local people to improve his English skills. Following several failed communication attempts with host nationals, including a negative experience perceived as racially motivated discrimination, Eddie's narrative tells of a gradual withdrawal from interactions with the host culture. Consistent with Edward T Hall's seminal work in which it is proposed that individuals from higher-context cultures such as Taiwan tend to internalise locus of control, attributing failure to one's own shortcomings, Eddy blamed his own perceived pragmalinguistic incompetence for his unsuccessful interactions with the host culture. When asked if he had any host friends, he replied:

> "because our poor English so sometimes it is quite difficult to have a chat with them and different culture, sometimes they don't know what you are talking about or maybe our context is very boring for them" (Eddie).

Even at the end of his interview, Eddie was still conscious of perceived linguistic failings in his comment: *"Thank you to endure my poor English"*. This example demonstrates how unsuccessful interactions resulted in an affective response which ultimately acted as a barrier to cultural flexibility. Furthermore, this tendency seems to support Oberg's (1960) early observation that it is not uncommon for sojourners to seek out fellow nationals for reinforcement, as seen in previous discussion. It also serves as another important insight into the value of the early development of pragmalinguistic competence in international academic sojourners through the encouragement of interaction with members of the host culture preferably in controlled situations with lower risk of communication failure. Equally, in host culture students, cross-cultural communication skills seem to be of considerable importance in improving campus-wide relationships.

Secondly, a sojourner may show an initial willingness to adapt to the host culture but find that the necessary modifications in behaviour and beliefs produce an unacceptable level of conflict with existing cultural programming thus causing a threat to their cultural homeostatic stability. In this case, while there still may be an inherent ability in understanding what is required to adapt to the host culture, willingness may be reduced to the point of non-subscription to that behaviour. Taking the example of alcohol consumption, in this study, Catherine was aware that to increase her drinking could

potentially afford her increased social interaction with local people. However, she decided that she was not prepared to adopt a behavioural pattern incongruent to her existing culturally informed behavioural scripts. Sussman's model would presumably assume that in this respect Catherine exhibited *Low Cultural Flexibility*. However there was little doubt that Catherine did have the ability to change her behaviour but chose not to. Whether this is an indicator of less cultural flexibility seems to be questionable. Therefore the nuanced implications of the concept of *cultural flexibility* seem to make its objective and rigorous empirical testing rather complex.

Conceptual complexity notwithstanding, it is important to remember in this context that overseas student sojourners are distinct from other expatriate groups such as professionals or asylum seekers in that they are rarely reluctant to go abroad and therefore will mostly have an inherent interest in foreign cultures and overseas travel. Indeed, this research study has found that the most common motivator for an overseas academic sojourn among respondents is to build on their cultural awareness through direct contact with contrasting cultures. As such, a certain level of cultural flexibility seems to be inherent in the sample which may often, as in the case of Eddie above, actually be reduced through the *affective filter* of the perceived negative nature of social interaction with the host culture.

This and the previous section sought to investigate the particularities of this context in terms of the nature of the two antecedent factors Sussman's model predicts will influence level of adaptation and resultant repatriation affect. As seen, the case of Doris provides support for the theory in that her relatively low level of cultural identity centrality and relatively high level of cultural flexibility in terms of subscription to behavioural norms of the host culture led to a high level of adaptation to the culture. However, the model seems, in this context, to only paint part of the picture when consideration is given to the example narrative of Claudine (high centrality, low to medium flexibility leading to high adaptation). It is important therefore to consider the influence of other factors outside of the Sussman model on the patterns of meaningful socialisation and adaptation of the respondents in this study.

4.4   Quality and Quantity of Contact with Host Nationals

Ward's (2001) model of the acculturation process identifies both quality and quantity of intragroup and intergroup contact as variables affecting the acculturation process at the level of the individual. Equally, Sparrow (2000) reminds us that cultural adaptation occurs primarily through meaningful interactions with members of the host culture. Previous discussion has revealed some of the barriers to meaningful interaction facing the sojourners in this study which include the paucity of host nationals on chosen courses of postgraduate study, the pressure for behavioural conformity from the Taiwan expatriate collective, little interest in befriending international students on the part of local students, and a sense of being unwelcomed by the wider host community.

4.4.1   Choice of Accommodation

A further barrier identified in a recent study by the Council for Industry and Higher Education (CIHE, 2005) which is consistent with the findings in this study is the seemingly common practice by university accommodation offices of segregation of international students into 'ghettos' separated from local students. Far from exhaustive are the comments of Eddie and Raymond:

> "I lived with Chinese, Taiwanese students in the same house. The university decide to put us in the house. Three Taiwanese and one Chinese there so we speak Chinese, oh my god!" (Eddie).

> I live in student village in [UK city]. I live in the international students, my roommate they are because I have three roommate at this time, one is from Brazil, and second one is from Indonesia and third one is from Iceland or other country in North West" (Raymond).

Such comments can be seen from respondents who are generally situated in the bottom left side of Figure 3.1 in terms of patterns of meaningful socialisation, that of mostly interacting socially with the monocultural Taiwanese expatriate network. While the displeasure of these respondents to be accommodated away from local students is understandable, perhaps integrating within university accommodation buildings generally highly motivated, high fee-paying postgraduate international students with UK undergraduates enjoying their first experience away from the constraints of the family home would potentially result in greater amounts of displeasure. For this reason,

policy in many universities is to house postgraduate students away from undergraduate students. The fact is that the postgraduate student body in many institutions is made up largely of international sojourners; the complaints seen in the two extracts above may therefore be unavoidable.

The alternatives to living in university accommodation, living in a family homestay environment or privately rented shared/privately rented unshared accommodation, were selected by several respondents and mostly resulted in alternative patterns of socialisation. Figure 4.2 below provides a pictorial reference as to accommodation choices. As can be seen, four respondents chose to live in privately rented accommodation: Karina and Will were married and therefore rented a flat together, Trevor spent his first year in university accommodation before moving to a private flat with his Taiwanese wife and son when they joined him in his second year, and Jill moved from university accommodation into a privately rented flat on her own. Catherine, Doris and Kathy all shared privately rented accommodation with local people affording them greater opportunity than other sojourners to have contact with the host culture. Furthermore, Doris and Kathy decided to cohabit with their local boyfriends after their initial one-year contracts in shared flats with locals came to an end.
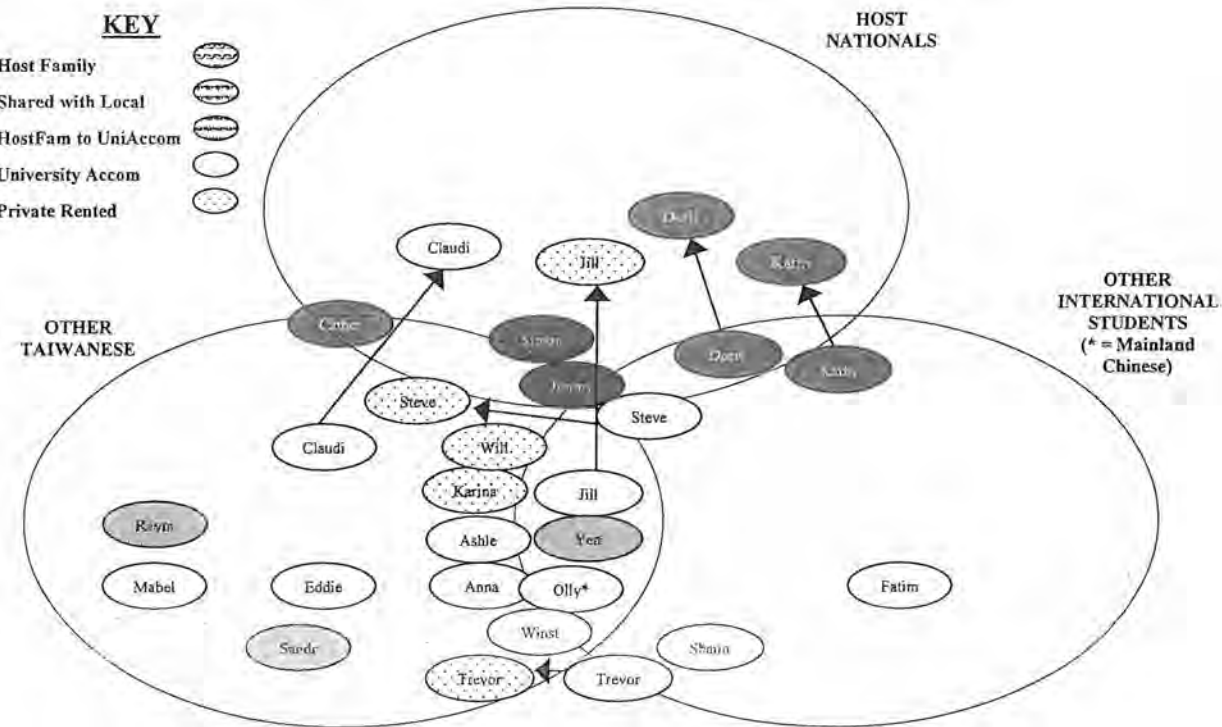
Figure 4.2 – Accommodation Choices

Of the remaining sojourners, all stayed in university accommodation apart from five respondents who began their sojourns living with local host families. As can be seen from the table, three of these (Yen, Sandra, and Raymond) ultimately decided to leave the host family and move into university accommodation. This seems to be due to a dissatisfaction with the host family experience, as can be seen in the following extracts:

> "The first was with a home family, the lady, the English lady, she was very quiet, she doesn't talk to me too much, and I ate microwave food for the first three months and I think what... is this English food?? And I didn't because I have no experiences so I say, it's nice, after that I hate that, you know how much I paid, I paid £120 per week and I got the microwave food. She is around 30 something, single. I have no contact with her now" (Yen).

> "One month I stay in the host family and but the family is not that good because the horrible food and they are not friendly so at the beginning, the first month I not feel very happy but when I go university, getting better, because I have more friends and my own bed so I can decide what to do, so getting better" (Sandra).

Simon also found that he needed to change accommodation several times during his sojourn in order to find a welcoming host family:

> "Yes, I wanted to move, the first family is very much like your 婆母娘 (trans.- mother-in-law), they kind of check my room out every day after I left the family, the host family well I think they are crazy, every time I got home they went like why did you leave you room in a mess and why did you put your umbrella there, and you should done this like this, and I thought, wow, where is my privacy. But at that moment I didn't have any English at all so I just couldn't argue with them, I couldn't express myself very clearly so I just left. The rest of five were very similar with that, I don't know why, perhaps I was very unlucky" (Simon).

Campbell and Xu (2004) argue, "a commonly held expectation is that the homestay would be a 'home away from home' for the students, providing them with not only board and lodging but also friendship, support, and opportunities to practise the language and learn the culture through day-to-day communication" (1). Their qualitative study carried out in the context of Chinese student sojourners in New Zealand however revealed that the sojourn was characterised by "disappointment, uncertainties and difficulties about living in the homestay environment, and linguistic inadequacies" and that "the commonly held beliefs about the benefits of living in a homestay—improvement in language proficiency, emotional support, and culture learning—were not generally borne out" (22). The findings of their study are interesting in their conflict with a quantitative national survey into the experiences of international

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students of all nationalities in New Zealand carried out by Ward and Masgoret (2004). This study revealed that the majority of "homestay students were significantly more satisfied than those who lived in student hostels and rental accommodation" (33). Ward and Masgoret's did find however that Chinese students were generally less satisfied than students of other nationalities in New Zealand. A further quantitative report carried out by UKCOSA (2006) focusing on international students in the UK presents similar findings to Ward and Masgoret's New Zealand report: "81% of students in homestay accommodation agreed that their hosts were friendly and welcoming, and students who went into long-term placements with homestays when they arrived were more satisfied generally with their accommodation than those in halls of residence" (29). It seems therefore apparent that there is inconsistency between findings in qualitative and quantitative approaches to the issue of satisfaction with homestay which should perhaps be explored further. It may also be that host homestay families would benefit from further training in intercultural communication and understanding the expectations of international students of the homestay experience.

Seemingly anomalous in this study, Jimmy and Simon do however both report a more positive homestay experience which they found to be very culturally enriching and afforded them an opportunity to have contact and social interaction with the host culture which many of their compatriots, as seen previously, did not have. As a consequence, both seem to manifest features of cultural identity change approaching the values and behaviours of the host culture, as for example seen in their patterns of alcohol consumption, to a significantly greater extent than the respondents who lived in university accommodation. Both recount the warmth they felt with their respective host families:

> "I would say, I spent most of my time with my host parents, the last ones, Jack and Jill (names changed). Well, they don't have any children; I was the only one student in their family so we are very much like a family. They even want to adopt me" (Simon).

> "Yes I feel the UK was my home when I was with the first host family [...] we spend all the time dinner and breakfast together and then we chat we talked so I think that is more like feel like home. I think they treat me like a part of their family so I am very pleased and glad to stay with them because I think they make me feel like I'm part of the family and they take me to the supermarket and every weekend I go out with the family, yeah, it's quite nice. [...] I think that is the very good experience that I will never ever forget live with English family" (Jimmy).

Furthermore, in contrast to previous sections discussing the unwelcoming nature of the host culture in general, Simon tells of how intercultural contact was something welcomed, his host parents also becoming more culturally enriched through cohabitation and interaction with an international student. When asked if he felt Taiwanese in the UK, his response was:

> "Erm... personally I didn't but my host family said I am. Sarah, my host parents said I'm very Taiwanese because I have eaten noodles and rice very, very regularly (laughs). I taught them how to cook rice and they did very well eventually. I gave them my rice cooker when I left" (Simon).
>
> *Interviewer- Do you still have contact with them now?*
>
> "Yes, every like Christmas time, mothers' day I always send them cards. They really feel like my parents, and their birthday" (Simon).

In the context of the Bennett model presented earlier, it could be suggested that the above comment represents development of intercultural sensitivity towards the later stages of ethnorelativism both on the part of the sojourner and the host family. Furthermore, the intimate contact both Jimmy and Simon had living with families in the UK evidently played a primary role in the development of alternative perspectives about family life and the raising of children which could potentially contribute to gradual longer-term changes at a cultural level in Taiwanese society. Jimmy spent time in a family with two children and made the observation that:

> "I think that I have learnt from the English family they encourage the kids to do everything, not like protect the kids, in Taiwan, parents they don't like kids to try new things but I have learnt from the English family, I think kids need to try every new things so I think that is very good point I have learnt from the English family" (Jimmy).

Comparative parenting research consistently confirms the tendency that Asian parents are more controlling than their Western counterparts, this often being attributed to collectivistic scripts requiring coercion in socialisation practices (for example Chao, 1994; Wu et al., 2002). However, there seems to be little research as to how contact with a different familial rearing philosophy can affect the overseas sojourner. Clearly this has made a deep impression on the sojourner in this study and seems worthy of research in the future. Moreover, Jimmy goes on to consider how this may influence him at a later date:

> "So when I have children I will encourage them to do more. I think because the kids they need to try new things, not like you protect not to do everything. They will not learn from the fail" (Jimmy).

Considering the evidence in the narratives of Simon and Jimmy, it would seems that through extended meaningful contact with local host families, cultural identity change has take place. This is manifested in an additive/subtractive shift in Sussman's model and, in the context of Shaules's model, adaptation at the profoundly deep cultural level of family values. The potential implications of such contact on traditional Taiwanese familial values would therefore seemingly warrant further investigation. The two respondents also reflect on how the experience has impacted on post-sojourn relationships with their own parents, a topic which will be expanded upon in the next chapter. Quality and quantity of contact with host nationals being the theme of this section, it will now turn to the second emerging means of increasing both quantity and quality of contact, namely through the development of romantically intimate relationships with members of the host culture.

4.4.2   Intimate Relationships with Host Nationals

Besides cohabitation with local people, the second observed route to greater levels of social integration into the local community was that taken by Jill, Doris, Kathy and Claudine and involved the development of intimate relationships with host nationals. Of significance here is the emerging pattern that all the sojourners following this tendency were Taiwanese females who started relationships with local Caucasian males. While aware of the potential dangers of generalising from National Census data, the US Census Bureau (www.census.gov) reports that in the US, a 3.08 to 1 ratio of Caucasian husband/Asian wife to Asian husband/Caucasian wife broadly demonstrates a tendency confirmed in this study. Anecdotal evidence would also suggest a notable tendency for East Asian female coupled with Western male relationships to be existent in greater frequency than Western female with East Asian male relationships. This has been attributed to a number of contentious factors, including relative wealth, social status and tolerance of female emancipation by Caucasian males, and the Caucasian male's preference for more submissive females however, the in-depth discussion of tendencies in interracial relationships is beyond the scope of this particular study. Steve nevertheless comments on the difficulty for Taiwanese male sojourners to develop intimate relations with local females:

"I think it is difficult to get an English girlfriend" (Steve).

Which Raymond also complains becomes a barrier to friendship with host locals for male Taiwanese sojourners in the UK:

> "I think if you are female, Asian female, you will be very easy to get English friends but actually from my experience if you live in London or in Bournemouth, it must be someone interesting in you, it is possible to get a friend" (Raymond).

The socialisation patterns seen in Figure 3.1, as highlighted previously, show a tendency in the four sojourners involved in relationships with local males to form social interaction networks around the male and their local friends, to the almost complete exclusion of other Taiwanese and other international students. Kathy replied, for example, when asked about her pattern of social integration:

> "International people in the beginning because I study in the school and lots of people from like Norway, Thailand, Iceland but after the course finished I think I hang about with my English friends. I met them through my husband who is British. I get to know his friends, his family and they are all British and that's how I came to meet local people. In school it is quite difficult to do that because mostly international students" (Kathy).

Apparent from the data in this study therefore is that the seven respondents demonstrating higher levels of social interaction into the host culture achieved this through two strategies. Jimmy, Simon and Catherine all lived with local people while Kathy, Jill, Doris, and Claudine all had relationships with local males. Gender differences in integration strategies are therefore apparent to some extent in the data. In a recent study carried out into gender differences in the adaptation of Chinese students to a UK institution of Higher Education, Liu (2002) found a small female superiority in adaptation is manifested in some female students' better relations with their teachers, more deliberate intention to socialise and make friends with local students, eagerness to immerse themselves in the host society and greater propensity to identify themselves with the gender roles extant in the UK. The findings in this study may be seen to offer support for Liu's conclusions. A further avenue for social interaction with the UK host culture, although unrepresented in this data set and hitherto relatively undocumented but nevertheless highly influential is the participation of international students in the activities of local religious groups (e.g. Solberg et al, 1994). Again however, this important network for social interaction with the host culture and its resultant impact on

the cultural learning of international academic sojourners lie unfortunately beyond the scope of this study. This would be another recommended avenue for further research in the future.

Revisiting the findings in this section within the conceptual framework of the Sussman model reveals that while there certainly seems to exist a negative correlation between a sojourner's cultural identity centrality and their desire and willingness to either instigate relationships or be accepting of romantic advances from the host locals, Claudine does prove to be an anomaly in that despite her reported high cultural identity centrality, she was still willing to have a relationship with a host male. However, when consideration is given to the two male sojourners, Jimmy and Simon, both of whom reported *high* cultural identity centrality, both lived with local host families, demonstrated high levels of social interaction with the host culture and consequently adopted and internalised many culturally influenced host behaviours and frames of reference.

It seems therefore that the importance of situational circumstances as a variable to adaptation becomes clearer. A sojourner may feel a sense of detachment from their home cultural environment in Taiwan and be very intent on integrating into the UK culture but circumstantial factors such as perceived linguistic barriers or hostility of host nationals may prevent this. Equally, as in the cases of Jimmy and Simon, experiences of cohabiting with very welcoming host families may encourage social interactions despite relatively higher cultural identity centrality as Taiwanese. It can be argued therefore that while the importance of the role of cultural identity centrality in cultural learning and acculturation cannot be denied, as Ward's model of acculturation argues, this seems to be partial in its explanation of this complex human phenomenon. As seen in this section, quantity and quality of contact with host society prove equally to be of major significance. It is important now to consider further variables which may also be instrumental in the acculturation patterns of the academic sojourners observed in this study.

4.5   Age

It is suggested that a curvilinear relationship exists between age and cultural adaptation (Ward et al., 2001) with adolescence and old age being higher risk periods. The

reasoning behind this conclusion is the proposition that for adolescents, the stress of acculturation may be intertwined with the stress of adolescent identity development. For older sojourners, cultural learning is argued to be more difficult due to decreases in cultural flexibility, more robustly formed notions of cultural identity and decreased malleability (ibid.). In addition, research by Liebkind (1996) further argues that younger people may be more readily accepted in the host culture than older people. The age range of the sample in this study was forcibly narrow due to the nature of the research question, all of the respondents falling outside of the high-risk age groups mentioned. Age therefore, in this context, seems to have little influence on level of acculturation, adaptation and integration into the host culture.

Worthy of comparative discussion to reinforce this observation are the examples of the two slightly older respondents who were both doctoral candidates in the UK. Jill, 38 at the time of interview, was fascinated by UK culture and spent much of her time with local friends and a local boyfriend, living a life perceived as similar to that of a host national. She considered herself to be as well integrated as she could be into the host culture. Trevor, 41 at the time of interview, by contrast, was married to a Taiwanese national and had a son both of whom lived with him in the UK during the latter part of his study sojourn. His friendship group comprised other Taiwanese and international students and his level of integration into the host culture was minimal. A sojourner's age therefore, in this context, seems to be less of a factor to integration than meaningful contact with host nationals.

4.6   Length of Sojourn

Acculturation theories such as the U-Curve and Bennett models suggest that the longer a sojourner stays in the host country, the more likely they are to reach a position of ethnorelativism and show sentiments of fondness and allegiance toward such countries (Louie, 2005). In this particular context the sojourn duration ranged from one year to nine years with a modal length of stay of between eighteen months and two years. From the data gathered, it emerged that one of the key motivational factors for most sojourners to study a Master's qualification in the UK in particular was the relative brevity of the course when compared to the longer postgraduate courses offered in universities in the competitor jurisdictions of North America, Australia or New Zealand.

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This was seen as beneficial both for the perceived saving in living expenditure during the sojourn:

> "then my friend told me go to England just have to spend one year so spend less money so I went with her" (Anna).

and, particularly in the case of males who have mostly already spent over a year in compulsory military service in Taiwan, as a method of being able to start or continue a career in Taiwan as quickly as possible.

As such, many of the sojourners in this study remained in the host culture for the shortest time possible to complete their study before returning to Taiwan. This limited timescale coupled with the intensity of Master's study in the UK is considered by some respondents manifesting limited social interaction with the host culture as an important contributing factor to this:

> "because I think I spent too short time in the UK and always study, study, study and I don't have so many social life. I think yes if I have more time I want to meet more English" (Anna).

Ashley explains how this ultimately limited contact with the host culture to a superficial level and how the influence on her own cultural identity was therefore relatively low:

> "I think I didn't have much time or opportunity to meet English because probably after the second semester we all study our individual dissertation so you didn't go to class and you didn't have much more time like when you have classes then you can spend time with your classmates so maybe that is one reason, and another reason is time, we only got one year so not enough time to really experience the culture and thinking. Probably I kind of influenced by English culture but not exactly the same, still quite different I think" (Ashley).

It is important to note further variables in the case of Ashley which may also have contributed to her relatively low level of social interaction with the host culture. She was housed with other international students in the UK, left a fiancé behind in Taiwan during her sojourn, demonstrated a high level of cultural identity centrality, and was very focused on gaining her Master's degree and then returning to her life in Taiwan. She left the UK within 48 hours of submitting her dissertation despite having several months remaining on her visa, and her sojourn was among the shortest in the sample group. Therefore, it seems, a willingness or desire to immerse herself into the host culture was not particularly strong in this respondent, other sojourners who stayed in the

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UK for a similar duration demonstrating much higher levels of social interaction with host nationals. Consequently, for this sojourner, acceptance and adjustment as defined by Shaules were seen to occur at a very superficial level of culture. The respondent herself was cognisant of this fact:

> "Maybe when I went to the musical or other things I have done but still quite superficial and to be honest I don't think I really have chance to know you know much more deep inside what the English culture so maybe superficially I act a little bit like English but in terms of the way you think or the ideas I still very different I think, know what I mean?" (Ashley).

Ashley's remarks, in their expression of superficial changes to behaviour as a result of the sojourn, are broadly representative of the comments made by the majority of the respondents reporting relatively low levels of meaningful social interaction with members of the host culture. Therefore, whilst for such respondents perceived increases in intercultural awareness, ethnorelativism and critical analytical skills are all frequently overtly reported or implicitly evident from the narratives, *additive* changes to behaviour, cultural frames of reference and cultural identity approaching that of the host culture are mostly limited to a very superficial level.

A further comparative example of real life circumstances not following Sussman's theory can be seen through returning to the contrasting narratives of the two sojourners of longest duration, Steve and Jill. As the original Figure 3.1 of patterns of social interaction demonstrates, Jill seemingly followed the theory that the longer the sojourn the more assimilated into the host culture the sojourner becomes. In the eight and a half years spent in the UK, she moved over time from initial social circles of compatriot Taiwanese academic sojourners and other international students into social interaction with host locals to the almost entire exclusion of her compatriots. In contrast, Steve, as seen previously, went through stages of socialisation during his nine-year sojourn which conflict with theory. He began his time in the UK making friendship circles with other international students and host locals but after three years he found himself socialising again with his compatriot Taiwanese. These conflicting narratives are worthy of further examination and offer fascinating and revealing insights into how individual experiences can differ.

Before her academic sojourn in the UK, Jill felt a strong affiliation to Western culture and language. She was also motivated to leave by feelings of depression *(Jill- "I was running away from home. It was quite bad actually")* and her post-sojourn plans clearly suggested that she was looking for a new life:

> "I didn't plan to come back. It didn't matter where it led me, it didn't matter if I stayed in Scotland or I went somewhere else but I didn't mean to come back here, home" (Jill).

Her networks of social interaction as she describes them:

> "There were three stages, the first stage, all the friends I had were international students, and then the second stage, because of what I was studying, most people I knew were from Taiwan because my classmates and after they left all I had left were English friends. [...] I also went and started working at the university so I met local people" (Jill).

Furthermore, Jill began a relationship with a local male. Therefore, as the sojourn duration extended, Jill saw herself increasingly integrated into the host culture although this was never at the expense of her evident pride in her Taiwaneseness. She argues even that this pride intensified towards the end of the sojourn *(Jill- "I did feel proud, towards the end I became really proud")*. Despite her former intention never to return, Jill left the UK for Taiwan after eight and a half years. She felt it was the natural subsequent stage in her life and wanted to return in part to care for her aging parents.

Her insightful comments later in the interview offer evidence of arguably the only sojourner in this study to have reached Bennett's *integrated marginality* defined as an ability to create a worldview outside of any one cultural frame of reference:

> "I still keep the, you know how some people, some Taiwanese people they insist, even in England, even in Britain they couldn't change the habit of taking a shower before going to bed and I just totally messed up, I have shower sometimes in the morning, sometimes before bed or whenever during the day sometimes but I think it's partly like that and on some level I just unleash myself and I just don't care about the Taiwanese tradition or the English tradition, it's about being me, I don't care where that comes from it's me now, doesn't matter when I have a shower as long as I have one, in a way my life has become like that and I think it's to do with what I said before about finding myself and at some level it doesn't matter being English or Taiwanese, it only matters being me" (Jill).

The extract above does seem to point to a freedom from both Taiwanese and UK culture in Jill's understanding of herself as a cultural being which, although potentially resulting in feelings of isolation and alienation upon return to Taiwan (as in Park's

marginal man seen previously), as shall be seen subsequently, renders Jill's experience anomalous to this study in that it actually proves to be the source of minimal negative repatriation affect. Moreover, Jill arguably contrasts with the remaining respondents in this study in that much of her narrative points to a sojourn perception characterised by a greater degree of *permanence*. In many ways her commitment to integration into the UK environment could be more likened to that of a *settler* rather than a *sojourner*. This raises important questions as to the boundaries between these two concepts and their potentially contrasting influence on changes in cultural frames of reference and repatriation affect resulting from contact with a new cultural environment.

The account of Steve begins before his nine-year academic sojourn in the UK, and the time when he hoped to go to the US but his visa application was rejected. His perception of the sojourn was somewhat different from that of his parents, reflecting its *temporal* nature and consequently Steve's position as a *sojourner*, albeit long-term, rather than a *settler*:

> "Actually for me, it is temporary, it is sort of study period for my life, but for my parents, for the older relatives, they all want me to stay in England, to get the visa. 我覺得，自己就回來 (trans.- I decided myself to come back), but for 一年我有一點 (trans.- one year, I'm a bit). Only one year left, but I still decide, yeah, no more England" (Steve).

Steve's motivation therefore for an overseas academic sojourn seems very different from that of Jill. Furthermore, his account of social interaction while in the UK tells of an initial rejection of compatriots which changed after three years:

> "No I feel quite Taiwanese, for the first three years I quite reject Taiwanese, I don't want to be with Taiwanese because I think, 我去英國需要學英文(trans.- I came to England and I need to study English) so I sort of reject Taiwanese but after three years and you miss the 就是(trans.- that) the country, and Taiwanese friends, you go out, every weekend for the dinner" (Steve).

Also present however is another apparent reason for a movement away from social interaction with the host culture. When asked of his opinion of host locals, in his reply:

> "Sort of like you are international student, they like international student but for some people, you know, we speak always, always, I always think they laugh about the accent. I think, I don't know, joke about your accent or the English or something, I think, I don't know" (Steve).

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Towards the end of Steve's sojourn, it seems that he had almost entirely retracted into the Taiwanese expatriate community in the UK as a result partly it seems, of feeling marginalised in his career because of his cultural and racial origins:

> "I not quite happy in the UK, because you can't really get good job. I got job but for most overseas students I got quite lucky because I have good salary, but you still can't quite reach, just like property ladder you can't go up" (Steve).

Seen in a previous extract is how this perceived treatment ultimately translates into an apparent hostility towards the host culture. It is of significance to remember that Steve's sojourn was an obligation of his parents who wanted him to stay for ten years to secure a UK passport. This seemingly led to resentment at his enforced adaptation and a feeling of powerlessness, the negative effects of which became directed towards the host culture. Certainly meriting further research is the long-term Taiwanese sojourner in the UK whose perceived experience and resultant outcomes, as Steve points out, contrast significantly with those of the more temporary, short-term Taiwanese student sojourner. Furthermore, the distinction between the cultural transition cycles of the *settler* in comparison to the *sojourner* should seemingly be visited in greater depth. The following chapter will present how Steve, upon returning to Taiwan, assumed a strong Taiwanese identity and reports to being a very grateful repatriate.

Clearly then, from the examples given, duration of sojourn is, in itself, not a reliable predictor of acculturation and integration of Taiwanese academic sojourners in the UK. A further interesting observation in the two narratives presented above is the choice of language used by Steve and Jill during the interview and how this represents an assertion of a cultural identity. While Steve spent the majority of his interview code switching between English and Mandarin Chinese, Jill was happy to conduct the entire interview in fluent and accurate spoken English. Linguistic development as a result of the sojourn has also emerged as a variable of considerable significance in terms of its influence on the acculturation process.

4.7   English Language Competence

Revisiting the discussion in the literature review chapter, one of the acculturation theory schools of thought presented was that of the communication theorists. The suggestion is that intercultural sojourning is a process of stress, adaptation and growth and particular

focus is placed on communication. The sojourner, it is argued, adapts through communication with host culture nationals and through such communication gradually learns the cultural frame of reference of the host nation (Gudykunst and Kim, 1997). Moreover, fluency in the language of the host culture features as a variable at an individual level in Ward el al.'s model of acculturation seen previously and is considered important in that it can "facilitate communication with members of the host culture, assist in effective culture learning and create avenues for social interaction and, ultimately, social support" (Ward et al, 2001:235).

Research into the role of linguistic competence on cultural learning has however, once again, produced mixed results. Whereas the majority of studies would seem to support a positive correlation between language fluency and psychological adjustment/well-being, Takai (1989) for example found that in the context of academic sojourners in Japan, increased fluency in Japanese was associated with decreased satisfaction with the sojourn. This was attributed to a greater expectancy of such sojourners for friendship with host locals and higher levels of resultant disappointment emanating from frequently perceived rejection and failed attempts to forge meaningful relationships with host nationals. In a contextually more similar study carried out by Ying and Liese (1991) into Taiwanese academic sojourners in the US however, qualitative data found lower levels of psychological distress and depression in those respondents with more developed English language skills.

Learning the language of the host culture is also believed to facilitate acculturation since it is widely argued, in the Sapir-Whorfian tradition, that a language is a symbolic system representing the conceptualisation of the worldview of its speakers. Therefore through engaging in the use of the language of the host culture, sojourners are subscribing, at least in part, to membership in that culture. Furthermore, through the medium of the host culture language, the potential for social interaction with host nationals is greatly facilitated which, as seen previously, is a key contributor in the acculturation process. On the reverse side of the same coin, research also shows that an individual's success in learning the language of the host community is most frequently influenced by their willingness to communicate with members of the community (MacIntyre et al, 1998). As academic sojourners to the UK, the sample in this study again differs from perhaps working sojourners, immigrant settlers or refugees in that

proficiency to some degree in the language of education was a requirement of the academic sojourn. Therefore, while considerable variation in English language competence was seen across the sample set, no participant was deemed to be completely isolated from the host culture due to lack of linguistic ability. Nevertheless, there were examples apparent in the data collected, restricted to those sojourners socialising within the conational sphere of Figure 3.1, of failed communication attributed by the interlocutor to perceived English language deficiency.

Inherent in the context of this study are the additional dimensions of participation in the forum of UK academia and, in most cases, sharing of university halls of residence with international students from many other jurisdictions. Therefore, even those participants reporting social interaction with host nationals being limited to functional relationships were by necessity required to use English as a lingua franca in both academic task completion and social interaction with academic sojourners of other nationalities. Several of the respondents, interestingly predominantly males in this study, argued that language ability proved to be problematic in the latter sense. Raymond, for example states:

> "I live in student village in [UK city]. I live in the international students, my roommate they are because I have three roommate at this time, one is from Brazil, and second one is from Indonesia and third one is from Iceland or other country in North West. They are just flatmates because my English is not good enough at that time for easy communication" (Raymond).

Raymond's statement therefore implies that his perceived linguistic weakness inhibited his ability to develop meaningful relationships with international students of other nationalities. Looking at Figure 3.1, Raymond's perception of his social capital is firmly placed within the compatriot sphere representative of his perceived deficiency in language competence most likely resulting in an actual deficiency in language *confidence*. Eddie, a respondent who again had strong relational ties limited to the Taiwanese group proposes a further issue beyond the purely linguistic which he perceives to have militated against his ability to converse in any depth with international students from other nations.

> "Because our poor English so sometimes it is quite difficult to have a chat with them and different culture, sometimes they don't know what you are talking about or maybe our context is very boring for them, we don't read too much cinema" (Eddie).

What Eddie points to is a lack of shared cultural context which serves as an inhibitor to effective communication with both local people and other international students. Following several communicative exchanges deemed as unsuccessful, he states that he largely remained within the culturally and linguistically secure confines of the Taiwanese expatriate group. The issue of the importance of common communicative ground for forging meaningful relationships with other nationalities is also highlighted by Will:

> *Interviewer- Who did you spend your time with?*
>
> "I will say maybe 30% with foreign people, 70% with Taiwanese" (Will).
>
> *Interviewer- Was that your choice?*
>
> "Naturally, I would say naturally. Some topics you just can talk with friends, there are some topic as I don't know, and they will sometimes say things, they will say English but they will say Italian and Greek or they will say some joke which is not English based so I cannot understand, so how can you integrate in these cases" (Will).
>
> *Interviewer- Did you have any English friends?*
>
> "Yes, I did, not too much but they were nice. Karen's classmates, they were always doing homework together, one guy called Jimmy he's a guitar player in London and we have the same topic we can talk about music" (Will).

Having said this, given the context of the forum of UK academia, it could be assumed that, in the form of shared academic assignments and group activities, common topics for conversation with classmates from other nations would seem to be numerous. Indeed, for most respondents, finding topics of discussion with other nationalities does not appear to have been problematic in their recollected perception of the sojourn experience. It seems then that individual differences in language ability, or indeed perceived language ability, are a significant contributing factor to the patterns of socialisation seen in Figure 3.1. Equally, in the study of language acquisition, it is widely documented that a certain level of risk taking can differentiate between successful and unsuccessful learners. This may arguably be the source of communicative discomfort seen in the cases of Raymond and Eddie above. Indeed, both respondents did seem to be introverted in their mannerisms during the interviews, which were among the shortest in terms of duration and lightest in terms of semantic content. Claudine's comments demonstrate her understanding of the importance of risk-taking in foreign language acquisition:

> "I know my English is not that good at that moment but I think just try because you just come there for study so any mistake is allowed especially the language thing, you have to speak more and more" (Claudine).

In communication with host nationals, an added complication is reported by a number of respondents in relation to the variety of English spoken in the UK and, in particular, difficulty in comprehension of the accents faced with upon arrival. In English language training in Taiwan, the perceived economic strength of the US together with its perceived role as a strategic ally means that a North American variety of English is generally preferred and taught to children. Simon for example states that:

> "I didn't have any English at all. British people speak British English which was totally different with the English I was taught when I was growing up, we were taught American English so the accent was totally different" (Simon).

Anna reports this to have been alleviated somewhat by participation on a presessional course, allowing time to adjust to the local vernacular before commencing her main course of study:

> "I think going on the presessional course was very helpful because when I first arrived in the UK I'm very nervous and my English, I realised that the British English is very different from the American English but I had studied the American English for 14 years so I realised that I cannot understand what the British people say, horrible, horrible" (Anna).

Nevertheless, overtly reported specific incidents of failed interactions with host nationals are rare in the narratives in this study, one of the most salient being that presented earlier of Mabel:

> "when we go to pay in a restaurant and the English guy speak very, very quickly, and me and my friends we ask him to say it again, and he just is so ignore us and doesn't want to say it very slow and my friend is very smart, he say a lot of Chinese, and we say in Chinese 你也聽不懂阿 (trans- you also don't understand then), he say, say it again and we say nothing" (Mabel).

This failed social interaction reportedly resulted in a decrease in appreciation of the host culture on the part of Mabel. It is also likely that a similar reaction was felt by the host national in his perception of international student sojourners. This is a poignant example of how a deeper understanding of intercultural communication may reduce conflict and exhibits evidence of unsuccessful communication on the part of both the host local and the international sojourner. Perhaps, in the context of the Bennett model, development of intercultural sensitivity took a step backwards towards the ethnocentric stages for the interlocutors involved in this intercultural exchange. Mabel does give a further example

of how an awareness of cross-cultural communication on the part of host nationals can lead to more successful interactions albeit still at a functional, superficial level:

Interviewer- Did you try to make friends with English people?

"I try but there is only one, one English girl and we are not in the same group, but I have talked to her several times, and she is nice and very smart and talking very short using exact words. I don't know her name. But I'm sure she doesn't remember me" (Mabel).

The comment "talking very short using exact words" would indicate that this host national interlocutor was aware of the importance of controlling her register when communicating with non-native English speakers. The same cannot be said for the restaurant employee involved in the unsuccessful interchange in the previous extract. In reality of course, it is unrealistic and indeed unfair to expect an entire host nation to be effective cross-cultural communicators, a fact which therefore implies that the onus is on the sojourner to develop sociopragmatic communication strategies in most cases. This would further imply going beyond simple linguistic accuracy and into the deeper culturally influenced levels of spoken and unspoken communication.

Language is considered one of the most important components of ethnic identity (Laroche et al., 1998; Noels et al., 1996) and the extent to which a sojourner subscribes to a given language may be representative of their level of acculturation. Indeed, instruments measuring acculturation have almost invariably incorporated elements assessing the role of linguistic adaptation on the acculturation process (Kang, 2006). While the data collection instrument in the present study did not directly explore the role of language in the perception of change in cultural identity, some very noteworthy tendencies emerged in the data collection process. Firstly, it was seen that those respondents developing deeper relationships with host nationals tended, perhaps predictably, in their interviews to demonstrate a higher level of linguistic fluency, a wider range of lexical features, and minimal code-switching between English and Mandarin Chinese. Furthermore, interview duration with these respondents tended to be significantly longer usually offering semantically denser responses to the question themes.

With one exception, all the respondents in this study including those who reported shallower contact with host nationals during the sojourn seemed to welcome the

opportunity to converse in English. Most reported that they continued to use English as a lingua franca at work and maintained contact with the language through news broadcasts, film and television programmes, and email/instant messaging contact with non-Mandarin speaking acquaintances made during the sojourn. Moreover, it is widely argued that the English language, for historic reasons, has a prestige status in Taiwan (Price, 2004). Code switching between Mandarin Chinese and (frequently grammatically or orthographically incorrect) English is very apparent in all spheres of contemporary Taiwanese society ranging from television advertising and product packaging through to political campaigning. All respondents apart from one seemed eager to take advantage of their English language improvement to add to their own prestige, career opportunities and ultimately, social status.

The one exception to this rule was again Steve who, as seen previously, was the only reluctant sojourner in the sample of this study. Furthermore, he spent the longest time in the UK and manifested the most traits of a grateful repatriate having become more affirmed in his Taiwanese cultural identity. The following extract is from his narrative:

> "you can ask my colleagues, I never speak any single word of English. 我從來沒有講
> 過一居英文在公司，我公司人知道我有在英國國外留學過但是從來沒有聽過講過.
> (trans.- Until now I have never spoken any English at the office. My colleagues know
> that I studied in England but they have never heard me speak English). I don't want to
> show off, first of all, I don't think I speak good English but for the interview I would
> prefer to speak English, right and second of all I don't want to shock some, I hate
> people when they talk, they want to speak half Chinese and half English. 我不喜歡因為
> 我覺得你跟台灣人講 (trans.- I don't like it because I think you speak to Taiwanese
> people) if you talk to Taiwanese and how come you speak half Chinese and English, I
> don't know, but if you talk to English people, then probably you want to explain in
> English" (Steve).

Steve's affirmation of his Taiwanese identity therefore manifests itself in part in his reluctance to speak English since repatriation and his interview correspondingly demonstrated the highest proportion of use of Mandarin Chinese across the sample in this study. Clearly, further research into expression of cultural identity through language choice and code switching among repatriated academic sojourners would be of great interest in the future. This would be all the more timely in the case of Taiwan with the question of language ideology and Taiwan's complex national identity the subject of continued political and intellectual debate. Recent linguistic policy, for example, has aimed at preventing "the splintering of the 'supra-ethnic' new Taiwanese along

linguistic lines" (Price, No date) through the promotion of linguistic pluralism rather than monolingualism. This is reflected in the recently introduced *nine year vernacular curriculum* under which children are obliged to study Mandarin Chinese and English together with a home language of Taiwanese (Minnan), Hakka, or an Aboriginal Language, as chosen by their parents. Recent propositions to adopt English as a semi-official language have been opposed by scholars warning of linguistic colonialisation reminiscent of the Japanese and KMT ruling periods and the strict enforcement of Japanese and Mandarin respectively on the population of the Taiwanese (Hsiau, 2000). The role returning academic sojourners are playing in this contentious social phenomenon should be considered further.

4.8   Previous Sojourns

In an early study, Klineberg and Hull (1979) proposed that international students who had previously resided abroad were significantly better adjusted during subsequent cross-cultural sojourns (cited Ward et al, 2001:89). In terms of the experience of repatriation, Sussman (2001) argues that multiple cultural transition experiences are not sufficient to result in her model's intercultural identity and indeed frequently multiple repatriation occurrences result in more acculturation and reacculturation discomfort rather than less. Previous chapters have considered what Shaules calls cultural *triangulation* whereby a sojourner with multiple deep experiences is aware that it is not just possible to look at the world in a different way, but that there are multiple cultural frameworks which will present differing views of similar concepts or phenomena. Also presented earlier is the fact that, in this cultural context, the academic sojourn in the UK was the first opportunity for an extended overseas stay for the vast majority of respondents.

Of those who had previously sojourned overseas, Jill had spent a year in Japan to study Japanese and both Fatima and Shaun had been to the US (San Francisco and Seattle respectively) for English language training. The findings from this study are firstly that Jill, while not overtly referring to her Japanese experience at any point in the interview, demonstrated one of the deepest cultural learning experiences of the sample group and finished her sojourn arguably as the only respondent at Bennett's integrated marginality stage. The extent to which this is a result of moving beyond the binary Culture A to

Culture B comparative into a multidimensional A, B, C comparative state is unfortunately unclear from the data. Secondly, both Fatima and Shaun used their previous sojourns as points of reference from which to denigrate the UK:

Interviewer- *How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?*

"I feel a little bit small, small, smaller than what I think before because when I go to Seattle, everything in America is very huge, very big, but when I arrived in Heathrow airport, I think it is a little bit small and darker, the colours there and the building and the light there, dark. Very different from America and everybody, they don't smile, they are more unfriendly than in Taiwan (...) I always compare UK and America, and in America when you go to a shop they will always say have a nice day or something like that but in the UK, not like that" (Shaun).

"strangers I felt racist. Younger people, probably under 25, but they were drunk so what can I do?" (Fatima).

Interviewer- *How did that make you feel?*

"美國比較好 (trans.- America is better), in some way I can say I will see you in court, but in 英國(trans.- England) I can't" (Fatima).

Interviewer- *Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?*

"I finish my, I got my, I just turn in my dissertation, done, sure. I didn't want to stay any longer... sorry (laughs), I'd rather go back to San Francisco, that's after I stay there for one and a half years in [UK city]".

It is worth pointing out that both of these sojourners spent their US sojourns in the vibrant, multicultural cities of San Francisco and Seattle while their UK sojourns were spent in perhaps less inspiring smaller towns. This may have in part contributed to the above opinions. Furthermore, despite their previous sojourns, neither Shaun nor Fatima reports conspicuously different acculturation patterns to other respondents who were sojourning overseas for the first time. Neither were their accounts of repatriation noteworthy in their difference. It seems difficult to argue therefore that previous sojourns in this context play a significant role in the acculturation and repatriation stages of the cultural transition cycle. Moreover, seen previously is the fact that the multicultural nature of UK academia in itself seems to provide a context for triangulation of multiple cultural worldviews for willing participants similar to that obtained through multiple overseas sojourns.

4.9   Motivation for Sojourn

Shaules (2007), in his discussion of individual differences in acculturation, highlights the concept of *rapport* as one of significance. His argument is that some sojourners will feel a natural resistance towards a certain culture while others may feel an inherent attraction or *rapport* for that same culture. This distinction can be seen in the present study although rather than a simple either/or dichotomy, this may be better expressed as a tendency towards one or the other. An interesting differentiating trait between Western and Eastern cognitive processes suggested in a number of research studies compiled again by Nisbett (2003) is the tendency of the Westerner to seek to neatly categorise and delineate complex concepts. Easterners, by contrast, are much more comfortable with attributing what a Westerner may think are conflicting characteristics to the same concept or object. An example he provides to elucidate this point is an experiment, one element of which required US and Japanese subjects to look at pictures of human faces and describe the emotions expressed in them. Whereas the US contingent would attribute emotions such as happy or sad in a relatively polar way, the Eastern participants were more likely and indeed more comfortable in attributing seemingly conflicting emotions to the same face, happy *and* sad for example (Peng et al, 2002 cited Nisbett, 2003). Nisbett traces the origins of the Western desire to avoid contradiction to the long-standing tendency to search for principles that will justify beliefs. Therefore, having been socialised and educated in a Western context, it is the tendency of the researcher in this study to want to conceptualise comments as polar values of either resistance or rapport but in reality there are most commonly elements of both which result in a *tendency* towards one or the other.

Early in the interview schedule, interviewees were asked about their motivation for wanting to study at postgraduate level in the UK and the responses, while seemingly limited in their ability to predict accurately subsequent acculturation patterns, are of considerable interest. Firstly, as seen previously, all respondents besides Steve were willing sojourners and reported a mixture of feelings presojourn including, almost invariably, an element of excited nervousness at the cultural adventure awaiting them. However, while a large majority argued that one of the key motivational factors for an overseas academic sojourn was to increase cultural awareness, very few seemed to have actually chosen to go to the UK because of any inherent attraction or *rapport* with that

particular culture. Two of the three respondents who felt a strong and deep affinity for the UK were among those sojourners who became most socially integrated into the local culture, Doris and Jill:

> "I had a longing, I had a familiarity towards Western culture and being studying English languages and stuff and I think I was fluent in English from a very early age sort of without knowing why" (Jill).

> "First of all I think I am going to get my Master degree, also I want to improve my English and I like to experience different culture, especially England. I didn't think about going to America because I've been to England several times and I quite like the culture there. I also want to learn the British accent" (Doris).

Doris's narrative also alluded to the influence her presojourn British boyfriend had on her decision to go to the UK. Yen also felt an attraction to the UK although perceived lack of hospitality on the part of the host nationals led to her intrasojourn social capital being predominantly limited to compatriots and other international students:

> "I have many dreaming about the UK, like the history, the story, the castle, I have an image with the UK. The only place I wanted to go was the UK" (Yen).

Two further respondents, Shaun, and Will, while seemingly not manifesting a deep emotional affinity with the UK, both made mention of the surface level cultural artefacts of pop music and football which attracted them to the UK:

> "I just want to change another view and see different culture and I also especially like British pop music and some bands and some football so that's why I chose England not to America" (Will).

> "I want to have much more different experience, and to maybe to learn some to improve my English and I think the biggest reason is that when I come back I can get a better job, and why I choose UK because I like football. I went to just two matches because the ticket is so hard to buy. I saw the Chelsea versus Manchester City and Arsenal versus, that is a Championship game so some small team come from Eastern Europe" (Shaun).

In the initial section of Shaun's comment above can be seen factors stated by almost all the respondents as fundamentally motivating in their decision to study at postgraduate level in the UK, namely to enhance career prospects upon return to Taiwan. The importance of English as a language of international communication and Taiwan's status as a global manufacturing and trading nation means that communicative competence in English goes beyond being a luxury asset. Simon discusses this:

"Well, because the language English was getting more and more important in Taiwan and also I didn't get promotion in my company because of the language study was too bad, so go to UK get promotion eventually. It's a trading company so the language ability was very important. Well, when I say important, I don't say English was a plus, English was a basic, so if you don't speak English you kind of useless. I could read, I could write, I just couldn't speak" (Simon).

Therefore it seems, the primary motivation for a sojourn in an Anglophonic jurisdiction for most Taiwanese is extrinsically driven by linguistic progress and career development rather than an inherent intrinsic interest in the culture of the host nation per se. The value of education in the Confucian heritage culture of Taiwan has been visited in earlier discussion and a postgraduate degree, particularly from an overseas leaning institution, has a prestigious status affording competitive advantage in the job market to its holder. Usual practice then is for Taiwanese parents to financially support their children to study abroad as an investment for the future. Sandra argues that despite the main motivator for her sojourn being to travel and to increase her cultural awareness, she was required to offer a return on her parents' investment:

"Because there is a different culture and lifestyle, main reason is not for study. I study to add value, if I can get a Master's degree, I can convince my parents to fund me to study in the UK" (Sandra).

Interestingly, although not included in the interview schedule as such, two respondents were overtly explicit about their status as self-financing and had a tendency to be rather dismissive of other sojourners who were funded by their parents. What is of significance it seems is that the two self-funding respondents to make such comments were the most socially integrated sojourners manifesting the lowest levels of cultural identity centrality, Doris and Kathy. It may be that their own considerable financial investment contributed in part to the decision to socialise outside of the Taiwanese expatriate group in order to make the most of their overseas cultural and linguistic experience.

Besides English language, the UK was chosen as a destination over other Anglophonic jurisdictions in most cases because of the relative brevity of its Master's programmes. A one-year course was perceived to be less of an investment, both financial and durational, and would allow the sojourner to return to Taiwan as quickly as possible and continue their career with an enhanced competitive advantage, as was the presojourn intention of the vast majority of respondents. This extrinsic motivating factor suggests further a lack

of specific rapport with the UK culture in the most part for the Taiwanese sample selected for this study. It could be argued that these factors may further contribute to the patterns of social interaction seen in Figure 3.1 previously.

4.10   Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed individual, situational and societal variables and their influence on the acculturation and socialisation patterns of the respondent sample observed in this study. It began with a discussion of the two antecedent variables identified in the Sussman model as predictors for repatriation affect, namely cultural flexibility and cultural identity centrality. The inherent conceptual complexity of cultural flexibility was discussed with particular reference to the distinction between the ability and the desire to modify one's behaviour and thoughts to accommodate new, culturally contrasting situations. Discussion concluded with the observation that the sample chosen in this study, for reasons of their innate interest in other cultures and desire to travel to foreign climes, were largely considered to be higher in their cultural flexibility than perhaps enforced cultural sojourners or settlers may be.

Cultural identity centrality in the sample of Taiwanese academic sojourners selected demonstrated a tendency to be high in all but three cases. Furthermore, the importance of being Taiwanese as a part of respondents' identity was reportedly perceived to have increased as a result of the sojourn in the narratives of all but one respondent. These observations signify that the cultural transition cycles of Taiwanese academic sojourners are arguably not best suited to conceptualisation within the framework of the Sussman model which has been identified as being most applicable to sojourners from individualistic cultures with a tendency towards low cultural identity centrality. High and increasing cultural identity centrality in the sample group can be seen to originate from several factors.

Firstly, the Taiwanese education system incorporates elements of development of national pride highlighting the role of each member as a contributor to the development of a harmonious collectivistic society. Secondly, there is a reported desire in the narratives of the respondents to assert their Taiwaneseness as a means of distinguishing themselves from the Mainland Chinese academic sojourners encountered during the UK

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sojourn. This seems to be in part an attempt to be removed from the perceived negative stereotypes and attitudes towards the Chinese people in the UK, in part a desire to combat the perceived continual suppression of Taiwanese national identity in claims by certain Mainland Chinese encountered that Taiwan is a province of China and, in part, a result of perceived differences in values, norms and behaviours from the Mainland Chinese encountered in the UK. Thirdly, emerging from the interview data were frequent comments indicating that envisaged expectations of the UK prior to the sojourn were notably higher than the actual lived experience in most cases. At a shallower cultural level highlighted by those demonstrating lower levels of integration into the host culture, this was reported as paucity of convenience stores, lower efficiency in banks, and technological immaturity when compared with Taiwan. At a deeper cultural level argued by the more integrated of respondents are perceptions of social decay at the level of UK family structures together with alcohol and drug consumption and their related social problems. As a result of these observations, there was an apparent increased appreciation for Taiwan following the sojourn in all but one of the narratives in this study.

Despite this, it is also of significance that the two respondents reporting low cultural identity centrality did indeed, as would be predicted by the Sussman model, demonstrate higher levels of social integration into the UK, internalisation of many of the features of the cultural frame of reference and behaviour of the host culture, and high levels of repatriation discomfort upon return home. While this would seem to support the Sussman model, the same tendencies were also true for several other respondents all reporting significantly higher levels of cultural identity centrality, thus incongruent to the model. The emerging variable common to all these respondents was quantity and quality of contact with host nationals. Furthermore, as a predictor of quantity and quality of contact with host nationals, the role of cultural identity centrality was demonstrated to be largely secondary to the more chance situational circumstances of being accommodated in a welcoming host family or encountering a host national with whom to start a romantic relationship. Gender differences were observed in this pattern in that the engagement in romantic relationships with host nationals was limited to female sojourners in this study. Finally, it has been revealed that the variables of age, duration of sojourn, and previous sojourning experience are largely inconclusive in their

correlation with and predictive ability as to Taiwanese sojourner acculturation tendencies.

Having in this and the previous chapter explored the perceptions of the sojourn experience alongside influential individual, situational and societal variables, the following chapter will consider the subsequent stage of the cultural transition cycle, that of the return to Taiwan. Discussion will particularly explore the interplay between tendencies of social interaction and acculturation reported during the academic sojourn in the UK and the resultant perception of the nature of repatriation affect reported in the narratives of the sample in this study.

CHAPTER 5 – RETURNING HOME

5.1   Introduction

The focus of the previous two chapters has been on the reported social interaction patterns of the sample group in this study during the academic sojourn and their influence on the perceptions of the acculturation process and cultural identity change. This chapter moves on to consider the post-sojourn repatriation experience in this light with particular emphasis on the implications of cultural identity change on the repatriating Taiwanese academic sojourner. Discussion will commence with a problematisation of the concept of repatriation affect followed by an exploration of repatriation willingness and motivation. Subsequent discussion will focus on the narratives of the repatriates and perceived positive and negative aspects of their return to life in Taiwan. This chapter will then consider the notion of repatriation success before moving on to the final conclusion chapter of this doctoral thesis.

5.2   Host Culture Integration and Repatriation Affect

This study has been broadly constructed upon the theoretical foundations of the Sussman model with an aim to consider the entire cultural transition cycle and the relationship between the stages of presojourn, sojourn, and postsojourn. A key theme emerging from the data in this study is the apparent relationship between meaningful social interactions with host nationals, the consequential depth of acculturation, and the affective nature of the repatriation experience. Results have identified an important conflict apparent in that the numerous studies carried out into the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of overseas students to host cultures broadly agree that social integration is linked to lower levels of stress (e.g. Redmond and Bunyi, 1993), fewer psychological adjustment problems (e.g. Searle and Ward, 1990), and that a greater amount of interaction with host nationals facilitated adaptation to life overseas (Ward and Kennedy, 1993).

However, when consideration is given to the next stage of the cultural transition cycle, return to the home culture, the analysis of the data in this study has revealed that, in most cases, a positive correlation seems to exist between the extent to which a sojourner

had strong social networking ties and meaningful interactions with members of the host culture and the level of repatriation discomfort experienced upon returning home. This finding seems to provide support to existing research (e.g. Suda, 1999; Rohrlich and Martin, 1991), the reasoning behind this arguably summarised by Upodor (no date cited Martin, 1984): "the reasons for reentry shock have to do with change: change within the home environment itself during the intervening period of the individual's absence, and change within the individual himself as a consequence of his stay abroad. In theory, the severity of reentry shock is related to the magnitude of change in either the home environment, or within the individual and his circumstance" (123). Indeed, it will be seen later in the chapter that repatriation distress can be largely attributed to the occurrence of deeper cultural learning and cultural identity change resulting in incongruence with the norms and values of the home culture of Taiwan. A diagrammatic representation of this can be seen in Figure 5.1 below which approximates reported intensity of repatriation discomfort for each respondent and plots this onto the social networks diagram used previously.
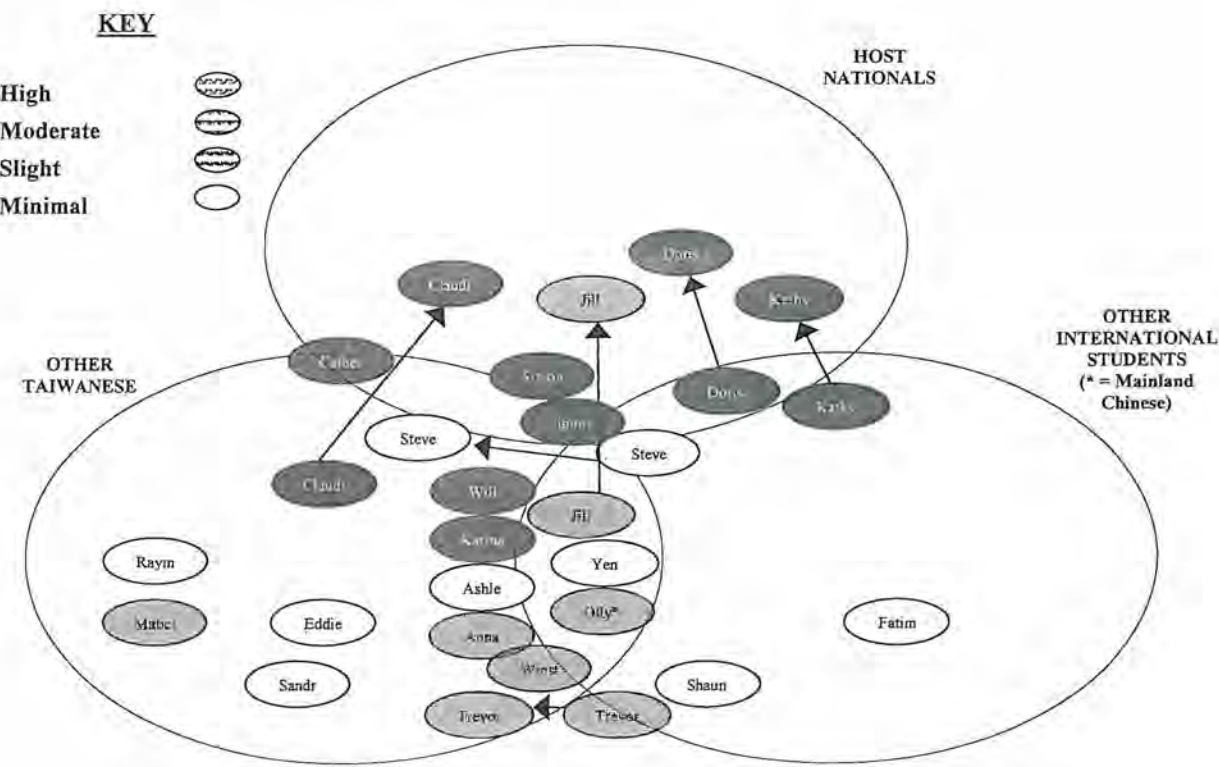
Figure 5.1 – Repatriation Discomfort

Sussman's model, in its treatment of repatriation affect, proposes that a sojourner will experience their return to the home culture either positively (the grateful repatriate) or negatively (uncomfortable interpersonal relations, stress, and reverse culture shock) depending on cultural identity shift. While aware that it is the intention of social sciences academic models, particularly in a Western context, to concisely represent complex human phenomena, the data in this study indicate that the complexity of the affective experience of repatriation, in this context, is again not adequately represented in such a polar manner. Figure 5.1, while necessarily simplified, identifies levels of repatriation discomfort as broadly reported by the respondents. Even among those sojourners whose narratives would suggest very high or very low levels of repatriation discomfort, the return experience was almost unanimously reported as multifaceted, featuring elements of a both negative and positive nature. Repatriation affect therefore is conceptualised in this study as a tendency towards being negative or positive. Figure 5.2 below demonstrates this:

Kathy- **high** repatriation discomfort and strong tendency towards negative repatriation affect	
Negative ⟵————————————————————⟶ Positive	
I don't fit into the culture. I got sick from the long hours. I was thinking I want to go home, which home is England. I went to the shrink and for six months I was on medication for depression.	People are nice compared to British. The food, the weather, everything is brilliant.

Karina- **moderate** repatriation discomfort and tendency towards negative repatriation affect	
Negative ⟵————————————————————⟶ Positive	
When I go to work, I feel very tired because the pressure, very hard. I study in England and I don't have too much pressure but in Taiwan I work.	I'm very happy because I see my parents and family. I can understand the language better.

Trevor - **slight** repatriation discomfort and tendency towards positive repatriation affect	
Negative ⟵————————————————————⟶ Positive	
I was very low and worrying about my research. My feeling was the negative feeling was related to the political situation, it's quite unstable. I don't like the news here.	I am actually quite happy, I can see my parents, my friends, relatives. I think here is my home, I was happy to be back.

Sandra – **minimal** repatriation discomfort and strong tendency towards positive repatriation affect	
Negative ◄————————————————————————► Positive	
I come to work in Taipei and people are always in a rush all the time, and sometimes I just sit on the chair and wondering what are they doing, will me be part of them in the future, and really confused and I don't want to be. But soon, maybe 6 months later, 1 year later, I know I become one of them. Now I am one of them, poor me. But at the beginning I am not used to it, too rush. I was not unhappy to come back, but confused. What are they doing? (laughs).	I was happy when I get home because my family happy to see me again. I didn't feel bad at all.

Figure 5.2 – Positive and Negative Repatriation Affect

The trend in Figure 5.2 is equally apparent when the emerging themes from the data are considered within the conceptual framework of Sussman's cultural identity shift. While in most cases there may be a tendency towards one or another shift, apparent in the narratives are usually elements of more than one. Taking Steve as an example of arguably the most grateful repatriate in this study, his narrative continually indicates an affirmative cultural identity shift. However, in his own words, having spent nine years in the higher education system in the UK means that:

> "when you analyse things, when you talk about business, when you think about the plan you act, when you office, you act like a 老外 [trans.- foreigner]" (Steve).

Sussman's model would presumably categorise such a change in analytical process as additive in its movement towards what Steve identifies as a *foreigner's* comportment. Further examples of multiple *shades* of cultural identity shift are pervasive throughout the sample studied.

What is equally clear, if not somewhat predictable, in the findings from this study is that the seven respondents deemed to have suffered high (five in number) and moderate (two in number) levels of repatriation distress respectively are all similar in their reported lack of willingness to return to Taiwan. The remaining sojourners manifesting slight or minimal distress all claimed to be willing returnees having equally, in the most part, identified less with the host culture during their sojourn. They do however also report negative aspects of the return to Taiwan which will be discussed in the following sections. It is important first to consider the reasons for and willingness to return to Taiwan and the impact of this on the nature of repatriation affect experienced.

5.3   Repatriation Willingness and Motivation

The UK Home Office statistics seen in the introductory chapter reveal that most of the Taiwanese in the UK view themselves as temporary sojourners with few among them becoming longer term settlers. The sample selected for this research study, at the time of interview, had all returned from their academic sojourn and, as can be seen in Figure 5.3 below, report varying degrees of willingness for this return.
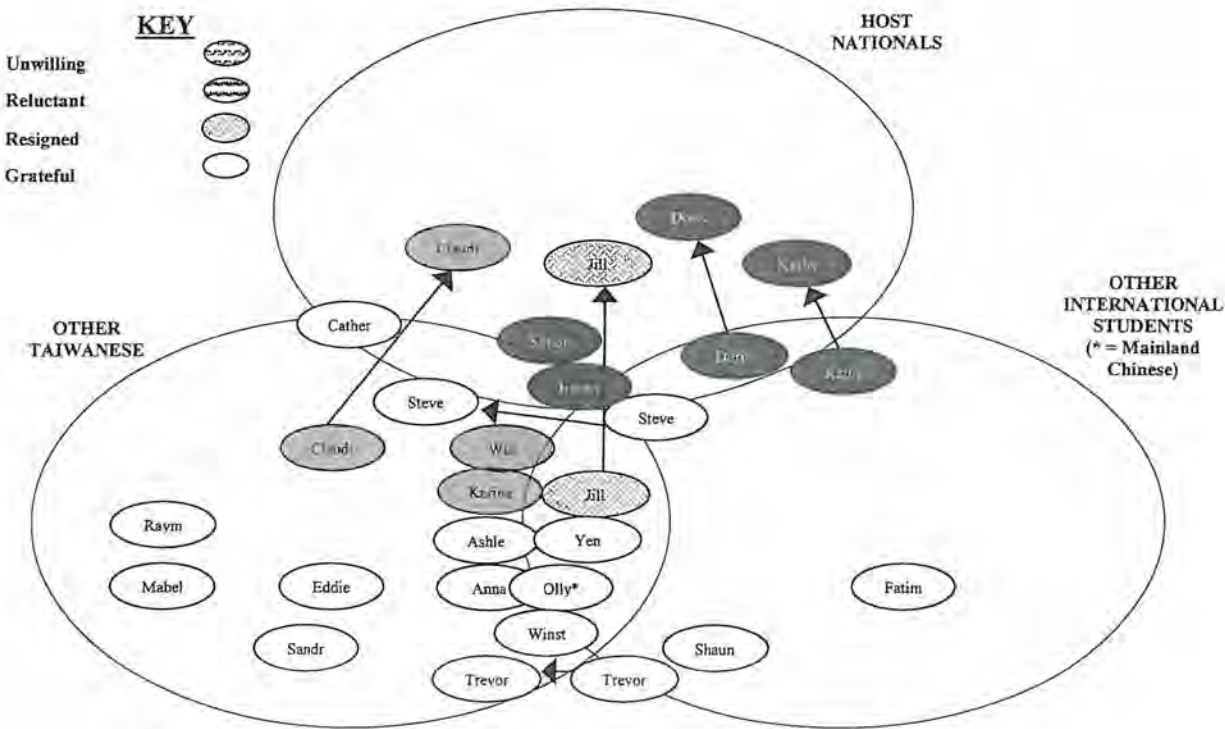
Figure 5.3 – Willingness to Return to Taiwan

The figure convincingly demonstrates that almost two thirds of respondents report to having predominately positive feelings when leaving the UK, often departing as soon as final assignments or research dissertations had been submitted. This was frequently the case despite having time remaining before expiry of student visas. Ashley's comments are broadly representative of the seemingly *grateful* repatriate group in this study:

> "I'm really tired when I work and spend lots of time on my dissertation and miss my family, miss Taiwan so I feel quite relieved to come back (...) I submitted my dissertation and came back 2 days later. My visa expire next January, so I could have stayed but because of the accommodation and at that time I was exhausted so I just want to come back" (Ashley).

Emerging from the data in this study therefore is evidence that a strong impetus exists which in all but a small minority of cases draws the respondents back to Taiwan. This may in part be due to the *push* factors seen previously of revised schemata of the UK and an increased appreciation of Taiwan. However, it seems that of equal significance are the *pull* factors of returning to one's familially and societally designated place where there seems to be a strong sense of belonging which was absent in the UK. Mabel for example states that:

"Because my family, my home is in Taiwan, my youth is in Taiwan" (Mabel).

Indeed, this seems to some so much second nature that, by way of example, when asked the question as to why she decided to return to Taiwan, Yen's visible and audible confusion was apparent in her immediate, unhesitating response:

"Because I finish, why would I stay?" (Yen).

Returning to an earlier question in the interview, respondents were asked what their plans following the UK academic sojourn had been prior to leaving Taiwan. With very few exceptions, respondents were unanimous in their intention to return to Taiwan to develop a career. Indeed, even among those respondents who at the time of returning manifested greater levels of reluctance, only one, Doris, declared that prior to the overseas sojourn, she had planned to try and find work and stay in the UK. This notion of temporality of the sojourn, as seen previously, separates the respondents in this study in most part from longer-term *settlers* and potentially influences the experience of the time spent in a contrasting cultural environment.

In this respect, it is interesting to note the case of Jill whose perception of her extended overseas sojourn, it has been argued, seemed to align her in many respects towards the *settler* to a greater extent that the remaining respondents in this study. After having left Taiwan for the UK in order to escape feelings of unhappiness eight years previously, Jill reports to feeling neither reluctance nor gratitude, rather a sense of acceptance that her life path was taking her back to her home jurisdiction. The term acceptance does not however convey the true complexity of her feelings to return as can be seen in her eloquent narrative:

"If it was time, then it was time. Before I left the UK, I felt a bit, probably unsettled but sort of desperate to do it because of so many years ago I thought I wasn't going to ever

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going to come back but then I couldn't escape destiny and a bit unsettled because I knew it would take me a long time to get used to life here but I had accepted it and something happened in my life and I have to say I think I also felt brave that I didn't run away again from the decision. It's quite something when you try so hard to run away and be able to return, so complex feeling" (Jill).

The sense of being unable to escape destiny perhaps reflects in Jill a fundamental of the eastern stance towards life, shaped through the Taoist philosophy, that the world is constantly changing and is full of contradictions (Peng et al., 2006). This being the case while, as seen in previous chapters, manifesting numerous additive cultural identity traits at a deep level as a result of her extended overseas sojourn, Jill's fundamental life perception, inculcated through spending the formative years of her youth in Taiwan, remains present in her post-sojourn cultural identity. In her words:

> "I have a combination of Taiwanese and English values and which ones do I keep, which ones do I throw out, it's a process of searching for myself and to know what I want for myself" (Jill).

It seems therefore that Jill's contrasting perception of the permanence of her overseas sojourn resulted in an anomalous psychological reaction to the necessity of returning to Taiwan. This again points to the importance of further research into the contrasting cultural transition cycle experiences of sojourners vs. settlers.

Besides familial reasons, the data indicates a further significant contributing factor to the desire to return to Taiwan, namely the evident perception of many of the respondents that job opportunities are superior in their home jurisdiction. There was strong evidence apparent of perceived marginalisation in the UK working environment due to status as a non-native and, in particular, of Asian racial and ethnic origin. Shaun for example offers an anecdotal report of marginalisation in the workplace. While the authenticity of the actual reported experience cannot be ascertained, its effect on the post-academic sojourn intentions of the respondent is undeniable:

> "One of my friends, he is a Taiwanese and he after he graduate from our school, one or two years ago, he find a job in UK and I think the pay is, the salary is 2500 per months, UK pounds I think. Very high because he is a computer engineer. But he say his friends work in the same company, have 5000 per month, double money. I think if you are an English people to work in that company you will get more salary. I think even though I work so hard, I still could not get a better pay than the other countries' people just because I'm Asian people, so I think that is ridiculous, so I decide, I want to work for my country" (Shaun).

A first hand story to the same effect is that of Steve whose nine years in the UK were spent studying architecture and, towards the end of his sojourn, working for an architectural firm. He purports to have direct experience of what he describes as a glass ceiling for international students in the UK:

> "I not quite happy in the UK, because you can't really get good job. I got job but for most overseas students I got quite lucky because I have good salary, but you still can't quite reach, just like property ladder you can't go up. I'm working in small firm, architecture firm, about three or four people and I'm still not satisfied, I think I can get better chance in Taiwan, that is what I think about" (Steve).

Among the four strongly reluctant repatriates, Simon, Jimmy, and Doris were all unsuccessful in their concerted efforts to secure employment in the UK. The logistics of employing an international graduate without a working visa was most frequently perceived as the main obstacle. Doris was perhaps the most reluctant participant in this study to return and felt very disappointed at being unable to find employment beyond the part-time/casual while in the UK:

> "I couldn't find a job. I didn't really want to come back. I felt disappointed to come back, not for the environment, but I felt disappointed with myself because I couldn't get a job. Because I know some people they did get a job so I feel, I failed myself in a way. Some people got jobs more easily but studying marketing it is really difficult, I don't know, in the end I gave myself some excuse why I couldn't find a job, like marketing, how can you market in another country, that kind of stuff but I really think there must be some jobs, I just didn't find it. I looked on the websites and human resource agents and I would have moved to anywhere in the UK, I applied some and most of the agents asked, 'do you have working visa?' and then that was the dead end (looks sad)" (Doris).

Kathy, also an unwilling repatriate, was not faced with this problem as she obtained indefinite leave to remain and a working visa through her marriage to a local male. She was able to find employment in a large multinational company although, as will be seen in the next section, upon repatriation this led to difficulties of a different nature.

A recent doctoral study carried out by Patron into the repatriation experiences of French returnees following an academic sojourn in an Australian university concluded "once they had traversed the difficult stages of culture shock and reached the stage of full recovery (adjustment), they no longer wished to go home" (2006:vii). The findings from the present study would seem to largely support those of Patron and imply that, as seen in the various figures and comments presented so far, the majority of Taiwanese academic sojourners in this study restrict their meaningful socialisation to compatriots

or, to a lesser extent, international students from other jurisdictions, and never fully acculturate to the host culture of the UK. It is these sojourners who are seemingly happy to return home. By contrast, respondents who have moved outside of what may be their compatriot comfort-zone have been forced by circumstance to develop strategies for successful adaptation to the host culture and are ultimately less willing to return to Taiwan. Conceptualising this in the framework of the U-Curve model and the various stage models of acculturation, whereas the latter group moved through to the later stages of recovery and integration into the host culture, the same was arguably not the case for the former group.

Worthy of note however is that when comparing reported repatriation distress in Figure 5.1 and willingness to return in Figure 5.3, it is apparent that some degree of repatriation discomfort caused by certain features of the repatriation experience is present even in the perceptions of those respondents claiming high levels of gratitude for repatriation. The following sections aim to explore the causes of repatriation comfort and discomfort in more detail.

5.4   Repatriation Affect

Sussman's model argues a sojourner's repatriation affect, be it negative or positive, can be predicted from their degree of adaptation to the host cultural environment, resultant disturbances in self-concept and reformulation of cultural identity. The data in this study does appear in many ways to lend support to this argument, however, the specific context of this study also points to some incongruence. By way of introduction to the main themes emerging from this research context, it is helpful to consider the continued narratives of the two respondents, Doris and Claudine, seen in the previous chapter, and the new narratives of Catherine and Karina.

The case of Doris
Doris, if you remember, consciously removed herself from the Taiwanese expatriate group, was involved in an intimate relationship with a local male and had chosen to immerse herself completely in the life of the host culture.

As she came to the end of her studies, Doris began looking for a permanent job but was repeatedly told that without a working permit she would not be considered for any vacancies. Employers were equally unprepared to sponsor her for a working permit. As her student visa expiry date drew nearer, Doris tried to ignore the fact that she would have to return to Taiwan and continued working until two days before her flight back. She had a painful split with her boyfriend whose last words were hurtful making her repatriation all the more traumatic.

Returning to Taiwan, Doris felt disappointed with herself for not having been able to find a job. She missed the UK terribly, missed the food, missed her oven, and missed the nightlife. She now feels frustrated at work because she cannot fit into the traditional Taiwanese organisational culture. Her colleagues and family think she has become too distant, too straightforward, too proud and difficult to get along with. She cannot find a partner because traditional Taiwanese men do not like her to challenge them. Her mother is annoyed with her because she keeps saying "in my country..." with reference to the UK and her mother even regrets ever letting her go to the UK. To make new friends in Taiwan seems impossible and she is still hoping, a year and a half later, that she can find a way to go back to the UK. She has been back to visit her friends twice in the Chinese New Year holidays a traditional time, particularly for daughters, to spend with family at home. She still feels psychologically removed from Taiwan, like a foreigner in her own country.

The case of Claudine
Claudine also had a local boyfriend although they met one another in a chance meeting in a nightclub rather than through a more conscious decision on Claudine's part.

As she came to the end of her studies, Claudine extended her sojourn with a further course in London so she could stay in the UK. Eventually, as her student visa expiry date drew near, Claudine knew she had to return to Taiwan and build a life but tried to ignore this until the last minute. Her boyfriend took her to the airport and they shared a tearful goodbye. The memory still hurts.

Returning to Taiwan, Claudine wanted desperately to go back to her old life in the UK. She became very depressed, crying uncontrollably to the point at which she knew she

had to seek medical attention. She took a course of anti-depressant medication stabilising her mood but leaving her feeling hollow and empty. She was unable to tell her conservative parents that she had had a boyfriend in the UK and they found her newfound distance from them hurtful. They bitterly regretted sending her to the UK, were very unhappy that she was no longer the lovely, conservative girl she used to be, and she was forced to move to her own accommodation to secure her own personal space. She still has occasional contact with her UK ex-boyfriend via MSN online chat but they have never spoken on the telephone since she left. She never wants to return to the UK again because it has been too painful an experience for her. Although she still has many supportive friends in Taiwan she wonders if she will ever love her island again.

The case of Catherine

Catherine is 28 years old and couldn't wait to leave the UK after a 14 month study sojourn in the UK, returning 3 years previously. She decided to study in the UK in order to further her career upon returning to Taiwan which she had always intended on doing. She felt very Taiwanese although she avoided the political situation as much as possible.

Catherine lived with an English housemate but spent most of her time with other Taiwanese or alone. She found her city of study to be unfriendly and uninspiring and had some bad experiences of verbal abuse from local children and teenagers. She thinks that the English are judgemental and unfriendly. She counted the days before she could leave, leaving the UK the day after she had completed her course despite still having time left on her visa. While she claims to have become less 'Taiwancentric' in her worldview, she didn't feel more English apart from adopting the habit of drinking tea with milk.

Catherine was pleased to leave the UK but when she arrived back in Taiwan, reported that she was bound by Taiwanese tradition to live with her parents again, lack of space dictating that she share a room with her sister. The resultant loss of independence and personal space was very distressing for her. Furthermore, she was troubled by the crowds and the noise in Taiwan and found herself crying frequently. She found the working environment to be very demanding and it has been difficult for her to readjust.

Three years on, she has reacclimatised to some extent and now has her own room. She would however still welcome the chance for another extended overseas sojourn in the future, but not particularly to the UK.

The Case of Karina

Karina, 29 years old, always dreamt of spending time having an intercultural experience in a foreign country. She spent fifteen months on the South Coast of the UK with her Taiwanese husband and they returned to Taiwan together three years ago. Despite feeling very Taiwanese in most respects, she always felt a little different because of her interest in foreign cultures.

While in the UK, Karina spent most of her time with her Taiwanese husband, Taiwanese friends and other international students on her Master's programme. She was proud of Taiwan's freedom and democracy being particularly careful to distinguish herself from Mainland Chinese. She was fascinated by her European/Caribbean classmates' propensity for critical thinking and tried hard to develop her own. Although she pretended in some ways to behave more like a host local, drinking in the pub and watching football matches, she always felt that she was living the life of an international student in the UK. She was very sad to leave the UK knowing that it was the end of her student lifestyle and that a demanding working environment awaited her.

Upon returning to the Taiwan, Karina reports that for about one year, she was very nostalgic for her student life in the UK and felt terribly sad to think about it. Although she has limited contact with the people she met in the UK, she still likes to watch football and BBC news. She considers herself to be worldlier in her views than her Taiwanese acquaintances who have never sojourned overseas. She has since had her first baby and has been forced to readjust to the Taiwanese working environment to give her baby the best life possible. An example of readjusting to the pace of life in Taiwan is that, for the first year, she opted to take the bus to work to give her time for self-reflection. Now, like most other Taiwanese people, she rides a scooter to work, as time is now more important to her than self-reflection.

These four vignettes provide interesting and useful insights both for their similarities and for their differences, serving to both support and contradict Sussman's model.

Looking at the overview of her narrative, as suggested previously, Doris's experience quite convincingly follows the linear path suggested by the model in many senses. She was someone whose *cultural identity centrality* could be considered to be *low*:

> "[Pre-sojourn] I felt outside of [Taiwanese] society, I think because I used to dating with a British guy, because of him I have contact I have more experience of other countries, he changed my values in a way and so after he left Taiwan I started hanging around with people but they all think I'm weird" (Doris).

Furthermore, her *cultural flexibility*, certainly in terms of UK culture could be classed as high with her evident strong desire to seek out contact with local people. These two variables at the level of her individual seemingly contributed very much to a *high* level of adaptation to life in the host culture. Elements of her narrative point strongly to cultural identity shifts of a *subtractive/additive* nature at a deep cultural level. Her resultant repatriation experience was evidently *negative* characterised by *high* levels of discomfort and uncomfortable interpersonal relations.

By contrast, Claudine's self report points to evidence of a *high* level of *cultural identity centrality*:

> "[Pre-sojourn] I'm totally Taiwanese. Yes and I was really conservative" (Claudine).

Her *cultural flexibility* seems to be *moderate* in that despite having an interest in foreign cultures, she chose, at the commencement of her sojourn, to spend her time in the company of fellow Taiwanese sojourners. A critical incident however occurred during her sojourn and she met a local boyfriend. Following this meeting, her level of understanding of and adaptation to the host culture increased dramatically. Certainly behaviourally she provides evidence of what could be considered to be an *additive/subtractive* response, manifesting change at a deep cultural level. Her resultant repatriation experience was also characterised as *negative* with *high* levels of discomfort and uncomfortable interpersonal relations.

Catherine's experience equally serves to counter the Sussman model in that the majority of commentary, including her eagerness to leave the UK, would seem to point to an *affirmative* identity shift. The model would predict a grateful repatriate affect on returning home. However, situational circumstances at home leading to perceived loss

of independence and personal space resulted in a tendency towards *negative* affect and discomfort was unexpectedly *high*.

Finally, Karina's contact with host nationals was, according to her account, very limited indicating a *low* level of social integration into the UK culture. Internalisation of host cultural frames of reference into her own cultural identity was limited very much to the superficial. Nevertheless, she did display discomfort when coming to the end of her student life in the UK and returning to the demanding working conditions of Taiwan. Her repatriation affect was also experienced with a tendency towards the *negative* with *moderate* to *high* levels of discomfort.

The four examples above serve to argue that, in this particular research context at least, repatriation can be experienced as negative for a number of reasons. This includes but also extends beyond that suggested by Sussman, namely the feeling of being a foreigner upon returning to one's home culture resulting from a shift in a sojourner's cultural identity towards that of the host culture (additive) or away from the home culture (subtractive). Repatriation discomfort then among the respondents in this study, while highly variable in reported intensity, came as a result of dissatisfaction with or internal conflict arising from changes in perceptions towards broadly four features of the home cultural and physical environment. The first, most frequently cited, concerns the nature of the Taiwanese working environment, the second, interpersonal relations, the third, personal space and the physical environment, and finally, Taiwan's institutions of politics, media and law.

In subsequent discussion of these four features, for the purposes of producing the linearity required in a Western thesis, these will be treated separately. However, from a more Eastern perspective, their interconnectedness should not be ignored and will be duly considered in the following paragraphs. Furthermore, the discomfort felt in many cases seemingly stems from the increased ability for relativisation, defined as a "perceptual *decentring* as standards for judging a given phenomenon shift away from oneself and moves to larger frames of reference" (Shaules, 2007:248), resulting from experiencing another or multiple contrasting worldviews during the overseas sojourn.

5.4.1 The Taiwanese Working Environment

It seems evident that, despite increasing in occurrence, an overseas academic sojourn, particularly to an English speaking nation, a European country, or Japan, can still be seen as a source of prestige and social status to a Taiwanese individual and, by collectivist extension, their family. Unlike academic returnees to Mainland China (haigui) and Japan (kikokushijo) who, until recently it seems, were viewed by many with suspicion because of their differing interpersonal styles and frequent outspokenness (Li, 2006; Fry, 2007), Taiwanese academic returnees seem to have been more consistently perceived as having added value, in particular by prospective employers. It is apparent from the data in this study that international academic sojourn experience and qualifications are looked upon favourably by Taiwanese employers. Unsurprisingly then, as seen previously, enhancing career prospects was frequently cited as a primary motivator for the academic sojourn by the sample in this study. Indeed, Furnham and Bochner (1986) argued twenty years previously that the majority of international students are instrumentally motivated, the focus being on the acquisition of qualifications, experience or professional training which they assume will offer improved working opportunities upon repatriation. They equally suggest that culture learning and achievement of personal growth are not high priorities for international students (Patron, 2006) although the data in this study has revealed that for most of the sample, the opportunity to have contact with other cultures was in fact a driving motivation for the sojourn.

Nevertheless, further comments indicate that international qualifications, in the experience of the respondents in this study, do indeed provide competitive advantage to the returnees, as seen for example in the case of Olly. Worthy of note is that his time in the UK was spent almost entirely with other Taiwanese students and his Mainland Chinese girlfriend. His integration into the host culture, from his narrative, was minimal, as, in terms of cultural identity incongruence, was his repatriation distress. Furthermore, his English language competence seemed to be among the least developed of the sample group. This resulted in apparent difficulty in communicating effectively during the interview with frequent misunderstanding of questions or inability to formulate necessary lexical and grammatical structures to respond with coherence. Cultural

learning of the host culture in his narrative was not apparent beyond the very superficial level. This notwithstanding, he feels:

Interviewer- Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

"Of course good, good because I got a Master's degree and it's the ticket to the get a good job, Chinatrust it's the best local bank in Taiwan and the Master's degree let me get a ticket to get in and then go to HSBC, it's a good bank. They only offer for three kinds of people, one is 台大* (National Taiwan University), one is 政大* (National Chengchi University) and one is international students. I think they offer for the three kinds of staff, I'm the third one, graduate from the international" (Olly).

(* These institutions are considered to be the best of Taiwanese universities).

An interesting social trend in Taiwan apparent in the above extract is the importance placed on the ranking of universities by Taiwanese employers and, consequently, aspiring undergraduate and postgraduate students and their families. Confucian values emphasise the importance of education for the cultivation of the self and, in traditional and contemporary Chinese societies, successfully educating children (particularly males) affords prestige to the entire family. All high school graduates wishing to enter a university in Taiwan must take a university entrance exam, each year numbers passing 100,000 students participate in this. Incidentally, an interesting example of the high level of superstitious behaviour in Taiwanese society can be seen in the significant increase in applicant numbers when children born in the Year of the Dragon come to graduate from high school. This is due, in part, to the baby booms seen in Chinese societies whenever this auspicious year arrives (Goodkind, 1996), and to the increased expectations of parents on their 'little dragons'. University entrance exams are undoubtedly very stressful for many young people across East Asian societies with research confirming, in extreme cases, the correlation between adolescent suicide and academic competition (Zeng and Le Tendre, 1998).

In Taiwan, this pressure has eased somewhat in that since the 1990s many colleges have been promoted to university status meaning that approximately two thirds of participants will be offered a place in the more than one hundred and fifty institutions of higher education in Taiwan (Ministry of Education, Taiwan, 2006). Nonetheless a high score in the entrance exam is desired because admission to the most prestigious institutions, such as National Taiwan University and National Chengchi University mentioned above, is still highly selective and an important asset for the future career of

the student (and welfare of family). The more affluent families of students unsuccessful in their national university entrance exams will often consider investing in an international education for their children. Until recently this has been considered the backdoor to a successful career although, with increasing numbers of graduates returning to Taiwan, an international educational experience is now not considered as prestigious as it once was. However, as this study demonstrates, it does still offer competitive advantage to graduates when being considered by potential employers. Jimmy, one of the respondents suffering most from negative repatriation affect following his sojourn spent with a local host family, agrees:

> "But I think now in Taiwan many companies they want to employ the people they have experience studying abroad because people studying abroad, as I say, they have a view a more international and they see the things different and they have met different cultures. It is for business global international and it's easy for the people who have experience studying abroad because they see they know the people from different countries, like they know their personality, they know the way people do that. I use my international experience in work now, like I met the engineer from Japan and from America, you can see it is totally different from these two countries. Of course it is because I improve my English quite a lot the UK so I can have more opportunities to speak to the people from USA, from Japan, that is the only language we can communicate in" (Jimmy).

The development in the respondents of an increased ethnorelativism and international awareness and capability is seemingly of importance in the selection criteria of potential employers. Simon summarises the contribution of the sojourn to his confidence in dealing with international people, a fundamental part of his job as a manager in an export company:

> "The people who have been abroad tend to be more confident, at least I don't feel nervous when I speak to foreign people" (Simon).

Nevertheless, respondents equally report this returning status as problematic in some senses. Eddie for example is similar to Olly in that his level of social interaction with the host culture was extremely minimal and cultural learning very superficial, his English language competence in the interview being among the poorest of the sample group. Despite this, his international qualification and overseas sojourn are reported to have afforded him a higher status in his company. This, he argues, has led to feelings of resentment among his colleagues who have not been in a position to take an overseas academic sojourn:

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"I think that most different is I'm more realise the international issues, international people, in other factors I think there is not too much difference but it is quite problem, sometimes my colleagues will think, you come back from England, or your English is very well, or you get the degree in foreign so you can promote quickly actually I think it is unfair. One or two colleagues not happy with me" (Eddie).

Mabel tells of how her status as a returning academic sojourner has led to feelings of superiority over her colleagues:

"Yes, at that time, I feel slight difference. I think they are so, not very international. They look like actually, I a little bit superior to them, so what, I know it is not true, but I just think, I have lived there, of course I didn't tell them but I really feel a little bit superior. I feel more international and I can feel that they also feel that I am better than them and some people will say that they are so envious of me, they want this kind of life" (Mabel).

Of considerable interest here is that the three accounts of Olly, Eddie and Mabel reflect considerable incongruence between the sojourners' actual experiences in the UK and the perception of the sojourn by their Taiwanese peers upon returning home. The narratives of the three respondents are among those which indicate most minimal contact with the host or indeed other foreign cultures, most sparse engagement with the UK academic culture, most shallow cultural learning, and most limited linguistic development. Furthermore, psychosocial adjustment difficulties and a marked desire to return to Taiwan throughout the sojourn are equally present in all three accounts. In many ways, it could be argued that they were among the least successful cultural sojourners if success is to be measured in terms of acculturation and cultural learning. However, upon their return to Taiwan, they report to being accorded a privileged status. A further example of this is that of Anna whose narrative tells of stress-related depression reaching a level of seriousness requiring her to return to Taiwan before completing her studies. However, she observes that upon her return to Taiwan, she felt more independent and confident than presojourn despite her psychological difficulties during the sojourn itself:

"Mmm yes, more independent and more confident, strange, so strange because I think when I am in the UK I am less confident, why when I come back I feel more confident so I feel so strange" (Anna).

It may be therefore that for these four repatriates, to have *survived* the sojourn and returned to Taiwan is regarded as a confidence-enhancing achievement in which to feel a marked sense of pride. The increased social status seen previously does however also

seem to bring with it an increase in pressure from family, friends, colleagues and employers as a result of expectations of higher competence and achievement. Fatima returned to Taiwan after successfully completing a Master's degree in Marketing in the UK. Since her return, she has been teaching Mandarin Chinese to international students, a job which she reports to enjoying very much. However, she argues that:

> "我的興趣(trans.- my hobby) hobby you know is enjoy teaching [...]. They don't understand, they ask what are you doing here, that is not fair, what is wrong with it, I used to work for a company but if it doesn't make you happy, why do you need to stay there. This job, the people, the pressures, they say, you can do better, just a language teacher. I get extra pressure because I have a Master's. Everybody gives me pressure, colleagues, family, friends, my boss here" (Fatima).

Mabel echoes these comments stressing that she felt nervous about returning to Taiwan and to her old job because:

> "I'm afraid that I'm not better than before, and I'm afraid that people here doesn't like me or they want more anticipate on me but I didn't make it" (Mabel).

Clearly then, in terms of the Taiwanese working environment and its perception of repatriated academic sojourners, while returnees find themselves in an advantageous position for recruitment and promotion, this is not without the negative consequences of increased pressure for performance together with possible resentment from work colleagues. Pressure in the Taiwanese work environment has emerged as the most frequently cited cause for repatriation discomfort and is almost universally lamented across the data set. There is however a difference in the intensity of discomfort which seems to be correlated to the depth of cultural learning of the sojourner. Those who experienced relatively little identity change complain about the change from a more relaxed student life to the highly demanding Taiwanese working life. Those who have undergone more profound identity change find themselves in more profound conflict with the expectations placed on them, a phenomenon which has emerged as a major source of repatriation discomfort.

5.4.1.1 Transition from Student Life to Working Life

> *Interviewer- How did you feel about returning to Taiwan?*
>
> "A little bit sad and I know because I don't know when I can come back in the future and I need to work in Taiwan, so I think er... like student life is end, finish" (Sandra).

Interviewer- Did you feel sad because it was the end of student life or end of life in England?

"Is that the same thing?... maybe it is because of England, because of the lifestyle, I'm getting used to this, like a vacation every day, so I enjoyed this lifestyle" (Sandra).

Sandra is in most respects an example of a grateful repatriate. She spent all her time in the UK with other Taiwanese students never feeling that the UK was home or having much desire to interact with local people. She felt proud to be Taiwanese and always saw the sojourn as a temporary stage of her life before returning home with a certificate and thus a ticket to a better job. Indeed:

"If I thought I would stay in England forever, I would feel panic!! Because the culture differences, a real problem, I know it is just a short-term stay so it's OK, to improve my English or cultural experience, but if you ask me to stay forever, maybe it's not good idea" (Sandra).

Despite her clear understanding of and indeed preference for the study sojourn to be a temporary experience, Sandra, like other respondents below, declared feelings somewhat akin to grief at the coming to an end of her study life, seen perhaps as a symbol of continuing youth, and the beginning of her working life, signalling a transition into adulthood. This was compounded by the perception of the demanding nature of the Taiwanese working environment.

Being a Confucian Heritage Culture, the Confucian value of diligence towards work is often seen to be responsible for the Taiwanese working environment's notoriously demanding nature. This is arguably reflected in the Sapir-Whorfian example of the everyday Chinese greeting '忙不忙?', (trans.- are you busy or not?) to which the taught response to those studying Mandarin Chinese as a foreign language is '很忙' (trans.- very busy). The implied connotations behind this apparently simple exchange are that not to be busy means to be of no importance to one's family and to one's society. Not to be considered important to family or society in a collectivist culture traditionally amounts to a loss of face and social standing for oneself and one's family. Taiwanese collectivistic work ethic is inculcated at a young age with such children's songs as 小蜜蜂 (trans.- little honey bee), the lyrics of which encourage infants away from laziness through the promotion of the inevitable excitement of working together to survive the hard times. While this is reminiscent of the Western Grasshopper and the Ant story

attributed the Aesop, the collectivistic importance of working together appears to be more strongly weighted in Taiwanese fables such as the *Little Honey Bee*.

In addition, the strict hierarchical relationships of Confucian culture means that respectful treatment must be accorded to elders (Chen and Chung, 1994). The effect of this on the working environment is that power distance tends to be high; lower ranked personnel, such as the majority of the respondents in this study, therefore are required to demonstrate a certain level of subservience to their bosses, work very long hours and accord credit for their work to their superiors. Annual holiday entitlement in Taiwan is generally non-existent for the first year, reaching five or seven days in the second year and beyond. Added to this that it is often the case that employers and employees have a mutually implicit understanding that the employee will not use this annual leave entitlement, extended holidays and indeed foreign leisure travel are therefore very difficult for most of the Taiwanese population. This seems to be the reasoning behind a frequently cited motivation for Taiwanese to take a study sojourn abroad: to relax, travel and enjoy life (Tattersall, 2004). Comments relating to the demanding nature of the Taiwanese working environment were frequently heard in the interview responses and exert a negative impact both on repatriation and longer-term perception of life satisfaction. It is worthy of note that such comments are equally present in the narratives of otherwise grateful repatriates as in those of respondents manifesting higher levels of repatriation distress.

Sandra, the grateful repatriate seen earlier, for example, when questioned about her life satisfaction, replied:

> "Generally, good but too busy. But so far so good, I have to accept it. Maybe it will getting better in the future" (Sandra).

Simon, a respondent whose contact with the host culture was seemingly more profound resulting in a higher level of repatriation distress, equally felt:

> "My current life, no [not satisfied]. Too much time on working, yeah. Working too much. From 9 o'clock to 5 o'clock I've got my internal stuff to do then at 8 o'clock till 11 o'clock in the evening I've got my conference stuff to do, meetings with customers in Canada so obviously it's like 14, 15 hours per day" (Simon).

Whereas Mainland Chinese students in the UK will frequently find a part-time job to supplement their income (Tattersall, 2004), the same is not true for the generally more affluent Taiwanese students. Of the twenty-two respondents in this study, four worked part-time during their study programmes, two in bars (Doris, Simon), one in a restaurant (Mabel) and the fourth in one of the administration departments of her university (Jill). A further fifth respondent, Kathy, was unique in being the only sojourner to have worked fulltime following graduation. She was able to do this as seen previously because she had married a local male and was granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK and a working visa. Apart from Mabel, the remaining three respondents who had worked part-time expressed their desire to stay and work in the UK post-sojourn but as seen previously were unable to find an employer who would support their visa application.

Cappuccini (2005) found that often international students have an over-optimistic view of their chances of being able to work in the UK after graduating, perhaps because "the reality has not been fully communicated to students during the marketing and recruitment stage, allowing false assumptions to be made" (7). New regulations passed recently allowing graduating international students to work for one year in the UK may have the potential to reduce the logistical barriers faced by the sojourners in this study and it will be interesting to observe changing trends in student and employer motivations as a result. However, two seeming anomalies in this study, Doris and Kathy, who reportedly manifest the most profound additive/subtractive cultural identity change, both complained of difficulties adapting to the Taiwanese working environment which seem to go beyond the more general discomfort with the high demands and long working hours seen in this section.

5.4.1.2 Cultural Identity and Conflict at Work

Kathy and Doris both worked in the UK and through their social networks report to having been very much immersed in the host culture. The resultant additive/subtractive manifestations of cultural identity change have been revealed as the cause for both respondents of considerable conflict in their places of work. Kathy's internal conflict arose out of incongruence between her expectations of the employer's role and the employer's expectations of her role and resulted, in the opinion of Taiwanese medical

practitioners, in significant mental illness requiring medical attention. Her experience was made more intense by the fact that she had previously worked full-time in a large multinational organisation in the UK and had been transferred internally to a branch in Taiwan. Cultural identity change causing considerable conflicts at work can clearly be seen in this lengthy but nonetheless extremely significant extract from her narrative:

"I got transferred and I realised that I don't belong to this culture any more because of the work, not the content of the work but the hours that they do, people do stupidly long hours, people get sick from work, I got sick from the long hours, I can't believe I have to deal with all that again" (Kathy).

Interviewer- Have you noticed any change in your behaviour/attitude from being in the UK?

"I am more freethinking but I don't really care if it is a problem in Taiwan. But my colleagues do not appreciate it at all which is why I find it really hard to adapt to this working environment again in Taiwan because those people who work in basic level, they are not allowed to have fresh mind or new ideas because the one who takes the credit always be the team-leader or the boss, and whoever provide the idea even if it you, you are not allowed to get the credit, and that is not going to happen in Europe" (Kathy).

Interviewer- Have you changed your behaviour?

"Yes, honestly I have to be really quiet and not speak out my mind and pretend to be really stupid because you can't be smarter than your boss because otherwise you be blacklisted. I feel like shit because work is a heavy part of your life so if you are not allowed to think freely, I mean you not meant to help anyone so what's the point of work?" (Kathy).

Interviewer- Can other people accept your opinion?

"No, it is a problem, especially at work, and my boss because I will expect to have holidays, I will expect not to work myself till I'm sick, I expect not to feel my performance is against the rules of normal Taiwanese thinking especially the boss so I think I've been blacklisted already [...] I got sick, I got transferred back from UK to Taiwan and I was quite happy back in England so when I came back I thought well one firm, one team so transfer abroad cannot be too much difference in the same company, it turns out quite difficult to adapt to this culture. I think after six months I went to the shrink and for six months I was on medication for depression" (Kathy).

Interviewer- Why?

"I just think I couldn't fit in, the society and the organisation culture, it doesn't matter where I work in Taiwan it is going to be the same" (Kathy).

Interviewer- What did you do?

"I quit and I got an easy job, they tend to not overwork their people but still I do a serious amount of overtime, I can't complain although the salary is poor" (Kathy).

Much of the existing research and theorisation regarding repatriation has been carried out in the context of the professional (and their family) returning from a work assignment abroad. Interest and investment in this context is particularly high, as

postsojourn employee wastage has had strong financial implications on industry. Repatriation discomfort on return is commonly albeit often erroneously attributed to dissatisfaction with an employment situation leading, as seen with Kathy above, to the desire to change one's working conditions (Sussman, 2000). Kathy's case does however demonstrate a severity which seems to have been partially resolved through taking a less challenging role. The feelings she purports of not fitting into her home culture would likely be conceptualised in Sussman's model as evidence of an additive/ subtractive cultural identity shift.

Moreover, it seems that this case offers an interesting example of how Shaules's deep culture model of acculturation is equally relevant and can be applied to the cultural learning that takes place upon repatriation. Kathy's narrative suggests deep *adaptation* to the host culture in many respects. The extract cited above would suggest deep *resistance* to the values and assumptions underpinning the Taiwanese working environment upon return. This has evidently resulted in severe cognitive dissonance for this returning sojourner. Figure 5.4 below offers a diagrammatic representation of this finding:
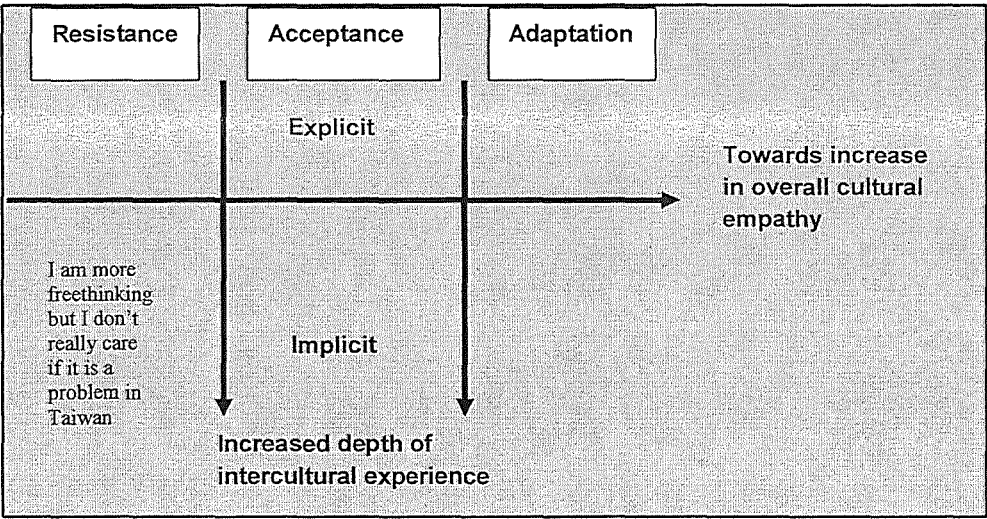
Figure 5.4 – Shaules's Model and Kathy's Repatriation

Comparable to Kathy's account is that of Doris who notes how change in her own deep cultural scripts has led to a perceived deterioration in working relationships from pre to post sojourn:

Interviewer- Do you think you have adjusted back to the culture in Taiwan?

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"Yes, in a way, but I didn't change my way of thinking, it just, I have to, also because I got really frustrated at work, because I couldn't really fit in with the whole company, because I used to work for international company but since I came back I've been working for two local firms and when I first worked there people really can't accept me, some people think I'm too straightforward, some people think I'm too proud of myself, I'm very distant, I'm hard to get along with which I never had, that kind of problem before I went to England, because, I used to work in advertising, people LOVED me" (Doris).

It can be argued that apparent in the above excerpt is clear evidence of a shifting from a Taiwanese cultural identity towards a more British cultural identity as a result of the sojourn in the UK. The fact that this respondent has been employed by traditional, local firms since returning to Taiwan may also play a significant role in her experience but it is not easy to argue that the four criticisms her colleagues have towards her are not culturally related: "some people think I'm too **straightforward**, some people think I'm too **proud** of myself, I'm very **distant**, I'm **hard to get along with**". This utterance, like much of the comment seen previously from Kathy seems to point to qualities in a perhaps hybridised cultural identity which seem contrary to those nurtured and valued in traditional Taiwanese society.

A significant insight into the Western socialisation and upbringing of the researcher can again be seen in the strong desire to break this utterance down into the four emboldened component parts and thus analysable categories. However, taking a more holistic Eastern perspective on the utterance seems to be more useful here in that each of the four component parts are symbiotically interlinked and all arguably mark a shift in cultural identity towards that of the host culture. To explain this further, it is helpful to consider briefly the philosophical and cultural backgrounds to home and host culture and how these translate into the contrasting modern social structures of Taiwan (broadly claiming an intellectual inheritance from ancient China) and the UK (the heir of ancient Greek traditions of thought) today.

Nisbett's (2003) fascinating work into the differences in thinking processes of Easterners and Westerners traces their origins back to the concepts of *agency* for the ancient Greeks and *harmony* for the ancient Chinese. According to his argument, the Greeks had a "remarkable sense of personal *agency* – the sense that they were in charge of their own lives and free to act as they chose" (2), fuelling a strong sense of individual identity and a tradition of vigorous debate. Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the

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development of the individual with self-promotion and aggrandisement for personal achievements being encouraged. This can be seen reflected in today's Western cultures and their tendency to stress independence and autonomy, the development of one's distinct characteristics and self-actualization (Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Voronov & Singer, 2002).

The Chinese, by contrast, were more concerned with harmony than agency and "every Chinese was first and foremost a member of a collective, or rather a series of collectives" (Bisbett, 2003:5). Their tradition then was concerned with self-control so as to minimise friction with others in the collective, any form of confrontation, such as debate, being discouraged. Furthermore sublimation of personal goals to the collective whole was encouraged in order to nurture those values critical to the development of group collectivism of "harmony, humility, courtesy, patience, obedience and modesty" (Matthews, 2000:122). Self-promotion in Chinese heritage societies therefore is less socially acceptable than self-effacement as apparent in Doris's observation that her compatriots judge her to be too proud of herself. Perhaps intensifying the constraints of culturally informed behavioural expectations put upon Doris and Kathy, is that of imbalance in gender roles still pervasive in contemporary Taiwanese society.

A brief review of the literature into gender differences in traditional Chinese social structures points to gender inequalities frequently attributed to the traditional Confucian teaching still evident in today's Taiwan. By way of example, Anna returned gratefully to Taiwan after a psychologically very stressful study period in the UK resulting in the decision not to complete her Master's course. She quickly went to work in a local petrochemical company where she feels continual gender marginalisation:

> "They like men to handle the things, they don't like women to be a business woman, they stop women from getting promotion, traditional industry because we do chemical, so I hate it, I don't like like people to see men and women in the different level, very 大男人主義 (sexist). Even they have got the sex harassment laws, but many women, when their boss do sexual harassment to them they cannot report in Taiwan. So I want to go to the company it is from other country, not the traditional one. One other student works for another traditional company and they make her dress like a spicy girl" (Anna).

Two common traditional Chinese proverbs 'the men plough and the women weave' and 'men are responsible for work outside the house and women for that inside the house' underscore an attitude still argued to be prevalent in Taiwanese society and in particular

in the workplaces of traditional Taiwanese organisations. Not only do females statistically receive lower pay than their male counterparts, have conspicuously less possibilities for promotion, and commonly find themselves the victims of sexual harassment, female employees are poorly protected by national employment law (Hwang, 2002). A glance at Confucian tradition and its understanding of the role of females in society provides the historical philosophical underpinnings for the above tendencies seen in modern Chinese heritage cultures such as Taiwan. In traditional Confucian society, the unequal status of women was evident in that they were generally regarded as unworthy or incapable of a literary education. One of the few Confucian women to engage in scholarly activity some two thousand years previously, Ban Zhao, the daughter of a respected writer and administrator, was most famous for her work entitled *Lessons for Women*. Extracts from this document demonstrate the traditional gender stereotyping of Chinese women:

> "On the third day after the birth of a girl the ancients observed three customs: first to place the baby below the bed; second to give her a potsherd [*a piece of broken pottery*] with which to play; and third to announce her birth to her ancestors by an offering. Now to lay the baby below the bed plainly indicated that she is lowly and weak, and should regard it as her primary duty to humble herself before others [...] These three ancient customs epitomize woman's ordinary way of life and the teachings of the traditional ceremonial rites and regulations. Let a woman modestly yield to others; let her respect others; let her put others first, herself last [...] Let a woman be correct in manner and upright in character in order to serve her husband" (Swann, 1994).

Although female emancipation is gradually gaining momentum in Taiwan, the influence of tradition on gender roles and the expectation on all members of society, females in particular, to exhibit humility and modesty in thought and behaviour seems particularly problematic for the two respondents, Kathy and Doris, most exaggerated in their cultural identity shift manifestations. To be, as Doris claims, "proud of myself" and "hard to get along with" seems in her narrative to militate against collective harmony and cause internal conflict within herself and external conflict with her work colleagues and hierarchical superiors. Being "too straightforward" is equally problematic in its upsetting of harmonious interpersonal relationships.

Furthermore, much is written about the East Asian preference for indirect communication compared to the directness of speech in the West. Indirectness is highlighted as a dominant characteristic of Chinese communication, and in particular that of subordinates in interaction with their hierarchical superiors (e.g. Bond 1991;

Young 1994). Edward T Hall provided a useful conceptualisation in his high-context and low-context culture dichotomy which implies that cultures with strong collective tendencies use shared contextual knowledge to communicate meaning not overtly present in the lexical content of utterances. More individualistic countries rely much less on contextual clues with semantic messages being overtly contained to a larger extent within the words of an utterance. This notion has however more recently been challenged with for example Storti's (1990) observation that "the notorious indirectness of Asians may, to a certain extent, be nothing more than our inability to recognise Asian-style directness when we see it" (40), and empirical research studies such as that comparing the communication modes of Hong Kong and Australian bankers (Yeung, 2000) only partially confirming the indirect image of Chinese communication styles in decision-making discourse.

Nevertheless, Doris argues that her communicative style has become more "straight-forward" and she is not unique in her observation. Jimmy for example spent time with local host families in the UK and the content of his narrative tells a similar story:

> "For example like in Taiwan people are shy to express your feelings, but I think like er when I in the first host family and I can see like the kids they express their feelings and so I think I have been changed a little bit so I start to express my feelings straightly. Like, in Taiwan, if you don't like and people ask you what would you like or would you like tea, if you don't like you are not going to say, no I don't want yeah you will say, oh ok, I think many people have got this problem. I think from last time I start to say if I don't like, yes I say, I will say, so I think I have changed a little bit" (Jimmy).

Jimmy, while telling of a problematic behavioural change arguably linked to an additive/subtractive cultural identity shift, is seemingly not as deeply affected by this as Doris and Kathy. This may be partly a result of his gender and partly due to his greater reported cultural identity centrality serving as a barrier to deep and long-lasting adoption of this communication style which is less present for Doris and Kathy. As seen previously, Kathy particularly, having worked in a UK corporate environment tells of severe internal conflict which she attributes to cultural identity shift.

> "Yes, honestly I have to be really quiet and not speak out my mind and pretend to be really stupid because you can't be smarter than your boss because otherwise you be blacklisted. I feel like shit because work is a heavy part of your life" (Kathy).

An alternative approach to conflict with others in a higher hierarchical position which neither Kathy nor Doris seem able or willing to adopt is reported by Karina in her

response to a question as to whether her reported interest in developing her critical thinking ability had resulted in interpersonal conflict:

> "No I don't think so, because I will try to talk to them but not to argue with them, I can do that very well. But some people they don't want to... they difficult, for example like our parents, we just hope we can get their point I won't tell him my point, 我不會跟他講,講我所有的觀念 (trans.- I can't tell them my opinions), just agree them, ya. I will know something I can do that this way, but something I won't do" (Karina).

Therefore it seems, whereas upon repatriation Karina was able to readjust and realign her values and behaviour to the requirements of the home culture, both Doris and Kathy found the internal conflict this would entail to be prohibitively severe. It could be argued that the development of the host culture's critical thinking cognitive processes plays a significant role in creating such interpersonal conflicts and signals the importance of depth of its internalisation into the cultural frame of reference of returning academic sojourners. In contrast to the cases of Doris and Kathy who both manifested internalisation at a profound level, Karina perhaps manifested Durkin's *Middle Way* in her synergising of the traditional cultural values held with those elements of Western norms perceived to be aligned with these.

This section has presented how additive/subtractive shifts in cultural identity lead to renewed perspectives of the Taiwanese working environment and sojourners' interpersonal relationships therein. It has also demonstrated that those respondents, particularly females, with more marked additive/subtractive shifts at deeper cultural levels have reportedly been subject to relatively greater discomfort and conflict, both internal and external. Interpersonal relationships however are not restricted to those in the working environment and discussion will continue in the following sections as to how shifts in cultural identity have been perceived to influence relationships with family, friends and the wider home community. However, returning to Kathy's comment above, her narrative argues that being unable to directly communicate her ideas to her hierarchical superiors at work, coupled with the excessively long working hours resulted in acute psychological distress requiring medication. This ultimately led to her decision to terminate her contract with that employer and change her career direction into a less demanding, lower paid post. Such an outcome is, according to the literature, not uncommon, Sussman (2002b) proposing that: "Many repatriates precipitously quit jobs, move cities, or end relationships following repatriation because

they mistakenly attribute the source of their unhappiness to a job, a city or a boyfriend". In this context, the demanding nature of the Taiwanese working environment has led many respondents to seek alternative employment opportunities which allow a better work vs. leisure balance.

5.4.1.3 Work vs. Leisure Balance

While many respondents return to Taiwan and take advantage of their enhanced employability status and the improved work opportunities offered to them, a minority seek out strategies to improve their work/leisure balance. Seen previously, Kathy found that the only solution to alleviate her emotional discomfort on repatriation was to quit her job and seek less onerous employment, albeit below her educational level and inherent ability. She was not alone in this decision as Claudine reports when discussing one of her study friends and another respondent in this study, Ashley:

> "[Ashley], the way she treat her job is totally different, before she went to UK she totally contribute herself in her work, but after she came back she got a very easy job for her because she is a very capable girl but sometimes she will complain to me, say this job is too easy to me" (Claudine).

In her own words, Ashley points to the influence of contact with European students on her own perception of work/leisure balance indicating cultural identity change away from the more traditional Taiwanese model of the importance of work, career and money towards what she feels is a more Western perspective of the value of leisure time:

> "the second semester I started to hang around with other European students so in this way I think differently, maybe in the UK maybe people are they live their lives in a more relaxed way and think differently, because maybe before I feel like work is much is a very big part to the life but after one year I think work is not you know not the most important part in your life, still have family and other casual life so maybe that one" (Ashley).

A further strategy adopted by other respondents to improve their working conditions was to target multinational, foreign-owned organisations which are frequently perceived to be more concerned with employee rights while offering less demanding working conditions than more traditional, local-based companies. Catherine is one such example who targeted a foreign company. She explains:

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> "I insist I should have 7 days holiday but in a foreign company we still have floating holidays, about 6 days so totally about 13 days and, you know, once I told my Spanish guy I can't go to UK to visit him or go to Spain to visit him because I don't have so many holidays so he asked me how many days do you have, I say 7 days and do you know what question he asked me, how much they pay you? Why you get so less holidays. It's very weird, we work hard but our pay is not so reasonable. It's unfair. In local Taiwanese companies you have to work late and you are waiting for your supervisor or your boss left and then you can left. If you left early they will question if you don't have enough workload or you did that but I think in foreign company they don't ask you to work late" (Catherine).

Claudine is another returnee who sought employment in an international organisation to alleviate the demands of the Taiwanese working environment somewhat:

> "It depends on what kind of job you are in, in another side because my boss is from Germany, so he don't want us to work overtime that is the most important thing for me so why I can enjoy my life so much because most of the Taiwanese boss will want you, his employees to be put more time at work, work overtime is the normal thing for them" (Claudine).

Claudine goes on to consider how her attitude towards work and leisure has changed as a result of the overseas sojourn and the meaningful social interaction she had with her host culture boyfriend:

> "I think there is another big difference I notice before I went to UK I didn't meet my English boyfriend yet and the routine day for me would be, like, I went to work and I come home and watch TV, relax at home. But after I met my English boyfriend he teach me how to make your life more interesting after he come back from work, he will arrange one thing such as go swimming or do something else, or even just go to a bar for a couple of drinks and so when I come back to Taiwan and I start to work I basically I will obey this kind of rule, I tell myself I shouldn't just involve myself at work and there's afterwards I will go out with my friends and sometimes we will stay out late until 10 or 11. I just don't want to life to have work only. Because most of the Taiwanese will go home and do nothing, watch TV" (Claudine).

The observation apparent in these previous extracts is that subordinates with Taiwanese bosses are constrained by the cultural expectation to remain in the office until such time as the superior has left. This unpredictability in working hours, besides being notably longer than those specified in employment contracts, makes organising and planning leisure activities with friends or family outside of working hours very difficult and is a frequent cause of complaint from the respondents in this study. Sandra for example argues:

> "It's not easy to make friends, people here are always so busy. Two weeks ago, I left work about 12 o'clock for maybe 3 days but I don't like this kind of lifestyle. Usually we meet friends in the weekend, not in the evening" (Sandra).

A final coping strategy emerging from the data is shared by the two longest staying sojourners, Jill and Steve, both of whom became self-employed on returning to Taiwan. Quite clearly then, the issue of the harsh conditions of the Taiwanese working environment is significant to many respondents although those tending towards stronger, deeper manifestations of additive/subtractive cultural identity shifts seem to have greater difficulty readjusting. This finding seems to be in contrast with Sussman's (2005) research carried out with Hong Kong re-migrants which found that while Hong Kongers were more inclined to place importance on pursuing leisure activities with family and friends whilst sojourning in the US or Canada, upon returning to Hong Kong the "interviewees commented that hard work and long hours is "the right way" to approach work" (12). This is an all the more surprising result since the majority of respondents in her study were deemed to have experienced an additive cultural identity shift, yet this response would suggest that cultural learning remained at a relatively shallow level. For certain of the respondents in the present study, deeper cultural learning has arguably taken place. This may be due to the fact that the respondents in Sussman's study were all married to other Hong Kong nationals and had families of their own. Therefore contact with host nationals was maybe not as intimate or meaningful as for certain interviewees in the present study.

As a final thought regarding attitude towards the working environment before moving on to discuss interpersonal relationships outside of the working environment, it has been demonstrated in this study that only a small percentage of respondents had work experience in the UK and each of these experienced seemingly culturally related difficulty readjusting to the Taiwanese working environment. It will be interesting to see the potential effects of the UK government's recent policy offering international students a one-year post-graduation working visa. If the number of Taiwanese student sojourners returning to Taiwan with UK working experience were to increase exponentially as a result of the new law, as many seem likely to take up this opportunity to increase competitive advantage, would Taiwanese business practice ultimately need to evolve in order to accommodate these potentially increasingly emancipated individuals? This would certainly be another research area warranting development in the future.

5.4.2 Interpersonal Relationships

Perception of change in interpersonal relationships besides those in the working environment is also frequently mentioned in the narratives of the respondents although this is noteworthy in that it is again more exaggerated in the accounts of those claiming higher levels of social interaction with host nationals. The importance of hierarchical family relationships for the Taiwanese has been presented in earlier chapters and is a good starting point for this discussion. What emerges from the data is that, in general, male repatriates perceive improvement in their relationship with parents whereas female repatriates argue that their relationships with parents have worsened as a result of the overseas sojourn. It seems from the comments that many respondents claim feelings of increased independence on returning home which, while for males is a quality seemingly encouraged provided it does not conflict with collectivistic obligations, for females, represents a movement away from the traditional Chinese gender roles and social mores still widely expected in modern Taiwanese society.

Yen's observations provide convincing evidence of how her increased independence can be seen as an additive/subtractive cultural identity shift towards the more individualistic cultural underpinnings of her host culture and away from the collectivistic tendencies of her home culture. This is viewed with an apparent degree of dissatisfaction by her parents:

> "I think I became more less concerned about group and more consider about myself. In all the China culture before we used to live with group together, so people interaction together, when you want to do something you will think about your friends and you will how people think about you, you know, if they have got the negative feelings you might not to do something even if you want to. But in the UK, you more recognise what do you want" (Yen).
>
> *Interviewer – "Do you think that is a good thing?"*
>
> "Yes…. But it is not good for my parents (laughs). They think me very strange the first time I come back to home, because I got more strong personality" (Yen).

It can be argued that Yen's increased independence and arguable individualism comes not uniquely as a result of internalisation to some degree of the individualistic cultural tendencies of the host culture, but equally both through the very fact of living independently and through her physical removal from the collectivistic constraints and designated hierarchical role in her home culture. Parallels can be drawn with the

tendency in local students for personal development of independence among other factors as a result of leaving home for university study (e.g. Slotnick et al., 1993). Yen also comments on the recurrent theme seen previously of increased directness in communication style which has already proven to be the source of conflict for some in the workplace. This appears to be equally problematic in interpersonal relationships with family members:

> "I think the problem is when we get the communication and I have more the idea and they think, they are still stay in the same place so we have some misunderstandings with each other and sometimes my opinions, they don't like it. For example if I say I like this, I don't like that, my parents will say, what?, you speak so directly, the Taiwanese they try to avoid, they don't like to speak so directly, my parents think you say too quick. They thought I was rude but I think I'm just telling the truth, why don't you want to know the truth. Yes, when you stay with your friends they just talk very directly, you just say I like this and I like that. But in Taiwan, China people like you know more uncertain, ambiguous situation. Maybe I like, maybe I don't like because they don't want to answer so direct but you know the truth, so when I come back, telling people the truth and they are shocked, how can you tell the truth? They think you are too rude" (Yen).

Yen's parents' negative perceptions of her as a returning sojourner are however mild when compared to the accounts of both Claudine and Doris. As a reminder of their overlapping but contrasting circumstances, both repatriates had local boyfriends during their sojourn and spent much of their time engaged in social interaction with host nationals. Whereas Doris sought out such social contact, Claudine happened upon it by chance. Doris who, as seen previously, encountered significant difficulties reintegrating into the working environment found the deep additive shift in her cultural identity equally problematic in interpersonal relationships with family members:

> "Erm.. my mum said I've become too proud, 驕傲 (trans.- arrogant), not just proud, a bit arrogant because I always say I don't believe it and I think that should be better, I think maybe English people teach students to have their own idea of what they want and what they believe and that is not what Taiwanese culture is doing, Taiwanese culture wants the children to listen to their parents and before I already have my own idea but since I came back I have my idea more straightforward, I just say it out and don't really care whether other people agree with it I just say, that's me, that's my life, could you just leave me alone please, and they just think, my mum say I'm too proud of myself, I've become very distant and the first time I went back to my grandma, my uncles, my aunts they think I'm very, very distant from them, I sit there smiling, when they talk, I listen and when they ask me questions I answer them but I don't really start a topic with them and most of the time I sitting there but thinking something else so they just say I'm not there even though I'm sitting there" (Doris).

Besides being more direct in her communicative style, there is further evidence in the extract above of increased criticality and how this can be potentially destructive to the collectivistic hierarchical relationships at the level of the family unit. It is worth reiterating however that Doris's case is something of an anomaly, her narrative has many features of what could arguably be considered an identity crisis starting presojourn and being played out throughout the cultural transition cycle:

> "My mum hates it, when I first came home, I kept saying: 'you know, in our country', my mum said: 'what?', I said: 'in the UK, you know, we do this' and I keep saying 'my country, the UK' and saying: '我們，英國' (trans.- us British) and my mother says: ' You are Taiwanese' and I say: "I am part of England, I'm maybe half English" and my mum said: 'you are not!'" (Doris).

Claudine also experienced interpersonal difficulties with her parents but, in contrast to Doris, this was both due to cultural identity shift as well as her inability to share her heartbreak with her conservative parents:

> "[My parents] hate me. They think why I change so much and my mum say I feel regret to send you to UK because they don't know what happened, what's going on with me and I just feel depressed and my mum was really angry with me because she say, hey you grew up in Taiwan how come you hate Taiwan now, you don't like Taiwan any more, but I can't tell her because I still miss that guy there" (Claudine).

Claudine's increased independence and newfound party lifestyle as a result of the sojourn were, in her opinion, contrary to the expectations of her parents for a more educated, gentle and conservative returning daughter who would assume her role as a traditional subservient wife. How far this mismatch of expectations is a product of the modernisation process of Taiwanese society and how far it can be attributed to international sojourns is an area which should certainly be researched further in the future. Certainly anecdotally there is evidence of the emancipation of Taiwanese youth's female population being problematic both for their parents and for the males in society which is a sociological issue deserving more rigorous investigation. Before moving on to discuss interpersonal friendships it is first important to consider how the returning Taiwanese males' interpersonal relationship with parents appear in general to contrast with that just seen. Four male respondents noticed a sense of increased affection towards their parents which they more overtly expressed upon their return to Taiwan. Simon and Jimmy both spent their sojourn living with UK host families and argue that as a result they have, contrary to traditional Taiwanese conventions, begun expressing their appreciation of their parents directly to them:

Interviewer – "Have your relationships changed in any way?"

"Yeah yeah (excited), because I think after I come back and I express my feeling, like I will say like to my ma 'I love you' and I hug my ma, I didn't do before I went to the UK. My ma like that, she doesn't feel uncomfortable. I live with my dad as well but the relationship is the same you know in Taiwan, the father is more, more strict, so I still respect the same. Closer to my ma and probably a bit closer with my dad" (Jimmy).

"Oh, yes, in our tradition in our society, we don't always say the love to our parents, but I start to say that since I came back" (Simon).

Interviewer- "Do your parents like that?"

"They feel strange really. I think this is less Taiwanese" (Simon).

Were these two remarks unique in the sample, one would be forgiven for deducing that the contact these two sojourners had with UK host families was the main contributing factor for the tendency seen above. However, two further respondents, Will and Shaun, also make a similar observation despite the former having lived with his Taiwanese wife and the latter in university accommodation with other international students:

"My parents know that I love them more, because before when I stay in Taiwan, I didn't spend the time with them and I know they feel lonely and ... I don't know, I try to talk more with them and say I actually miss them when I'm in England and even do the hug. I never do this before, our culture is not like that, we don't hug always" (Will).

Interviewer- "What do your parents think about it?"

"They think it is strange, they like it, but they won't hug me. Maybe it is very easy to satisfy them, say thank you for everything they do for me, and invite them for dinner, not like before. I think my relationship with them is better now than before (Will).

Equally,

"When I come back I hug my parents and tell them I love them. For a girl I think this is normal but for a boy I think it is very 娘 (trans.- sissy)" (Shaun).

Recent research by Wilkins and Gareis (2006) found support for the claim that expression of love are found to be more frequent in individualistic than collectivistic cultures since members of the latter tend to be more restrained in voicing feelings and opinions. The comments made often among male repatriates would therefore indicate an additive cultural identity shift towards the more individualistic host culture. It could also be argued that the extended period of distance away from their parents was an important factor in intensifying feeling of affection although since overt expression of love was mostly not reciprocated by respondents' parents, this seems less likely as an explanation.

There is further evidence in the narratives of those demonstrating deeper cultural learning that interpersonal relations with friends and members of the opposite sex have also been affected as a result of the sojourn. Simon for example notes that he found some of his friends behaved strangely towards him:

"Also my friends felt the same way, I didn't really know what happened, some of my friends were strange when I came back, they thought maybe that I speak English so they are maybe threatened by me" (Simon).

This appears to be reminiscent of the comments seen previously in Eddie's narrative which argued that some of his work colleagues acted differently towards him, maybe out of resentment towards his privileged position in terms of promotion opportunities in the company. Simon's friends may have felt a similar sense of resentment or even inferiority at his new status as a returning graduate from overseas. Such a latent sense of inferiority to those who have engaged in an overseas academic sojourn seems also to be problematic for the partners of female returnees. Ashley, for example, left her boyfriend, now husband, in Taiwan and went to the UK to study. She remarks that:

Interviewer- Is he different from you?

"Maybe in some ways more narrow" (Ashley).

Interviewer- Is that a problem?

"Not really, maybe, I think probably he think that I always think that I'm kind of superior than him because I have been studying abroad but that is what I do, he doesn't really tell me actually but sometimes, not really frustrated but sometimes when I talk about something I experienced in the UK to something that happened in the UK he couldn't really involved or really understand what I experienced and not a big problem but like we don't have something in common that we can share, for example you know overseas experience" (Ashley).

The narratives in this study suggest that of the six sojourners who went to the UK leaving behind a significant other, only Ashley was still in that same relationship at the time of interview. Whether this is due to conflicts in interests, feelings of inadequacy, or a revisiting of priorities on the part of the sojourners themselves or the people they left behind is not entirely clear from the data collected. This would however be interesting to explore further in later research. Nevertheless, what is more apparent is that discussion on gender inequality in the workplace, as presented in an earlier section, apparently extends into the educational lives of women still today in contemporary Taiwanese society. This can be seen in the traditional Confucian expression 女子無才

便是德 (trans.- a woman is virtuous when she is incapable) which implies that an education is something reserved for males in society. Interestingly, such expressions of gender inequality were banned by the post 1949 Communist government in Mainland China although no such legislation seems to have been enforced on Taiwan. The Communist drive to rid the country of the traditional Confucian thinking on the Mainland was not in the manifesto of the KMT government which retreated to Taiwan in the late 1940s. How this thinking still permeates Taiwanese society is evident in this extract from the narrative of Kathy who was strongly discouraged by her mother from taking an academic sojourn in the UK:

> "My mom told me, this expression 女子無才便是德 (trans.- a woman is virtuous when she is incapable), she say, you are not your brother, why you want to study abroad, just find a good husband and be good wife. I think this is shit but she says this. So I decided to save my money and prove I can do it, and I did" (Kathy).

In this extract also can be seen an interesting generational difference in attitudes towards female emancipation and the challenging of traditional gender roles in Chinese heritage societies. It may be that this upbringing was what left Kathy with her reported low cultural identity centrality which ultimately led to her deeper social integration into the host culture. Indeed, previous discussion has seen that running away from the restrictive traditional thinking of her mother was among the principal motivators for Kathy's overseas sojourn. Nevertheless, still apparent in contemporary Taiwanese society is a sense that a female should not be more educationally qualified than a male which, according to this extract from Catherine, is not solely an outcome of internal pressure from the males but equally externally encouraged by some females, even those who have been influenced by Western culture through an academic sojourn themselves:

> "I think it is true in Taiwan if a guy is less qualified than his girlfriend he can feel 丟臉 (trans.- lose face) but I think it is quite normal, if I have a higher education I will look down on the guy (laughs). If I am looking for a new boyfriend now, I think he needs to be mature than me and maybe the job and the income or education is not the most important, but to be honest, to be very honest, I think these are still my considerations so I can't, I will never say, I don't care about that you know in your mind you still want to judge, that kind of thing. Maybe I don't want to do that on purpose, you know, I don't want to look down you but I just, maybe I will do that" (Catherine).

Pressure therefore seems to be continually put on the males in Taiwanese society to become educated, to become high earners and to provide for their families. This is reminiscent of the Chinese social phenomenon of the 三高 (trans.- three highs) in which

males are deemed to be more desirable to females if they are high in salary, high in education level, and high in physical stature (Lafayette de Mente, 2000). Therefore the greater proportion of females undertaking international academic sojourns may be somewhat problematic for the understanding of gender roles in Taiwan. For instance, Doris's social integration difficulties upon repatriation seem to permeate all levels of her life. Already presented were extracts of her narrative pertaining to difficulty with both working relationships and familial relationships. She equally complains of difficulty finding a potential partner:

> "Not to even mention the date, it is difficult to get a date because Taiwanese people, Taiwanese guy will think you're so weird, he might think you are alright but after talking to you for 20 minutes they will think, no, there is something wrong in your brain, why do you think like that? For example if I challenge them, everything, I think career is more important than anything else, but I already thought like that before I left Taiwan, that's why before I wasn't popular, not really no... because especially for woman in my age, 30 something people will expecting you to be like, really want to get married, really want to have children but that's not my agenda at the moment, so the men in my age will think, you are really weird because when they talk to you they want to talking and thinking about you know getting married and that kind of stuff and I'm like, can we just dating please and they think when they think about dating at this stage they think about whether there is a chance to get married and that's weird" (Doris).

Evident in Doris's comments are arguably features of additive cultural identity shift towards the more emancipated gender role of the female in the host culture. This trait is perceived to be not just unpopular but actually unacceptable to many Taiwanese males and potential suitors. Claudine also remarks that observing how host culture females behaved gave her a greater sense of independence, emancipation, and control of her own destiny:

> "My friends say I look a bit more like a girl from the Western country, I think that because the atmosphere, I make myself feel I free, more free, before I'm not that kind of girl, because most of the Western girls will make you feel they are very independent, they know what they are doing. I feel that now since I went to England. It's a good thing" (Claudine).

This takes the discussion back again to the sense of *agency* prevalent in the Ancient Greek heritage host culture as opposed to the *harmony* arguably more apparent in the home culture. It seems therefore that in most cases deep additive/subtractive cultural identity change and increased intercultural awareness do indeed result in feelings of alienation and separation from mainstream Taiwanese society, reminiscent of Park's *Marginal Man*. Jimmy argues:

"coming home like you don't feel you are Taiwanese and you are not English, yeah, you are in the middle, the feeling is quite strange" (Jimmy).

This newfound difficulty in mapping a newly formed cultural identity onto the home cultural environment is summarised by Sussman (2000) in terms of the popular affective, behavioural, cognitive (ABC) dimensions of cultural psychology. Affectively, repatriates feel alienated from former colleagues, friends and family; behaviourally, newly adopted comportment which was functional in the host country is opposed in the home culture; cognitively, errors occur in social cognition resulting in misattributions as to the cause of negative affect. Ultimately, "home cultural identity no longer matches and the sojourner is now a member of a new outgroup within the home country, that of repatriate" (ibid.: 365). Jill elucidates this point very eloquently and describes a conversation she had with another repatriate:

> "I have a client and she did a Master's in Manchester and we spoke on the phone one day and she said oh she was going back, it's very weird, I think she's been back for probably over a year or something and she says I'm going back to England and we were talking about, we having this conversation about what to buy or when she is going or when she is changing plane or something and it's sort of you immediately form this bond together and oh you are form the same group even though I've only been to Manchester once and even though our experiences might have been completely different, as far as I know it must have been completely different but there is still something that makes you feel like you belong to that group so in a way I mean I'm always different from people no matter they been to study in another country or not" (Jill).

Jill's comments would suggest a membership into a returning overseas sojourner subgroup of Taiwanese society. Interestingly, an observation from Claudine however seems to suggest that this overseas subgroup extends beyond Taiwanese nationals:

> "I live with another two girls, we share a flat, one is come from Korea, another is a Taiwanese girl, so you can tell the differences between me and Taiwanese girl and Korea girl, because the Korea girl has similar background, go overseas for studying and working in Taiwan, so we are more similar, and totally different from the Taiwanese girl, she is really conservative, just like me before" (Claudine).

This extract is very telling in that Claudine sees herself as more similar in her cultural identity to someone of a different cultural background who has sojourned overseas than someone of her own cultural background who has never been abroad. This sense of solidarity with the overseas sojourner subculture seems to be the reasoning behind the inclination of many of the respondents with more marked cultural identity shift to adopt

the reacculturation coping strategy of spending much of their time with other repatriates from overseas academic sojourns:

"most of my dear friends, my good friends, they've all been abroad" (Doris).

This includes, in the cases of Simon and Jimmy, forming intimate relationships with other repatriates:

"Now I have a [Taiwanese] girlfriend who was in England, we talk about England sometimes. We have this in common" (Simon).

And, for Claudine, segregating her friends into pre and post sojourn groups depending on activity:

"I mean my best friends become my kind of before they go out at 9 and then have fun and drinking. I just find another way to arrange my friends, when the daytime I feel I want to do something healthy I will find my old friends but at night time I want to go clubbing or drinking, I will go out with my friends in the UK, I mean, I met some Taiwanese in the UK so we will usually go out together" (Claudine).

Equally, as seen previously, there is a marked desire among repatriates to work in multinational companies, in part for the perceived superior working conditions and in part because it enables the respondent to have more extensive contact with people who have also lived the deeply meaningful life experience of an overseas academic sojourn. The evidence from the extracts therefore is that interpersonal relationships are frequently reported to be different pre- and postsojourn as a direct result of the intercultural sojourn experience. This is expectedly most marked among those repatriates who engaged to the greatest extent with the host culture during their sojourn. Increased independence frequently cited as a result of the sojourn is generally viewed as a positive characteristic for males but negative for females. However, also apparent in the responses of those manifesting less evidence of additive/subtractive cultural identity shift is that, upon return to Taiwan, the enhanced sense of independence and greater appreciation for personal space also seems to be a source of repatriation discomfort for many of the respondents in this study.

5.4.3 Personal Space and Independence

Traditional Taiwanese family structures coupled with high demand for real estate and consequent high prices dictate that single Taiwanese people, unless employed outside of their hometown, will usually live with their parents until they are married and, in certain cases, beyond. Indeed, statistics reveal that in 1998 the rate of single people living with parents was over 80%, with no great difference between males and females (National Statistics Republic of China, 2007). Less frequently in contemporary Taiwan but common in traditional Chinese societies, when a daughter marries, she will move in to her husband's family home where she is, traditional stories tell, treated with distain by her new mother-in-law who considers her presence to be threatening to the mother-son relationship. Again, statistics from the same Taiwanese national office would appear to support this tradition, revealing that 32.9% of married men compared to 2.1% of married women continue to live with their parents. This clearly reveals the tendency towards patrilineal families after marriage in Taiwan, a trend equally apparent in visiting the responses of Will and his wife, Karina, both moderately reluctant repatriates, when asked why they decided to return to Taiwan:

> *Interviewer- Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?*
>
> "I'm the biggest boy in the family so finally I have to go back and I have to work to make a family, have a baby, although I want to stay there, actually if I'm not the biggest children in my family, I would stay there. I'm the only boy and I have two younger sisters so I have to come back. My responsibility raising your children, raising your parents, typical people would say that is the boy's responsibility, not the girls" (Will).
>
> *Interviewer- Do your parents live with you now?*
>
> "No, but I visit them always and making phone calls and when I came back from England, I love them more than when I went there, I know they are important to me, although I think it is not fair to us to me because I want to stay there but that's life so you have to, in Taiwan you have to, I can't be so selfish you know, not like my sister, my sister is in America now, she doesn't want to come back. I really came back for my parents. I have to" (Will).

The comments also reflect the traditional Taiwanese filial obligation specific to the first-born son. The first-born son is typically overindulged by his parents and grandparents who see him as an investment for their own future. In Taiwan, a properly raised eldest son will still understand his duty to care for his parents at the time of their dotage. Will's wife, Karina, also seemingly understands her obligations to her husband's family as the wife of the eldest son:

Interviewer- Did you want to stay in England forever?

"Oh no, no, no. I know I should come back to Taiwan because we don't have too much money and I know to parents, to family, hope we can come back to Taiwan, so I cannot stay in UK for long time. Because William uncle he moved to USA so before we go to UK, William sister, they are afraid that we will move to foreign county, they think ah they thought William's parents can't not accept the situation, something like that. So in my mind I know we should go back to Taiwan" (Karina).

Interviewer- What about your parents? What do your parents think?

"My parents, I think they are better because we have three children in there and I'm not the only one boy ya, I'm a girl, ya, so I think they care me but they, they if I did any decision, they will, they will support it" (Karina).

The excerpt above quite convincingly demonstrates the extent to which, despite Taiwan's rapid moves towards modernisation based on the Western model of democracy, free economic structures and universal human rights, traditional Chinese family structures are still profoundly influential in this contemporary Chinese Heritage society. The gregarious, family-oriented, collectivistic nature of the Taiwanese is very poignantly summarised by interviewee Catherine who discussed this issue with her international friends during her stay in the UK:

"You know when I told my Spanish friends I still live with my parents they say, 'you are not a baby, you are 25 years old, how can you still live with your parents?', I say, 'because my parents live in Taipei and I want to live in Taipei and I am looking for a job in Taipei and that is the reason why I live with them'. But they say, 'my parents live in Barcelona and I live in Barcelona and my job is in Barcelona but we don't live with each other, you have to prove you are an adult and you can survive on your own'. But I think they are silly, it's different, we live with parents until we get married, some people get married they will move out but some will still live with their parents. You know I am a woman so I will live with my husband or my mother-in-law, of course I don't want to but I will move away from my parents, so while I am single and I'm still unmarried of course I want to spend more time with my family and I can't see any disadvantage. This is Taiwanese attitude. I don't want to live alone, when you go home so lonely, nobody to chat to" (Catherine).

The conviction of opinion apparent in this extract would arguably point to an affirmative cultural identity shift whereby the interviewee's own sense of Taiwaneseness is strengthened through her contact with people from other world cultures. However, despite demonstrating certain features of the affirmative cultural identity shift, this respondent, as with the vast majority of other respondents, found the initial recohabitation with parents following reentry, and subsequent loss of personal space and independence, to be something of a distressing experience:

"I felt uncomfortable and I hate to live with my parents in the first stage, for about 2 months and I just can't used to live with my parents every day, you know suppose I

should go, have a flight to somewhere stay in a hotel something, I just can't stay here every day [...] I cried when I first came back here, I just cannot used to it. Everything made me cry, and also I live with my parents and my bedroom was not get ready so I lived with my younger sister and I don't have my own room at the first stage so it just felt, wow I don't have my private space and that's a very, very that's a big issue for me" (Catherine).

Interviewer- Before you left Taiwan did you need personal space?

"No, and I didn't have my own bedroom, I shared a bedroom with my sisters so I was fine with that, I can't bear that now. Now I have my own bedroom, of course, it's important" (Catherine).

The socioeconomic and sociocultural factors discussed previously consequently dictate that the majority of returnees in this study were, initially at least, obliged to move back to their parents' home. Despite Cathy's opinion expressed in the extract above:

"I want to spend more time with my family [...] I don't want to live alone" (Cathy).

being equally argued by other respondents (for example):

"in Taiwan I can be with my family so feel very comfortable. I like to live with them. I think living with my parents is quite interesting because they every day you can talk with them and sometimes they will say something you back and they know you so you can feel very relaxed" (Shaun).

the initial experience of perceived loss of independence and personal space is almost unanimously negatively reported across the data set. Claudine summarises this well:

"but it has really changed me a lot, I mean after I come back from the UK, I need a lot of space, my own space, so when I come back, I have been argue with my parents because they can't understand it. Before I go to, I went to UK for study I can be a very lovely girl and always stay at home and I don't have my own space to be honest. But because I stay in UK for such a long time, and I know that sometimes, I just grow up and sometimes I need my space" (Claudine).

Contextualising the above comments using Sussman's framework, one might argue that, assuming UK culture places greater emphasis on personal space and the individual when compared to Taiwanese culture, as the literature would suggest, then an additive cultural identity shift has arguably taken place. However, two questions need to be asked. Firstly, to what extent is the requirement for greater personal space simply a result of the natural maturation process? Furthermore, how far is Taiwan's lack of personal space as much a result of demographic features as cultural values?.

Taiwan is among the most densely populated nations in the world, statistics estimating the population density of the entire island at 1,633 people per square mile in 2006, almost triple that of the UK (640 people/square mile) (Population Reference Bureau, 2007). Moreover, when consideration is given to the fact that a large part of Taiwan's land mass is uninhabitable mountainous topography, the actual population density in urban areas is considerably higher. Taipei, for example, consistently features in the top ten most densely populated cities in the world with a density of more than 20,000 people/square mile in 2007 (City Mayor Statistics, 2007). Resultant high demand for real estate obliges the population to live in very close proximity, often with little opportunity for personal space. University students in the Taiwan, for example, are in most cases accommodated in large shared dormitories with several fellow students. For many respondents therefore, the living conditions made available to them in university accommodation, local host family or rented flat/shared house in the UK, away from the 囉唆 (trans.- nagging) parents, offer them a level of personal space not previously experienced in Taiwan. The loss of this upon their return is clearly distressing for many among the interviewees in this study.

Having said this, the extent to which the interviewees' particular cultural context adds to the difficulty faced on reentry should not be ignored and returns the discussion to the subject of interpersonal relationships with parents. It is widely confirmed in past research and existing literature that Confucian Heritage societies strongly maintain the tradition of a hierarchical, authoritarian, patriarchal family based on deference, submission, and respect (Anderson, 1998). The findings of an early pilot study carried out by the researcher with university students in Southern China in which the researcher asked students with very basic English knowledge to write down, in English, the qualities of a good student in China found a significant proportion of respondents including *filial piety* as a desirable quality. It would not be unreasonable to think that many even well educated native English speakers would be unaware of the term *filial piety*, and yet, despite their very low level of English, this high register term appeared frequently in the responses of Chinese students. Furthermore, the concept of filial piety is among the measured values in the Chinese Value Survey complied by Bond and colleagues seen previously and again appears as being perceived as of high importance across practical applications of this data collection instrument. A classic piece of Chinese literature for children is entitled the 二十四孝 (trans.- twenty-four paragons of

filial piety) which tells twenty-four stories of praiseworthy acts of filial piety some of which may be considered by Western eyes to be rather excessive in their deferential practices. A moderate example is the tale of a boy whose mother is malnourished. In a commendable act of filial piety the boy removes a piece of the flesh from his own leg and prepares it for his mother to eat. Strange though this may sound to Western ears, the 二十四孝 is widely available in numerous versions and considered to be still influential in the socialisation of contemporary children in Confucian heritage cultures across East and South East Asia.

Furthermore, as seen in previous discussion of the work of Markus and Kitayama (1991), research also indicates that Asian parents, in particular mothers, emphasise interdependence by requiring of children to bring honour to the family through, for example, high academic achievement and a successful career (predominantly measured through level of salary) (Triandis, 1995). This contrasts with the more Western tendency towards the development of an independent and individualistic socialisation orientation. Parental expectations on the returnees are apparent as an added pressure in the responses of the interviewees and are viewed as 囉唆 (trans.- nagging) with returnees continuing to being considered as vulnerable children despite their increased levels of independence resulting from the international study sojourn:

> *Interviewer- Did you live with your parents again?*
>
> "Yes, nothing I could do, They are very typical parents, very 囉唆 (trans.-nagging). Especially mother. 想你媽媽很囉唆 (trans.- like your mother in law is nagging), I still live there now" (Fatima).

> "My parents, living with them, nothing good, nothing good, I 因為我回來生活不太一樣，生活方式(trans.- because, when I came back my life was not the same, life style) the way you live 生活的方式不一樣 (trans.- the lifestyle was not quite the same). 比方說我們比較完睡 (trans.- for example, we sleep later). You still think you live under someone's roof, but in England I rent a house and you are your own and you 你跟你自己的事情 (trans.- you do your own thing). My parents are 囉唆(trans.- nagging)" (Steve).

> "I think for my parents, even now I'm 28 I think they still thinking I'm the kid so they will never change I think. Traditional Taiwanese" (Jimmy).

The difficulty in recohabitation experienced has the effect that many of the respondents made relocating from their parental house a priority upon their return. This often

involved consciously looking for work in a location whereby cohabiting with their parents would be impractical, so as to avoid potential conflicts or hurting parents' feelings.

> "I'm more independent and ehhhh mmm confident, yep, because I think, mmm, I'm different from others. I don't live with my parents now, my parents is good but I think for me I want to move out. I live on my own now and like that way" (Sandra).

However, with the relatively high cost of living in Taipei in comparison to average salaries, living independently requires considerable financial investment which is often beyond the reach of recent returnees.

> "I changed but what is that (laughs). Think the most important thing is more globalised, that's the most important thing, anything else… independent, that's all. I still live with my parents now. I really want to move out, I want to have my house, my own house, actually I still feel that now but it is very expensive in Taipei, quite expensive" (Olly).

> "I find it quite difficult because I was in Tainan and then come back to Taipei but I can't afford buy the house or rent the house, sorry apartment so expensive, so now in Taipei I will stay with my parents in law" (Trevor).

> I felt very much a foreigner because I was more independent, I was alone in England so I didn't have to be a stay with my parents but I realise they were very 囉唆 (trans.-nagging). Very difficult to live with them again. I, my parents want me to get married but I want to live on my own well at least get my own place to live so I need to save money (Simon).

The tendency demonstrated in this section towards wishing to live outside of the parental home following the increased independence and personal space of the study sojourn may be having a long-term influence on traditional Taiwanese family structures. This again would certainly warrant more in-depth observation in future research.

The increased desire for physical personal space as a result of the overseas sojourn seems to extend beyond respondents' home life and into the wider community with frequent mention by most respondents of difficulty readjusting to the heavy population density on the island. These negative comments were not limited to those respondents manifesting deeper cultural learning, also coming from the seemingly grateful repatriates among the sample set. Since the majority of respondents spent their sojourn in small towns in the UK, returning to one of the major metropolises in Asia is clearly a

contributing factor to repatriation discomfort to all but those manifesting the most affirmative of cultural identity shifts:

> *Interviewer: How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?*
>
> "I don't like, it is so crowded in Taiwan, too many people and small space, I want to have many dogs and I can't. No space" (Anna).

> *Interviewer: How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?*
>
> "Wow, so crowded. I can see Mandarin everywhere, wow it's cool, Mandarin, and you know and less space, too noisy. I felt uncomfortable" (Catherine).

> *Interviewer: How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?*
>
> "So crowded. When I get back I sleep for three days. Back to Taiwan, when the first time I walked outside close to my house, I feel so many people, where's these people come from, because when I in [UK town], there is no people in the campus. Less space in Taiwan" (Shaun).

One of the major negative consequences of such a high population density with relatively high wealth procured largely through the manufacturing industry is the problem of environmental pollution. According to the Taiwanese Environmental Protection Administration, in 2006 there were more than four registered factories and 475 motor vehicles for every square kilometre in Taiwan. This makes a total of some 150,000 factories and almost 20 million motor vehicles (of which more than 6.5 million cars and some 13 million motorcycles) (Taiwan Yearbook, 2006). Consequently air pollution is considered to be an issue of serious concern in Taiwan. Despite recent strengthened cleanup efforts reducing air pollution considerably, Pollution Standard Index (PSI) readings in Taiwan are still approximately three times higher than those recorded in the US and Europe (Hsu et al, 2006). This, together with the island's subtropical/tropical climate is clearly seen as a problematic issue preventing certain, particularly female, returnees from enjoying their environment as they had in the UK:

> "You know, in England, in Bournemouth, I walked every day and I enjoyed that, when I came back to Taipei, I grew up here you know, I like Taipei, but I don't want to walk anymore because the environment is not that comfortable to walk around" (Doris).

> "Because of the weather because it is not so humid, I don't like humid and the air pollution in Taiwan is terrible and in the UK I like to walk but in Taiwan no never because the pollution. I use MRT, by bus or by taxi, never walk, maybe that is why I get so fat but I never have exercise because I am always busy" (Anna).

Related closely to the desire for greater physical personal space, respondents frequently report changes in preference relating to the amount of emotional personal space required following the sojourn. The narratives of several respondents offer evidence of a renewed understanding of personal privacy as a result of the overseas sojourn. Trevor, for example, spent four years in the UK reading his doctoral degree and reports that the sojourn influenced his opinion in this regard:

> "for example the privacy, when I call you I say for example could you give me your wife's mobile phone number. In that case we know each other and in Taiwan I say here is her number, but when I come back I say I will call her and ask her to call you, I pay more attention on the personal data, privacy, even I know the people or know well the people who wants to do even I know A is very familiar with the B I won't give him the number. I think this is UK society or UK culture, pay more attention on the privacy. In Taiwan it is typical for parents to know about my life" (Trevor).

Furthermore, from the narratives, it seems common practice in Taiwanese conversation to discuss subjects which may be considered in the UK to be one's private personal affairs. This is particularly true from parents who will frequently question and sometimes attempt to dictate to their children on pecuniary and relational matters. Anna's account tells of a sojourner with very limited integration into the host culture. However, she demonstrates that her year alone has given her the chance to reflect on the subject of personal privacy and has found this to be, on occasion, somewhat problematic:

> "I think my parents do not think I'm changed, but my friends, not close friends, close friends are OK, but my friends they think me become cool like I have a distance with people. I think because when I come back from the UK I realised Western people are more respect to other people than us, very much, yes. So when I come back, I think sometimes my friends will ask me some personal questions and I don't want to answer but they think it is OK because they ask everyone and everyone answers them but I don't think it is right. And before I went to UK, I think that is right, yes, so they think I am cooler now, but I think I am proud because I think it is human rights, right?" (Anna).

Interviewer- For example, Questions?

> "Salaries, and every time they ask me, do you have a boyfriend or do you want to get married, it is none of your business. I hate that 管你批事? (trans.- None of your bloody business). And my mother always asks me how do you spend your money? Where do you spend your money? And I'm so angry about that, I say, because they want me to save some money and I save not as much as they want me to save and sometimes I will tell them and sometimes I will not tell them. I say, I am not taking it to buy drugs and gambling and I always use it on the health way and I am saving. I want to buy a house because I think if I didn't control my money I will lose money very quickly so I have already buy a house. Next month I am going to pay. I am going to live on my own but still around my parents, but I think it is OK, not living with them" (Anna).

The mention of the perception of friends and relatives that returnees have become more distant is a recurring theme that was seen previously in the narrative of Doris and evidence of how this was to some extent learnt during the intercultural sojourn can be seen in Claudine's account of how the importance of emotional distance and personal space became more apparent to her during her social interaction with a host male:

> "Now I'm more independent, I told you that girls need to be teached, the English guy said if we have more space then we have more things to share so when we spend time together we have much to share and we can really enjoy the time, if we spend too much time together we don't have friends and the only person I see is only you, it will narrow your mind.. I used to think we spend more time together and you know me well, I can still be your friend but I forgot that everybody needs space. So now I would say my thinking is more like British is I have relationship I know I still want to hang out with my friends sometimes and I don't want my boyfriend to be beside me all the time" (Claudine).

This section has demonstrated that a revised perspective relating to personal space and independence has for many returnees clashed with the reality faced upon returning to Taiwan. The resultant repatriation discomfort is evident across the data sample and is equally apparent in the accounts of otherwise grateful repatriates as much as unwilling returnees. In terms of interpersonal relationships, it would be very interesting to continue research exploring the narratives of the parents, friends, and work colleagues of returning academic sojourners to gain further insight into their perceptions of this important phenomenon. Before concluding this chapter, it is important to consider a final source of repatriation discomfort which seems to originate from the increased ability among respondents to relativise certain of Taiwan's institutions following the overseas academic sojourn.

5.4.4 Taiwan's Institutions

Previous discussion relating to cultural identity centrality has argued that revisions to presojourn schemata about the UK have led, for many respondents, to an augmented appreciation for Taiwan. There are however a number of Taiwan's institutions which are still reported to be the source of discomfort and concern. Having witnessed alternative workings of the same institutions in the UK, certain repatriates report disappointment with the situation in their home cultural environment. Most frequently cited are the political environment, the Taiwanese media, and the attitudes of the Taiwanese public towards the judicial system.

5.4.4.1 The Taiwanese Political Environment

The political climate in Taiwan is undeniably highly emotionally charged and continues to give rise to island-wide tensions throughout all echelons of society. Polarised opinions concerning the Taiwan/China debate fuel frequent acts of verbal and physical abuse both between passionate representatives and ardent supporters of the pan-blue (pro-reunification with the Chinese Mainland) and pan-green (pro-Taiwan independence) political parties in this ostensibly democratic society. The period during which the interviews in this study took place was a particularly tumultuous time politically as the revelation of the involvement of the pan-green President, 陳水扁 (Chen Shui-bian), his wife, 吳淑珍 (Wu Shu-chen), and son-in-law, 趙建銘 (Chao Chien-min), in financial and political corruption scandals was brought to light in the public domain. Consequently, former friend and ally of the President, Shi Ming-de (施明德) organised a large-scale protest with more than 200,000 participants, the 百萬人民反貪腐倒扁運動 (Million Voices against Corruption, Depose President Chen Movement), in an effort to force the president to resign.

Significantly, most of the protesters wore red in the demonstrations and this popular movement has since been named *the Red Tide* (紅潮) or *the Red Phenomenon* (紅色現象). A detailed socio-cultural analysis of the significance of the colour red to the Taiwanese people is beyond the scope of this document, however, while some argued that the colour red was used to reflect the anger of the people, others commented that this in itself had a political agenda, attaching significance to the redness of the Communist Party of China: "China is likely to use this as an opportunity to say that the moment of cross-straits unification is around the corner" (see Boxun News, 2006 cited Shih, 2007). Shih (2007) argues that during that period the political battlefield in Taiwan shifted from a battle between blue and green to a battle between red and green. Ultimately, it is argued that the pan-blue pro-reunification KMT party were using this demonstration to further their own political agenda, participants being described as having "Red Skins with Blue Bones" (ibid.). In reality, as Fell (2002:2) points out "although most political analysts claim that national identity is the most significant cleavage in Taiwanese politics, at election time political corruption issues are more visible and receive more attention in election propaganda than any other political issue".

Clearly therefore, at the time of the data collection in this study, political tensions were high. The increased salience of the Taiwanese political situation as a result of the international study sojourn was evident in the responses of both reluctant and grateful repatriates. The excerpt below is taken from the narrative of Mabel who was glad to have returned to Taiwan after having actually counted the days on her calendar before she could leave the UK. She also found little difficulty in readjusting to Taiwan and communicating and interacting with other Taiwanese at home. In the context of Sussman's model, she was a respondent arguably tending towards an affirmative cultural identity shift. Furthermore, Mabel is the respondent whose family came from Mainland China during the KMT retreat whose sense of solidarity towards Taiwan grew at the expense of her earlier perceived Chinese nationality during her overseas sojourn.

> "I really don't like the political, the society here, otherwise I like Taiwan very very much except all politic society, all those. Before I went to England I didn't worry about politics but now I hate it, especially in current days. I think our traditional ways or other things so perfect and several points are all so good but our government does not want to make us a better life, just want to make money for themselves only, make our society poor, this is so 太可惡拉 (trans.- disgusting)" (Mabel).

Mabel's disdain towards the reported corruption at the time of interview is evident from the extract above. This may be resultant from the sojourn spent in a nation with a long established democracy and political stability relative to Taiwan. Certainly, the sojourn seems to have acted as a trigger for reflection in the case of Trevor:

> *Interviewer- Any negative feelings [upon returning]?*
>
> "Yes, about, my feeling was the negative feeling was related to the political situation, it's quite unstable" (Trevor).
>
> *Interviewer- Did you feel this more when you came back from the UK?*
>
> "I feel more when I was come back, actually getting worse, I think it is getting worse. I still feel bad hopefully I will immigrate to … I don't know, other country. At the moment I have negative feeling about the future because the situation and I think we got a lot of thinking about national identity, this is a major problem. Some people think they are Chinese and a lot of people think that they are Taiwanese and some people think that they are Taiwanese and Chinese as well so you got different thinking about national identity and I think such bad political situation at the moment in Taiwan. I just frustrating, why they can't use the normal procedures or legal procedures, why they must be, why they don't think, I don't think so good (sounds very sad). I'm tired about this, very tired" (Trevor).

Trevor's sentiments above reflect those of many other Taiwanese; a feeling of weariness, frustration and sometimes even despair is of evidence when the political situation in Taiwan is raised in discussion. Emerging from the interviews in this study is

confirmation that, in most cases, negative feelings towards Taiwanese politics are intensified as a result of the sojourn in the UK, across all apparent cultural identity shifts, the UK's relatively stable political climate being used as a new benchmark from which to judge the Taiwanese system of governance. Related very closely to sentiments vis-à-vis the political environment in Taiwan are opinions of the ethical nature of the media in contemporary Taiwan.

5.4.4.2 Taiwanese Media

A heightened sense of scepticism and, in certain cases, hostility towards the Taiwanese media as a result of the overseas sojourn is equally evident from both reluctant and grateful repatriates. Emerging from the data, respondents argue that this is a consequence both of exposure to the media of another country and, perhaps more interestingly, an increase in respondents' own critical and analytical thinking ability resulting from their participation in the UK's Socratic heritage education system. A brief overview of the development of Taiwan's media is necessary for contextualisation of this issue.

Prior to the rapid transition from authoritarian to democratic government in the late 1980s, the media were largely government controlled and responsible for transmitting the official ideology of the ruling party, the KMT, emphasising Han Chinese identity at the expense of the island's majority Taiwanese identity (Rawnsley, 2004). As the liberalising of the political climate progressed, despite pre-democratisation restrictions on freedom of the media not being officially lifted until later, the media began to liberalise themselves (Rawnsley, 2000). In the 5 years between 1989 and 1994, according to Freedom House's Freedom of Press Survey, Taiwanese media moved from a status of partly free to free, and in the 2007 survey were declared the freest in contemporary Asia, on a par with or indeed freer than most western democracies (Freedom House, 2007).

However, social and political liberation in Taiwan has allowed for rapid proliferation of the media which, in turn, has led to increased competition for viewers/readership and advertising revenues. As Rawnsley (2004) points out, it is no surprise then that many programmes and publications now offer sensationalist exposés of public figures side by

side with morally questionable invasion into private lives, in a bid to increase revenue and sales. The Chinese ethical tendency towards deference and responsibility are not evident when the thriving tabloid journalism industry in Taiwan is observed. The difficulty in curbing such sensationalism it seems stems from the fact that, for the relatively recently democratised Taiwanese, a free press is synonymous with democracy. Any legal intervention by the government is therefore deemed to be a step back towards an authoritarian past. As a consequence, this puts the onus on the media themselves to exercise self-discipline which it seems they have been largely incapable or unwilling to do.

The president of the non-governmental group, 台灣媒體觀察基金會 (The Taiwan MediaWatch Foundation), argues "as the tendency towards indecency looms large in our local TV programming, to expect self-discipline on the part of the media is a difficult option. So the only feasible solution is to allow the public to use its voice to tell the media what they consider to be quality TV programmes" (Chu, 2000:no page). However, despite promises by the President of Taiwan that the government would not suppress the freedom of the press or people's freedom of speech, the Radio and Television Affairs Department of the Government Information Office believes that now it has no choice but to begin monitoring and evaluating local programmes: "because many TV shows have damaged some people's privacy and the sensationalism of some programmes has made audiences uncomfortable, we have decided to take action and manage TV shows" (Rawnsley, 2004:218). The effectiveness of this strategy was not yet evident at the time of the interviews in this study and frequent and often-strong negative reference was made to the Taiwanese media in the data collected:

> "I hate the journalists here, they can say whatever they want, I think most of them are lying, they can even come out with news like tomorrow… they don't have to provide any evidence, just say what they want, they have the freedom, they have the power to do that" (Simon).

Simon's comment above is interesting in that his mention of evidence may be a result of increase critical thinking and academic conventions in the host culture. Trevor reports similar feelings which are evidently intensified postsojourn.

Interviewer- Do you watch the news here?

"No I don't like news here, I don't like it. Firstly they are unfair and secondly they make a lot of personal comments on the events, I don't think they should do that, they supposed to inform, not the commentary" (Trevor).

Interviewer- Did you feel the same before you went to the UK?

"It's getting worse when I come back, getting worse. They love gossip, destroy lives and a lot of not important news and they make the, they lie, they will lie, invent the news, make the fake news and never change. So very sad" (Trevor).

The two opinions cited above give an insight into the contempt with which the media are viewed by some of the respondents. The opinions that the press presents an invented, subjective news promoting gossip and tabloid reporting provides support for the argument in the literature presented above. A further complaint identified in the interviews is the Taiwancentric nature of the Taiwanese news media:

"Yes, but for the first year maybe I think I think more differently but now I am becoming an even more Taiwanese but no sometimes, when I watch the news on TV I think why Taiwanese think China and the US is the world but actually it is not, still a lot of things, a lot of issues have in this world. So I think the people should not just focus on Taiwanese and Taiwanese political issue. I think this was from UK and sometimes I just miss the Tony Blair (laughs)" (Catherine).

Understandably given the political climate in Taiwan, the issue closest to home and ever-present in the psyche of the Taiwanese is the nation's precarious political position between the Mainland and the US. Furthermore, Taiwan's complex political relationship with what has often been considered the defender of its democracy against Mainland China, the United States, together with its openness towards and fascination with American cultural values and artefacts continues to result in an apparent bias towards the US in both the media treatment and the lay population's understanding of foreigners and foreign affairs. As a Westerner of Caucasian appearance living in Taiwan, most local people will generally assume that you are from the US, so prevalent is the US culture in Taiwan. Many of the respondents in this study therefore declared in their interview that rather than watching local news, they prefer to watch foreign news channels, either CNN or in most cases, since this sample of respondents upon returning to Taiwan exhibit to some extent a *rapport* with UK and European culture, the BBC news.

"I watch BBC through the Internet or CNN on the television, but I prefer BBC" (Trevor).

"Well I watch to BBC instead of CNN. Of course I read Taiwanese news but my homepage is BBC" (Olly).

"Maybe but, maybe they think I have changed but they didn't really tell me something but for myself I think I will changed, because before I went to the UK I still pay attention to what happens in the Europe and things happen around the world but after I come back I will almost every day maybe check the news to check what happened in the UK or Europe so probably that is the biggest change. I have become more international" (Ashley).

The opinions presented in this section would seem to suggest that the overseas study sojourn has encouraged the development of a more relativistic, international outlook to a greater or lesser extent in a large majority of respondents. In the context of Sussman's cultural identity model of cultural transitions, this may arguably imply a move towards the global or intercultural identity shift.

5.4.4.3 Perceptions of the Law

One of the few age-related trends emerging from the data is contained within the narratives of the two relatively older respondents, Jill and Trevor. Both reported manifestations of change in their perceptions of the role of the judicial system which they both attribute to the academic sojourn. Furthermore, through relativisation, both argue that they respect legal regulations more upon repatriation. Such internalisation of cultural norms can be argued to offer a poignant example of an additive cultural identity change for Sussman or adaptation at a deep level of culture for Shaules. Trevor, when asked if he felt that his identity had approached that of the host culture, argued:

"Yes. Studying and the, I respect the regulations more now. I don't know why, If I saw the red light, I will stop, even in the midnight I will stop, but the other people, (makes a sound and a gesticulation of a car racing through traffic lights), before I went not every time but after I come back from England I will do every time, respect the regulation, any regulation, even if it is a bad one" (Trevor).

Jill once again very eloquently considers the contrastive cultural underpinnings of home and host culture:

"Also the way [British] they see law, a law is a law, if you, if someone else breaks a law, there is no excuse for it, other people won't go on and try to explain for him or try to find excuses for him, if you broke the law then you broke the law, you have to accept it and being punished, the attitude towards the legal system is very different, the value of law is much more higher in the UK and therefore people behave differently, they abide law I think, not everyone, I'm not saying everyone is the perfect citizen but it does have a deeper root in the society and therefore influence people's behaviour" (Jill).

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And how acceptance and internalisation of the British understanding of the legal system proved to be problematic upon repatriation to Taiwan:

> "It is something I found really difficult to get used to when I came back because in England or in the UK, you get used to thinking that the law is a sort of honour, you abide by the law not because you get punished but because you don't want to be someone who is breaking the law and it is an honour to yourself, a respect to yourself, I came to think that, but here people don't care, I think there isn't, maybe it's not about the law, it's about not having enough self-respect because I don't do, I don't run red lights because I'm afraid of being caught or not because the law says no, I have enough respect to say well I shouldn't do that then. But people here don't get their values from self-respect, there is a gap between a law is a law and we are us" (Jill).

Contrastive literature as to the nature of Western and Eastern legal and judicial systems reveal considerable difference in the perception of the function of the law which can be traced back to longstanding cultural mores. Whereas the Western system functions as a means of implementing laws which are universally applicable for all members of society irrespective of social status, the Eastern system is more concerned with dispute settlement considering the particularities of environmental, contextual, and status related factors to a much larger extent. Parallels can be drawn with Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (1998) framework of value orientations which identifies the cultural dimension of *universal vs. particular*. Different cultural schemas, it is argued, will tend towards one or the other in their understanding of whether behaviour should be regulated with universal rules or whether emphasis should be placed on a particular context. It seems therefore that the Western judicial systems can be considered to reflect a greater cultural tendency for universality than those in the East. The extent to which the *universal vs. particular* dimension permeates the cultural scripts of members of a particular culture is exemplified in a research study carried out by Morris and Peng (1994) which further demonstrates how the universal vs. particular dimension interrelated with the collectivistic/ individualistic dichotomy.

In that study, comparative content analysis was carried out into the journalistic reporting in China and the US of two mass murders, the first carried out by a Chinese student in an American university, and the second by an American postal worker at his place of work. Results found that whereas the US report described the perpetrators in terms of individual personal characteristics (e.g. very bad tempered, sinister edge), the Chinese report presented contextual and relational factors together with the role of the wider community in the crime to a much larger degree (e.g. supervisor was his enemy, rivalry

with slain student). Jill's quotations above demonstrate how, in Taiwan, if a law is broken, contextual justification and social relationships with powerful figures can be seen to be a means for acquittal. The Chinese cultural concept of *guanxi* (the development of social relationships with people in power for the purpose of exchange of favours when required), heavily documented in the academic and professional literature, is seemingly of significance in the Taiwanese *particularist* view of judicial process. Both Trevor and Jill argued towards an additive identity shift in their perception of the importance of universal laws resulting from the sojourn although such observation, while arguably present in the following comment from Simon:

> "I start to give a priority to pedestrians which I didn't before. You know, the driver in the UK always do that so I'm doing that right now" (Simon).

was not overtly reflected in the narratives of any of the other sojourners in this study. Despite this, changing attitudes towards universalism in rights and laws for longer-term sojourners seems to be an area of cultural learning worthy of further research.

5.5 Repatriation Success

This study has shown that, in accordance with much of the literature and indeed intuition, the degree to which a sojourner is *successful* in acculturation to the host culture is, in most cases, strongly positively correlated to the amount of repatriation discomfort felt upon repatriation. Seen in the light of the Sussman model, this is arguably a result of cultural identity shift. Revisiting both Figure 5.1 (graphic representation of approximate repatriation discomfort) and the narratives in this study, it seems that repatriates can be broadly categorised into three groups.

Firstly, there are those respondents such as Mabel, Ray, Shaun, Eddie, and Olly, who make up a majority of the sample in this study. If acculturation success is to be measured in Sparrow's terms as related to the development of social relationships with host nationals, or if it is to be measured in Shaules's terms as the acceptance of/adaptation to deep cultural scripts of the host culture, or, alternatively, if it is to be measured in terms of the development of competence in the host language, then these respondents can be considered to have been relatively unsuccessful in their sojourn acculturation. However, upon repatriation to Taiwan, they have benefited from their

improved status as returning academic sojourners holding international postgraduate qualifications. Their increased intercultural awareness and confidence in dealing with people from other nationalities has provided them with strong competitive advantage in the home work market and the sojourn has ultimately improved social status for both themselves and their families. The limited, shallow internalisation of host cultural scripts has resulted in limited identity incongruence and repatriation discomfort is mostly reported to be minimal.

Furthermore, from the perspective of Shaules's deep culture model, manifestations of *acceptance* of and *adaptation* to the majority of situations encountered in the home culture are mostly present in these narratives. In general, besides complaints of a minor nature pertaining to overwork and the physical environment (which may well be present for Taiwanese not having sojourned overseas), this group of returnees report to being satisfied with their lives. It could therefore be argued that repatriation acculturation for these respondents has largely been successful. Sussman's model may consider this group to have a tendency towards an *affirmative* cultural identity shift. Figure 5.5 below maps this general tendency onto the Shaules framework using the comments of Shaun to elucidate this further. Of significance here is that the Shaules model, while originally conceived to conceptualise the acculturation process, can be considered an effective conceptual tool for the reacculturation process undergone during repatriation. It should be noted that Shaun perceived his sojourn to be rather negative in terms of contact with the host culture for reasons of racially motivated hostility towards him on the part of local youths. He maybe therefore represents a rather extreme example of the grateful repatriate expressing minimal positive perception of the host culture as can be seen in Figure 5.5.

SOJOURN - ACCULTURATION

Resistance	Acceptance	Adaptation

Explicit

The UK, I think you don't really recycle and waste a lot of things

Towards increase in overall cultural empathy

I thought England was elegant, but not true

You have the law that say, in England if you cannot hit the children, you cannot punish the children

Implicit

Increased depth of intercultural experience

POST-SOJOURN - REACCULTURATION

Resistance	Acceptance	Adaptation

Explicit

So crowded but   more convenient

Towards increase in overall cultural empathy

My mother is very 囉唆 (trans.- nagging) but it is OK

In Taiwan I can be with my family so feel very comfortable

Implicit

Increased depth of intercultural experience

GRATEFUL REPATRIATE
MINIMAL REPATRIATION DISCOMFORT

Figure 5.5 - Shaules's Deep Culture Model and Reacculturation – Grateful Repatriates

Figure 5.5 reveals that Shaun's reaction to the host culture of the UK is largely characterised by resistance at both the shallow level of explicit cultural artefacts and the deeper cultural level of values and norms. Subsequent repatriation in the same respondent demonstrates some resistance at the shallow level of the island's population

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density which is offset by apparent acceptance of and adaptation to deeper cultural issues such as family relationships in the home culture. This type of response seems to be broadly representative of the grateful repatriate group whose resistance to the home culture upon repatriation is mostly limited to shallow cultural artefacts.

The second group, encompassing Doris, Claudine, Kathy, Simon and Jimmy, contrast significantly in that their acculturation to the host culture, by the measures presented in the previous paragraphs, was more successful. All developed strong social relationships with host locals, all exhibit acceptance of/adaptation to host cultural scripts at a deep cultural level, and all have shown significant improvement in their host language competence. It should be noted however that acceptance of and adaptation to aspects of the host culture is not completely indiscriminate, with frequent comments implying resistance to, acceptance of, and adaptation to various cultural features simultaneously. Conceptualising such tendencies on the linear model of intercultural sensitivity development proposed by Bennett would certainly be problematic which suggests support for the increased complexity and non-linearity of the Shaules model.

Upon return to Taiwan, perceived experience is largely marked by feelings, in some cases extreme, of alienation, isolation and interpersonal relationship discomfort. This is reportedly a result of a mismatch between the manifestation of cultural identities hybridised from home and host culture and the cultural expectations in behaviour and underlying values/norms of the home culture. Repatriation discomfort has been, and continues to be, considerable and in general this group report dissatisfaction with their lives at the time of interview. From the perspective of Shaules's deep culture model, manifestations of *resistance* to both deep and shallow aspects of the home culture are frequently present in these narratives. Therefore repatriation acculturation could be argued to have been largely unsuccessful for members of this returning group. Sussman's model may consider this group to have broadly manifested *additive/subtractive* cultural identity shifts. Figure 5.6 below uses summarised extracts from the narrative of Doris to demonstrate this point.

SOJOURN - ACCULTURATION

Resistance | Acceptance | Adaptation

Explicit

I started dressing with miniskirt like 18-19 years old

Towards increase in overall cultural empathy

I don't really like the attitude to relationships and babies

I only cook Western food

I like drinking in the UK, at least one drink every day

I start to challenge anything I learnt

Implicit

Increased depth of intercultural experience

POST-SOJOURN - REACCULTURATION

Resistance | Acceptance | Adaptation

Explicit

Clubbing and going out here is boring

Towards increase in overall cultural empathy

Getting married and having a baby is not on my agenda

My family and colleagues think I'm hard to get along with but I don't care

Implicit

Increased depth of intercultural experience

I don't like Taiwanese men's attitude

RELUCTANT REPATRIATE
HIGH REPATRIATION DISCOMFORT

Figure 5.6 - Shaules's Deep Culture Model and Reacculturation – Reluctant Repatriates

Doris's narrative suggests a clear tendency towards adaptation to the host culture during the sojourn which largely results, upon repatriation, in resistance to many of the interpersonal situations encountered and behavioural expectations of the home culture.

The final group is the anomalous respondent, Jill, many features of whose overseas experience would arguably point to a status as a repatriated *settler* rather than a repatriated *sojourner*. Apparent in her comments is a higher level of cultural flexibility than that seen in the narratives of the remaining respondents and she is largely unique in her ability to observe both host and home cultures from a *meta* level of awareness. Her narrative demonstrates deeply meaningful relationship with host nationals, internalisation of deep host cultural scripts, considerable host language development and overall, in the terms presented, successful acculturation to the host culture. Upon repatriation, despite finding certain home behaviours and values strange and difficult to readjust to, in Shaules's terms, although frequently not *adapting*, her ability to *accept* rather than *resist* these is what seems to distinguish her from the second group of reluctant repatriates presented previously. As a result, she reports limited discomfort upon repatriation. However, this notwithstanding, Jill does point to a strategy she has adopted for avoiding cultural conflict which may equally contribute to her reported lack of repatriation discomfort:

> "What do you expect, I live in a small flat on my own outside in the coast where the population is probably three thousand, I don't go out of the flat for about 4 days in a row and I only go out, I don't even have internet connection there, and I only go out to chat to people when I go out to shopping otherwise I don't talk all day, what do you expect?" (Jill).
>
> *Interviewer- Do you like that lifestyle?*
>
> "Yes, I think it's heaven" (Jill).

Through this strategy, it seems that Jill is able to avoid interpersonal relationship conflict in her daily life as a repatriate and as such argues to be satisfied with her life at the time of interview. She can largely be considered to be a successful repatriate with Sussman's model likely considering her to have broadly manifested an *intercultural* cultural identity shift. Figure 5.7 below shows how the sojourn period as reported by Jill is characterised, as with the reluctant repatriate group, by adaptation to the host culture. However reacculturation to the home cultural environment is marked by a much greater acceptance of perceived cultural differences from a non-judgemental meta-awareness level.

SOJOURN - ACCULTURATION

Resistance	Acceptance	Adaptation

Explicit

I enjoyed a good roast dinner

Towards increase in overall cultural empathy

Going to the pub on a Friday night, getting pissed and having a kebab was normal

I came to believe obeying the law is necessary and an honour

Implicit

Increased depth of intercultural experience

POST-SOJOURN - REACCULTURATION

Resistance	Acceptance	Adaptation

Watching the news here is very disturbing, like a kid with a minicam

Explicit
People in Taiwan don't like to queue

Towards increase in overall cultural empathy

In Taiwan, people don't have self-respect enough to obey the law

My relationship with my parents has reversed; I've become a caretaker

Implicit

Increased depth of intercultural experience

**ACCEPTING REPATRIATE
LOW REPATRIATION DISCOMFORT**

Figure 5.7 - Shaules's Deep Culture Model and Reacculturation – Accepting Repatriate

Based on the discussion of the three groups above, it can be argued that, given the considerable proportion of Taiwanese academic sojourners ultimately repatriating to their home jurisdiction, the definition of a successful academic sojourn does not necessarily imply successful acculturation to the host culture as such. In reality, it actually seems that deep acculturation to the host culture is something to be avoided if internalisation of a contrasting cultural frame of reference will cause conflict with cultural expectations upon returning home. If deep internal and external conflict occurs, reports from this study demonstrate that the repatriation benefits of improved social status and job competitiveness seem to be secondary to the difficulties inherent in reacculturation for those sojourners manifesting high levels of adaptation to the host culture.

The parameters for defining a successful overseas academic sojourn therefore could arguably be adjusted to the successful completion of the postgraduate degree rather than social integration and acculturation to the host culture. Perhaps a more preferable response would be that of Jill's apparent intercultural identity shift and deep acceptance of even the more homeostasis threatening facets of her home cultural environment. It should however not be forgotten that she remains something of an anomaly in terms of the extended duration of her overseas sojourn, her highly developed communicative ability in the host language, her meta-awareness of cultural frames of reference, and her status classifiable perhaps as a settler rather than a sojourner. Before concluding this discussion and moving on to revisit the research questions in the light of the emerging trends in the data, a final factor in the cultural transition cycle has proven to be very much worthy of discussion for its fundamental role in the repatriation affect process, namely the time elapsed since returning home.

5.6   Time Elapsed Since Repatriation

Discussion of and justification for the use of retrospective interview techniques to explore sojourners' *perceptions* of the cultural transition cycle have been presented in the section detailing methodology previously. There was however a notable difference in the time elapsed since repatriation across the sample set, ranging from four months to three years, consideration of which was duly taken in the data analysis process. The difference in time elapsed since return would be expected to play a role in the

perception of the cycle, those returning more recently being in the earlier stages of the repatriation process. However, in reality, the meaningfulness of the experience to the respondents was reflected strongly in the clarity of the narratives of even those having returned three years prior to the interview. Ultimately then, there seemed to be no noticeable correlation between time elapsed since repatriation and reported perception of the sojourn in the data collected.

Nevertheless, very much worthy of discussion are the findings as to the difference in perceived integration into the home culture immediately upon repatriation as compared with perception at the time the interviews were carried out. Revisiting the interview schedule, the graphical representation detailing two spheres seen below, one representing the sojourner, the other representing the home or host culture was used as a conceptual aid for probing the significance of time elapsed on perception of reintegration into the home culture.

YOU AND TAIWAN – POST-SOJOURN (Cultural ID Centrality)						
◯ ●	◯◉	◖◉	◑◑	◕◑	◕◕	◉
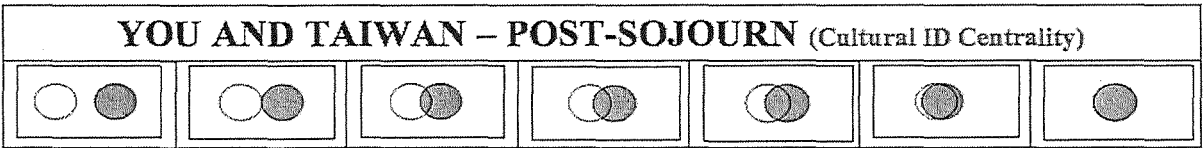
Respondents were asked first to consider their perception immediately upon return, and then again at the time of interview and to offer opinions as to significant events or realisations which led to any perceived changes in perception of reintegration into Taiwanese society. Although again fully aware of the imprecise nature of graphically representing and quantifying such complex notions as perception of reacculturation and social integration to the home cultural environment, and the risks to validity this potentially presents, the findings do suggest emerging trends which are of considerable interest to this study. Table 5.1 below presents perceptions as reported in the narratives, numbers referring to the image chosen in the above diagram, 1 through to 7 from the left side to the right side.

Respondent	Time Elapsed since Return	Initial Perception	Interview Perception	Change
Kathy	1 year	3	3	0
Jimmy	9 months	2	4	+2
Doris	18 months	1	3	+2
Yen	23 months	1	5	+4
Anna	15 months	3	5	+1
Will	3 years	4	6	+2
Karina	3 years	3	5	+2
Eddie	2 years	5	5	0
Ashley	4 months	5	6	+1
Catherine	3 years	3	6	+3
Claudine	9 months	1	3	+2
Sandra	3 years	3	5	+2
Mabel	2 years	2	6	+4
Simon	10 months	2	6	+4
Steve	3 years	5	7	+2
Shaun	4 months	7	7	0
Olly	2 years	5	6	+1
Raymond	18 months	5	6	+1
Winston	3 years	3	5	+2
Fatima	3 years	5	5	0
Jill	2 years	4	5	+1
Trevor	1 year	4	5	+1

Table 5.1 – Time Elapsed Since Repatriation

The first observation from the table is that the overwhelming majority group reported an increase in their perceived reintegration into Taiwanese society over time. Reports of perceived disintegration manifested in movement away from Taiwanese society over time since repatriation were not present in any of the narratives in this study. This finding would suggest support for Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963) W-curve model of repatriation which argues for the importance of time in reacculturation to the home cultural context. There does however appear to be little correlation between the length of time elapsed and the extent of perceived change in home culture integration pointing perhaps to situational circumstances and individual personality factors as more significant variables than duration of time itself.

Table 5.1 identifies in darker shading those respondents with higher levels of repatriation discomfort (Simon, Jimmy, Kathy, Doris, and Claudine) and demonstrates that such discomfort is indeed correlated to their perceived lack of integration into the home society. Of these respondents, only Simon seems to perceive that he has been able to effectively reintegrate into the home culture, his report is one which signals some resignation:

> *Interviewer- How long before you felt normal again in Taiwan?*
>
> "Last month, nine months to feel. Nothing really happened to change me, I just adjust myself, I tell myself I really have to get used to it otherwise or, well that is my home now, I have to, nothing really happened. For last 8 months I felt bad, definitely, now I have to accept it. I think I will be happier this way" (Simon).

Simon therefore has arguably made the change in his response to the home environment from Shaules's *resistance* to *acceptance* through a rationalisation of his position with seemingly little option for further extended overseas sojourning. Of interest however is that, as seen previously, a part of his reacculturation strategy has been to start an emotional relationship with another repatriate from the same university in the UK. Time elapsed since Jimmy's repatriation is similar to Simon and he also demonstrates a movement away from *resistance* towards *acceptance*. Equally apparent is his use of meaningful social interaction with home cultural society members, in this case his family and a new, internationally minded girlfriend through her vocation as an air stewardess, as a possible *Sparrowist* (2000) social networking mechanism for reacculturation:

> "I've come back for 9 months and I start to work in February so I think I get used to see the lifestyle in Taiwan. I have new girlfriend and spend most time with family and girlfriend, if she is free" (Jimmy).

The three female respondents with high repatriation discomfort, Doris, Kathy, and Claudine, do however appear to be continuing to manifest higher levels of *resistance* to the home culture which, although having lessened with time, are still perceived as a source of reacculturation and reintegration difficulty. Claudine expresses her fears:

> "the way I'm thinking and just think I can't fit in this society any more. I just worry I can't love Taiwan any more, I mean this environment" (Claudine).

Doris, despite continuing to hope a time would come when she would be able to return to the UK, does seem in her narrative to be moving towards an *acceptance* response albeit in rather a resigned way:

> "I'm also thinking about any other chance to go back to England or go to other countries so maybe I have enough ideas in mind and I don't really want to get involved too much in Taiwan life, like a few months ago one of my family told me that there might be a chance that he want me to go to England to open a branch for him, after that I took myself totally outside Taiwan society, not totally but a lot of things, for example, because the shops, have a membership and before I would join so I shop here all the time, but at that time, I was like no, I'm leaving, so I don't spend much time to get to know more people because I think that I will leave them one day and but after that chance is leaving, I start thinking, yeah, why I didn't do that, I should spend more time to know more people, and that's what I'm trying to do right now, I'm trying to go out with the people, I have no idea who they are, I went to the dating website, looking for a dating partner, and I got about 15 guys with every different age they chat to me, I have seen one, he was nice, he's a post-graduate student in Taiwan and all these people are Taiwanese, because I can't go back right now, so I have to build my connections here, I have to have more friends" (Doris).

Most of the remaining respondents, categorised as successful repatriates in the previous section, as can be seen in Table 5.1 perceive their reintegration as much less problematic. One interesting exception to this is Yen who reports that upon returning she felt very much outside of Taiwanese culture:

> "for the first three months, I didn't go out, I was just at home, I just stay in my house. Because you feel that you don't know what will happen on the outside, you don't know how to talk to the people. The first three months, I just stay at home. People think you are foreigner because you have been used to talk like English at that time, you think when you talk like English and your Chinese is not good after two and a half years you don't talk by Chinese, not talk too much, so when you talk to people you are used to by English. And then your way, your stress, and everything people think you are a foreigner, yes this is true, I went to have a visit some factory, the first time I saw them they say are you a foreigner? I say, no I'm not, I'm Taiwanese, they say, you look like a foreigner. They just think you are not the same as Taiwanese" (Yen).

Despite feeling this sense of 'foreignness' in her home culture, Yen does not perceive this as an uncomfortable experience arguably due to a lack of reported *resistance* responses in her repatriation perhaps resulting from her limited desire to stay in the host culture. Her approach to slowly reintegrating is described as non-problematic:

> "Because you know what is Taiwanese life look like so you just go back slowly, little by little. This is my country. I cannot say I already complete with the society together, we still have some difference but I already part of them. I still keep something I like, UK style like in my home and when I go out I have. It's a culture too much difference. But you can join them, that is no problem" (Yen).

Therefore, based on the comments above, it can be argued that while the duration elapsed since repatriation seems to play a role in that over time level of reintegration into the home cultural environment generally becomes greater, seemingly of more significance to the experience of reacculturation is the extent of social integration into the host culture during the sojourn, the resultant degree of internalisation of host cultural frames of reference, the corresponding nature of shifts in cultural identity, and the ability or willingness to move from a state of resistance to acceptance of the home cultural environment.

5.7   **Conclusion**

This chapter has presented and discussed emerging themes from the data collected as to the nature of the return home experience following the academic sojourn in the UK. It has sought to consider the interplay between the stages of the cultural transition cycle and has revealed a general pattern in that those respondents demonstrating high levels of social integration into the host culture perceive their return home to have been largely problematic. The source of this discomfort is reportedly perceived as modifications made to cultural frames of reference which seem to be in conflict with the values, norms and behavioural expectations of the home cultural environment.

The nature of repatriation affect was discussed revealing that a simple dichotomous positive vs. negative conceptualisation results in oversimplification of such a complex emotional response. Narratives unanimously contain simultaneously both negative and positive perceptions of features of the repatriation experience, affect therefore seemingly best measured in a tendency towards negative or positive. The analysis further demonstrates that the reported intensity and direction of this tendency appears to be strongly correlated with the perceived depth of acculturation a sojourner demonstrates during the sojourn. While this seems to be in part a result of those sojourners feeling well integrated into the host culture reporting a lack of willingness and psychological preparedness to return home following the sojourn, evidence of difficulty readjusting to behavioural and attitudinal expectations of work colleagues, family members and presojourn friends in those same sojourners reportedly results in uncomfortable interpersonal relationships and significant negative repatriation affect.

Narratives expressing high levels of repatriation discomfort do however represent a small minority of the sample participating in this study. A significant majority of respondents report to being in the most part grateful repatriates taking advantage of their new status as returned sojourners benefiting from overseas academic qualifications, increased intercultural awareness, and highly desirable communicative ability in the English language. There are however some emerging features of the home cultural and physical environment which are nevertheless lamented even by the grateful repatriate group. Firstly, and most frequently mentioned, is the demanding nature of Taiwan's working environment relativised in contrast with the more relaxed student life during the academic sojourn. Secondly, the loss of personal space and independence experienced during the sojourn as a result of returning to the parental home and living once again within the cultural confines of expectations of traditional Taiwanese parents is a source of some discomfort even for otherwise grateful repatriates. Thirdly, the weight of population in Taiwan, resultant lack of personal space and significant environmental pollution are viewed as problematic issues. The final source of lamentation about the home environment comes as a result of increased relativisation of Taiwan's political instability, sensationalist journalistic practices and judicial system's particularism when compared to those witnessed during the sojourn in the UK.

Of particular interest in this study is how the Shaules deep culture model, originally designed to conceptualise the acculturation process to a host culture, can equally be applied to the subsequent cultural transition cycle stage of reacculturation to provide insight into the patterns emerging from the data. This chapter marks the end of the analysis of the data collected taking discussion on to the final conclusion chapter which follows. This will revisit the research questions guiding the enquiry highlighting the contribution of this study to the theoretical body of literature, the implications for practice, and further research areas warranting exploration in the future.

CONCLUSION

The overseas academic sojourn is a richly meaningful cultural and developmental experience for its many participants and, as has been demonstrated in the present study, this is no less so for those originating from the East Asian island jurisdiction of Taiwan choosing to sojourn in the UK. The cultural transition cycle, through its very nature as being perceived and experienced through the human lens is as conceptually complex and intriguingly idiosyncratic as its many travellers. Through the qualitative methods employed in this doctoral study, the rich variation in perceived experience has been evidenced, analysed, and interpretivistically documented enabling perhaps new insights into the phenomenon of the cultural transition cycle in the context of Taiwanese academic sojourners to the UK. It is important to remember however the limitations of conclusions made on the basis of the 'telling case' presented in the present study. Rather than attempting to attain conclusive, generalisable truths, such study is more limited to the possibility of transportable findings and ideas.

In order to best conclude this research study, consider both theoretical and practical contributions to the field, and signal areas for further research and development in the future beyond those highlighted in earlier chapters, it is important to revisit the research questions identified in the introductory chapters of this document.

1) How do Taiwanese repatriates narrate their academic sojourn experience in the UK and, in particular, what is its perceived influence on cultural identity?

The narratives signal firstly that the academic sojourn for Taiwanese students in the UK is characterised by increases in ethnorelativism, intercultural awareness and cultural sensitivity. Entering into the multicultural forum of UK academia provides opportunities for contact with other international students from contrasting cultural backgrounds, a fact that is consistently applauded as of considerable beneficial value to the respondents' own cultural identities and a significant highlight of the overseas sojourn. However, whereas continual meaningful contact with host nationals in order to both gain insight into the cultural mechanisms of the UK and improve English language skills features heavily in presojourn expectations of the academic sojourn, since the

most frequently chosen disciplines of study by Taiwanese sojourners are postgraduate degrees in the Business and Commerce fields, in reality the majority of respondents in this study report to having little opportunity for such contact through the milieu of UK academia. This is mainly due to a reported paucity of enrolments by UK nationals on such postgraduate courses. Furthermore, it is frequently reported that overseas postgraduate academic sojourners, housed within university accommodation, will find themselves cohabiting almost entirely with other international students. As a consequence, such isolation from host nationals results in social interactions with the local UK community limited, in most part, to the functional. Therefore, for such sojourners, contact with the deeper, implicit, hidden norms and values of the host culture is perceived to be limited and resultant cultural learning, in relation to the host culture, reportedly remains largely at a shallow cultural level. In the sample making up this study, such sojourners have been seen to make up a significant majority.

However, since all academic sojourners are hosted within the UK academic learning environment, successful graduation would imply an acceptance of and adaptation to the educational expectations, culturally and philosophically underpinned, of the host culture. The same significant majority of respondents in this study therefore demonstrate some adaptation to the culturally informed critical analytical skills required to successfully complete their courses although, due to the limited duration of the academic sojourn for most participants, this is usually perceived as occurring not so much as a deeper internalisation but rather an adoption of a functional toolkit necessary to meet the academic requirements to complete their chosen course. Such respondents have been seen to make up some two-thirds of the sample in this study and are characterised as sojourners whose social interactions with the host culture were limited mostly to the functional, whose meaningful friendship networks during the sojourn were developed and maintained largely with the conational Taiwanese academic sojourner group, and whose internalisation of host culture values, norms and behaviours were limited mostly to the superficial.

Reported reasons for this tendency, besides paucity of local students enrolled on the same academic courses or inhabiting postgraduate university accommodation, were summarised into three areas. Firstly, the narratives frequently told of a perceived indifference, intolerance or even hostility towards the international sojourner on the part

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of some members of the host culture. This was particularly felt originating from teenagers and young adults in England, notably less so in Scotland and Wales, and led to a reported retraction into the perceived safety and comfort of the more welcoming conational Taiwanese or multinational international student social circles. Evidence from this study and previous research presented reveals a need for greater intercultural communication training for the home student body in UK academia as a possible means of contributing to the alleviation of this issue. Secondly, perceived linguistic deficiencies on the behalf of the respondents themselves seem to have led to incidents of intercultural communication breakdown resulting in emotional discomfort. This again seemingly reduced a prior willingness on the part of the sojourner to actively seek further social interactions with members of the host culture. Thirdly, and perhaps most unexpectedly, it was found that the Taiwanese collective expatriate group reportedly imposes implicit, culturally informed behavioural expectations on its members whilst in the UK. According to the narrative, fraternising excessively with people from other nationalities, including host nationals, runs counter to these expectations and has been seen to lead in some cases to ostracisation from the conational Taiwanese group. Further focused research is strongly recommended into this phenomenon, including varying the nationality of the sample, as this appears not to have been addressed with rigour in the existing body of literature. Deeper insight would be helpful for practice in the design of university induction and insessional pastoral support programmes which may seek to provide social interactions with host nationals through structured activities, thus moving the locus of control away from the sojourners and reducing potential conflicts with compatriots.

The small minority of respondents in this study who report deeper social interactions with host nationals achieved this through either living with local host families or starting relationships with local people. The latter strategy was limited to female sojourners who reported that this largely resulted in ostracisation from the Taiwanese expatriate group, perhaps for the reasons stated in the previous paragraph. Through such extended contact with host nationals, this minority group all offered evidence of learning at a deeper cultural level resulting in notable shifts in cultural frames of reference. Among the more salient reported shifts were an increased directness in interpersonal communication style, a greater need for personal space incorporating an increased psychological distance from others, and an internalisation of critical analysis

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into cognitive processes seemingly of a more permanent nature than the previously described subgroup. Furthermore, changes in perception both of advisable family and working practices were equally evident with comments suggesting that the traditional Taiwanese family structure and the traditional Taiwanese working environment do not allow children or employees the space and independence to learn from risk-taking and making mistakes. This group equally reported the significant behavioural shift of regular and sometimes excessive drinking of alcohol over the course of their sojourn, a behavioural pattern brought back with them upon their subsequent return to Taiwan.

A further interesting tendency salient across the narrative of the Taiwanese academic sojourners seen in this study, distinguishing them it seems from other sample nationality groups studied in previous cultural transition cycle research, is that simultaneous to increases in perceived ethnorelativism and, in the case of the second subgroup above, shifting in cultural frame of reference towards that of the UK, come increases in cultural identity salience, cultural identity centrality, and nationalistic pride. Previous discussion visited Taiwan's Social Studies syllabus and demonstrated how collectivistic patriotism and national pride are inculcated into the Taiwanese population from an early age. Therefore, prior to the sojourn, cultural identity centrality for the most part in the sample group was seen to be high thus making the application of Sussman's conceptual framework of the cultural transition cycle in this context somewhat problematic. Moreover, respondents actually reported feeling a sense of increase in cultural identity centrality, the importance of being Taiwanese, as a result of the sojourn. This was perceived to be a result of two principal factors. Firstly, presojourn expectations of the UK were unrealistically high resulting in much of the sojourn being characterised by a re-evaluation of the host environment in a less positive light. The first group of sojourners, those who had limited interaction with the host culture, commented on more superficial, explicitly visible features of the host culture such as the lack of convenience stores, the lack of availability and inferior speed of Internet connections, and the inefficiency of the banking system, all relative to Taiwan. The second group commented on deeper, more implicit features of the host culture, most notably the perceived social decay seen in public drunkenness, vandalism, single parent families, lack of a sense of community, abuse of the social welfare system, and hostility towards multiculturalism.

The second factor contributing to increases in cultural identity centrality reportedly originates from a strong sense of solidarity among the Taiwanese in the face of continual denial of a sense of national identity by many of the Mainland Chinese encountered during the sojourn. Of great significance to the debate surrounding Taiwanese identity is one respondent's comment that presojourn her cultural identity was characterised by a feeling of Chineseness. However, upon her first contact with Mainland Chinese people, those sojourning in the UK, she felt a marked change in her perception and became strongly Taiwanese, desiring to protect her island and its people. In terms of further research, the potentially contentious area of how the overseas sojourn impacts upon national identity of Taiwanese repatriates warrants considerable investment in the future.

The question as to why a sojourner would broadly fall into the first or second category has been seen to be as much a question of chance encounters with welcoming host nationals as variables within the individuals themselves. Sussman's model proposes levels of cultural identity centrality and cultural flexibility as two antecedent factors predictive of a sojourner's adaptation into a host culture. While this study provides some support for this theory in that the two respondents manifesting the lowest cultural identity centrality both consciously sought to avoid socialisation with conationals during their sojourn, other respondents contradict the model by adapting and socially integrating into the host culture despite reporting very high cultural identity centrality. Furthermore, the data has revealed that many of the respondents do not manifest intrinsic motivation to study in the UK or indeed a particular rapport with that country. Academic sojourns therein seem to be more extrinsically motivated by the perceived value for career and social mobility of the educational qualification Therefore low levels of adaptation and social integration into the UK host culture are not generally seen by the sojourners in a negative light, reports instead seeming to convey a contentedness with the cultural learning experienced within the multicultural academic context. The implications for university practice here would be a suggested revisiting of integration strategies for international students. Much of the literature and current practice seems to propose successful integration of international students into the host student body as a model of best practice for cross-campus relations. Perhaps this needs to be reviewed, particularly in the light of the repatriation experience of Taiwanese academic sojourners returning from the UK.

2) How do Taiwanese repatriates narrate the return experience to Taiwan and, in particular, what is the perceived interplay between cultural identity and returning home?

Whereas the reported socialisation patterns and integration into the host culture during the sojourn broadly cleave along two dimensions, those who integrate extensively and those who do not, repatriation experience seems to result in three groups conceptually identifiable as grateful repatriates, unwilling repatriates, and accepting repatriates. The grateful repatriates make up the majority group, those whose social interaction with the host culture was limited to the functional. Manifesting little self-concept disturbance as a result of minimal social integration, these sojourners are able to benefit from their improved status as returning English-speaking, international academic sojourners to secure competitive working opportunities with higher salaries at home. Repatriation discomfort is largely minimal for these respondents, resistance to the home cultural environment being limited to explicit, surface-level features such as environment pollution, population density, the political situation, and the transition from a relaxed student life to a busy working environment.

Unwilling repatriates make up one of the minority groups, those whose levels of social integration into the host culture were much higher. This group of sojourners, despite trying to remain in the UK, found that circumstances, most frequently inability to secure work due to visa restrictions, militated against them doing so. Their repatriation experience is characterised by discomfort, difficult interpersonal relationships with family and work colleagues, internal and external conflict, and a sense of being between two cultures, foreigners in Taiwan. Discomfort comes largely as a result of newfound cultural frames of reference conflicting with the norms, values and behavioural expectations of Taiwan's collectivistic society upon returning home. From the perspective of the Shaules model, resistance to the home culture occurs at a deep level for this unwilling repatriate group.

Finally, the accepting repatriate group is something of an anomaly. Limited to one respondent in this study, her cultural transition cycle demonstrates high levels of adaptation and integration into the host society. She does however differ from the

previous group in that her repatriation demonstrates very few negative features, this seemingly best conceptualised using the Shaules model. Whereas the unwilling repatriate group above were seen to *resist* many facets of the home culture upon return home, the accepting respondent was able to largely *accept* these, this even extending to cultural values, norms and behaviours found to be in conflict with her new cultural frame of reference. In her interview data is a seeming ability to observe both home and host cultures from a meta-awareness level, Bennett labelling *integrated marginality*, Sussman perhaps labelling an *intercultural* identity shift, which is mostly not present in the narratives of the other respondents in this study. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the accepting repatriate was particular in that the duration of her sojourn, at eight years, was more prolonged than the majority of the other respondents in this study. Furthermore, her integration experience seems to contrast with the other respondents in this study in that she manifested a greater degree of permanent commitment to the host culture arguably characterising her more as a *settler* than a *sojourner*.

The implications of these findings for practice it seems is that the reacculturation strategy, that of acceptance over resistance, of the accepting respondent should be incorporated into the design of predeparture, arrival, and pre-repatriation training of international sojourners. This may be useful in that whereas the grateful repatriate group appear to have been unsuccessful in acculturation to the host culture yet successful in reacculturation to the home culture and the unwilling repatriate group successful in acculturation to the host culture but unsuccessful in acculturation to the home culture, the accepting sojourner appears in her narrative to be unique in having been broadly successful both in her acculturation to the host culture, and her reacculturation to her home culture. Therefore, it is suggested that the findings from this study could be incorporated into the induction of newly arriving international students of all nationalities in the UK. During this crucial time for many of cultural identity discovery, perhaps an awareness of the potential conflicts arising from integrating socially into the host culture at the expense of one's own cultural identity, at least for those who intend to return to their home jurisdiction, would enable academic sojourners to more fully benefit from the academic sojourn. This with a view to ultimately facilitating a more rewarding and successful experience of the cultural transition cycle for its many travellers.

The application of the theoretical frameworks into the relatively unexplored context of Eastern academic sojourners in Western countries has revealed that apparent shifts in cultural frames of reference for Taiwanese academic sojourners in the UK are not entirely explainable or predictable through the antecedent factors at the level of the individual, *cultural identity centrality* and *cultural flexibility*, proposed in the Sussman model. This is in part due to the fact that cultural identity centrality in this context does not appear to demonstrate the same level of variation as documented in previous research into Western overseas sojourners. Furthermore, the studied sample in this context differs from much previous research in their status as academic as opposed to professional sojourners. Through this status, contrasting patterns of socialisation and contact with the host cultural environment have been observed. Of particular significance to the development of a new theoretical perspective, it seems, is the potential of the Shaules model to be applied as much in acculturation during the sojourn as in reacculturation when returning back to the home jurisdiction. The concepts of resistance to, acceptance of and adaptation to cultural frames of reference at the shallower, explicit to the deeper, implicit levels have proven to be a valuable framework from which to explore the many facets of the cultural transition cycle. It may be that the integration of the concept of levels of culture into the Sussman model would prove beneficial, particularly in terms of additive/subtractive cultural identity shifts which have been seen in this study to occur at different levels of culture.

As a final concluding thought, the design of this research study and its research questions have meant that discussion has largely focused on the individual participants' experiences of the cultural transition cycle. It seems equally important to consider the potential broader consequences of the academic sojourn on the wider Taiwanese community and cultural traditions. Since the data collected has focused on the perceptions of the returning sojourners themselves, further research has been suggested into how they are perceived by family, friends and work associates. This may potentially offer useful insight into the longer-term implications of returning academic sojourners on the traditional Taiwanese cultural heritage. From the perspective of the returning academic sojourner, based on the data gathered in this study, it is however possible to draw some speculative conclusions in this regard.

It has been demonstrated that a significant majority of Taiwanese academic sojourners return to Taiwan with little change to their own cultural frames of reference besides the moderately superficial. However, there is an apparent small minority, those who spent more meaningful time with host nationals or more prolonged stays in the UK, who report to manifesting what Sussman would consider additive shifts in their values and behaviours at a fundamental level. Such shifts, they argue, are already or will be influential in their own behavioural repertoires and attitudes. Claudine for example discusses her revised perception of the work vs. leisure dichotomy:

> "I just don't want to life to have work only. Because most of the Taiwanese will go home and do nothing, watch TV. It depends on what kind of job you are in, in another side because my boss is from Germany, so he don't want us to work overtime that is the most important thing for me so why I can enjoy my life so much because most of the Taiwanese boss will want you, his employees to be put more time at work, work overtime is the normal thing for them. We get 3 or 4 days holiday for the Christmas. If I am the boss, I think I will do this, make staffs not working so much and enjoying life more, you know?" (Claudine).

Given, as seen previously, that most respondents find themselves in favourable positions in terms of working and promotion opportunities, it may be that as increasing numbers of overseas academic sojourners repatriate, they will bring with them such revised perceptions into the middle and higher levels of corporate management in Taiwan. This may be especially true with new visa regulations in the UK allowing graduates a one-year professional sojourn following a successful study sojourn. A further potential implication of the academic sojourn on Taiwanese cultural heritage can be seen in comments from Trevor, the PhD candidate who returned to Taiwan to take up a lectureship in a university. He discusses the influence of the sojourn on his attitudes towards the nature of studying, researching, and perhaps more significantly, teaching:

> "Especially, I was influenced the study style, the study thinking or something like that [...] I think [academics reading PhD in Taiwan] their study style and the working, teaching style and research is quite different, they don't think to be a leading researcher or doing some leading stuff, they think to be a follower is OK, they want to write more publications. [...] In that way because when I want to introduce some theories I need to begin with qualitative research but most of my colleagues they use, test a theory so use a quantitative approach. In this case I can hardly find someone to discuss this qualitative approach, I mean the methodology, so that's my biggest research problem, major problem" (Trevor).

> "And the teaching style, they will say OK, that's OK, if the student they don't like it. Another teaching style, they will make the students happy, I am not, I will talking about

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the basic of the topic and then added some case studies they can comment the real case and the theory and I explain that. But when I explain the theory the students think this so boring, so in that case the students, other teachers make them very happy in the class, that's a good teacher, but I don't think professors good, because I knew, I understand that if you want to develop some new knowledge or new theories it must be based on existing theories, knowledge. I want to teach students democratic thinking, I will give them questions, one politic student to think about the answers to improve their thinking, their opinions, but some teachers,, 'no, it's OK', just give the answer, give their opinion to the students. For example, I asked the, for instance, I teaching about, one class, I teaching about the lots of strategic analysis and I ask the students to think about that, provide their opinions, the students ask me to provide my opinion, I say no, because if I give you my opinion, you will borrow mine, so I don't want to do this but I will correct if you want to write your opinions on the blackboard, I will say not if right or not. I mean if it is right or not is not the thinking it is right or not, you can't judge it, you can't students thinking in this variable or good or bad, I say I will correct. For example the SWOT strength is related to internal event and opportunities is external, I just correct them for this" (Trevor).

Trevor's clear passion for these modifications in ideology behind his teaching, as can be seen in the above extract, reached a level of intensity in the interview which actually inhibited his otherwise strong English communicative ability, such was the strength of feeling in his narrative. As increasing numbers of overseas academic sojourners return to employment in Taiwan's education system, the Socratic heritage of Western education may well find its way further into mainstream Taiwanese society. It would be interesting to carry out further research into the contrastive perceptions of students being taught both by academic repatriates and non-repatriates. A final example of the influence of the sojourn on traditional Taiwanese values can be seen in Jimmy's comments visited in earlier chapters. His sojourn was spent living with a local host family, an experience which, as seen previously, influenced his perception of child raising which he argues he will incorporate into his own practice in the future:

"And I think that I have learnt from the English family they encourage the kids to do everything, not like protect the kids, in Taiwan, parents they don't like kids to try new things but I have learnt from the English family, I think kids need to try every new things so I think that is very good point I have learnt from the English family. So when I have children I will encourage them to do more. I think because the kids they need to try new things, not like you protect not to do everything. They will not learn from the fail" (Jimmy).

The implications therefore of shifts in cultural frames of reference resulting from the overseas academic sojourn seem to extend into all areas of traditional Taiwanese culture and seem to warrant much further sociological research in the future. However, as argued, academic returnees manifesting such deep shifts appear to be in the minority, a

fact which may be limiting to their influence in the wider Taiwanese community. Nonetheless, apparent across the data set by contrast is arguably one of the most positive outcomes of the overseas sojourn which seems a good point to conclude this discussion. Both contact with the many cultural frames of reference present in UK academia and a direct experience of being of ethnic minority status has reportedly led to increases in ethnorelativism and cultural sensitivity. Along with this experience may come an increased tolerance towards ethnic minorities and foreign immigrants in Taiwan. As seen earlier, Jill proposes that the Taiwanese *"have servants from other countries, we pay them badly and we treat them badly"*. Such immigrants, hired primarily as manual labourers and home-helpers, generally originate from the South East Asian nations of Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam and tend to suffer from negative discrimination in Taiwan. This is in marked contrast to the previously mentioned tendency for positive discrimination towards Caucasian sojourners seen to be widespread on the island jurisdiction. An important perceived increase in empathy resulting from the sojourn can be seen in the narrative of Shaun who, while discussing the problems he faced with racially motivated harassment and discrimination in the UK, observed that:

> "Almost every Asian student, my friends they have this kind of bad experience with England people. I think Scotland also have this kind of problem. But I think every country has this kind of problem, in Taiwan we also have immigrants, Thai workers and some people look down on them" (Shaun).
>
> *Interviewer- And you?*
>
> "For me, before I went to UK I look down on them because I feel they are dirty because they are black skin and they always sit on the ground but now I feel that's just culture difference and they are also people, they are people, they are also friends" (Shaun).

Therefore, while each individual narrative is fascinating in its idiosyncrasies, a global increase in understanding and acceptance of multiculturalism and a lowering of presojourn prejudice as a result of the sojourn could be considered to be one of the most positive outcomes of the overseas academic sojourn for the lowering of cultural barriers in this era of globalisation concerns.

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APPENDIX A – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Schedule

Respondent Name:

Age:

Gender: M/F

Introduction

I am working on a research study at the University of Southampton regarding the experiences of Taiwanese students studying in the UK. Thank you for your willingness to participate in this research project. Before we begin the interview, I would like to reassure you that this interview will be confidential. If you think using Chinese to respond to any question is easier then please use Chinese. Do you mind if I record the interview? _____ <if no> if there is anything you don't want me to record; just let me know and I will turn off the recorder. Excerpts of this interview may be made part of the final research report, but under no circumstances will your name or identifying characteristics be included in this report. Is it all right for me to turn on the recorder now?

1. Demographics

a) How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?
b) How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?
c) Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

2. Pre-UK Departure

a) Why did you decide to go abroad?
b) What were your plans after studying in the UK? (Triggers – return to Taiwan, stay in UK, go elsewhere)
c) Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK? (Triggers - readiness for change, reluctance)

YOU AND TAIWAN – PRE-SOJOURN (Cultural ID Centrality)

3. Experience of Living in the UK
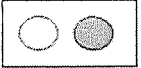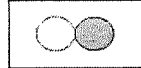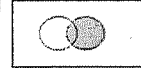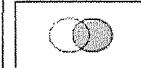
a) How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?
b) What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan? (Elicit people's behaviour/values) How did that make you feel?
c) With whom did you live? Spend your time? Why?
d) Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?
e) Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK? In what ways? Did you become more 'English' or less 'Taiwanese' in any ways?
f) How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK? Did you ever feel that the UK was your home?

YOU AND THE UK – SOJOURN (Cultural ID Centrality)

h) Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan? How did you feel about returning to Taiwan before you left the UK? (Triggers – ready to leave, excited, sad, apprehensive) Did you think about coming back to Taiwan a lot before you left the UK?

4. Experience of Coming Back

a) How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?
b) Is this how you expected to feel?
c) What did you find easier, going to the UK or coming back to Taiwan? Why?
d) When you first came back, had anything changed in Taiwan while you were away?
e) Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan? Expand.
f) If you have changed, does this affect your life in Taiwan? Have you had to change your behaviour to get back into Taiwanese life?
g) Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back? Have your relationships changed in any way?
h) Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country? If so, in what ways?
i) Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK? (Are these friends other Taiwanese students/international students or local people?) Have you been back to the UK since you came back? Do you plan to?
j) How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life? Has this changed between the time you first came back and now? Do you feel it has been easy/difficult to get back into Taiwan life?

YOU AND TAIWAN – POST-SOJOURN (Cultural ID Centrality)
○ ◑ ｜ ○◑ ｜ ◖◗ ｜ ◖◑ ｜ ◖◑ ｜ ◉ ｜ ●

k) What are your plans for the future?
l) Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally? Why/why not?
m) Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Closure

Thank you very much for your participation. Is there anything else that you would like to say? Can you tell me your age please? I will now transcribe this interview and send you a copy of the transcription. I'd be most grateful if you could send ten minutes reading through it. If there is anything you are not happy to have reproduced or any changes you would like to make you are very welcome. I will then ask you to sign a form to allow me to use the data in my research study. Again I point out that your identity will remain hidden. Thank you once again.

APPENDIX B – INTERVIEWEE PROFILES

Name	Kathy
Age	30
Time in the UK	5 years
Time since return	1 and a half years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No long term, some short term trips.
Motivation for sojourn	Continue education to improve earning potential and job possibilities in Taiwan. Also running away from mother and family pressures.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan to make big money after one year.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited, Not sad to leave Taiwan because she did not feel integrated into that society.
Perceived ID centrality	(4/7) Felt different from other Taiwanese.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Didn't like the English very much, found them rude, cold and aggressive although she ended up married to a local male.
Chosen company	Avoided Taiwanese because she feels too individualistic. They do not accept her very well. Spent time with Europeans and then locals, friends of her husband. Thinks the Taiwanese expats socialising only with other Taiwanese is a waste of their time.
Perception of the UK	Not good, too many binge drinkers, young mothers, social loafers, social decay. Thought the UK would be much nicer as portrayed in storybooks.
Taiwaneseness	Proud to be Taiwanese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Changed attitude towards drugs, previously thought that drugs were very bad but now feels more accepting of soft drugs. Tried some herself. Became more open-minded to other cultures. View of money has also changed, now she prefers a more relaxed lifestyle with travel.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	(3/7 – 6/7) Through her husband she has integrated well with his friends.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Husband wanted to learn Chinese, sad to leave her friends and her job in the UK.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Became very ill due to long working hours and excessive demands of the working environment upon return. Depressed and needed anti-depression medicine. Ended up quitting her job and taking a less stressful job.
Perceived change in self upon return	Unable to readjust to the organisational culture in Taiwan after three years of working in the UK. Thinks that leisure time is very important. Ability to analyse and critically think has improved which is both a help and a hindrance at work. She is more productive but her boss cannot accept her new ideas. Has had to keep her mouth shut at work and learn her place in the hierarchy.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	No comments.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Many, opinions about life, money and family.
Continued contact with UK	Yes, contact with friends and in-laws.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	(3/7) Very difficult to readjust to the organisational culture in Taiwan
Plans for the future	Try to return to the UK
Satisfaction with life	8/10
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good thing, became aware of the value of friendships. Better ability to analyse.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – Medium** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in other cultures, medium** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – High** **Repatriation Distress – Very High** Displays a high level of additive/subtractive shift traits in areas of interpersonal relations, criticality and attitude towards leisure/work balance.

Name	Doris
Age	30
Time in the UK	20 months
Time since return	18 months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Improve English, gain intercultural experience, interest in the UK from previous UK boyfriend in Taiwan.
Post-sojourn plans	Find a job in the UK.
Pre-departure sentiments	Very excited. Looking forward to a challenge.
Perceived ID centrality	(4/7). Felt outside of Taiwanese society. Thought career is more important than having a family which she thinks is not a traditional way of thinking. Challenged parents/ teachers/ newspapers. Thinks this is because she had a British boyfriend. Believes that other Taiwanese people thought she was weird.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Firstly felt insecure, lonely. Then met students from other nationalities. Stayed away from other Taiwanese and worked in a hotel and a bar. Met many host culture people including a younger (20 year old) local boyfriend and became part of his family until she left the UK.
Chosen company	Lived and spent time with locals. Intimate relationship with local. Avoided other Taiwanese and was ostracised and the source of slanderous gossip about her sexual promiscuity.
Perception of the UK	People viewed her with condescension. Felt she had to prove herself in her work as she was an Asian. Shocked by attitudes towards relationships, young single parents, perceived lack of interest in investing in the future of their children. Contrasts this to Taiwan. Shocked by skimpiness of female dress in the evening even despite poor figures. First year she was impressed by UK culture. 2nd year, spending more time with local people, she became more aware of social decay (e.g. UK workers are lazy which is why the jobs are being done by foreigners. Too much bad debt in the UK). Life in Taiwan is more difficult but it motivates people to want a better life. Thought the people in the UK would be better-educated, shocked about divorce rates.
Taiwaneseness	Annoyed that Taiwan is still perceived in the UK as the manufacturer of cheap toys when it is technologically more advanced than the UK. Not ashamed or proud to be Taiwanese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Behavioural – Drinking every day. Wearing miniskirts and small tops, even in December. Cooking only Western food. Loves football. Affective – Still feels like she has many Chinese values.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	(5/7) High, felt like the UK was her home. Mother was unhappy by her repeatedly saying "in our country" referring to the UK.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Tried hard but couldn't find a job due to visa restrictions. Unwilling and unprepared to return. Tried to ignore the fact until the last minute as it made her feel very sad to think about returning. Painful split with partner at last minute which made it harder.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Missed the UK very much. Felt disappointed with herself for 'failing' to find a job, felt that she had no friends who could understand her. All her friends had good jobs and she couldn't find one. Missed the food in the UK, missed her oven, missed the nightlife. Doesn't go clubbing in Taiwan. Frustrated at work because she feels she cannot fit in to the organisational culture. To direct, straightforward, distant, proud and hard to get along with. Before sojourn people in her company loved her. Intensity of bad feelings upon return was unexpected.
Perceived change in self upon return	Very distant, observing people rather than talking to them. Taiwanese men will think she is weird. She challenges them and challenges the social norm in Taiwan that a 30 year old woman should want to be married and have children. For this reason Taiwanese men think she is strange. Challenges Taiwanese culture by not believing everything. Thinks this is a result of study in the UK and critical thinking development. More choosy about who she spends time with.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Mother thinks she has become too arrogant. She wants to be left alone and independent but mother is always trying to interfere with her life. Mother set up two blind dates as she worries about her being single still at 30. Upon her return, her aunts, uncles, grandma all thought she was very distant as she doesn't want to initiate conversation with them. After six months however she started readjusting her behaviour to the expected norms. All her good friends have been abroad and they don't think she had changed too

	much.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	People think she is really Westernised. Cannot make new friends unless they have been abroad. Feels more distant and values privacy more than other Taiwanese.
Continued contact with UK	Yes, contact with friends. Visited last year and intends to visit this year. Would love to go back to the UK but not to study.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	Beginning 1/7. Now 3/7. Like to walk in the UK but not in Taiwan because the environment is not so comfortable. Not really a family person but in Taiwan you have to be otherwise people will think you are shallow. Mother is trying to put Taiwanese values back in to her head about family and marriage. Feels that she doesn't fit in, few people understand her now.
Plans for the future	Still hoping she can leave Taiwan and still feels psychologically removed from Taiwan for this reason. Starting to realise that maybe this is not possible.
Satisfaction with life	Not happy. Thinking about taking up a friend's offer of marriage for visa in the UK.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Glad she went but doesn't think she has received the benefits that she was expecting re job/dates.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – Low/medium** **Cultural Flexibility – Strong interest in other cultures esp. the UK.** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – High** **Repatriation Distress – Very High** **Displays a high level of additive/subtractive shift traits in areas of interpersonal relations, criticality and attitude towards privacy. Not interested in marriage/children.**
Other comments	**Only talked in English throughout the interview.**

Name	Yen
Age	28
Time in the UK	Two and a half years
Time since return	Two years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	See the world, see the UK (castles).
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited, quick decision to leave Taiwan.
Perceived ID centrality	7/7. Very active part of Taiwanese society. Felt very Taiwanese.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Started with a presessional programme, felt great for the first three months, then she became homesick for 6 months due to her language problems and she couldn't get in to university. Decided to continue studying language for another year and reenrolled on another presessional course. Found the people in the UK quite friendly although preferred other international sojourners' company despite communication problems.
Chosen company	Other Taiwanese, Middle Eastern, Iranian, Pakistani, Thai students, one English host family for a short time. Preferred to live with international students.
Perception of the UK	OK
Taiwaneseness	OK
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Can be herself, make her own decisions, learnt to cook, less concerned about the group and considered herself more. Became more Western in her eating habits.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	3/7 Lived the life of an international student. Not enough connection with local people and felt she couldn't get close to them. Boss was English in a hotel.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Finished her course, always felt different in the UK so wanted to leave.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	A little sad to leave her life and lose her independence from her parents. Also sorry to leave her student life behind. Felt foreign in Taiwan and stayed at home for 3-6 months. Local people thought she was foreign because of her language and style/pace of life. Didn't experience this as negative really and accepted that she was home quite gladly.
Perceived change in self upon return	More direct, likes to tell the truth. Changed her house decorations to a more UK style, place settings on the table. Growing up and becoming more confident. More confident with foreign people.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Her personality is stronger and her parents find it difficult. Think she has become a bit rude.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	More open-minded. Believes in herself more but tries not to highlight others' apparent narrowness.
Continued contact with UK	Contact with friends she made through internet. Wants to go back and see friends.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	1/5 – 5/5. Slowly reintegrate. Still tries to keep some differences.
Plans for the future	Find the right man, have a family, stay in Taiwan
Satisfaction with life	OK
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – High** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in other cultures esp. the UK.** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low** **Repatriation Distress – Minimal** **Integrated into international student life which in the UK.** **Interestingly she felt culturally detached upon return but didn't experience this as negative.**

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Name	Anna
Age	27
Time in the UK	2 years
Time since return	15 months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Gain experience of other cultures. Improve English.
Post-sojourn plans	Stay in the UK or go to the US but became too depressed from study pressure and homesickness.
Pre-departure sentiments	Very excited. Always wanted to study abroad and travel. Mother cried at airport which made her feel sad.
Perceived ID centrality	5/7. Felt more Westernised than other Taiwanese. Example given is strong belief in gender equality which she thinks is not traditional Taiwanese.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Panic at first, first impression was bad due to chest x-ray in the airport and feeling mistreated. Went to UK with a friend and father accompanied them. He left after one week and she felt free/panic/excitement. Had a difficult time coping with the pressures of postgraduate study and left without completing her course.
Chosen company	No English, only one on her course. Most of the time was spent with other Taiwanese, Chinese or international students.
Perception of the UK	Thinks UK is inefficient, giving example of banks. No particular opinions about the British people in general, recognises that each culture has good and bad people.
Taiwaneseness	Proud to be Taiwanese particularly as a way to distinguish herself from the Mainland Chinese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	More freedom being away from strict parents. Didn't feel she became more British or more Taiwanese. Felt that she became more independent but less confident in the UK because she felt that communication was a difficulty for her.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	(2/7) Time in the UK was too short, no time to meet host nationals.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Too nervous and didn't feel confident enough to apply for a job there. Now wants to go back to the UK. Depressed for a year and mother was very worried about her. Doesn't think she is the academic type so study pressure was very high. Decided to quit studies and go back to Taiwan.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Happy to return, relaxed and happy to eat traditional food. Working for the same national petrochemical company as her father (who found her a job to help her get some experience). Dislikes the job due to sexism and sexual harassment at work. Thinks this is because it is a traditional company but knows that she will not be able to advance up the ranks due to her gender. Very frustrated by this. Misses the UK because of Taiwan's humidity and pollution. Lost 20 kilos in the UK but put these back on in Taiwan. Trying to buy own apartment now to be more independent.
Perceived change in self upon return	No longer thinks that getting married and having children is important post sojourn. Now feels more independent and more confident despite feeling less confident while in the UK. Since going to the UK she thinks that personal privacy is more important than before going.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Parents and close friends do not think she has changed, but other friends think she has become more distant with people. Friends ask very personal questions (money, boyfriend, etc.) but now she thinks this is not right.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Open-minded to international perspectives. Realises that Taiwan is not the centre of the world as other Taiwanese think.
Continued contact with UK	Went back fro graduation (didn't finish Master's programme so was awarded PGDip). Too busy to keep in touch with friends she made in the UK (other Taiwanese) although occasionally uses MSN to chat with them.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	3/7 now 4/7. Some days she feels OK, some days not.
Plans for the future	Make money, change job. Unhappy with Taiwan's working conditions and cramped living conditions.
Satisfaction with life	Sometimes satisfied but mainly not. Particularly with working situation and the gender discrimination.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good, regrets leaving Taiwan too quickly and not being prepared enough (linguistically) when arriving in the UK.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	Cultural Centrality – Medium/High

	Cultural Flexibility – Some interest in other cultures Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low Repatriation Distress – Low Slight signs of additive/subtractive (distance and personal privacy) Some signs of affirmative (happy to be back) Some signs of intercultural (not longer Taiwancentric in her view of the world).
Other Comments	Use Chinese and English in the interview but mainly English. Quite nervous about using English again and generally of a nervous disposition.

Name	Karina
Age	29
Time in the UK	15 months
Time since return	3 years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Intercultural experience. UK only one year for a PG programme. Husband likes UK popular culture, music and football.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan to look after husband's parents.
Pre-departure sentiments	A dream come true. Unhappy in job in Taiwan.
Perceived ID centrality	5/7 A little different because of her interest in foreign cultures.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Very excited, enjoyed noticing the differences (such as sheep). Lived with Taiwanese husband and studied an intense course which she felt did not allow her time or opportunity to integrate into UK society. Found 'critical thinking' very interesting.
Chosen company	Taiwanese husband, Taiwanese friends, other international students, very few hosts.
Perception of the UK	Impressed by the charitable nature of the British (in the context of organised charities and donation). Thinks the working situation in the UK is better for holiday entitlement and working conditions. Very impressed by being encouraged to develop her critical thinking skills in the UK and impressed by 'Western' students' ability. Made much effort to develop her own criticality but found it difficult.
Taiwaneseness	Proud to be Taiwanese instead of Mainland Chinese. Proud of Taiwan's democracy, freedom of speech (compared to Mainland, Internet cited as example) and acceptance of thoughts from other cultures.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Developed critical thinking to some extent and tries to continue this in her life in Taiwan. Drinking alcohol in the pub.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	(5/7) Still feels that she was a Chinese/Taiwanese in the UK. Despite trying to join English life she still thinks she was living more like an international student. Went to a football match. Very few local friends.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Husband's family. Very sad to leave her life in Bournemouth as she was not sure that she would ever be able to return. Enjoyed being a student and realised that returning to Taiwan would be the end of that lifestyle.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Happy to see her family. Felt sad after that and nostalgic for the UK for one year. Work pressure made her very tired and at these times she missed her life in the UK (Expected). Missed the lifestyle but gradually readapted.
Perceived change in self upon return	Drank in the pub for a while but now doesn't (since she was pregnant). Feels that her viewpoint has become more international. Her company exports to various countries and now she can have an idea what life might be like in the exporting countries. Other colleagues who have never sojourned she thinks cannot do this so readily. Goes to B&Q and enjoys DIY now – thinks that this is a Western thing, Taiwanese people tend not to do this.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	None.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Feels that it is difficult to speak to friends and colleagues without intercultural experience. Thinks they cannot understand how she feels.
Continued contact with UK	Didn't go back for graduation because she didn't pass her dissertation the first time. Too expensive to return. Limited contact with friends made in the UK. Still enjoys football, world cup and watches UK news.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	3/7 – 5/7. Readjusted to the working environment. The first year she took the bus to work because it gave her time to think and watch the world. After one year though she became like other Taiwanese and rides scooter to the office. Time is more important than reflection.
Plans for the future	Had a baby so work to give him the best life. No real plans but would like to spend time abroad again.
Satisfaction with life	Happy because she has lived her dream. Knows how it feels to be happy and had a lot of support from her and her husband's parents. Now feels that she has a better relationship with her parents.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Very good. Even the bad experiences (e.g. with a bad landlord) were good in the end.

Cultural Identity Evaluation	Cultural Centrality – Medium/High
	Cultural Flexibility – Strong interest in other cultures esp. the UK.
	Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low/Medium
	Repatriation Distress – Moderate
	Mainly displays signs of intercultural identity shift (more worldly perspective) and cultural sensitivity (although she talks about critical thinking she can restrain herself when this is culturally inappropriate e.g. with boss).
	Some surface signs of additive and subtractive (critical thinking, football).
	Used a combination 70%-30% Chinese-English

Name	Ashley
Age	30
Time in the UK	1 year
Time since return	4 months

<table>
<tbody>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">PRESOJOURN</td></tr>
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Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Improve career possibilities in Taiwan.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan. Taiwanese boyfriend stayed behind. Now married.
Pre-departure sentiments	Quite excited as wanted to relax and be a student again after 3 years working.
Perceived ID centrality	(3/7) Felt that Taiwanese society is too American. Also, she wanted to go abroad so saw herself as atypical Taiwanese for this reason.

SOJOURN

Overview of sojourn	Honeymoon period lasted one month and then started missing family and encountering cultural differences and difficulties. Started to question why she left her boyfriend and family behind. Called home a lot. Spent free time in London visiting museums and theatre. Didn't have enough time to meet host locals and experience the culture in any profundity.
Chosen company	Lived with Europeans mainly but then made friends mostly with other Taiwanese. Because of the study pressure she gained comfort from her co-nationals. One English 'friend'.
Perception of the UK	Political and legal systems felt old and well established. Impressed by being expected to contribute in the classroom environment. In Taiwan, over participation is a sign of conceit and it took her a couple of months to get over the language barrier and have the confidence to participate. Thinks that English people hide their true feelings.
Taiwaneseness	Felt proud and a bit superior to the Chinese because in Taiwan there is freedom. Thinks this results in narrow-mindedness among the Mainland Chinese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Noticed that people in the UK live their lives in a more relaxed way. Before she focused on work only but started thinking that family and free time were also important. Drinking more alcohol than before.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	3/7 – Superficial behavioural integration (going to musicals) but deep inside still felt very different from the host locals.
Reasons for and willingness to return	For family, her life is always in Taiwan. Relieved to return, a bit sad to leave the lifestyle she had in the UK.

POSTSOJOURN

Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Submitted dissertation then left the UK 2 days later. Very tired and wanted to return to Taiwan. Seems like a dream as the time went so quickly. No problem reintegrating although she heard some others had problems.
Perceived change in self upon return	Frustrated by the news programmes in Taiwan and the political situation. Checks the news still to see what is happening in Europe. Drinking alcohol more than before. Sometimes goes clubbing and to bars which she didn't do pre-sojourn.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Some think she is more confident, more affirmative and knows more what she wants in her life.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Broader world view than others who have never been abroad. Can talk about European issues more knowledgeably with greater understanding of the context. Feels that husband is maybe more narrow which can be a problem because he thinks she always considers herself superior to him because of her intercultural experience.
Continued contact with UK	When watching TV she particularly notices news relating to the UK.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	5/7. No problems.
Plans for the future	Focus on personal life with family. Stay in Taiwan but go abroad for travel. Maybe a baby in the future but no plans right now.
Satisfaction with life	Kind of although misses the relaxed life of the UK. Thinks people respect each other more in the UK.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good thing because it affords one new experiences. Greater understanding of hidden culture.

Cultural Identity Evaluation	Cultural Centrality – Medium/High Cultural Flexibility – Strong interest in other cultures. Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low Repatriation Distress – Minimal Primarily intercultural with some additive/subtractive and affirmative. Interview conducted in English throughout

Name	Catherine
Age	28
Time in the UK	14 months
Time since return	3 years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No, but used to work for Taiwanese airline so had extensive travel experience.
Motivation for sojourn	Study (for career).
Post-sojourn plans	Graduate then return to Taiwan.
Pre-departure sentiments	Happy but nervous about ability to successfully complete the course.
Perceived ID centrality	5/7 Not interested in politics.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Excited to arrive knowing she had to look after herself alone. Vivid memory of the first day there. Lived with an English guy, had bad experiences with children in the UK and would avoid them because she felt threatened. Due to temporary nature of the sojourn, didn't really miss Taiwan. However, if she thought she was going to have to stay, she would have felt uncomfortable.
Chosen company	English housemate, Taiwanese friends.
Perception of the UK	Not a very good impression. Studied at DeMontford and found it to be unfriendly and uninspiring. Hates British children who she thinks are out of control. Thinks English people are judgemental and not friendly. Thought the UK could be too quiet.
Taiwaneseness	Proud not to be Chinese and had no Chinese friends. Never ashamed of being Taiwanese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Took showers in the morning rather than the evening like Taiwanese do. For the first year felt like she was less Taiwancentric in her world view. Taiwanese think that China and the US are the centre of the world but now she doesn't. Drank tea with milk. Adapted study style to become more independent.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	4/5 Didn't drink.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Ex-boyfriend still in Taiwan. All her friends had left the UK so she wanted to leave. Felt old and needed to start career in Taiwan. Happy to leave and see her ex-boyfriend. Also had a fight with her English housemate (would not elaborate).
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Living with parents again and resultant loss of independence was very difficult to cope with. Moved back to parents because this is what Taiwanese culture expected her to do. Crowds and noise bothered her, but happy to be back in a Mandarin environment. Happy to be back for the convenience and the shops but felt she had no private space. Cried when she first came back and had to share a room with her sister. Very difficult to adjust. Split up with boyfriend because he had an affair while she was in the UK. She will look down on a man with lower educational qualifications than her (Taiwanese value). Likes red envelopes (Taiwanese value). Finds working environment unfairly demanding with poor levels of benefits.
Perceived change in self upon return	Expects cars to stop when she is crossing on a pedestrian crossing (which they rarely do in Taiwan). More independent and self-sufficient.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	No.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	They don't have any experiences to share, although the majority of her colleagues have studied abroad.
Continued contact with UK	Listens to the BBC World Service. Planned to go back this year for a visit but started a new job and could not. Wouldn't return to Leicester, would prefer to return to Oxford. Sends Christmas cards to Irish host family in Oxford. Enjoys English movies and eats British breakfast.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	3/7 – 5/7 Still eats runny yolk eggs which Taiwanese think is unhygienic. Got used to the environment again and most of her friends are Taiwanese.
Plans for the future	Stay in Taiwan but would welcome the opportunity for another overseas sojourn.
Satisfaction with life	Quite happy.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good thing.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – Medium** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in travel and other cultures.** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low/Medium** **Repatriation Distress – Medium/High**

	Present in this interview are traces of additive/subtractive ID shift at a superficial level, some affirmative (happy to be back and glad to leave the UK) and some intercultural. Despite this, repatriation distress proved to be high due to lack of personal space.

Name	Claudine
Age	27
Time in the UK	18 months
Time since return	9 months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No but extensive travelling and a month in the US.
Motivation for sojourn	Travel around Europe. Wanted to gain a more international view of the world and improve English.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan to be with her family.
Pre-departure sentiments	Panic, leaving boyfriend of 5 years so didn't want to leave. Boyfriend was upset and crying when she left. A bit excited to leave also but crying on the plane to leave her boyfriend.
Perceived ID centrality	7/7 "I'm totally Taiwanese". Conservative but changed a lot in the UK. Now enjoys clubbing, drinking and having fun.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	First impression, she was disappointed with the UK. Old and ugly compared with Taiwan's modern environment. Expected more elegance but arrived on a rainy day and was really disappointed. Remained disappointed for one month, dormitory was not good, no view, just rubbish bins which were noisily empties every Sunday morning. Questioned herself as to why she had left her job/boyfriend and life to go to Surrey university. Two month after leaving her boyfriend called to say he was having doubts about the relationship, she flew back and discovered he was together with his best friend's girlfriend. She was devastated, broken hearted, first boyfriend but returned to the UK but could not eat or sleep. Just crying for two months. Then she started clubbing with her Taiwanese friends and met some other men. Had a local boyfriend who she met in a club and they spent quality time together. He showed her some of England. She left when her visa expired and was again heart-broken and devastated.
Chosen company	Taiwanese friends from university then local boyfriend and his friends. Had some Chinese friends too.
Perception of the UK	See above
Taiwaneseness	Points out she is not Chinese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	More open-minded and not conservative any more. Changed attitude towards drinking and going out. Previously she thought it was dangerous. Drinking. Feeling more independent, feels that Western women are more independent than Taiwanese women. Tries to be active after work. Thinks that Taiwanese just go home and watch TV after work. Thinks her attitude towards relationships is different. Used to think that she should be together all the time with boyfriend but now thinks that space is important. Thinks this is a more Western attitude.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	3/7 to 6/7. After meeting local boyfriend and his friends.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Family, can get a better job in Taiwan. Felt it was time to be serious with her life. Unhappy to return to face her parents who would expect her to be a good conservative girl again. Cried at the airport when her boyfriend said goodbye. Still seems sad.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Wanted to go back to the UK. Felt stressed by parents who came to pick her up because she couldn't tell them that she had a UK boyfriends. Very depressed, still now 9 months later. Couldn't stop crying for a long time and was on anti-depressants. Bad relationship with parents at that point (very unexpected).
Perceived change in self upon return	Needs own space. Pre-UK sojourn she could be a "lovely girl and always stay at home" but after she "just grow up and sometimes I need my space".
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Parents hated her and regretted sending her to the UK. They couldn't understand why she hated Taiwan so much but she couldn't tell them about her boyfriend. Had to move out of their house and live in a shared flat.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	They are more narrow minded. She feels more free and independent since she went to the UK and thinks this is a good thing.
Continued contact with UK	Never wants to go back because it is too painful for her.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	1/7 to 3/7. Thinks she may never be able to love Taiwan again.
Plans for the future	Have her own business and travel around the world, wants to move to another country but not the UK.
Satisfaction with life	
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Thinks that if she hadn't met the English boyfriend she wouldn't feel like this. Thinks overall the experience was a good one despite the heartache.

Cultural Identity Evaluation	Cultural Centrality – High Cultural Flexibility – Strong interest in travel and other cultures. Level of Adaptation to host culture – Medium Repatriation Distress – Very high Displays strong traits of add/subtractive despite a high cultural centrality level. Also, intercultural tendencies.

Name	Sandra
Age	28
Time in the UK	20 months
Time since return	3 years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	See a different culture and lifestyle. Studied only to convince her parents to fund her stay.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan after graduation.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited but a little but nervous. Had friends in Bournemouth in a language school.
Perceived ID centrality	4/7 – Doesn't like to be too busy.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Found British people to e unfriendly, stayed in a host family for one month and found them unfriendly and the food terrible. Then moved to student accommodation with other international students and found that better. Missed Taiwan, knew she could never stay in the UK. Thought it was too aggressive.
Chosen company	Asian students mainly. No local friends. She found the British weren't interested in getting to know her.
Perception of the UK	Unfriendly people, freezing weather.
Taiwaneseness	Very proud to be Taiwanese and argued with Mainland Chinese about this often. Hates the Mainland Chinese and thinks they are lazy and have strange views.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Acting more like a student and more open-minded. Became more international minded. Drinks more in the UK. Enjoys the pub and drinking.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	3/7 Never felt like it was home but liked it in the end.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Finished studies, travelled and went shopping. Had to go back. Fun over. A little sad to return because the lifestyle was relaxing.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Happy to go home, not bad at all. Felt a little removed and sat back watching people rushing about. Thought they were strange but soon became a part of that life too.
Perceived change in self upon return	More independent and confident. More sociable.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	No.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Better understanding of issues of cultural differences.
Continued contact with UK	Send Christmas cards to last host family in Wimbledon. Watch TV.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	5/7 – Now feels more Taiwanese than before she went to the UK (centrality). Easier to find work thanks to her overseas experience. Taiwan will always be her home.
Plans for the future	Work in a company with contact with different cultures. Hopes to do short-term travel.
Satisfaction with life	Generally good but too busy.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good, improved her open-mindedness and has become more sociable which has helped her to adapt to Taiwanese society better.

| Cultural Identity Evaluation | **Cultural Centrality – High**
Cultural Flexibility – Interest in travel and other cultures.
Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low
Repatriation Distress – Minimal

Displays slight traits of intercultural shift. Very little additive/subtractive and a small amount of affirmative. Despite interest in other culture did little to separate herself from her Taiwanese group while in the UK partly for perceived aggression from host locals. |

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Name	Mabel
Age	29
Time in the UK	16 months
Time since return	2 years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No long term but several short term trips.
Motivation for sojourn	Study further, learn about foreign cultures. Recommended by colleagues.
Post-sojourn plans	Finish studies and return to Taiwan to work in the same company (China Airlines).
Pre-departure sentiments	Very sad and very excited. Crying on the plane.
Perceived ID centrality	6/7. Taiwanese but she is a 外星人 (parents from Mainland China)
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	First impression was bad, customs officers were bad, tired and confused. Missed her boyfriend. Unsure of requirements of the UK education system at first so failed first assignment. Felt terrible. Went home for Christmas.
Chosen company	Taiwanese people mainly, some Chinese. Worked part-time in a café and met some English including her boss whom she didn't like.
Perception of the UK	Not very friendly. People think she is from Thailand and don't know the difference between Taiwan and Thailand. Dislikes young people in the UK, thinks some are arrogant.
Taiwaneseness	Very proud. Wants to protect Taiwan. Before going to the UK she would insist she was Chinese. In the UK, insisted she was Taiwanese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Developed a little her critical analysis skills.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	3/7. One year is not enough but cares a lot about England now.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Home, family, never wanted to stay in Taiwan. A little sad to leave but had been counting the days. A bit worried about returning because of others' expectations on him.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Nervous to meet boyfriend because she felt that her relationship had changed. Very excited to be back to see her family. Happy to be back in the hustle and bustle of Taiwan. Split up with boyfriend and took old job back. Not very happy with it. Difficult to live with parents again after having been independent. Parents worry about her still being single.
Perceived change in self upon return	Became more religious.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	No.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	More international perspective and feels a little superior to others who have never been abroad.
Continued contact with UK	Movies, some Taiwanese friends she made in the UK. Would like to go back if she has enough money.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	2/7 – 6/7. Hates the political situation in Taiwan. Easy to come back into Taiwanese life.
Plans for the future	Marry someone with money and not have to work.
Satisfaction with life	Yes, because she is luckier than others.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Perfect thing to do, will encourage her children to go abroad.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – High** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in travel and other cultures.** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low** **Repatriation Distress – Minimal** **Displays slight traits of intercultural shift. Very little additive/subtractive and a small amount of affirmative. Despite interest in other cultures did little to separate herself from her Taiwanese group while in the UK.**

Name	Fatima
Age	34
Time in the UK	18 months
Time since return	3 years 2 months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	2 years 6 months in San Francisco
Motivation for sojourn	Recharge batteries after having worked for 4.5 years in the Telecom industry.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited, ready for a challenge.
Perceived ID centrality	4/7 -5/7 Christian religion. Proud of being Taiwanese but sometimes feels like she is not Taiwanese.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Excited at first but was a bit disappointed with Portsmouth. Abused by her landlord and had few English friends. Found study there quite stressful.
Chosen company	Other international students. Best friend was French.
Perception of the UK	Was invited to some locals houses although felt that strangers were racist. Particularly under 25s but they were drunk so felt there was nothing she could do. Much prefers the US.
Taiwaneseness	Strongly defended her Taiwaneseness to the Chinese in the UK.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Drinking in the pub, reading English magazines and watching English TV. Started believing in angels. Went to church every Sunday.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	2/7 'People remind you that you are a foreigner'.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Submitted dissertation and left immediately. Didn't want to stay. Gald to leave bit sad to leave friends.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Very, very happy to be back in Taiwan. Not sad at all. Didn't feel like a stranger in Taiwan because she is Taiwanese. Living with parents is a bit difficult but acceptable.
Perceived change in self upon return	Misses cooking. No real change.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	No change.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Typical Taiwanese are narrow-minded, conservative and traditional. Not like her. Hard for her to communicate with those who have never travelled.
Continued contact with UK	Email her old friends. Would like to return, loves travelling.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	5/7 People put more pressure on her now as she has a foreign Master's degree. Appreciates Taiwan more now after being in the UK.
Plans for the future	
Satisfaction with life	8/10 before sojourn 7/10
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	A good idea. Get to know another culture.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – High** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in travel and other cultures.** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low** **Repatriation Distress – Minimal** **Displays traits of intercultural shift. Very little additive/subtractive but considerable affirmative. Overall spent time getting to know other cultures but not British too much.**

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Name	Jill
Age	38
Time in the UK	8 and a half years
Time since return	2 years ago
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	One year in Japan prior to the UK
Motivation for sojourn	Fascinated by languages. Running away from Taiwan and depression.
Post-sojourn plans	Never go back to Taiwan, stay in the UK or go elsewhere.
Pre-departure sentiments	Freedom and relief.
Perceived ID centrality	(4) Felt bound by Taiwanese culture but also felt a familiarity towards Western culture through interest in language.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Did an MA in Edinburgh followed a PhD in Newcastle. Scotland was very welcoming but Newcastle not so much. Integrated very much, had a local boyfriend. Some verbal abuse from teenagers although she heard other friends had worse experiences.
Chosen company	Different stages, Taiwanese and Chinese during her MA, locals more during her PhD. Worked at the university with mainly locals. Never thought she was ever fully integrated however.
Perception of the UK	Inefficiencies, different ways of queuing, different attitude towards law to Taiwanese, friendships and proximity are also different.
Taiwaneseness	Not really, adopted some UK behaviour, drinking at the weekends and having a kebab. Proud to be Taiwanese towards the end though. Sad that Taiwanese have no self-esteem due to years of repression by various nations.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Enjoyed roast dinner, respect the law, enjoyed the pub,
Perceived level of integration into the UK	(5/6) Partly for her own survival, she felt freer in the UK.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Ran out of money, felt that she wanted to return to face her demons and nurse her unwell mother. Felt brave to return.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Difficult to queue. Difficult to accept people's attitude towards the law, saddened by politicians and by journalists, cried when she first came back but not to leave the UK, more to arrive back in Taiwan. Mother was proudly showing her off to strangers in Taiwan due to increased status. Felt like a foreigner for a long time. Offended by shop assistants serving two people at once, found herself complaining. Now lives in a flat alone in a small village by the coast and is very happy to have limited contact with the outside world.
Perceived change in self upon return	She feels that she has found her true self and is now no longer constrained by either UK or Taiwanese cultures. As above.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Yes, often say she is being British when she says something.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Yes, feels different. Feels similar to other Taiwanese who have been to the UK despite having very different experiences from them.
Continued contact with UK	Returned twice, still sometimes listened to Radio 2 and Channel 4 news. Now she has stopped because she thought she was kidding herself.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	(4/5) Difficult for some of the reasons mentioned above but also natural to be back. Considers that this may be a stop on the way to somewhere else. Finds the common habit of coughing and spitting difficult to cope with.
Plans for the future	Maybe go somewhere else.
Satisfaction with life	Happy now with life, doing what she loves (translation) and finding herself slowly readjusting to Taiwan.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Necessary stage of her life.

Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – Low/Medium** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in other cultures, High** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – High** **Repatriation Distress – Medium** **Displays a high level of additive/subtractive shift traits in areas of attitude towards the law, self-respect and respect of others, analytical ability.**

Name	Jimmy
Age	28
Time in the UK	2 years 6 months
Time since return	9 months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Improve English and get a better job in Taiwan.
Post-sojourn plans	Thought about staying in the UK but found it too difficult to find a job.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited to see England.
Perceived ID centrality	6/7
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Went to language school for six months, presessional course for 3 months and then Masters course. Lived with host family throughout the sojourn. Spent the first six months only with host family and international student friends. No Taiwanese. On his Master's course he found more Taiwanese friends and felt more Taiwanese.
Chosen company	Host family, some English friends, Thai girlfriend, European friends and some Taiwanese friends.
Perception of the UK	More relaxed and slower. Young people are rude in the UK, threatening behaviour from youths. People throw things at him. This made him feel very uncomfortable.
Taiwaneseness	Proud to be Taiwanese and wanted to be distinguished from Mainland Chinese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Living with host family he noticed that people are more open with their feelings to family members. Now he is more like that. Tells his mother he loves her. Loves football and started drinking in the afternoon. Likes the way that children are encouraged to try new things in the UK. Thinks that Taiwanese children are too mollycoddled which can only lead to problems if they fail.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	5/7 Felt like UK was home with his first host family.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Didn't want to return. Preferred environment and working mentality in the UK. No choice, visa ran out and he couldn't find a job. Still wishes he could go back.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Excited to see family but felt very strange sense of removal from Taiwan. 'I am not Taiwanese'. Thinks everyone walks too fast and people are strange, this made him feel uncomfortable. Expected but not so intense. Didn't feel Taiwanese and didn't feel English, in the middle of two nationalities.
Perceived change in self upon return	Appearance is different, uses hair gel. Drinking at weekends. Hugs his mother and tells her he loves her. Feels closer to both parents. Needs personal space more than before. Thinks that spending time with family is very important now. Taiwanese people work all the time and society makes it difficult to spend time with family. This is different in the UK and he likes that.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	A little.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	More open-minded to different countries. More confident with foreign people. Easier to get a job as employees look for people with international experience. Can now work with other cultures using English language as a communication tool.
Continued contact with UK	No been back but hopes to return for the Olympics in 2012. Still has England in his heart and watches football. Dressed in England shirt for World Cup and was very upset when they lost.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	2/7 – 4/7 Started to get used to the lifestyle and now has a local girlfriend. Starting to feel more Taiwanese again.
Plans for the future	
Satisfaction with life	Not satisfied. Too busy, would love to go back to the UK.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good experience and enjoyed seeing different cultures. Wants to retire in the UK.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	Cultural Centrality – High Cultural Flexibility – Interest in travel and other cultures. Level of Adaptation to host culture – High/Medium Repatriation Distress – High High level of additive/subtractive identity shift apparent in his responses. Equally are traces of intercultural shift.

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Name	Will
Age	32
Time in the UK	15 months
Time since return	3 years although it seems like less
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Expand his vision, see a different culture. Especially interested in UK music and football so preferred the UK to the US.
Post-sojourn plans	Back to Taiwan after the sojourn.
Pre-departure sentiments	Very nervous but really excited. Went to the UK with his wife.
Perceived ID centrality	5/7 – Although he understands his Taiwaneseness he also likes to be part of foreign culture.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Excited to arrive, went first to Portsmouth for two months, then went to Bournemouth to study. Faced with racial discrimination from young girls in Portsmouth. Understands although felt shocked. Lived with wife and spent a lot of time with other Taiwanese. Marital break-up of two friends in the UK took a heavy toll on his mental health. Went through depression and never completed his Master's.
Chosen company	30% with foreign people, 70% with other Taiwanese. One local friend.
Perception of the UK	Local people seem too serious due to the weather he thinks. Inefficient people in the working environment and some racism problems. Thinks old people are unhappy in the UK as they are not looked after by their offspring.
Taiwaneseness	Glad he wasn't Chinese and had children shout 'you fucking Chinese pigs' at him.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Tries to be more relaxed now. Attempting more critical thinking. Uses this in group meetings for his job. Still watches the Premiership highlights. Still thinks he is Taiwanese.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	4/7 – Tried to integrate but was always a Taiwanese in the UK.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Oldest boy in the family so his duty is to look after his family and have a family of his own. Would have preferred not to go back to Taiwan but had to assume his responsibilities.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Very sad to leave, crying on the coach, regretting that they hadn't been to enough places. Felt very depressed for a year as he liked the environment there. Felt nostalgic every time he heard the English accent on TV (unexpected).
Perceived change in self upon return	Spends more time with his parents and tells them he loves them and hugs them. Thinks this is something he picked up in the UK. Tries to avoid focusing only on his job, tries to think about the family too.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Parents think it is strange that he wants to hug them and do not reciprocate.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	The first year felt a bit different but now not so much.
Continued contact with UK	Not with old friends, feels sad. Returned to the UK for work twice.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	4/7 Not easy to enjoy the Taiwanese environment. Air pollution a problem. Feels different because other Taiwanese only talk about work and he wants to talk about other things.
Plans for the future	Raise children, spend more time with parents.
Satisfaction with life	No, because of the environment and the irrational political situation in Taiwan. Makes him sad.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good thing to do. Understand other cultures more.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – Medium** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in travel and other cultures, especially the UK.** Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low/Medium Repatriation Distress – Medium/High **Displays traits of intercultural shift. Some additive/subtractive. Had to return.**

Name	Eddie
Age	30
Time in the UK	16 months
Time since return	2 years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Internationalise self and improve English.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan after graduation.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited and afraid. Not sad to leave.
Perceived ID centrality	7/7 Very Taiwanese.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Surprised by no 7-11 and convenience. Left Taiwan with a Taiwanese friend with whom he lived throughout the sojourn. Lived on campus, surrounded himself with other Taiwanese and had very little contact with local people in any meaningful way.
Chosen company	Chinese and Taiwanese. Some Europeans but found his English was not good enough to speak to them. Most of his course were international students. Wanted to have English friends but it was too difficult to join their social groups.
Perception of the UK	Found young people unfriendly and not interested in foreigners. Teenagers threw eggs at him. Felt a little homesick and missed Taiwanese food and family/friends.
Taiwaneseness	Yes, very unhappy when people called him Chinese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	More open-minded to other cultures and ways of thinking. Although feels more a sense of being Taiwanese.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	2/7 Thought communication with locals was the main reason for lack of integration. Sociopragmatics. (Recommendation to International offices)
Reasons for and willingness to return	Work and make money in Taiwan. Excited to go home but a little sad. Let immediately after finishing the dissertation with time to go on his visa.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Happy to return. Proved he can study. Felt a little strange that people were so fast and wanted them to slow down. Found job before leaving UK and started working after two weeks of returning. No negative feelings. Found some problems with colleagues because he is promoted due to his international experience and they are unhappy.
Perceived change in self upon return	Doesn't like to have his 'concepts' interrupted by his friends. More international in his perspectives. Can communicate with foreign people.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	No
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Internationalised.
Continued contact with UK	Still contacts Taiwanese friends he met in the UK. Would like to go back for a visit.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	5/7 – Feels that his 'concept' is different from Taiwanese who haven't studied abroad. Thinks he is more straightforward than them.
Plans for the future	Would like own business, maybe go to China.
Satisfaction with life	Satisfied with work but not satisfied with life. Too busy.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good thing, helpful for work and future.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – High** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in travel and other cultures.** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Very Low** **Repatriation Distress – Minimal** **Displays some traits of intercultural shift. Some emancipation. Feels that his cultural curiosity was held back by his lack of sociopragmatic skills.**

Name	Sam
Age	29
Time in the UK	2 years
Time since return	10 months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Improve English skills to improve career prospects. UK because it is quicker to get a Master's degree.
Post-sojourn plans	Get some work experience in the UK. Ultimately to return to Taiwan.
Pre-departure sentiments	Very excited, not sad at all.
Perceived ID centrality	7/7 Very Taiwanese, loves rice, obeyed parents and had no opinions of his own.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Arrived in February so very cold, lived with host family who wanted to adopt him. Spent much time with locals although he had a Taiwanese girlfriend living in London (he was in Bournemouth). Wanted to stay in the UK but couldn't find work due to visa problems. Worked part-time in a restaurant. Teenagers were rude to him, insult him while he was walking on the street.
Chosen company	Host family who had no children and wanted to adopt him.
Perception of the UK	Surprised that his preconceptions of English being civilised were unfounded. Also shocked at technological 'backwardness' of the UK compared to Taiwan. Thought he was in the wrong country.
Taiwaneseness	Host family thought he was very Taiwanese because he eats noodles and rice all the time.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Started going to the pub. Started developing his classroom participation skills which are not encouraged in Taiwan. Became more independent. Started giving priority to pedestrians.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	4/7 Not completely English but a bit. Felt sometimes that England was his home.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Visa problems. Also was headhunted for a job in Taiwan whilst in the UK. Sad to leave because he knew that his life would become busy and stressful with work and overtime. Planned to go back for graduation but never did.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Felt like a foreigner when he came back. Very difficult to live with parents again due to increased independence in the UK. Had to set ground rules with his parents about respecting his independence. Took him nine months to readjust to Taiwan and has had a very difficult time.
Perceived change in self upon return	Started saying I love you to his parents. They think this is strange. Saving money to try and buy a house so is much more careful with money. Loves football, drinking Guinness and drinking tea with milk and one sugar.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Parents think he is more independent. Friends think he has become slower to react and has some foreign ways about him. Some friends maybe felt threatened by him because he speaks English.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Very different, not afraid to speak to foreigners, better understanding of other cultures, better at teamwork.
Continued contact with UK	Christmas cards to host family. Chat on MSN with old friends. New Taiwanese girlfriend is someone he met in the UK on the same course. Have the experience of the UK in common with each other.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	2/7 - 6/7
Plans for the future	Would like to go back and retire in another country, Canada maybe.
Satisfaction with life	No. Too busy with work. 14 hour days.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	A good, life-changing thing to do. Got him a better job and can appreciate Taiwan more now because of all the social problems he saw in the UK.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – High** **Cultural Flexibility – Medium.** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Medium/High** **Repatriation Distress – High** Primarily add/sub with some intercultural. Very meaningful and emotionally involved interaction with local host family.

Name	Steve
Age	34.
Time in the UK	9 years
Time since return	3 years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Parents forced him to go, wanted him to stay for 10 years to get a UK passport.
Post-sojourn plans	He wanted to go back to Taiwan but his parents wanted him to stay in the UK.
Pre-departure sentiments	Reluctant but some excitement.
Perceived ID centrality	6/7-7/7 Very Taiwanese.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Went to Swanage to a language school for a year then on to Croydon to do a foundation degree in architecture. Then went on to do architectural exams in the UK but was unhappy living there. Always felt foreign and unwelcome and couldn't get a good job. Never finished his architectural qualifications because he was discouraged and then returned to Taiwan 1 year before getting a passport to the displeasure of his parents.
Chosen company	International students to begin with and some locals but mainly Taiwanese towards the end of his sojourn.
Perception of the UK	Quite rough in Croydon but met some nice local people. Also found some unfriendly people and became quite anti-UK towards the end. Difficult to get a local girlfriend for an Asian man.
Taiwaneseness	For the first three years he rejected Taiwan but then after that he felt very Taiwanese, made Taiwanese friends, missed Taiwan and hated being called Chinese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Began to think differently, spent formative years between 20 and 30 in the UK so thinks that his thinking is more Western. Analytical and critical.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	3/7 Doesn't drink, never felt part of the UK.
Reasons for and willingness to return	For a better life. Realised that the UK is no better than Taiwan and started to hate England, hate white people and stay with Chinese all the time and talk Chinese. Made friends with other Taiwanese who had been forced to stay by their parents. Happy to go back.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Parents were quite angry with him. Happy to return because he realised he wasn't very happy in the UK. Had a job but not a good one, thought it was very difficult for international students to succeed in the UK. Problems living with family again. Never missed UK. Had to adjust to Taiwanese working life but there was no problem readjusting to the life and culture in Taiwan.
Perceived change in self upon return	Ability to think analytically and critically as a result of the sojourn in the UK education system. Apart from that thinks that he is no different to other Taiwanese. Mentions that some people feel superior when they come back.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	No, except for analytical ability and talking business.
Continued contact with UK	No, not interested.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	5/7 – 7/7 Easy, no problems.
Plans for the future	Wants to stay in Taiwan and continue his business.
Satisfaction with life	Yes. Very.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good thing.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – Medium changing to High** **Cultural Flexibility – Medium changing to Low** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Medium changing to Low** **Repatriation Distress – Minimal** Very interesting case. Forced to stay in the UK and shows mainly affirmative identity shift on return. Some additive however in terms of thinking. **Spoke 50% Chinese, 50% English**

Name	Shaun
Age	28
Time in the UK	1 year
Time since return	3 months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	Seattle for 8 months.
Motivation for sojourn	Have different cultural experiences. To get a better job upon return to Taiwan. Chose the UK because he loves football.
Post-sojourn plans	Thought about trying to find a job in the UK but didn't want to stay in the end because of the teenagers.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited, hoped to meet a girlfriend in the UK. Maybe English or Japanese. Nervous to go to the UK.
Perceived ID centrality	7/7 – Very Taiwanese
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Thought the UK was small compared to the US. Everything was dark and no one smiles. Had several racist encounters with local teenagers which were very traumatic for him. Thought the US was much friendlier. Was robbed in Italy and found the experience so unsettling he went back home to Taiwan despite having plans to travel more in Europe. Disappointed by the UK which he previously thought would be 'elegant'.
Chosen company	Other Asian students and spent most of his time with Mainland Chinese, not Taiwanese.
Perception of the UK	Not good. Old people were OK but not young people. Thinks the UK society is 'perverse'.
Taiwaneseness	Felt proud to be Taiwanese particularly after discovering the UK was no better than Taiwan in his opinion.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	More international outlook through meeting other nationalities on his course. Less Taiwancentric in his outlook. Wants to help the planet more.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	Felt like a foreigner in Taiwan but felt that his Asian flatmates were his family. No UK students on his course.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Not so happy with what happened in Italy. A bit sad to leave but happy because he can return to Taiwan and eat lots of delicious food.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Slept for three days upon return. Noticed that Taiwan was very crowded but more convenience. Living with parents he thinks is quite interesting but his mother is quite a nag,
Perceived change in self upon return	Cares more about family now than before. Before he cared more about his friends.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Sister thinks he has grown up. Hugs parents and tells them he loves them.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	Taiwanese who have not been abroad sometimes think that foreign countries situations are better than Taiwan. He doesn't think so now. Thinks Taiwan is a good country.
Continued contact with UK	Contact with friends through MSN. Chinese girlfriend in Shanghai he plans to visit soon. Would like to go back but not as a student, thinks student life is too intensive.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	7/7 Still feels Taiwanese, but Taiwanese in an 'international context'.
Plans for the future	Go to work in China and marry his girlfriend. Wants to be rich.
Satisfaction with life	Not happy because hasn't completed his dissertation. Also has a girlfriend who wants him to move to China.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good thing. Now some of his prejudices about Thai/Philippine people have gone due to meaningful contact with those nationals in the UK.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – High** **Cultural Flexibility – Interested in travel and world cultures** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low** **Repatriation Distress – Minimal, happy to come back** **Mainly intercultural identity shift with affirmative overtones. Stayed in an Asian student 'ghetto' united by fear of local teenagers.** **Spoke mostly English with some Chinese words.**

Name	Olly
Age	27
Time in the UK	18 months
Time since return	2 years
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Improve English, travel and broaden horizons.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited, not nervous. A bit sad, cried one tear at the airport.
Perceived ID centrality	6/7
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Went to Glasgow, was disappointed with lack of modernity but found the Scots very friendly. Studied International Finance and spent most of his time with other Taiwanese. Had a Mainland girlfriend but split up because they had to return home after studies.
Chosen company	Taiwanese friends.
Perception of the UK	Old fashioned. Inefficient especially in terms of banking. Shocked and though he was in the wrong country.
Taiwaneseness	Felt more Taiwanese in the UK than before in Taiwan. Had a Mainland Chinese ex-girlfriend and found her more narrow minded than the Taiwanese. Proud but sometimes sad to be Taiwanese because of its political situation.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK.	More global perspective due to contact with people from other nations while in the UK. Doesn't drink. Ate Walker's crisps.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	3/7
Reasons for and willingness to return	Friends, family and life is in Taiwan. UK not his place and his English is not good enough. Felt sad to leave but only because of his girlfriend. She couldn't go to Taiwan.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Happy to eat Taiwanese food again. Pleased to be back with no discomfort although the crowds. Got a better jo because of his overseas experience.
Perceived change in self upon return	More 'globalised' and independent. Wants to leave his family home and have his own apartment but too expensive.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	None.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	More open-minded and accepting of different cultures and different people.
Continued contact with UK	Watch BBC instead of CNN. Seldom has contact with old friends there. No plans to return.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	5/7 Still Taiwanese.
Plans for the future	Maybe work in Shanghai.
Satisfaction with life	Salary is OK, better than before.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good because he has a better job than before.

Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – High** **Cultural Flexibility – Some Interest in travel and world cultures** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low** **Repatriation Distress – Minimal, happy to come back** **Low level of integration, relatively poor communication skills. Motivated to study primarily for job advancement and higher salary.**

Name	Raymond
Age	33
Time in the UK	2 years
Time since return	18 months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Parents and ex want him to have a different experience. Wanted to go to Japan but parents had already sent his sister there so they wanted him to go elsewhere.
Post-sojourn plans	Return to Taiwan
Pre-departure sentiments	Nervous and sad.
Perceived ID centrality	5/7 - 6/7 Not very filial and doesn't respect teachers simply because of their social position.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Felt low when he first arrived, afraid, poor language skills. Started at a language school and lived with a host family who were too interfering. Moved to London then to Bournemouth to study MA Tourism Management.
Chosen company	Lived with other international students and spent time almost exclusively with other Taiwanese. Though that if you are an Asian female you can meet English people but not if you are a male.
Perception of the UK	Different from his expectations, thought it would be more technologically advanced. Cold people but seem cold because they respect each others' opinion.
Taiwaneseness	Feels Taiwanese and different from Mainland Chinese. Taiwanese in the UK are normal Taiwanese. Chinese are particularly privileged with families of high social status.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Got used to staying at home and walking everywhere as going out in the UK is very expensive. Now he can respect other people's opinions more than before. Tried ecstasy while in the UK once. Went clubbing regularly.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	1/7 – 2/7 Not English at all.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Ready to leave and excited. Wanted to come back to find a job. Not sad to leave.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Relieved to get on the plane and eat the food on China Airlines. Stayed with parents for two days only then moved out because opinions are different (homosexuality). No problem returning to the UK but thought this is because of his age (less in the formative years).
Perceived change in self upon return	No.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	No.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	No, still thinks he is typical Taiwanese.
Continued contact with UK	With some Taiwanese friends he made in the UK
Reintegration ease/difficulty	5/7 – 6/7 Same, misses the trees in the UK but because Taiwan is so convenience no problems.
Plans for the future	Have a job in Taiwan.
Satisfaction with life	Generally, he likes his country.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good experience, maybe opened his mind more and is now more independent and confident.

Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – High** **Cultural Flexibility – Some Interest in travel and world cultures** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low** **Repatriation Distress – Minimal, happy to come back** **Mainly affirmative with some intercultural. Low level of integration into local life. Thinks this is because of his gender.**

Name	Winston
Age	29
Time in the UK	1 year
Time since return	3 years six months
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No, some short trips.
Motivation for sojourn	Explore the world and improve career.
Post-sojourn plans	Originally wanted to stay in the UK if he had the chance. Found that the UK was not foreigner friendly really.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited.
Perceived ID centrality	5/7 because of sexuality (homosexual) which doesn't really fit traditional Chinese culture.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	Went to Cardiff and was very disappointed at first.
Chosen company	70% with Chinese, the rest with international classmates and one sort of English friend. Found that local students have their own circles and networks which are difficult to enter. International students need to make their own circles.
Perception of the UK	Cardiff was disappointingly old fashioned in his opinion. Found the Welsh to be quite friendly and warm towards him.
Taiwaneseness	Will insist he is not Chinese. Had two Shanghai friends and found them to be different. Very proud to be Taiwanese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Became more culturally aware, learnt to respect differences. Core way of thinking is still Taiwanese.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	5/7 but more like European than British.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Sad, crying and when he heard some Taiwanese at Frankfurt airport talking Chinese he thought 'I don't want to go back!'
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Reality was difficult. Happy to see parents and eat the food but felt a bit like a foreigner for the first few months.
Perceived change in self upon return	Feels a bit different, more cultural awareness.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Friends from college think he has changed. More independent.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	More open-minded.
Continued contact with UK	No.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	3/7 – 5/7 For the first few months he felt a little disintegrated. After he got a job, felt more Taiwanese again.
Plans for the future	Hopes to work in another country for a while but will always want to return to Taiwan in the end.
Satisfaction with life	75%.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Definitely a good choice.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – Medium/High** **Cultural Flexibility – Interest in travel and world cultures** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low but high level of adaptation to international student life.** **Repatriation Distress – Medium at first.** **Intercultural mainly. Became more secure in his homosexuality.**

Name	Trevor
Age	41
Time in the UK	4 years
Time since return	1 year
PRESOJOURN	
Previous sojourns	No.
Motivation for sojourn	Study PhD. Wanted to go to the US but had to go to Bath.
Post-sojourn plans	Come back to Taiwan.
Pre-departure sentiments	Excited and nervous of his ability to complete his PhD.
Perceived ID centrality	5/7 Feels Taiwanese but hates people ignoring rules and regulations.
SOJOURN	
Overview of sojourn	First year in Bath alone, then brought his wife and baby over to stay. Disappointed with university campus which he thought looked like a factory. Expected Oxford style campus.
Chosen company	Lived with Mainland Chinese. Had some discussions but found them reasonable. Had some contact with other international students too. Then his wife and baby came over.
Perception of the UK	First impressions were very bad, had to do a medical examination and became sad at the inefficiency of the UK customs. Missed the last bus and had to sleep in the airport. Hotels were too expensive and no one was friendly to him.
Taiwaneseness	Strong. Doesn't want to be called Chinese as he thinks they have a bad reputation in the UK. Proud to be Taiwanese.
Perceived changes in self while in the UK	Became slower in terms of life pace. Started dealing with research inductively whereas most Taiwanese are very deductive in their research approach. Saw the value of creating theory rather than testing. Thinks this is why the UK is advanced in research terms and Taiwan is not. Respects regulations more now, especially traffic rules. Influenced by the study style in the UK.
Perceived level of integration into the UK	3/7 Didn't mix with local people. Spent time with his wife and other international students. Not many opportunities to meet locals as a PhD student.
Reasons for and willingness to return	Felt quite low to return to Taiwan because he hadn't finished his thesis and had too many problems with his research. Returned because he couldn't find willing interviewees in the UK for his management research so carried out field study in the UK. Happy to return for the food. Wife was happy to return.
POSTSOJOURN	
Overview of re-entry (+expected/unexpected)	Quite happy at first to see parents, friends, relatives although he was worried about his study. Felt sad because of the political situation in Taiwan which makes him want to emigrate. Hates the way the politicians in Taiwan don't use legal procedures. Makes him tired. Also dislikes the news in Taiwan, thinks it is fake and invented. Live with his parents again and his wife.
Perceived change in self upon return	More saddened by political situation and journalistic style. Much more respectful of individual privacy and personal data. Thinking style has changed. Thinks qualitative approach to research is more interesting now which is very different from other Taiwanese researchers in his field.
Perceived change upon return by peers and family	Friends think he has changed considerably in his thinking, respect towards regulations and privacy.
Perceived difference with non-sojourn Taiwanese	With colleagues, they are all driven to publish in Taiwan. Deductive research is quicker to carry out therefore easier to publish in larger quantities. Teaching styles are different, he tries to encourage students to think more than his colleagues. Thinks this is from his time in the UK.
Continued contact with UK	Still emails some friends in the UK. Returned for the viva. Would like to return and travel around the UK more. Didn't go far from Bath during his sojourn.
Reintegration ease/difficulty	4/7 – 5/7. Found it difficult to adjust to Taiwanese queuing. Needs more personal space than before and finds Taiwan's population density annoying.
Plans for the future	Publish research in international journals. Thinks he will stay in Taiwan but the political situation is getting worse so he may reconsider.
Satisfaction with life	OK except for the research.
Overall evaluation of the sojourn (good or bad)	Good thing. Glad of new thinking style.
Cultural Identity Evaluation	**Cultural Centrality – Medium/High** **Cultural Flexibility –Minimal** **Level of Adaptation to host culture – Low** **Repatriation Distress – Medium.** **Additive/subtractive in several ways, some intercultural and affirmative.**

APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

Kathy

a. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

5 years in total. Study International Marketing Management.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

A year and two months.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No. Normally vacation 2-3 weeks and it's around 30 countries.

b. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

To get better education, I mean to get a foreign education it's better, come back to Taiwan and get a better job, it's all I can think about. Also I want to run away from my mom and my family. Pressure, family things, I not normal in Taiwan, not a proper Taiwanese. Because I don't listen to my mom, I do what I want to do and I just want to travel.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I was planning to come back to Taiwan, get a better job and make big money, that's all I could think. I planned to stay for a year in England.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Very excited, Basically, I done everything myself, research, application, and checking the website to choose the right school in the right place. Not sad at all to leave Taiwan. I wasn't integrated at all, I was a freak. I don't mind people being gay and I don't give a shit what my boyfriends do as long as they take me out for dinner so I don't really control people like other Taiwanese girls.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 4

c. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

My feeling, cold, unfriendly and men are ugly and fat. I was very excited to be in a new environment. I was quite worried when I get off the wrong bus stop but after that I was fine.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan? How did that make you feel?

Behave differently. I did change my mind about drugs and I drink much more than what I used to.

So what did you think of drugs before you went to the UK?

I cut one of my friends out of my life when he told me he took a pill, I never returned his calls because that's how strongly I felt about drugs.

And now?

Yes, I tried some, as long as you don't get addicted. I think it is OK.

Before I went to England I thought invading other people's lives or being rude is wrong but in England everyone is acceptable being aggressive. English people are more aggressive, I've never known such a country so hostile to foreigners, so far I haven't been to a country like that. Almost everyone is alcoholic, they don't know how to entertain themselves, everything is about drinking and drugs, they don't play bowling, they don't go club, even

though they go to club, they still drink, it's more like their whole life surrounded by booze and drugs and babies, they don't get educated properly so have babies by aged 16, 5 babies and live on social benefits which is OUR tax money.

Are you open to other cultures?

Yes, I do, I always like that really.

More open?

Probably because I met quite a lot of people from more countries so I get to know them more, even though before I was open-minded, but I didn't understand but now I do.

I don't find it difficult to communicate with British or Europeans in general because my mindset, and my mentality, never fit well in Taiwan; I never fit in Asia, but with European no problem.

Taiwanese people tend to be more isolated in England because they tend to organise their own group or event and they don't get involved with the local people so, well it's nice to see your own people in the foreign country, they can be friends but I don't get along with them.

I'm quite in the middle really, I still eat Taiwanese food and I still respect the elders, no matter what skin colour they are but apart from that I'm not like Taiwanese. I've been expecting it since I've been like that all the time.

How did you feel about being Taiwanese?

Proud of being Taiwanese, it doesn't make me any different if I think differently, I'm still Taiwanese.

With whom did you live? Spend your time? Why?

I rent a flat, I share a flat with a girl, British girl, I tend to join the local people or European people's group instead of sticking around Chinese and Taiwanese because A, I don't get along with them and B, They drive me nuts.

Why?

They have these small circles, they are like aliens in an alien country and that is why people think they are freaks, if you go abroad you should go abroad, I mean physically and mentally not go there and start your own circle with your own people and speak Chinese all the time.

Did you decide to stay with local people?

Yes, I didn't decide really, just naturally I don't get along with some people so bird with the same feather, is that what you call it?

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK? In what ways? Did you become more 'English' or less 'Taiwanese' in any ways?

I would say after I been travelling around I do have more experience about different nations and their customs and culture background which I didn't know in Taiwan so I suppose I have been more open-minded after this experience.

Two things changed the most. First is my point of view about drugs, second is my point of view about money. Before I left for to UK, all I think about is how much money I can get but after the experience I had in England, I have a lifestyle that is more laid back style, travel more and I'm happier that way. I think it is a relief, the experience that gives you a chance to change, living abroad. I would say I am more like UK people, I would say Taiwanese people try to behave like Westerners, like wearing baggy jeans but that doesn't mean that mentality they have the same as Western style so depending being one or having the same mentality is different.

How did it compare with what you expected?

I was expecting everyone being nice, like what I saw on TV and it turns out the complete opposite and like I say British people are the most hostile race I have ever seen, apart from that everything went well. On TV, I saw everyone wearing a high hat, and being gentlemen and ladies drinking tea under a lacy pretty umbrella. At least I expect people being more friendly than they are behaving. I think generally British people are more conservative emotionally, they have more hatred towards foreigners than local people but still they are not nice to people in general.

Have you become more like that?

Thank god no.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

In the beginning I would say the third one and after that would be about there (6).

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3 to 6

Who were your friends?

International people in the beginning because I study in the school and lots of people from like Norway, Thailand, Iceland, from all over the world, but after the course finished I think I hang about with my English friends. I met them through my husband who is British. I get to know his friends, his family and they are all British and that's how I came to meet local people. In school it is quite difficult to do that because mostly international students.

Is it easy or difficult to integrate into UK life?

If you have an open-mind it is not difficult to integrate into UK, but some other people find it more difficult because they think they are part of the society but like I say, really being one or just pretending is not the same.

I always think the UK will be temporary because the weather sucks, the food sucks and the people are unfriendly, I do think it is temporary, but it is not that bad. If I have to stay there forever it is a bit annoying because all these bad conditions stick with you every single day but you get quite a good package if you work in Europe so there are benefits.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan? How did you feel about returning to Taiwan before you left the UK? Did you think about coming back to Taiwan a lot before you left the UK?

Because my husband wants to lean Chinese, I actually feel bad to leave my friends in the UK, I felt sad to leave, because I have to leave my friends and my job.

I didn't prepare at all, I just though oh I'm gong home, not excited to come home, not as excited as I have holidays.

Where is your home?

I would say Taiwan, but no matter what, England is also my home because all my friends are English, I see them more than my family, so they are like my family.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I thought one year is not that long, I got transferred and I realised that I don't belong to this culture any more because of the work, not the content of the work but the hours that they do, people do stupidly long hours, people get sick from work, I got sick from the long hours, I can't believe I have to deal with all that again.

What about your first feelings?

I feel a bit sad because I was happy with my job in England and I really don't like to start a new job even if it is with the same firm and the job isn't brilliant either.

What did you find easier, going to the UK or coming back to Taiwan? Why?

Going to the UK because I think I have to thank the Taiwanese culture because how people work in Taiwan they can go any country and get appreciated even though they don't give 100% of their strength on work so I had a good life in England but when I come back, they expect more and more.

I think it is also the organisation culture is a problem I have to deal with because I never be able to adapt well so after experiencing Europe I find it even harder to do that.

Any changes in Taiwan since you left?

More air pollution but it is like that, like the way it is, people are nice compared to British, weather is beautiful.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan?

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I was quite happy to come back in the first few months but every day I woke up I feel really miserable because I hate working in Taiwan and the first three months I was thinking I want to go home, which home is England, I want to go back, I want to be laid back, have a glass of wine after work with my friends and be paid for my overtime.

I think my education in England contribute quite a lot towards my opinions and my work performance because I will be able to see things in different angle and I'm more constructive and the things I used to do in Taiwan after experiencing England I modified it so I have a better output out of it I mean workwise so I can do a better report or analyse, these things are learned in England because Taiwanese education they don't provide these kind of appreciating opportunities.

I am more freethinking but I don't really care if it is a problem in Taiwan. But my colleagues do not appreciate it at all which is why I find it really hard to adapt to this working environment again in Taiwan because those people who work in basic level, they are not allowed to have fresh mind or new ideas because the one who takes the credit always be the team-leader or the boss, and whoever provide the idea even if it you, you are not allowed to get the credit, and that is not going to happen in Europe.

Have you changed your behaviour?

Yes, honestly I have to be really quiet and not speak out my mind and pretend to be really stupid because you can't be smarter than your boss because otherwise you be blacklisted. I feel like shit because work is a heavy part of your life so if you are not allowed to think freely, I mean you not meant to help anyone so what's the point of work.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Nothing changed too much apart from my friends who are quite amazed I got married, and they assume I have a baby, in their experience that is the only reason I would get married. I think my family relationship is better because I've been separate for so long so we have more time with each other but I don't think it'll last.

They haven't said that I have changed. I think my point of view about things has changed. Your family can't really tell unless they work with you. After all this is the land that I grew up.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country? If so, in what ways?

Yes, very different. Opinion about money, opinion about work, opinion on life and family. Their opinion towards money is more or less the same like me before I went to England. Taiwanese people don't have a life, they only have work and work is equal to life which is why people die at the office. My opinion is life is short so why not enjoy it. Understand this will take much longer for Eastern people but maybe 30 years or 40 years later when East Asia countries get more international and globalised maybe they will start to think yeah, that is the idea, to have a better life.

Can other people accept your opinion?

No, it is a problem, especially at work, apart from my boss because I will expect to have holidays, I will expect not to work myself till I'm sick, I expect not to feel my performance is against the rules of normal Taiwanese thinking especially the boss so I think I've been blacklisted already.

I got sick, I got transferred back from UK to Taiwan and I was quite happy back in England so when I came back I thought well one firm, one team so transfer abroad cannot be too much difference in the same company, it turns out quite difficult to adapt to this culture. I think after six months I went to the shrink and for six months I was on medication for depression.

Why?

I just think I couldn't fit in, the society and the organisation culture, it doesn't matter where I work in Taiwan it is going to be the same.

I quit and I got an easy job, they tend to not overwork their people but still I do a serious amount of overtime, I can't complain although the salary is poor.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/friends you made in the UK?

Yes, we have emails sometimes they call me and I went back the wedding for my sister in law and it is good. And I spend time with my husband.

Any other Taiwanese friends from the UK?

Only a few times because they are all quite busy, but in general they are nice people but I don't get along with Taiwanese, we don't really share the same qualities. I see a few old friends, have different mentality but we have a special relationship.

They always treat me like a freak, and I was a freak, I'm still a freak so nothing has changed.

I now feel everything in Taiwan is brilliant except the job because I don't fit into the culture, the money is shit, everyone here is working 10 hours every day but I'm thinking go back to England is better.

If you had to stay here forever how would you feel?

I would say that's fine, I would get a better job, better money.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life? Has this changed between the time you first came back and now? Do you feel it has been easy/difficult to get back into Taiwan life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 3

Because I'm still a Taiwanese but adaptation of the organisational culture I have problems but everything else is the same.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally? Why/why not?

Eight out of 10.

Plans for the future?

I will try to go back to England, maybe get a job with better package, I'll try and deal with the weather, the nasty people, but I'll survive.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Good thing.

I become more aware of the friendship because friends are my family in England and we take care of each other so I value my friends more now.

Working attitude changed, still now, in Taiwan culture you are not allowed to be the same level with your boss, you have to say certain things, behave certain way to meet their expectations but now I just don't give a shit, I say what I want to say, I do what I want to do, if I think it is right. Of course I'll report to them, I don't kiss arses, I never kiss arses, I don't now.

I used to work for money but now I work for holidays which I need money for. Leisure attitude has changed. Before I normally sleep during the weekends because that is the only time I can rest, not working for 10 hours every day but when I go to England I realise that I can have a night life, go out with my friends, relax.

I've changed my ability to analyse, those skills are from the education because after I went to England I realised that, I'm not saying that people who don't study are useless, but people who do not have enough of education need to adapt to that society to survive properly and what I see in England is they have a serious problem about education, they don't have proper foundation for the young people, that's why they take drugs, abuse themselves and have kids when they are 13 and that is a massive social point as well, and that is my tax money, everyone who works in England pays tax and I don't think we should waste money on those people unless you have a solution to change that, which is education, teach them properly and they will be able to have a job and not wandering outside, taking drugs. In Taiwan we do have social benefits but I thought in Europe you have proper social benefits, but it's funny because I thought in Europe you have proper social benefits after comparison between Taiwan and the UK, I think Taiwan is much better, you get to see the doctor, and they care, they pretend they care, but in England all you can see is inexperienced nurse trying to kill you.

Also nobody in Taiwan will vandalise things, no smashing up phone boxes, I don't know what the matter is with English people.

Before I go to UK, I am very naïve towards the foreign cultures because I maybe think they are nice, but after I see England and travel around I think people are the people no matter what nationality they are. Some countries have a bigger proportion of nasty people, like UK.

Doris

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

I think I stayed there for about 20 months. Study my Master's degree and also I have two part-time jobs.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

The end of May 2005, about a year and a half.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

First of all I think I am going to get my Master degree, also I want to improve my English and I like to experience different culture, especially England. I didn't think about going to America because I've been to England several times and I quite like the culture there. I also want to learn the British accent.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I was planning to try to find a job in the UK. But I knew it would be difficult but I thought to give myself a chance. I looked for a job but I just couldn't get any so at the end of my visa I had to come back to Taiwan.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

I think I was very excited, just about half a month before I left I quit my job and all my colleagues and my boss try to make me stay, they keep telling me that was bad decision but I think I did it because I want to go back to England but everyone say I was wrong so I kind of doubting, but after I leave the company I don't feeling that anymore, I just feel exciting I'm going. Only on the day, in the airport, my mum start crying and I start feeling yes it is very different now because there I will be all by myself and nobody will help me, I have no friends there and I will be so alone, but I kind of like challenges in a way.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 4

I felt outside of society, I think because I used to dating with a British guy, because of him I have contact I have more experience of other countries, he changed my values in a way and so after he left Taiwan I started hanging around with people but they all think I'm weird, not everyone but traditional people will think I have very odd ideas about my life for example I always think about my job much more than a family and they think it shouldn't be like that. I don't think having a baby is important but for all the Taiwanese they definitely need to have a baby and they can't understand me why I think my job is more important.

Did you have that feeling before you went to the UK?

Yes, I think this is through having a British boyfriend because he started me thinking what I used to believe is true, whether they are really true, because Taiwanese culture always makes up things what you learn from your parents, teachers or even newspapers you should be totally believing it, you don't challenge that, I think my foreign friends always challenge all about me. At first I was really offended, I think 'why do you challenge me about this and that ?' but then I think about it, yeah, why didn't I ever challenge anything I learnt at school, I just take whatever the people tell me and because of that I changed my values and that make people think I am really weird.

How long were you together with this boyfriend?

4 years, we met in Taiwan, when I met him I think all the foreigners in Taiwan are bad, especially those in the pubs, they just want one night stand, but I met him in a pub. When he first came to talk to me I thought I don't want to talk to you but the way he talked actually was very different, the questions he asked were very different so I thought he must be different. He is the first foreigner I ever know in Taiwan. My mum hated him in the beginning but loved him in the end, I think they had a very good connection, every weekend he would stay in my house and then on Sunday morning my mum would knock on his door and ask him to go to the market with her. He tried to learn how to cook Chinese food from my mum, so they were good friends.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

I feel insecure and I remember my first day, I arrived in the airport got a coach to the [UK city] train station, took a taxi to my, to where I live and then the first day I just settling down pay my rent, I remember my first meal, I don't know where to go and everything is so expensive I walked out to get a deep fried chicken, went home, had deep fried chicken in my room, watched a film and go to sleep because I don't know anyone, I don't know what to do and also because the place I stay nobody else move in yet so I'm the first one, so I feel lonely and I feel very looking forward the next day because we have the international students orientation day and looking forward I go there, maybe I will meet someone, I hope so.

Where were you living?

I wasn't living in the university halls, I was living in a private home that signed a contract with the university. Most of the people that live there, they are undergraduate and Brit - English. So I think I am the only two postgraduate and foreigner. Before I went there I thought that was a good idea because then I get the chance to know locals because I want to know locals, yes I arrived on Saturday night, on Sunday morning I met a girl, English girl she knocked on my door, said she saw the light in my room so she want to say hi to me, she tried to make friends with me but I think she was shocked, she saw me as a foreign face and she invite me to go out and party but later on when I checked the time with her she didn't really tell me the time, she tried to be nice but she was also worried about whether they will be able to get along with me. After that I moved out and stayed with two twenty year old English boys in a flat. I wanted to live with English people.

Did you feel different from British people?

Yes erm I think from my experience I had many chance to contact with locals, I think English people they try to pretend they see you as normal but they don't they just think you are Asian. For example I have a part time job in a 4 star hotel, people there are so rich but every time I serve then I speak proper English they will give you this shocked face, wow your English is so good, where do you come from? And when you say Taiwan they say.. oh.. so how is your country? And they sound nice but you can feel that when they see an Asian face they think that you are lower than them so they will ask you how is your country, if they see a French girl they won't ask them, how is your country will they. They tried to hide that they were looking down on me but not really but I think this is more coming from the older people and the young people, I also hang around with young people, I think they get used to seeing foreign faces in [UK city] because there are too many foreign faces.

Did you ever feel uncomfortable with the local people?

Only from my boss from the hotel, I remember the first day when I on board, because the manager hired me but the general manager don't know that, the day I on board the manager wasn't there so the general manager saw me and said 'what, this is a bar tender's job, why did they hire an Asian staff and Asian girl?' I just look at him like, you know I understand what you say, I didn't say anything, I just look at him like I know what you are saying. Then he asked the supervisor to deal with me because he doesn't want to. I feel offended but after I started working I did everything I could to prove that I'm better than English students, in the end I got their recognition.

In terms of behaviour and values, did you feel that Taiwanese were different from English?

Of course, I think in every way really, but how to make an example, I don't know, I think for example Taiwanese people are more grouping people and we try to be friendly to everyone but the friendly we mean deep inside really friendly because we want to meet more people but English people they make me feel like they are friendly but only on the outside, they will say 'hi, how are you?' but normally the conversation will finish there. Taiwanese people say 'how are you?' they are expecting a continuing conversation and that is a very big difference. Also the value I think I have to say I don't really like what I see in England is their attitude towards relationships because, maybe it is only in our town but if you walk on the street during the day you see all these young women you know walk around with their baby, they look like 19, 18 years old and they walk outside means they have no job, and how can they afford the life, just having baby and do that, I just can't believe it. We don't do that in Taiwan. I think it is about welfare system because in England if you have a baby the government tries to help you, but in Taiwan, no, if you choose to have a baby you have to make money to get food for yourself and that is a really big thing, I don't think I saw that in the beginning but I think I saw it after the first year because at that time I start having more connection with locals, I start talking to more locals and I start watching TV because in the first year I have no TV. I started watching TV and I realised so much values are, not twisted, but you would say twisted from Taiwanese point of view, people don't think about what family really is, they don't think about how to give their children the better future, they only think about themselves, that is what I feel.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK?

No.. no not really, although sometimes when people ask me where do you come from I say Taiwan, they will say you making toys right... and I will be me so angry about that I say we don't do that any more that's from China... we do computers. I don't feel ashamed or proud [to be Taiwanese], I just feel that my country should do something about us,

about Taiwan, because people in other countries they don't know us they don't know Taiwan they have the impression Taiwan is still making toys which is maybe twenty or thirty years ago. And we are so much advanced, we are even more computerised than England, much much more, but people don't realise that.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes, in a way, but I already had these habits in Taiwan, it's just getting worse in England like drinking habits. I like drinking, but in England, I drink every day, not really drunk but I have at least one drink every day. I also started wearing miniskirts although I'm nearly 30. I started dressing like 18-19 years old because everybody there is doing that. And that is the thing about [UK city], the women in [UK city], it's not about UK, the women in [UK city] and that's my shock as well the first weekend out you walk around the street and see all these big women, big girls wearing really, really short skirts showing their elephant legs, I remember I was like WHAT, because Asian women, when we were little we learned to cover what we think is not so good but they don't care, they just show it and it's very different. In the beginning I thought all English girls do that but then I went to Scotland, girls there are wearing different, also my English friend who comes from in the North, he came to [UK city] and said WOW what do you have here??

So yes, I start dressing differently, maybe it's because the first job I had it's in the nightclub so I have to dress like that so I start wearing these small things and then kind of get used to it and enjoy it. And I don't afraid of the cold weather, wear miniskirt and little tops, just going out like that in December and November.

Did you feel that you became less Taiwanese in any ways?

Yes, I don't eat, I don't really cook Chinese food, I only cook Western food. I don't speak Chinese but that is what I choose to do. I don't hang out with Chinese because they just want to be Chinese they don't care about learning other English things. I don't know how to say less Chinese really, I know deep inside I'm still Chinese, I still have these values that are very different from them, in the first year I was very impressed with the English culture and the second year I started looking down at it because I started seeing... because the first year I spent more time in school, I hang around with students more so you see the good side you know, people from school, people think about the future and I didn't watch TV, so you know all these people you can meet at school which is very different. And the second year because my part time job and also I didn't spend much time in school, I spent more time in hotels hang around with local young boys and I start watching TV and I started seeing all these things I didn't realise, I start to realise they have some twisted ideas about life and then I start thinking about what is wrong in this country, for me that is a big change. And I remember I was chatting with my flatmate, 20 years old, he's learning Business and one thing we talking about what I think about England and I told him all the problems I see and he was shocked. He say 'I didn't think about that' and I say, 'that is because you are here, you don't think that is wrong, but for different culture point of view, compared to what happens in Asia, because Asia is growing up fast and then you think a lot of people they do not know what is going on outside England. If you don't see outside, how are you going to get better? You just get used to what you have and that is not a good sign so yeah we talking about that.

Can you give me some more examples of the things you see as problems in the UK society?

I don't know if my view is right or wrong but when you are looking at a country and you are looking at an economy you think about how this culture is going to make money. Making money is not the money you turn around inside the country; it is how you are going to make money from other countries. That is how your country's economy can grow up but looking at those, because England joined the European so you've got all these young people coming HERE to do those jobs and the English boys and girls, they don't want to do jobs, they just want to get loans from the bank and spend them and get debts, they don't think about, maybe I should earn more money, to afford my life. They think, no, I can get a loan, why not, and thinking about all these basic jobs being taken over by foreigners and loads of people, they don't go to university and they don't really learn to have their own skills. How are they going to do? Nothing. And I think what I saw, the economy base of English is finance and service, if you based on finance and service you are not really making money from other countries do you, so this country is not getting better, it is just staying there and, you know, thinking about the interest of loans are so high and everyone is having a loan, at least one loan, and that's ridiculous, everyone is in debt to the bank and not making money to pay off.. so you see the money is turning around inside this country. And the price of the house is too high, that's a bad sign as well especially as people are not getting richer, I don't know whether that is right or wrong but that is what I think.

Did you get a loan?

I already have a loan to go to England, I had a loan in Taiwan, my only loan in my life, Taiwanese people, we don't like to get a loan from the bank, when we need money we might borrow it from our friends but people don't really like to deal with the bank, but nowadays it's a bit different, in the past it was, but nowadays the people, just in debt, I don't know why.... So when I was deciding to go the UK, I was struggling because I didn't have enough money and my mum doesn't have money so I was thinking, well, if I really want to go , I have to get a loan but I don't really want to do that because I don't want to owe anyone but in the end I did it and I'm paying now. I haven't finished paying it off yet, I could because I have loads of money left but I decide not to because I have to keep some cash with me because my mum doesn't have any money, just in case, that's the thing about Taiwanese people that we always want to have some money with us, that means secure but in England they don't really think that. If people lose job,

the government will give them money. Sometimes if the welfare is too good, will make people going down because they think that is easy, they can do nothing but surviving. Life is Taiwan is more difficult if you comparing to England but I think it is good, make people want to do things, make people want to make their life better.

Did you ever feel that the UK was your home?

Yes, my mum hates it, when I first came home, I kept saying, you know, in our country, my mum said 'what', I said, in the UK, you know, we do this' and I keep saying 'my country, the UK' and saying '我們，英國' (trans. – we, the English) and my mother says 'You are Taiwanese' and I say I am part of England, I'm maybe half English and my mum said 'you are not'.

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 5

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan? How did you feel about returning to Taiwan before you left the UK?

Because I couldn't find a job. I didn't really want to come back. I felt disappointed to come back, not for the environment, but I felt disappointed with myself because I couldn't get a job. Because I know some people they did get a job so I feel, I failed myself in a way. Some people got jobs more easily but studying marketing it is really difficult, I don't know, in the end I gave myself some excuse why I couldn't find a job, like marketing, how can you market in another country, that kind of stuff but I really think there must be some jobs, I just didn't find it. I looked on the websites and human resource agents and I would have moved to anywhere in the UK, I applied some and most of the agents asked, 'do you have working visa?' and then that was the dead end (looks sad).

Did you think about coming back to Taiwan a lot before you left the UK?

Erm, I only prepared coming back to Taiwan maybe two weeks before coming back and the rest of the time I just tried to enjoy my days there, I remember my flight was on Monday and I sent all my boxes, all my stuff on Saturday. I quit my job, my part-time job just one week before. I just tried to live my life like normal and it was at the last moment I had to think about it. I did think about it but I just tried to avoid these bad feelings.

I had a 20 years old young English boyfriend for about 11 months. I have to say before I went to England I had an English boyfriend, his family is really, really upper levels, rich, everybody there have a really high education but this young boyfriend I had in [UK city], it's very different, he's from a, for Taiwanese we would say, the problem families, his mum has two marriage and both divorce, have two kids with different husbands and his dad having a girlfriend but not getting married and also have a daughter and his mum being abused by his dad and he being abused by his step-dad. So this is a family that we won't want to know about in Taiwan because we would think, anybody from that family, god, they are so low class. But I only know this stuff when we start dating, I went back to his house and I see his parents and that's when I start looking at the downside of English because before that I never really know that kind of thing but I just start thinking about it and I ask him, do you think that is normal, and he said yeah everyone is doing things like that and my friend told me , I don't know if that is right, nowadays the young children in England at least half of them have sister or brother in law [stepsister], I said really, I don't really believe in that but if you think about what is happening in the society, that may be true in a few years because people don't really care what they are doing for their children, just you know having fun and the shocking thing is that they don't try and avoid being pregnant, we Taiwanese, we think about Western people, they are much better educated, you know, better than us, they should thinking about this but they don't so I was in shock about that. This is not what I expected in England. It seems that looking on the downside you see more and more and make you really worried that after 10 years, no maybe after 20-30 years and a guy want to get married, maybe they should check whether they are brother or sister in a way which they didn't know.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I don't want to come home. I think my boyfriend make it harder for me because we having argument and he cursed me so harder in a way but easier to accept I'm back home because I feel now I'm back to where, if I got something wrong, people will help me out so my mum came to the airport, pick me up, I feel a bit relieved to be welcomed home because the day I arrived I got loads of phone calls, people arranged a time to see me, so I think that helped me a lot you know to be welcomed by loads of friends because I don't really have that much over there. I have my own friend maybe two or three, the rest of them are my co-workers or my boyfriend's friends. It was difficult with my boyfriend because he's too young to handle this kind of situation so he was angry.

How did you feel after that?

I miss everything in England, you know some people think England is too expensive, when I came back, I also realised Taiwan is expensive so the advantage is gone. About friends, my friends have all got their jobs so after the first meeting, they are all busy and also because I couldn't find a job in short time so I've been through two months

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feeling really annoyed with myself and I feel lonely in a way, useless in a way, because I couldn't get a job and I don't really have friends to talk, I tried to chat with my girlfriends but they all say, 'ah, don't worry, you will get one', I don't feel they really know how I feel. Especially, they all doing well you know, that made me feel, did I make a mistake going to England to study, it didn't seem to help me get a job, it didn't seem helping me anything but making me want to go back. I missed the food there, I missed my oven, I love to cook with oven but I don't have that in the house so I just miss everything really, I miss the nightlife, I don't feel going clubbing is the same any more since I came back, just feel clubbing here is boring. That's why I hardly go clubbing.

Is this how you expected to feel?

No, I didn't. I know I will miss England and I will miss my friends there and miss my time there because life there is much much more easy. You can just to support you life, have a walk on the beach thinking about nothing but relaxing, I think people there make life quite easy you just don't think much although I am tired in the end cos I know I'm not that kind of person, I need something push me forward and living in England will make me lazy make me start being like English people.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country? If so, in what ways?

Yes, definitely, people think I'm really, really, really, Westernised and really strange and since I got back I have big troubles to making new friends because unless they've been abroad they can't understand why I'm thinking this way or that way, other locals think I'm very different, I'm very distant from them, maybe I've got the English habit you know saying 'hi' but then nothing else later on, just observing people, yes now, I observe people instead of taking the initiative to talk to them. Not to even mention the date, it is difficult to get a date because Taiwanese people, Taiwanese guy will think you're so weird, he might think you are alright but after talking to you for 20 minutes they will think, no, there is something wrong in your brain, why do you think like that? For example if I challenge them, everything, I think career is more important than anything else, but I already thought like that before I left Taiwan, that's why before I wasn't popular, not really no.. because especially for woman in my age, 30 something people will expecting you to be like, really want to get married, really want to have children but that's not my agenda at the moment, so the men in my age will think, you are really weird because when they talk to you they want to talking and thinking about you know getting married and that kind of stuff and I'm like, can we just dating please and they think when they think about dating at this stage they think about whether there is a chance to get married and that's weird.

Do you think your relationships with your family have changed?

Erm.. my mum said I've become too proud, 驕傲 (trans.- arrogant), not just proud, a bit arrogant because I always say I don't believe it and I think that should be better, I think maybe English people teach students to have their own idea of what they want and what they believe and that is not what Taiwanese culture is doing, Taiwanese culture wants the children to listen to their parents and before I already have my own idea but since I came back I have my idea more straightforward, I just say it out and don't really care whether other people agree with it I just say, that's me, that's my life, could you just leave me alone please, and they just think, my mum say I'm too proud of myself, I've become very distant and the first time I went back to my grandma, my uncles, my aunts they think I'm very, very distant from them, I sit there smiling, when they talk, I listen and when they ask me questions I answer them but I don't really start a topic with them and most of the time I sitting there but thinking something else so they just say I'm not there even though I'm sitting there, but after maybe half a year I went back again they see a difference, they say to me, we think you are much, much more mature now, you start acting like a responsible adult and I'm like what ? Just because I start taking the initiative to chat with them and talking about how to educated their children with them, you know help my cousins, they think I'm more like a woman in my age.

Do you think you have adjusted back to the culture in Taiwan?

Yes, in a way, but I didn't change my way of thinking, it just, I have to, also because I got really frustrated at work, because I couldn't really fit in with the whole company, because I used to work for international company but since I came back I've been working for two local firms and when I first worked there people really can't accept me, some people think I'm too straightforward, some people think I'm too proud of myself, I'm very distant, I'm hard to get along with which I never had, that kind of problem before I went to England, because, I used to work in advertising, people LOVED me, my farewell party, everybody in the company, more than 100 people, joined my party and I remember our new CEO, he just came on board maybe one month before I left, he even take money out for my farewell party, he paid for everything and he, when I came back, I went to see him, he said you know I only know you for one month but you remember what I said to you before you left, I told you if you want to come back there is always a seat in this company for you, the reason is because this is the first time ever, in an advertising agency, because people always compete with each other, the first time in an advertising agency, one person's farewell party can make everybody join the party. So I never had that kind of comment but since I came back I always have that kind of comment, I think Oh my God, am I that difficult to get along with, so I tried to adjust my attitude a bit, try to be more warm for Taiwanese and then for my family but I still have that attitude, if you don't like me, then don't like me. But I already have that attitude a bit in the past, if you don't like me, I can't change you but because in the past I have more time to work with people, people you know, like me when they have a connection with me but after I came back, the job, especially my job right now I don't really have time to work with everyone because it's a big

company so if one people sitting next to me say something bad about me, other people will be believing it and I can't change that.

How about your friends? Do they think you have changed since you came back?

No, not really, most of my dear friends, my good friends, they've all been abroad, and I'm the last one, and when they came back, we don't think they've changed. No, for them it's alright because we always be so real to each other we never hide, I don't feel that I'm really that much different deep inside, maybe behaviour wise people think it's different but deep inside, I'm the same, so for my girlfriends they think it's alright, I still love my friends, I still treat them really well so yeah..

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

Well, first of all, I still keep in contact with my friends back in England, I even went back to visit them this Chinese New Year and I'm planning to do that again next year, and sometimes I chat with my friends in Thailand, my course mates, in Thailand and China, and since I've come back I tried to make, I used to have loads of foreign friends in Taiwan but they've all gone now and since I've come back, I find it very difficult to meet more, that's one thing changed, in the past I don't mind who I being with, anybody who come to talk to me, I'll be happy, but since I came back, first of all, when I look at them, I will try to evaluate them to see if they are English teachers, they have a part time job and I don't want to spend time with English teachers anymore, I think they are losers, some of them, maybe half of them. I think, you know, all they are doing is just playing around doing nothing really, I don't want to waste my time, maybe it's just my age. Yeah, I evaluate them. I don't know why but since I came back, I can't attract more attention from them I don't know why, every time when I used to go out with my 'Sex in the city people' (4 single female friends) we in one night, at least 2 or 3 guys, foreign guys would come to chat with us, nowadays, no, no one, maybe because we seem older. You know what, I never feel old before I went to England, I never feel I'm old in England either, but I feel I'm old, when I came back, after I came back, I really feel I'm different, I'm in my age, maybe because in England people treat me like I'm 19, 20 years old and I hang around with young people and I didn't realise I'm different from them because we look different, so I don't feel I'm older but when I came back you have another Asian face next to you, they are 20 something and you are 30 something, you compare them, you look at yourself and say, oh, I'm older, yes I'm older. In the UK, people think I'm 19 years old, that's really good.

Do you plan to go back to the UK?

Not study, I don't want to study any more, I've never been the study type, I only study because I need to, I want to go back but I have to be able to find a good job. I don't want this was the thing I was talking with my two other course mates on Monday night, we talking about how difficult to find a proper job in England, we talking about why some Asian people, they just want to stay there doing like bartender even they lose money, you know, getting a degree, and some people they so want to stay there, they can have a baby with someone they don't love just top stay there, I just can't understand that. I think for me, having a career that I want is very important so if I can find a proper job I like in England, I would LOVE to go back, but I'm doubting it.

Would you go somewhere else, another country?

Yes, if I had a chance I would like to go to any other country because living in England those months made me feel it's not that difficult living in a country you don't know, if you have the right attitude you can make friends, you can still enjoy your life there.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 1 to 3

You know, in England, in [UK city], I walked every day and I enjoyed that, when I came back to Taipei, I grew up here you know, I like Taipei, but I don't want to walk anymore because the environment is not that comfortable to walk around and I don't know, it's just everything, I think the lifestyle is the big things cos you just have to deal with it, but also because [UK city] is so countryside and also the other thing is family things, I'm not really a family person, in Taiwan you have to be otherwise people will think you are shallow, and the other thing is, I used to live alone so I can choose whether I want to talk to someone but since I got back, I have to talk to my mum all the time if I'm in the house. You get tired of that, my mum is trying to put all of these Taiwanese values back to my mind, which is really hard for me, about family, about getting married, I've been forced to have blind date twice by my mum, I'd never do that in my life but I had to do that because she kept telling me, you know, if you don't do this, you won't be able to get married. The first one was alright, the guy used to live in America for 11 years, he's 10 years older than me, we kind of dating for a few months, that didn't work out so we are friends now, that's alright, but because the first one was alright so my mum said the second one would be OK, so she arranged a second one, the guy was her old classmate from university's son, and she didn't really see the guy before we met and the first moment we both saw him was, we looked at each other, I looked at my mum, my mum looked at me, we have an afternoon tea and after that they sent us to the elevator, as soon as the door closed I looked at my mum and said mum, next time, if you are going to arrange anything like this could you check out the guy first before he comes. He's alright if he doesn't smile. Really bad teeth and that was horrible. And he's one year younger than me, he's a salesman, but he's so shy, he was

sitting there saying nothing and I was like oh my god, how are you going to be a good salesman if you are like that. And after that, every time I go out with my mum, seeing her friends, they first thing she will say is do you know any single guys for my daughter? I get so tired of it in the end, I say mum could you stop that, she says, you know I'm just worried about you, you don't want to be a lonely for your whole life, I say, no I don't but I don't think this is a good idea. And in the end I have to tell her this because she has, she divorced with my dad, so in the end I say mum, you know you have a failed marriage and most of your girlfriends have a failed marriage too, so you must understand that being single is sometimes better than having a failed marriage, and then she was silent for a while and then said, yeah maybe you are right, so after that she kind of give me a break.

Now?

Now, I still don't really fit in here cos I don't know, I try to but I think the people who can understand me, these are very rare people can understand me.. rare people want to spend time to understand me and that is another big issue, I don't know why but maybe people here are not like they were, I think maybe before Taiwanese people they are more friendly, they want to know people more, but maybe because of technology people start having distance, for example, in the past, you get on the bus or MRT station, you see people reading books or trying to observing around or try to listen to what other people is talking, nowadays, you get on the bus or MRT and everybody have their headphone on, they don't care what happens around them, and I think that is very different. Also people would rather talk on Messenger than on the phone or seeing people, I'm a bit like that as well now. I'm never a phone call person, I'd rather see people or chat on MSN.

Do you think you will ever be more part of Taiwanese society?

I hope so, I'm trying. I don't know, I'm also thinking about any other chance to go back to England or go to other countries so maybe I have enough ideas in mind and I don't really want to get involved too much in Taiwan life, like a few months ago one of my family told me that there might be a chance that he want me to go to England to open a branch for him, after that I took myself totally outside Taiwan society, not totally but a lot of things, for example, because the shops, have a membership and before I would join so I shop here all the time, but at that time, I was like no, I'm leaving, so I don't spend much time to get to know more people because I think that I will leave them one day and but after that chance is leaving, I start thinking, yeah, why I didn't do that, I should spend more time to know more people, and that's what I'm trying to do right now, I'm trying to go out with the people, I have no idea who they are, I went to the dating website, looking for a dating partner, and I got about 15 guys with every different age they chat to me, I have seen one, he was nice, he's a post-graduate student in Taiwan and all these people are Taiwanese, because I can't go back right now, so I have to build my connections here, I have to have more friends, since my girlfriends, they all have a date now, except Sandy, when you have a boyfriend they spend less time with you so I need to have more friends by myself, so I'm working on it.

Do you ever see any Taiwanese friends that you made in the UK?

I think I keep in contact with those few friends I had when I was in the UK. We see each other occasionally but we talk to each other on Messenger a lot. People in Taiwan do not have much time for friendships, especially those people who get married, that's the thing, if your friend got married then they will never have time for you, when people get married, you kind of lose a friend so this is a pressure for women in my age, still being single. Life is so difficult.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

No, I'm considering one of my friends offer. He said, if I want to stay in England, I can get married with him, go dating with any guy I want, if I want to get married with others, he can divorce me, I treat it as a joke the first time he said it but nowadays I'm thinking, maybe I should consider that.

Every week I watch English football, I don't really have time to watch them but I tape them, I have my team I support, Newcastle, which lost twice in the last week. I was a football fan before I went to England but I don't really have a regular football habit, but when I went there I started getting more into it, before I won't buy an England shirt or my team shirt but now I really want to do that. When England lost the world cup, oh my god my heart was broke, I remember sitting there and my tears almost came out, I tell myself I can't be that sad but I just can't believe that. We were expecting so much from them, and they so failed, they failed us, badly. I don't like Taiwanese sports, I don't feel I have a connection with them, I only watch football, I support England for a reason, because of the players, Michael Owen.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

I am glad that I went to the UK, but I start doubting whether that really is doing the work I was imagining. I think I will never think it is a bad thing, always a good thing to go somewhere else, see something different, but in terms of what I was expecting form that experience, for example, in terms of jobs or dates, no that's not helping, I think I'm just having a difficult time, things will get better, one day I will think, yes, that's worth the choice.

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Yen

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

Two and a half years. Studying language, university, marketing degree. I stayed for nearly one year in language school and another times in the university. The first 1 was in London then in [UK city].

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

Nearly 2 years, not two years ago, Nearly two years. January 2003, as soon as I finished my dissertation.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

The first I would like to developing the new experiences, to see something different, to see someone I don't know in the world. Like an adventure I think. Why the UK, the reason is, I have many dreaming about the UK, like the history, the story, the castle, I have an image with the UK. The only place I wanted to go was the UK.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I know for me it is just a short stay in the UK, so I know when I finish, I will go back to Taiwan. I never wanted to stay in England.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Excited because I only get two weeks decide for packing my suitcase, to buy tickets, to book the language school and to quit my job, only two weeks. Only two weeks, we already got a conditional offer from the university but the only problem is you language not good enough so we think if we can go there earlier probably we could to improve our English, but unfortunately no, (laughs) I take one year more to get the access to the university. I think this is good because when you go to university to get more confidence to face your tutors, your supervisors, your colleagues, it's better. You remember the first time you meet us in the language school, my English was terrible (laughs).

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 7

I'm a very active person so I'm a part of the Taiwan society because we work together, my family, we are very close, I felt very Taiwanese.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

So excited, you know, after 16 hours long flight and you see the land, you look down and you think wow, it's another country, you feel very excited, I'd been to another country like China, Hong Kong, Japan, I'd had a short travel before but this was a different feeling because you know you will stay here for a long time so when you see the land you think, oh exciting.

Did you feel anything negative?

No, the first three months I didn't have any negative feelings, I don't have a homesick. I have homesick after 6 months when I get a problem with my language, when I got depressed with the language, because I can not get into the university, I cannot pass the ... at that time, I feel a little bit disappointed, but that was 6 months later.

What did you do when you felt like that?

I tried to talk to the school because I want to finish a degree and I talked with my family, they say, of course, my ma is agree, my dad isn't agree but my ma said, if you want you can do it but you have to make sure you will graduate because it costs a lot of money. They were supporting me. My father.. ah you are a girl, you are alone in a different country we give you six months, it's enough, you should to come back, but I told my ma, because I know, at that time the English not good enough so I not achieve my goal so I don't want to go home, I said, I want to continue so I tried to talk to school I talk (recruitment officer for [UK city] University), because that is the first time the language school

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when you get IELTS 5 and you can take 6 months the language school and then go to university, so I said I could move to the [UK city] if I could attend this course, the presessional course.

Is that why you chose to go to [UK city]?

I visit different schools, in Birmingham, I don't like this city and one school in Bristol, I don't like as well, I like [UK city] more.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

The food is most different.. people is nice you know but I suppose we are the foreigners so when we meet the local people they think we are the foreigner, they are quite nice but we have communication problem, so we cannot completely understand at all

Did you have any bad experiences?

They are very nice, but they don't understand what I am talking about.

And the younger people, did you have any problems?

No. But the most friendly people I met is foreigners, like people who are from the Middle East, the Iran people, the Pakistan people, they are more nicer.

With whom did you live? Spend your time? Why?

The first was with a home family, the lady, the English lady, she was very quiet, she doesn't talk to me too much, and I ate microwave food for the first three months and I think what... is this English food?? And I didn't because I have so experiences so I say, it's nice, after that I hate that, you know how much I paid, I paid £120 per week and I got the microwave food. She is around 30 something, single. I have no contact with her now.

And when you moved to [UK city]?

Oh yes, nice because the school arranged a very good host family for us, and I still have contact with them, I write a Christmas card for them, I was there for 3 months.

And when you were at university, who did you live with?

University accommodation, I lived in Cranbourne House (university accommodation) with another 5 people, other international students. Thai people but we have the problem, because they like party and sometimes we are not engaged with their party and at night you just feel sick with their party, fed up, because they drink and they don't like to clean the kitchen so we fight. The first time we live with, always girls and the second time we moved with Man (fellow student from Thailand), it's better.

Did you want to live with English people?

The school arrange for us, but I prefer live with international students because (laughs) we have, you know, a very interesting image with the English students, the once I went to their kitchen, it's terrible, I don't know how people to live in this kind of environment, crazy. We have a neighbour so we visit their kitchen and we say 'what', they were very friendly though.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

I think people in the UK, because everybody have a different is individual so we don't feel each other very much, but of course we get in different groups but not with everybody. I spent most of my time with Monica and another Taiwanese, no I mostly stay with the Turkish group, like Ali, Ingrid from Norway. I don't know why I don't spend time with Taiwanese, I think because we not live together, because most Taiwanese they live outside, they rent a house together, but I live in Cranborne, in my flat I am only one Taiwanese. I didn't try to avoid speaking Chinese. Sometimes they will come to our flat, and the Nicky, Vivien, Monica, they come to my flat quite often, we have a party, in my flat.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

I think I'm more like myself, I can be myself when I was in the UK, because everything what do you want you have to think, make decision by your own and you have to decide to do it, and maybe because at home you will have parents who will take care about you, but in the different country no, you have to take care by yourself. So, I didn't know how to cook before but when I was there, I have to learn how to cook.

Do you think you became less Taiwanese in any ways?

Yes, I think I became more less concerned about group and more consider about myself, in all the China culture before we used to live with group together, so people interaction together, when you want to do something you will think about your friends and you will how people think about you, you know, if they have got the negative feelings you might not to do something even if you want to. But in the UK, you more recognise what do you want.

Do you think that is a good thing?

Yes.... But it is not good for my parents (laughs). They think me very strange the first time I come back to home, because I got more strong personality.

And now?

Now after two years, no, already gone, (sighs).

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

I think just a little because most of the time we stay with foreigners, I had an experience to stay with my English family, and I have worked with English lady but we still have a long distance so maybe.

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3/4

My life in England was more with an international student life, with the English people maybe we have some connection but not too much. Because they invite me to go join their Christmas party so I used to go visit them to have some talks but we are not very close.

Were you working in the UK?

Yes, with English people, housekeeping and waitress in a hotel. My boss was very nice person, I like him.

So do you think spending more time with international students, you became more like them? For example did you become more Turkish?

You mean eat a lot of kebabs? (laughs) Yes, I think my tasting style is totally different, more like a Western style.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Because I finish, why would I stay.

Did you always feel that Taiwan was your home?

Yes of course.

And England?

England was my second home. But there is a difference, you don't feel you are part of them.

Did you want to stay there?

If you've got opportunity, if you've got a job or something, you might think about that. But first you want to go home, when you have finished your objective, you want to go home.

How did you feel about coming back to Taiwan?

Happy, because finally I finished my dissertation.

Were you sad?

A little bit of course, when I was on the plane I was sad because I knew my life will be totally different, because in England you are happy because your parents cannot shouting with you, you could do whatever you like, you could go out, you have many friends, we used to go out together, a lot. But not in Taiwan, we work a lot. Because of our boss is rubbish.

Did you prepare for your return?

I try not to think about it, because you have been here for twenty-five years more so you know what is life will be. But for the first three months, I didn't go out, I was just at home, I just stay in my house. Because you feel that you

don't know what will happen on the outside, you don't know how to talk to the people. The first three months, I just stay at home. People think you are foreigner because you have been used to talk like English at that time, you think when you talk like English and your Chinese is not good after two and a half years you don't talk by Chinese, not talk too much, so when you talk to people you are used to by English. And then your way, your stress, and everything people think you are a foreigner, yes this is true, I went to have a visit some factory, the first time I saw them they say are you a foreigner? I say, no I'm not, I'm Taiwanese, they say, you look like a foreigner. They just think you are not the same as Taiwanese.

And your parents?

I think the problem is when we get the communication and I have more the idea and they think, they are still stay in the same place so we have some misunderstandings with each other and sometimes my opinions, they don't like it. For example if I say I like this, I don't like that, my parents will say what you speak so directly, the Taiwanese they try to avoid, they don't like to speak so directly, my parents think you say too quick. They though I was rude but I think I'm just telling the truth, why don't you want to know the truth.

Do you think that is more like English people?

Yes, when you stay with your friends they just talk very directly, you just say I like this and I like that. But in Taiwan China people like you know more uncertain, ambiguous situation. Maybe I like, maybe I don't like because they don't want to answer so direct but you know the truth, so when I come back, telling people the truth and they are shocked, how can you tell the truth? They think you are too rude. It was maybe six months after you come back you go back to the Taiwanese society.

Did you feel bad?

No not really, because I was just at home, I tell people don't really need to come talk to me, I just like this. I don't think about England too much because I know here and I'm in Taiwan, so that already become the past. You know the Taiwanese life what you have to expect.

Did you expect to feel like a foreigner?

No

4. **Experience of Coming Back**

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I change all my house, no I have the table setting on my house, that is a difference, you will like do something for yourself you house, you will put some decoration in your house. In Chinese we eat in the round table, I think the English way is more, I like it, you know just different. I could change my house.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

I think so, they say I'm growing, now I'm more confident and I can take care of myself. I feel that too. Before they think I was like a little girl, they are quite worried about me but now they think I can do so many things.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country? If so, in what ways?

Yes, I think we will have the different opinions, but I respect the people because they don't know much about the people around the world, they only know the group so they think the same but I say maybe, sometimes I try to be quite, I don't want to say that much. Before you will join in the conversation but you don't want to say too much, you say some interesting points about other people but they will think really? Are you saying the truth? They have a question about something you are saying. Like my boss, she is a typical Taiwanese, I always say, the foreigners they are doing things in different ways but she don't think so, she's very stubborn, she says I told you, around the world people are doing the business the same but you know. The beginning I try to argue but later I stop, she won't change any more, why you want conflict in the office. This is because I was more English style and now I'm more the middle, the middle way, you still believe yourself but you respect the people, how they think.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

We have internet connection, we talk on the MSN, we email. We talk, we go out, friends form the UK.
I plan to go back to UK to visit some friends. I still have friends in [UK city], the Colombian girl, she married an English and they have a baby, so cute, and I say send me a photo.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 1 to 5

Because you know what is Taiwanese life look like so you just go back slowly, little by little. This is my country. I cannot say I already complete with the society together, we still have some difference but I already part of them. I still keep something I like, UK style like in my home and when I go out I have. It's a culture too much difference. But you can join them, that is no problem.

Plan for the future?

Find a man to get married, all my friends this age, they already have a family. If I meet the right person, sorry I don't want the wrong person. I just believe myself more after UK. You see foreigner, before you go to study abroad you see a foreigner in the street you feel wow, this is a foreigner, but now it's just a foreigner.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally? Why/why not?

People work a lot for money so we shouldn't complain with that. It's ok, I feel more comfortable, you can go out with friends or you can stay home listen to music. I like my job, I pretty enjoy, but I want to change because I think of my career. My job now is like sales, I study marketing.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Of course it is good. I don't think it is a bad thing. You spend so much money, why you say bad. The good is you meet more people and you see more things different, your mind is more open. If you see something strange you say it's ok it's interesting before you think its different but now it's OK.

Because my job is very individual because I am the project manager, I don't need to work with group so I have no problem with the group, but I think at the beginning I think I have problem. When we go out we stay with Taiwanese graduate from England or America. Because you are more understanding.

Any foreign friends?

No, I have many customer, I always work with foreigner, most of my customers are foreign. You know this culture, you are more easy to talk to people, you know the way to talk to foreigner, they always send me to be the negotiation with business. So I'm still working with foreigners all the time.

Anna

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

2 years, study, just study, International Business Administration, and BUPEP (Presessional English), does that count? I hate recording... (laughs)

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

Last September, one year and three months.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No, never.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Actually, since my friend told me and I just consider five minutes and yes, because actually I want to go to the US, but I don't want to take the TOEFL and EMAT because I don't think I will get a high grade and can apply a good school. And then my friend told me go to England just have to spend one year so spend less money so I went with her.

Together?

No, she went to Bristol.

Is she still your friend now?

Yes, I can ask her if you want to interview her. No problem.

Why did you want to go abroad to study?

Because I think I have already studied in Taiwan my whole life and I want to go outside and get some different experiences, and improve my English, but I don't think I have improved my English at all (laughs), yes I have!

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

At first I want to stay in the UK or go to the US and then I have got a very big depressed, yes so depressed, and so my mum asked me to come back Taiwan.

Homesick?

I think so. And too many pressure.

And how do you feel now?

Yes, 還有一點陰影 (trans. still a little affected)

I went back this year, to England, April, I went back to join the ceremony, it was good, just saw two or three friends because they graduate last year. Many people can't go back for graduation because I think it is wait too long, no money, everyone's working and some companies don't let them go because they are the first year in this company and they don't have time and I have told my general manager I have to go back, and he is kind so he let me go back to England for 5 days. This is a long holiday in Taiwan, I have our company holiday 3 days.

Before you went to the UK, did you want to work in the UK?

Yes.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

So excited, I want to go abroad from I'm a child, I want go study abroad, many years ago, so I'm so excited. Before I go to England I always just travel, very short time. I felt so excited and happy. My mother and my dad felt sad at the airport and my mum cried and that made me feel sad a little.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 5

Don't ask me why (laughs), because I don't know how to explain, I think some thoughts, I'm different from other people, different from other Taiwanese people, sometimes I'm thinking more like Western people I think. Like, I don't know how to explain, like the equal between men and woman, I cannot stand some girls in Taiwan think about these structures, they still think so traditional, and I don't think like this. I think men and women should be equal.

How about family?

Before I went to England, I feel I will like normal people, I will get married and I will have a child and then that is my life, but when I come back I don't think so, now I told my mum, I am not going to, how to say that, 不一定會 (trans. not necessarily), yeah, not necessarily, if I met someone is right, it's ok I will get married, but if I didn't met someone it's OK, I don't get married, and I don't like child, before I went to UK I don't like child, I prefer animals (laughs). I had a dog, when I in the UK, it died, so you know, I'm so depressed in the UK, more depressed. I can show you a photo....

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Panic, so panic. Because I realised that I have to depend on me, when I arrived in England, no mum and dad yes so I so panicked, and in the airport, the customs, they asked me a lot of questions, where did you come from and what do you want to come to the UK and what are you doing for the study and where do you live and a lot of questions and it make me more panic. And we have to go to the x-ray, body, chest x-ray because the SARS. I had no friends there but my father came with me and my friend go to Bristol, my father took us and we flew to Bristol first, change in Amsterdam. And then my father left after one week.

How did you feel then?

Free (excited laughs), yes free and panic and exciting, I made friends in the student village. The last year I lived outside the school, rent a room.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

All things are different, yes ... pauses ... I think the efficiency is the most different between Taiwanese and .. the bank.. between Taiwanese and the UK. Taiwanese is more efficiency. UK bank make many mistakes about opening account, I think it is a simple thing but they make a lot of mistakes, I don't know why.

What do you think about English people?

I feel I don't have feelings towards people from one country, because I just want to make different friends with different people from different countries, so I'm not, not 不要講喜歡或是不喜歡 (trans.- I don't want to say I like or I don't like) I think his or her personality is match with mine, I can make friends with them, so I don't think I like English people or hate English people.

Did you have any English friends?

You (laughs)... No, I think this connection, we can not, we don't have time to chat. We had one English on the course, Will, Will Eagle, he was very good but not very familiar with him.

Did you speak a lot of English in England?

Maybe half, half, I spent time with other Chinese and Taiwanese. I am different from Chinese, their behaviour, they always speak so loud, louder than Taiwanese. So loud.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

Chinese people and Iran people and other people I can't I cannot remember, many people, international students.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

300

Yes, proud. I always say I am from Taiwan, I will not say I am from China or I am Chinese because I think because of the behaviour. Some people think that Chinese people, they don't have good behaviour and Taiwanese are different.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes, I feel more freedom, and some things I will not do in Taiwan I will do in the UK, for example go to pub. I do not do this in Taiwan because I am living with my parents and they do not want me to go home too late. They are not so strict but they will call me and call me and call me and I get so sick of it so I rather go home. Even now, today I have got an interview with you and I have to tell my mum because she will ask me, are you coming home for dinner, what time, where are you going ?

Do you think you became more English?

No.

More Taiwanese?

No.

I feel I became more independent but sometimes less confident because I am very easy to get panic, like now, I am very easy to get nervous about many things, but in Taiwan I can communicate with people very clearly and in the UK I cannot so I'm get more panic, more nervous, many times, yes. I don't know why.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 2

Because I think I spent too short time in the UK and always study, study, study and I don't have so many social life. I think yes if I have more time I want to meet more English.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan? How did you feel about returning to Taiwan before you left the UK?

Also, my nervous, I think it is very bad, I think I don't have confidence to apply a job there, I don't think, what can I do, I really don't know what can I do, now I want to go back to the UK.

Did you want to stay in England?

Now I want to go back to the UK

Did you feel bad about coming back to Taiwan?

No, I think about leaving a lot before I left because I really want to stay there but because I'm very depressed and my mother worried about me. I was depressed for about one year.

Why?

Feel pressure and sometimes I think I study in the UK is the wrong decision because for me, I'm not really like to study, when I was in the junior high school I just tell my mum I just want to finish university and I won't study anymore because I hate study so when I tell her I want to study Master's degree and go to the UK she so surprised.

Any homesickness?

I think because of the study pressure make me suffer a lot from the homesickness, I think if I don't have the study pressure I won't get home sick so much. The first year I was quite happy but the second year was harder. So many assignments and too difficult for me.

Did anyone support you when you were sad?

Yes Vicky and my family but they're in Taiwan so they cannot really do anything for me. I come back to Taiwan on Christmas, when I come back I feel better but when I go back to the UK again I feel bad again. I decided to come back to Taiwan and quit my studies about one month before I came back. I came back business class because my father has a lot of miles and he upgrade for me. He does business abroad but his English worse than me, really worse than me, mine is not good but his is worse, so I have respect for him. I work for the same company as him, because my father says I have to have work experience because I only got a degree so I need experience on my CV.

Do you like your job?

So so, I want to change but I didn't tell my parents now, because my father might be angry, he is going to retire next year, because I don't think I can learn more in this company and their system I think their hierarchy is not so good and they just, how to say that? They like men to handle the things, they don't like women to be a business woman, they stop women from getting promotion, traditional industry because we do chemical, so I hate it, I don't like like people to see men and women in the different level, very 大男人主義 (trans.- sexist). Even they have got the sex harassment laws, but many women, when their boss do sexual harassment to them they cannot report in Taiwan. So I want to go to the company it is from other country, not the traditional one. One other student works for another traditional company and they make her dress like a spicy girl.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

Happy, and feel relaxed and eat, traditional Chinese food because in England it is too expensive and not very traditional and too expensive.

Did you miss England?

I miss it now, but when I first came back no, but after a week yes.
I think relaxed.

And why did you miss England?

Because of the weather because it is not so humid, I don't like humid and the air pollution in Taiwan is terrible and in the UK I like to walk but in Taiwan no never because the pollution. I use MRT, by bus or by taxi, never walk, maybe that is why I get so fat but I never have exercise because I am always busy. I am a gym member of 加州 (trans.- California Gym) in 天母 (trans.- district of Taipei). You know I went to the UK and lose 20 kilo and come back and get back to before I go to England, in last year I just eat one meal a day, every day, and walk, because I like to walk in the UK, but I don't like to walk in Taipei. My parents were very happy when I came back because they think I am too fat before the UK and then I am thin, and now I am getting fat and they say they miss that me when I just came to Taiwan.

What did you find easier, going to the UK or coming back to Taiwan? Why?

I think coming back to Taiwan is more easier than going to the UK because because I think different lifestyle different language in the UK and come back to Taiwan just like come home, I don't have to worry about things, every minute I worry about my study or I worry about my homework and worry about money, worry about everything.

Any change in Taiwan?

No.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan?

Mmm yes, more independent and more confident, strange, so strange because I think when I am in the UK I am less confident, why when I come back I feel more confident so I feel so strange. But I am still nervous now.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

I think my parents do not think I'm changed, but my friends, not close friends, close friends are OK, but my friends they think me become cool like I have a distance with people. I think because when I come back from the UK I realised Western people are more respect to other people than us, very much, yes. So when I come back, I think sometimes my friends will ask me some personal questions and I don't want to answer but they think it is OK because they ask everyone and everyone answers them but I don't think it is right. And before I went to UK, I think that is right, yes, so they think I am cooler now, but I think I am proud because I think it is human rights, right?

For example, Questions?

Salaries, and every time they ask me, do you have a boyfriend or do you want to get married, it is none of your business. I hate that 管你批事? (trans.- None of your business). And my mother always asks me how do you spend your money? Where do you spend your money? And I'm so angry about that, I say, because they want me to save some money and I save not as much as they want me to save and sometimes I will tell them and sometimes I will not tell them. I say, I am not taking it to buy drugs and gambling and I always use it on the health way and I am saving. I want to buy a house because I think if I didn't control my money I will lose money very quickly so I have already buy a house. Next month I am going to pay. I am going to live on my own but still around my parents, but I think it is OK, not living with them.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Yes, some, how do you say that? 想法 (trans.- ideals) the way of thinking for example they are not like you say sometimes they look very narrow not open minded and like 陳水扁 (Taiwanese president) because I think he thinks not, 沒有國際管 (trans.- no international perspective), not international view, he always think Taiwan is the best, he think Taiwan is the top of the world, but when I go to the UK and I talk to may different people from different countries and they don't know Taiwan, and I really shocked, because they made us to believe that we are very important and in England people always say , oh yes, I know Thailand.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

No, no just when they ceremony, we chat on the MSN because everyone is busy and don't have time to sometimes with Ray I keep in touch with him and Vicky and Ming Yen.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 3 to 5

I just feeling, I don't know why, some days I feel different from other days. Always change.

What are your future plans?

Make much money, change a good job and make much money.

Has your attitude towards money and career changed at all?

Yes I think changed, when I come back to Taiwan and looking for a job I feel the welfare conditions and benefits on the contract, it's very different with Western people, we got very less holidays than European people, I remember that John, the Greek guy told me that when he go back to Greece and he apply a job and the company told him they don't give him one month holiday during the summer he will think their welfare very bad, but in Taiwan we never have that. So that is why I want to go back to UK or go to US, for the working conditions and living style, I don't like, it is so crowded in Taiwan, too many people and small space, I want to have many dogs and I can't. No space. If I work though, I cannot take care of a dog.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally? Why/why not?

Sometimes, but sometimes no, When I'm working. Because the work environment is not good, I want to change one job and see if it will be better than this one. I want to work with international people. But many people went to UK or US in Taiwan so …

My boss is quite nice but I think that, actually my colleagues are nice too but I think the 制度 (system) is not good for women. My colleagues she went to Exeter and she is going to change job as well because she cannot stand, more than me.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Good thing, get more experience and improve English (laughs) see different things. I only regret I went too fast, I think I need to prepare before I go to US or UK then I go. I just apply the visa and buy something I want to take to England and then I'm in England. I think going on the presessional course was very helpful because when I first arrived in the UK I'm very nervous and my English, I realised that the British English is very different from the American English but I had studied the American English for 14 years so I realised that I cannot understand what the British people say, horrible, horrible.

Karina

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

Yes just like William, 15months. We go to the language school for about 2 months. Then we study in [UK city], because my classes finish earlier them William ya, so I finish 2 to 3 month just stay in UK.

What did you do during that time? Did you travel anywhere or?

No, no, because he is a little depress at that time, so I just I just ah we just, I will just do everything I can help for him.

Were you depressed as well?

Ya, ya, no no no no no, I don't feel depress, I only depress because he is depress.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

Come back to Taiwan? 3 Years.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Cause study in the foreign country, I really want to have a very ah experience to live in a different country like USA or UK ah, from 開發中國家(trans.- developed country) some big, big country , I want to know their lifestyle or difference I want to know. Ah, why did I choose England... Because William the first thing he consider about money, so our experience, study in UK only spend one hour, spend one year. So probably more cheaper and William he told me he like to play the music and the football and so, he point and I follow him, UK is good and actually is one year, I can achieve margin and we can spend the money 我可以花最少而獲利 (trans.- we can save a lot of money). Yes, save money.

Why weren't you depressed, why William depressed?

Mmmm, I think, 他們家, 他們的人比較敏感吧, 可是 (trans.- I think his family is more susceptible, but...) how can I say that? 遺傳 (trans.- genetic). Do you know 遺傳 (trans.-genetic)? His father feel depress easier, so, he.. They will fell depress easier, probably family education. Compare with him I'm confident.

What were your plans after studying in the UK

Humm? Plan?

Do you ever plan to stay in the UK before you went? Or did you always think it's going to be temporary situation?

Temporary situation?

When you came to England, did you always plan to come back to Taiwan?

No.

You want to stay in England, forever?

Oh no no no, I know I should come back to Taiwan because we don't have too much money and I know to parents, to family, hope we can come back to Taiwan, so I can not stay in UK for long time. Because William uncle he moved to the USA so before we go to UK, William sister they are afraid that we will move to foreign county, they think ah they thought William's parents can't not accept the situation, something like that. So in my mind I know we should go back to Taiwan.

What about your parents? What do your parents think?

My parents, I think they are better because we have three children in there and I'm not the only one boy ya, I'm a girl, ya, so I think they care me the they, they if I did any decision, they will, they will prepare it.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 5

To UK? Ah, before I went to UK, 4 years ago I not very happy at that time in Taiwan because my job. Because my job is not very special, ya, ah, I change a lot jobs mmm, in the earlier, I do a... I worked in a magazine, just like a editor, ya, to write something like that. But before I go to UK I want to do a marketing job, so I can not go to a good company probably I only I was graduated only in a university, I don't have any degree for I don't have enough experience, ya, so at that time I felt very not special so I'm not very happy at that time.

Were you happy to leave, to go to England?

Ya, I'm very happy to go to England, just like I said, it's my dream, ya, my dream will come true. And that help me to go to UK with William, ya, but I'm very happy.

Does that help you think to go together?

If I, ya, very different, because my English not very well, but William better than me, we think I think we were very good couple, something probably I'm very strong mind but William he can help me to anything foreign country. He can solve the English problem, ya, so ah, something like that. So I'm not afraid.

Probably a little different, ya. Hmm, this one. Different, hmmm probably my job, because in my past experience I worked to some people they are older than me, ya, we will talk about some different strategy, or business strategy or political strategy or something ya, the different between Taiwan, Chinese and Western culture and something like that. Ya, so probably this is your different and that's why I want to have experience to live in a foreign country, I want to know the difference, probably I just talk to them, I just read it from magazine but I have no really experience, ya. So I think I become different because I will know this situation, ya, I will know this point.

3. **Experience of Living in the UK**

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

I very exciting, ya, I remember when I leave the airport with Express coach to [UK city], on the way, I saw a lot of farmer and I saw some sheep so I very exciting, just like the picture I saw it in Taiwan. When the real thing I can see, ya, so I'm very exciting.

So you haven't seen a sheep before? Taiwanese sheep are different?

Oh I think it's different, because 風景不一樣 (trans.- scenery is not the same). Just like the traditional rural view, ya.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan? How did that make you feel?

Hmmm, right, a little different, people. In my mind, the one thing I, I... I think 有一件事是我很羨慕英國人,就是 (trans.- there is one thing I really admire the English for) I just feel they always, they have a lot of hmmm, how can I say this word? Just like the heart, you have a lot of event for... for example like the red nose, you know the red nose? Ya ya ya, charity, ya, and we can have lots of charity store on the street, ya, something you can they can give them my used cloth and something like that. And in the programme, in the TV programme, you can see a lot of different type a lot of the programme like Red nose, they can tell us, we can give something to other people but in Taiwan we can not give in programme, ya, probably when only meet some serious situation like the 921 earthquake or something like that. Ya, people will give the money to some people but in the most time we don't approach on people, we don't approach people this thing. And heaver for example the working about the working, Taiwan we always work hard, ya, we don't have too much holiday. Just like now we only have 7 days in one year. But Taiwan the good thing.., of course is in my country so I think we can to buy things to other people or familiar, when I in UK, sometimes a little, I feel a little 有一點距離(trans.- there is a little distance) with English people. When we stay in UK, hmmm, sometimes we are lonely, because is not our country.

Did you have any English friends?

English friends...not very much, a little, just like you or my classmates, ya.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

My husband, with my classmate, ya, because two of my classmate are from Taiwan too. Probably help, ya because I feel we go to UK together so feel most of time I, William and I we are together.

Do you have 大陸人 (trans.-Mainland Chinese) friends?

Ah, just my classmate but we don't 我們沒有很深的交情 (trans.-we don't have a close relationship).

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Feel Taiwanese in UK? Compare with? Sometimes yes I well, especially if I.. 如果人家覺得我們是像大陸人, 我就會特別覺得我跟你不一樣, 我是台灣人. (trans.- if someone thinks I am like a Mainland Chinese, I will especially think I am not the same, I am Taiwanese).

所以你不要說你是中國人？(trans.- you don't want to say you are Chinese?)

對, 在這個時候會. 如果我在台灣我不會特別堅持 (trans.- right, at that time yes, when I am in Taiwan I won't especially insist). Compared with Chinese, China people, ya I will say I'm very proud of I'm Taiwanese people. Because our culture are different, compare with them we are 民主國 (trans.- democratic country), we are democracy and we can accept a lot of culture in our country, ya, so, I think I'm very proud of. And education different, ya. Because we can accept different thoughts from other country just not like the 像大陸他們都是管制的, 網路也會有限制, 各方面都有限制. 不可以, 你不會知道所有的事情. 在台灣就是可以… 我們不會有任何的限制, 媒體的限制 (trans.- like Mainland China, they all control the internet and there is censorship, everywhere there is control, you can't, you can't know many things, in Taiwan you can… we don't have censorship, media censorship).

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Ya, so, for example the education, when I study in UK, they teach me one thing the critical thinking, ya. Although I can not learn it very well, but critical thinking is always in my mind, very important to me. I remember the first time we go to the class and we saw a difference, ya, our teacher hope we can point, we can say any thing we critically different. One classmate with me we are together, both of us are come from Taiwan, we only think about the very small one things, 我們就是注意一些很小的事 (trans.- we both just noticed small things), just like the line, probably not make sense, but our classmate they have the… she come from Barbados, I think she get the Western education, ya, she feel different 他懷疑 (trans.- he doubts) about the 他懷疑這個圖他是整個懷疑 (trans.- he has doubts), ya so he can not accept the meaning and make me shock because I will accept something and challenge the smaller one, they challenge all of them.

Has it had an influence on you?

This make me always remind me I can say something so easy, I should learn to challenge something, because in my education system, I'm used to say in something that interesting, ya, I'm not good to challenge.

So now you challenge things?

I will try, but be honest I didn't do very well, but I'll try it, or sometimes I need other people challenge this thing I then I'm very happy to hear that or to be part of it. Ya, I think, it's useful, or sometimes I can talk my colleague, they also study in a foreign country, I can see they have a lot of, they can do critical thinking, ya, so, I like to part of them.

Do you ever have problems though? Do you ever have problems because you think critically? Maybe your boss?

No I don't think so, because I will try to talk to them but not to argue with them, I can do that very well. But some people they don't want to… they difficult, for example like our parents, we just hope we can get their point I won't tell him my point, 我不會跟他講, 講我所有的觀念 (trans.- I can't tell them my opinions), just agree them, ya. I will know something I can do that this way, but something I won't do.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

Probably I just can say I'm less Taiwanese, but I can't say I'm more English at home, because I'm Taiwanese people.

How do you feel less Taiwanese?

Hmmm, just as, I think the different life experience is very important, for example when I talk to my friends, my colleague they don't have similar experience, something different, ya. Because you know more a little culture about the Western country, ya, or life style, like the holiday, the working attitude, the critical thinking or ya, just like TV programme about the news something or football a little different, something they can not understand how I feel.

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 5

Not very different, ya, because I'm still Chinese, Taiwanese people. Number five. Would you say that you were living like an English person or were you living like an international student? I will say international student, ya. English life, no, probably just like this, yes, because something we will trying to join the English life, for example we will go to see a football game, or I'm very happy to see a TV programme something like that. Something I can not do just like the English people, probably we don't have too much English friends, ya, so I think our style our Taiwanese style to do the English life, ya.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

As I say tuition our tuition, we know we should come back to Taiwan.

How do you feel about that?

Very complex, ya, for one, I remember, ya, one is we meet our home town, one is be happy because we can see our family. But on the one way I feel a little depress because I really like the life in UK especially you are student we don't need to worry about the money about the job so... although we don't have too much money but we can just study and, if you not study, we can just go out just walking near the beach, just very simple thing but we feel very great. Do you walk a lot here in Taiwan? No, because we don't have sea, I really like [UK city], because we go to the sea just 10 minutes. Do you remember the day you leave England? I always 我一直回頭 (trans.- I always remember), when the coach move from the [UK city], I 我一直回頭看那裏(trans.- I had my head turned to look) and I say goodbye. Because I don't know next time when can go back to [UK city].

So you haven't been back since?

No, even the graduation 畢業典禮我也沒有去 (trans.- not even the graduation ceremony).

Why not?

Because I didn't finish I change 我的(trans.- my) dissertation 第一次沒有過 (trans.- the first time, I didn't pass)，是第二次 (trans.- it was the second time). And I don't want to spend money to attend.

4. **Experience of Coming Back**

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I'm very happy because I see my parents, ya, they go to the airport so I feel exciting. A little depressed because I leave here but at that time I'm very happy to see my family.

And after that? The next two weeks? Did you feel happy or sad?

Probably sad, ya, because we really like life in the UK just we can go out we can walk near the beach. How long did you feel for, can you remember? Hmmm, I can't remember very clear, probably one year I think, it's not very strong, just a little. When I go to work, I feel very tired because the pressure, very hard. At that time I will miss the time I stay in UK but I can compare it very clearly because at that I study in England I don't need to worry about the money, I don't have too much pressure but in Taiwan different I to work, I don't think the situation can be compared.

Is this how you expected to feel?

Ya, I know.

What did you find easier, going to the UK or coming back to Taiwan? Why?

I think come back to Taiwan is easier because the language and the family and the culture is easier for me.

When you first came back, had anything changed in Taiwan while you were away?

I don't think the critical thinking they can know it, because I don't think. Probably some other thing for example the boss, the talking issue, we will talking about boss or some different thing or different country just like this. I think the topic they will know it, but critical thinking I don't think they know it. Even the life style I don't think they know I like the life style in the UK. Because they don't go to, they don't know it, but my sister, before we go England, she went to [UK city] here, probably she don't know the life style in UK but she see our environment so she can know a little about why I miss the life in the UK, just know a little.

原本的朋友，我覺得剛開始可能還有一點點，到了現在真的不會有，因爲已經年了。我覺得剛開始可能還有一點點，可能是 (trans.- my original friends, I think at the beginning a little bit, until now, not really) we will talk about the drink, we will drink beer, drink red wine or something like this, something we will see the people who live

in foreign country will like to do, they will go to pub drink beer, drink red wine, ya, like this. A little think for but, not really...沒有很明顯 (trans.- it is not obvious).

So you still like drinking the beer?

Ahhh, no, no, because I'm pregnant so I don't drink beer.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan?

Ya, a bit different, the view point is different, in my job, we, our product, she deliver... we will sell our product in different country so we have to just like, have the different culture, different country experience. We can understand the life style, for example I don't go to America so I can use my UK experience to imagine, is closer, compare with my other colleague they don't have any experience to live in other country, so they are very difficult to imagine this thing so I think they are little different.

So you find that a problem or it is advantage that you lived in the UK?

It different for me in that point because I can imagine their life style 因為我們的工作，我們就是會比較容易去了解不同的文化 (trans.- because in our work, we can more easily understand different cultures), 所以這些經驗都會幫助我就是說比較能夠了解西方不同的重要 (trans.- so these experiences can help me better understand different 'Western' priorities), 每一個特點，就是說比如說我們的 (trans.- every special point, such as our) portal printer, 像在台灣沒有人去，比如說在台灣沒有人會做ＤＩＹ (trans.- like in Taiwan no people go to, for example, in Taiwan, people don't do DIY), for example, when we buy the furniture, we don't buy the finish one, in the UK now we will go to the B&Q, we buy ourselves for example just like this, it's different so I think, when we think something, I can understand the life style in western country.

Do you still have any contact with UK culture at all or friend in the UK?

Not very usually, just sometimes because my classmate they have web site so we will login there sometimes we will leave our situation just like this but not talking for 我沒有很常在講 (trans.- we don't often chat).

Do you like watching English movie or still watching football? Do you watch World Cup, do you support England in the World Cup?

Ya, ya,

Do you wear a English T-shirt?

I didn't buy it, but I really want to buy it. Just like in UK, in my mind UK just like my second country, so to talk like them the football game because no Taiwanese football game so I will support England, just like or other different act by, ya, if we don't see a Taiwanese game, when I saw one people from England I will notice it. For example the tennis, probably I don't like the Henman, but I will notice his news, ya, because in UK everyone always say news.

Can you remember when you first came back to Taiwan? Did you feel you are more outside with Taiwanese culture or did you have no problem to getting back into?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 3 to 5

For example just like work attitude, even I don't like the Taiwan, our life is very nervous, I feel, I'm use it, 還是覺得很奇怪 (trans.- I still think it is strange). For example the traffic, I remember the 1st year I always take the bus to my office because I, the, I enjoy the is difficult to example, I will try it in Chinese. 我會搭公車去上班，因為那個我不用很快到公司，在這個過程我可以你可以慢慢的去想一些事情 (trans.- I can take the bus to work, because then I don't need to go to work quickly, you can go along and thin about things). I enjoy the time because I go to the job, I remember when I have the baby, I got to ride the motorcycle to office because I think time is very important I just go to the time in the for I can not, I don't 我已經不去(trans.- I already don't go) enjoy 那個時間 (trans.- that time), slowly... Just ride the motorcycle just hope you can do it quickly.

So you become more Taiwanese again?

Yes.

What are your plans for the future?

I don't think too much, just the baby, just thought that we can have a job and we can give him different life in like the Western and Chinese culture life. So I don't think too much.

So do you want to stay in Taiwan then?

I don't have any invitation, in my job I don't think I can easier for me to find a job to stay in other country. But William have this experience I will go too. I don't think we should always stay in Taiwan or we will we should move to other country, I don't have any 一定要如何 (trans.- things I must do).

Now you have been back for three years , how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

Ah, if want something for me because I finished my dream, it's very important to me. I can see a difference in my mind because at that time I'm happier, happier than that time, ya, because it's very important to me, because I can go to UK, a lot of people help us for example William's parents, they support us some money and my parents they support me in spirit in mind so in my life now I don't complain too much. I will spend more time to talk to them because they support me to finish my dream.

So your think your relationship improved with your family?

I don't really think is better but for me is different, I will use different strategy to treat them if we have difference in. unhappy, I will.. I don't complain too much just one time then I will think, ok, how can I do to them?

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Very good thing, ya, ya.

So is there any negative point?

Ah, ya, if think it for me just for example I still have some bad experience in UK for example when we rent a house a very bad the agency, have very bad experience, I think the life is very good thing for me, I can learn something I want to learn. 就是，我剛剛講的那些 (trans.- I just said some) bad thing, I learn the... I learn something different, for example the critical thinking and think like that.

Ashley

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

About one year. Studying my Master's programme, Consumer Marketing, in Media School [UK University]. I need a 7 IELTS to go into that programme.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

About 4 months ago.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

I think it's because before I go to England I have been working for three years, and my job is market research. At that time I feel like a bottleneck really because I only have experience in the Asian side, probably restrict my marketing knowledge but, my college major is Business Administration so not really, so I decide I want overseas experience and marketing degree then when I can come back I can work for the client side, consumer marketing. That is why I decide to study abroad.

Why the UK?

Because one year, it is much quicker and I kind of maybe I don't really like American, the American way, I probably more fancy about the European culture. Americans are too arrogant. English people are also arrogant in a way but I don't hate that much (laughs). In a hidden way, a less visible way.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

Return to Taiwan. I never wanted to stay in UK because I heard that if you want to work in the UK, you have to be really, really outstanding. And because my boyfriend is in Taiwan so at that time I don't have plans to stay in the UK for working.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Actually at that time I was quite excited because after 3 years hard working I kind of felt a way to relax myself and find my way back to a student life and for what I can experience in the UK and happy and maybe a little bit like not quite sure what I will face in the UK but I have been preparing for studying abroad for twenty years so, and before I went to the UK I visited UK once last Christmas, I went to visit my friend so I kind of had an idea of that place I will go to, the culture, more prepared for what I would experience.

Any sadness to leave Taiwan?

Not really. Only had sad feelings around one month later after I went to the UK. Cos one month later, when you just arrive the UK, everything is still new and you are still that kind of exciting feeling, you start to miss your family and you starting to face the difficulties or the cultural differences, yeah.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 3

I feel like Taiwanese society is too much like the US. At that time maybe not many people, they went to abroad to study so maybe that kind of way that I feel I'm kind of different.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Like I said, maybe for the first two weeks everything is still so new and excited and after one month I started to know the UK, I got loads of assignments and seminars because at that time my English was not that good still so I tried to

get used to all the things, like culture, the language, the environment so maybe one month later I started to think back, sometimes I think about why I'm here, I left my family, my boyfriend, I question my intention.

What did you do when you felt like that?

Probably just call back home or talk to my friends in Taiwan because at that time it's just one month so I don't have really good friends in the UK, Taiwanese or foreigners, probably before. I was alone in UK.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

Anything, the Britons are very polite and I sometimes feel that they are too polite, sometimes you will think do they really think, do they really want to be polite, they are probably too polite then you feel like.. there are systems in a very older way, because Taiwan is still a developing country so the politics and everything feels not so old, very diplomatic, and that is one of the differences. Another thing is that study in the university is like USA, maybe the culture they always expect you to contribute because in Taiwan we are not expected to give our opinions and sometimes we don't want to be often, maybe you have some kind of opinions but we don't want to express them, we still feel kind of weird and people will think are you trying to show off, but in England it is not that way because everyone has to have their own thought, own opinions to say whatever you want. So this is different.

Could you adjust to that?

Yes, because in the first one or two months not only me but also other students from China, we tend to talk less than other students and then I started to try to get used to kind of the expectations from the lecturers, probably I feel the second semester I started to feel brave enough to express feelings and opinions and I don't care whether it is wrong or right, but it took a long time. At first sometimes I feel uncomfortable but much more about the language barrier because the first semester, especially seminars we are trying to figure out the best language I can express myself but more or less the language barrier, the second semester I'm much more familiar with the lecturers and the students so I start to feel more confident.

Were most of the students on your course international students?

We only got 10 students and 1 Taiwanese, 3 Chinese, 1 Polish, 1 British, 1 from Holland and another one from Brazil.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

With my flatmates, most of them are European, I'm the only Asian student in my flat.

Was this good or bad?

There's good way and bad way. Bad thing, sometimes you will feel that you are the only Asian, because they are all Europeans they talk about only European things so I don't understand but in a good way I can practise my English much more frequently than other students. Because presessional students, they are all Thai or Taiwanese, sometimes they tend to speak Chinese.

Did you have any Taiwanese friends?

Yes, probably in the last three months we spent much time together probably because the dissertation, they are on another program, Marketing Communications, and we have 4 units that we a lecture together so I'm quite familiar with them and when you are writing your dissertation sometimes you doubt whether you can make it or not so you tend to find the comfort from the same people from your own country.

Any UK friends?

One or two, one guy from the course, another one is his friend.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Feel very Taiwanese? You mean compared to other Taiwanese? I'm from Taiwan, never say China, I think I felt proud to be Taiwanese because, it is really hard to explain, maybe I'm not quite sure in fact what kind of way but I think not only me but also other Taiwanese students, we feel like we are just different from them (Chinese) and probably more superior, maybe because the Taiwanese society we have freedom and we are free to express our feelings, free to get all the information we need and unlike China they like media or information is restricted by the government so in this way we feel like they are more narrow-minded or something.

Any Chinese friends?

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Yeah, because three of my classmates, they are Chinese but actually one girl she has stayed in UK for about 6 or 7 years so kind of feel like she is not that Chinese so (laughs) because one of the Chinese students on my course she from Beijing and when she talk to me she always like, in our country, blah, blah, blah, and I started to wonder 'in our country'? I don't know but we never talk about political issues she think Taiwan is part of China or something then starting to don't want to be that close to her, we don't share the same ideas so ...

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK? In what ways? Did you become more 'English' or less 'Taiwanese' in any ways?

In the first semester I spent most of the time with the Chinese students but for the second semester I started to hang around with other European students so in this way I think differently, maybe in the UK maybe people are they live their lives in a more relaxed way and think differently, because maybe before I feel like work is much is a very big part to the life but after one year I think work is not you know not the most important part in your life, still have family and other casual life so maybe that one.

Did that make you less Taiwanese?

Maybe in terms of the pleasure life, because when I was in the UK, I went to London a lot, I went to the musical and tried to visited museums and this kind of behaviours I didn't have in Taiwan so maybe that's another one, is that OK? (laughs).

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3

Maybe when I went to the musical or other things I have done but still quite superficial and to be honest I don't think I really have chance to know you know much more deep inside what the English culture so maybe superficially I act a little bit like English but in terms of the way you think or the ideas I still very different I think, know what I mean?

Why?

I think I didn't have much time or opportunity to meet English because probably after the second semester we all study our individual dissertation so you didn't go to class and you didn't have much more time like when you have classes then you can spend time with your classmates so maybe that is one reason, and another reason is time, we only got one year so not enough time to really experience the culture and thinking. Probably I kind of influenced by English culture but not exactly the same, still quite different I think.

Different cultures maybe think some attitudes kind of deeply rooted in your mind and even subconsciously so probably you act in a way subconsciously, even I know the English culture is that, the values is that, I still kind of have a culture thing that is really difficult to change that unless you have been in this kind of cultural environment for a very very long time or since your childhood, maybe this kind of thinking.

What do you think English values are?

I don't know, maybe probably the relationship between people, OK maybe one example but I am not quite sure about the values, like maybe when I'm really angry with someone, I will shout out or maybe like other Taiwanese people we will all shout out and express our feelings, but English they won't do so, when they are very angry they will still smile maybe something unusual but they are kind of hide their true feelings or their immediate feelings.

Were any English not nice to you?

In the UK, for many times I was confused with the Japanese, I don't know why. I don't know, actually good because some of them say they treated me more politely because some English they don't really understand the political problems between Taiwan and China and sometimes they think Taiwan is part of China but they are tend to have .... They didn't tend to offend me. Many people say China, but I will always correct them, I'm Taiwanese.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Some, like I said, for my family, my life here and find a job in the UK not that easy.

How did you feel?

Because I left my, I'm really tired when I work and spend lots of time on my dissertation and miss my family, miss Taiwan so I feel quite relieved to come back but on the other hand I think I can no longer experience this kind of life, so two kind of feeling kind of conflict or yes, kind of conflict.

Did you think a lot about coming home before you left?

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No, not really. I'm because I was working really hard to focus on my dissertation I don't have, I didn't think a lot, think too much about my back. I submitted my dissertation and came back 2 days later. My visa expire next January, so I could have stayed but because of the accommodation and at that time I was exhausted so I just want to come back. No travelling because I did travel during Easter already so I just come back.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

It's like I have never been to English, just one year, such a short time so kind of like life there is just like a dream because the time is so short and when I came back I kind of adapt to the culture and environment quickly, because I heard some of the Taiwanese students when they come back they cannot get used to the life here but I'm quite quickly get used to it. Not uncomfortable.

Do you miss England?

Sometimes but it is more about the when probably when I feel the environment is not that good or the society or the people, the government, the politics is bad, affects stable.

Do you watch the Taiwanese news?

Sometimes, I feel bad, actually I don't watch news on TV right now because sometimes I feel quite frustrated and tired so I prefer to watch the news on the Internet, I can choose what I want to know because, probably it is kind of frustrating. This is more or less much stronger after I came back. The politicians divided into two groups, the people who support KMT, they believe they choose what they want to believe, maybe someone choose someone then they choose what they want to believe may the other one in the same way. Sometimes I feel like the people they just object, they didn't really try to give some constructive opinions, they just want to fight, try to get you down or something, they fight a lot.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Maybe but, maybe they think I have changed but they didn't really tell me something but for myself I think I will changed, because before I went to the UK I still pay attention to what happens in the Europe and things happen around the world but after I come back I will almost every day maybe check the news to check what happened in the UK or Europe so probably that is the biggest change. I have become more international. Act local think global HSBC (laughs).

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Yeah, probably your view must be broader than other people than those who have never been to a foreign country and also for those who went to the US for study I think kind of different I think I am different from them like they probably they tend to talk about things only what happen in the US for only have been to other countries, they talk about they say that they probably doesn't care about what happen in Europe so that is the biggest difference, is that OK?

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

When I watch TV if something about England comes on I pay attention. I still sometimes chat on the MSN but not very often. Before I went to the UK I seldom went to pubs or clubs but now sometimes I will went clubbing with my friends in Taiwan and drinking. I drank before I went to the UK but I drank more when I went to the UK and now drinking.

Did you husband ever go abroad?

Not really, for short travelling.

Is he different from you?

Maybe in some ways more narrow.

Is that a problem?

Not really, maybe I think probably he think that I always think that I'm kind of superior than him because I have been studying abroad but that is what I do, he doesn't really tell me actually but sometimes, not really frustrated but sometimes when I talk about something I experienced in the UK to something that happened in the UK he couldn't really involved or really understand what I experienced and not a big problem but like we don't have something in common that we can share, for example you know overseas experience. Not a big problem.

He has a Master's from Taiwan, sometimes for myself I don't think is a problem, I got a PhD, and my husband does not have a PhD but maybe the man, self-pride (laughs).

Why didn't your husband go with you to the UK?

Actually he's kind of person who is very strong minded, he knows what he wants and he have plans for his career and his life and when I asked whether he wanted to go with me to the UK, he just said, I have my plans so he decided to stay and actually after I came back for about one month I sort of started to think maybe I need to get a PhD in the US and at that time I asked him whether he want to study PhD to the US, he just complain. He was kind of angry when I go to UK but he said it's ok you can do what you like but I think he's angry.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 5 to 6

Plans for the future?

I think I will spend much more time with my personal life, like the life with my family, stay with my family. Probably stay in Taiwan maybe go abroad for travelling. Not planning to have a baby right now, my parents feel that maybe they are so much more traditional thinking, your life won't be completed if you don't have a baby.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

Mmmm. yeah, kind of satisfied, sometimes I will still miss the life in the UK especially for maybe the atmosphere, much more relaxed and treat each other much more respectfully in a respectful way. People they in the UK people are much more respect you no matter who you are but in Taiwan sometimes maybe the not that polite and show the basic respect to other people. When you are trying to step on the escalators people push in front of you. If you are much more, your if you act more like you are not afraid about other people or you are much aggressive with them then you win but that is what I mean, the basic respect between people. English people fighting Saturday night outside the club, I think it is kind of funny. Sometimes when you are talking to each other in Taiwan the attitude makes you feel uncomfortable maybe they don't have the action to fight but the attitude.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

It's a good thing, I think the best there is something we experience something that you can never experience when you are in your own country and when especially for the people not just like you know you stay in that place and then you will kind of you know because you meet people form different cultures and that kind of then you understand and experience things which are probably hidden away. Right now yeah some Japanese in my company our managing director is Australian and most of them are international clients.

Anything negative about going to the UK?

Probably no, only the money (laughs), I'm in debt now, actually I borrow money, the fees from my parents but I still have to pay them back. Probably three years to pay back.

Some of these things I never thought about that, so have to spend some time think about that. Some of my friends they noticed that they have become more confident and more affirmative, more know what I want in my life, what is my goal, I don't feel so much because I think I already changed so I didn't notice but they thing they have changed a lot.

Catherine

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

14 months. Studying a Master's in Marketing at [UK] University.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

Wow, 4 years or 3 years. 3 years.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

For study. That was my plan to go abroad for study but I just can't decide which major and what's the subject and which country so after I graduated from Junior High School I went to the airline as a cabin attendant for five years, and after five years I quit my job and go abroad for study.

How was it being an airline hostess?

It was a perfect job but Eva is a very terrible company but anyway I still enjoyed the five years there because I went to so many countries.

Were they all short stays?

It depends on the number of flights a week, if there was only one flight I stay for 6 days, 2 flights a week just 3 days stay so depends on how many flights. No-one likes the English flight to London because it is a day flight and the passengers are always awake and asking for drinks and only overnight in London so they (cabin crew) don't have enough rest and the flight is long and the passengers tough so they (cabin crew) hate London flight. Now I'm working in Johnson and Johnson, in charge for Clean and Clear, do you know that skincare brand for teenagers? Trade marketing. So far it's ... er... I can't complain that but I don't really like it.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I always plan to stay there for one year then come back. Graduate then leave.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Happy, I'm going home...

Before you left Taiwan?

Oh, I'm happy too but a little bit nervous and stressful and just worry if I can finish the study. Quite excited.

Were you sad to leave you friends or family?

Not really.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 5

In what ways did you feel a bit different?

I don't really care about the political issues in Taiwan but you know many Taiwanese are very keen on political but I'm not like that. And I don't want to spend a lot of time on watching news so I don't really know everything in Taiwan so I think that is a difference.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Yeah, I can remember that (excited), you know I carry lots of luggage, four pieces and I arrive there alone and I want to go to ladies but I can't carry all of the stuff with me so if I left all of the stuff outside with the trolley I'm just afraid someone will stole it or assume that's a bomb you know in the airport, so I just run into the restroom and come out as soon as I can. And I just feel I need to do everything on my own so from now one I have to care about myself at least for one year.

And how did that feel?

I think I can manage that and also that is not the first time I arrived in the UK so I think I can handle it.

You had 4 pieces of luggage?

4 pieces, one for check-in and I carry three pieces of luggage and you know that is not allowed for the cabin so when I transferred in Hong Kong, so when I carry three pieces and want to go on board the cabin crew just say, told to me, you cannot carry three pieces, you have to left two pieces here and you can only carry one, and I say, no I can't, one is my carrying bag with a lot of money with me and my passport, and another is my laptop so I can't give you for check-in and that one is my rice-cooker, I can't give you all of them... but because I was a cabin crew so I used an employees ticket and the check-in saw that and said, you are cabin crew, you should know better but he said you can have all of them but you can't do it next time. I was quite happy.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

People or weather or, the weather was quite different and the people are very very different. The childrens are evil, all evil, I really hate them, you know sometimes when I pass the children, you know if I go this way and the children go . this way, and I notice some children, I just cross the road and try to avoid them, I don't like them.

How old are they?

Teenagers and all of them.

Did you have bad experiences with children?

Yes, I heard that the parents cannot punish children until the children are over 12 years old, is that true ?

No, I don't think so.

Oh really, and I think the children all notice about that so they know you can't punish me, you can't so anything to me. If I hit the kid it is not good. You know, once I was there waiting for the.. er near the bus stop, waiting for the bus with Lynn and one kid just tried to disturb us with the balloon,, tried to disturb us but we just can't do anything and Lynn told to the kids, we will call the police if you keep doing this and the kids just reply us, you can't because it's not a big deal, police will not care about this.

How did you feel?

It made me feel shit, and other people all notice about this but they just can't do anything, they didn't do anything to them, they didn't help us.

Do you think that was because you were an international student?

Not only, maybe that is one reason, and also my housemate always told to me, children are evil. In England.

Were older people nicer?

Some of them were quite nice but actually .... old woman they are quite nice.

Any other differences?

In Taiwan we think time is important, you know, everything we want to be quick, convenient, and you are supposed to be you should offer 24 hours service like 7-11 or today the MRT station they open until 3am so that is our environment in Taiwan but in the UK, you know, they move, the path is very slow and you go to the bank, just do very little things and you maybe spend 1 hour there but in Taiwan it can't happen, you know, we don't have so much time so I think the time path is quite different, but for the UK they might think family is most important or their own life is most important but here they may think work is quite important or money is quite important.

Did you begin to think like that too?

I think money still is important and convenient but now I think family is also important.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

I, you mean I didn't live on the university accommodation; I rent a house, with one British guys but we just housemates. We were not friends but after I moved in we became friends, we lived and we were quite close.

Who did you spend your time with?

With I guess I spent most of my time with my housemate because I was quite busy so I spent quite a lot of time on study on my work and for the other time I went cycling or have gardening with my housemate or sometimes I went out with Lyn (Taiwanese friends), I didn't have so many Taiwanese friends there so most of the time I spoke English. Once my sister went to the UK and we went out for 3 days and three days keep speaking Mandarin and when I came back to the house and talked to my housemate and my housemate talked to me, what is wrong with your English, it is very weird and you can't speak as good as when you went away, but only 3 days. So now I am here for 3 years so you can imagine, my English was better than now but never perfect.

Do you still use English at work?

Email, or sometimes when I present to the customers, they are French guys so sometimes, but not often. No business trips. My previous job I went to Malaysia for training and my director is a British guy so sometimes we have to speak in English but now not so often.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Yes, how? I'm never ashamed about being Taiwanese, I'm quite proud of that because I'm not Chinese. One friend called me Chinese but I correct the people call me Chinese, I say no. But I do not know if it is that good if we are independent, I just want to tell them that we are different because sometimes their behaviour or their thinking quite different form us, so I just want to tell them. For example, if you talk to Scottish, 'you are English' they will be mad, and that is the same feeling.

Did you have any Chinese friends?

No.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Erm, I took a shower in the morning, that is not Taiwanese, we took shower in the evening, but after when I back to here I take a shower in the evening. The difference is if you get a shower before you go to bed you will feel you are clean and you will really relaxing and good for sleeping. But take a shower in the morning will wake you up and you feel fresh and happy it is a new day, so now I take a shower in the morning and in the evening. Different purpose, it's nice. It might be to do with climate, Taiwan is hotter.

Did you start thinking differently ?

Yes, but for the first year maybe I think I think more differently but now I am becoming an even more Taiwanese but no sometimes, when I watch the news on TV I think why Taiwanese think China and the US is the world but actually it is not, still a lot of things, a lot of issues have in this world. SO I think the people should not just focus on Taiwanese and Taiwanese political issue. I think this was from UK and sometimes I just miss the Tony Blair, I haven't seen him for a long, long, long time, when I was in the UK, I used to see Tony Blair every day (laughs).

So do you think you became more English or less Taiwanese?

Yes, have tea every morning and every time whenever you want the tea, with milk and when I arrive, the first thing when I come back to house, always put the kettle on and then go upstairs to change and come back with a cup of tea so I think I have 5 cups of tea every day and I think that is very, very English and now I always ask tea with milk. My housemate and his family gave me this habit and also our friend, our house in law no, no, our landlady right and first the beginning I lived with landlady and my housemate, that's what we do, she's a GP in the UK, and Italian. Our house is very Italian, very colourful.

You know, when you have question, in Taiwan we don't ask or waiting for someone to tell you how to do it, but in the UK you have to find out the question or get the answer from tutor or library or textbook so have to read the question and find the answers by ourselves.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 4

They are very judgemental, not you, I mean English people are very judgemental and quite critical and very not friendly, some people, have so much beer, drink a lot. I didn't drink

I still felt very outside English culture.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Many reasons, the first was my ex boyfriend, we were together while I was in England so he's in Taiwan so I didn't want to spend a lot of time in the UK, that's one reason but we are separately now. And the 2nd reason is because I don't think I can find a marketing job in the UK so the third thing is I'm
not young, I should come back and looking for and start my career in Taiwan. I finished my dissertation and then left the UK immediately because all my friends had left England, I didn't want to be the only one, I still had one month on my visa but I did not want to stay. I stayed for one extra month after Lynn left, I went to the south of England with my mother, and we rent a car but we are in different way, we ride on the left hand side and in the UK it's opposite but I still rent a car and my mother drive, she can't read any English, I read map, just like the deaf and blind, you know we help each other (laughs). It was not too bad, I rent a car in Birmingham and when we are on the motorway my mother asked me should we prepared a ticket, in Taiwan we should prepared a ticket, but I didn't know, I so worried about what will happened. I didn't know you don't have to pay motorway but now I know the M6 you have pay. I know this from BBC World Service, I sometimes listen, it is nice. I know about the killer in England too, he was arrested.

I planned to go back to UK this autumn but I changed my job so suddenly the time schedule is different so I didn't go, maybe next year. I want to go back for one month, I don't want to travelling around, I just want to spend one month in Oxford. Because when I studied in the UK I went to Oxford to attend a language school for 2 weeks. I just want to be a student again so for me Oxford equals England, Leicester equals Leicester.

Why did you choose Leicester?

I don't want to go to London. Because I want to choose a city not so many tourists. I want to be a student in a small town, just want to enjoy student life which is very different from tourist life. But it is not a good choice, there are really no tourists there. I had two choices, one was [UK university] and the other was in Canterbury. Do you know why I chose Leicester? One was because I have friends in Leicester, Lynn and the other I went to Canterbury and I do not like to open the train door from the outside. Do you know what I am saying? You know the train to the South, very, very old so you have to open the door from the outside, I went there with a Japanese girl and suddenly we don't know how to open the door, and we panic, then we have to open the window and then open the door. Very, very funny reason.

Did you feel lonely in the UK or miss home?

Sometimes. I call Lynn and go out if I feel lonely. I don't really miss Taiwan so much. If I decided I would stay in England, that would be different, I'm there for one year and counting months.

How did you feel when you left the UK?

More than 4 bags, I think I'm happy, because I feel quite happy because I know my boyfriend, my ex boyfriend was in Taiwan and that is one reason and the second reason is because I had a big fight with my flatmate (laughs) you know I can fight in English so my English was much better.

What did you fight about?

Erm.. I can't remember the details but it was very annoying. I still sent him a Christmas card last month. I was a little bit sad to come back and a bit worried because I am going to live with my parents again and it's different, you know you have to tell your parents where you are going, when you will be home, it's alright to live with my parents because they don't really want to control me, but that is to do with feelings you know you don't have so much free. Now it is OK, I like to live them because I don't have to cook or do my laundry (laughs). You know when I told my Spanish friends I still live with my parents they say, you are not a baby, you are 25 years old, how can you still live with your parents, I say, because my parents live in Taipei and I want to live in Taipei and I am looking for a job in Taipei and that is the reason why I live with them. But they say, my parents live in Barcelona and I live in Barcelona and my job is in Barcelona but we don't live with each other, you have to prove you are an adult and you can survive on your own. But I think they are silly, it's different, we live with parents until we get married, some people get married they will move out but some will still live with their parents. You know I am a woman so I will live with my husband or my mother in law, of course I don't want to but I will move away from my parents, so while I am single and I'm still unmarried of course I want to spend more time with my family and I can't see any disadvantage. This is Taiwanese attitude. I don't want to live alone, when you go home so lonely, nobody to chat to.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

Wow, so crowded. I can see Mandarin everywhere, wow it's cool, Mandarin, and you know and less space, too noisy. I felt uncomfortable and I hate to live with my parents in the first stage, for about 2 months and I just can't used to live with my parents every day, you know suppose I should go, have a flight to somewhere stay in a hotel something, I just can't stay here every day and I just consider to have a job in HsinChu are something where I just want to go away from Taipei during that period. Just can't used to the environment here, too noisy.

Did you miss England at that point?

Mmm very quiet, you know sometimes at 10 o'clock in the evening, when I doing my homework or doing my assignments I just feel the feeling it's around midnight and especially around the area I live is very quiet and next to the residential house and you know old people go to bed very very early and my housemate go to bed very very early, about 9 o'clock. He's working in a hospital, no girlfriend. And I thought wow it's very quiet, and about two months before I left one we have one more housemate, a British girl and I'm quite happy about to have a new housemate so I don't ever know what time is it in the evening, you know, nine o'clock is very quiet so I always misunderstand that is midnight so I though OK I have one more housemate we can have chat during the evening but she went to bed around 9 o'clock too so suddenly I feel hopeless and helpless.

Did you miss the quiet when you came back to Taiwan?

So much, and I just feel it's all like stores and it's very convenient but I don't have my private area, but of course I have to get used to it.

And now?

I get used to it. You know if some time when I want to cross the road, and the car supposed they have to give way and I will stand there and look at the guy, I go first, and I walk first.

Is this how you expected to feel?

No, too noisy, I know it's noisy but I didn't notice, I hadn't noticed before.

And after two months did you feel ok again?

Yes, of course I have to, but I cried when I first came back here, I just cannot used to it. Everything made me cry, and also I live with my parents and my bedroom was not get ready so I lived with my younger sister and I don't have my own room at the first stage so it just felt, wow I don't have my private space and that's a very, very that's a big issue for me.

Before you left Taiwan did you need personal space?

No, and I didn't have my own bedroom, I shared a bedroom with my sisters so I was fine with that, I can't bear that now. Now I have my own bedroom, of course, it's important. And I think maybe another reason is that I'm aging, you know, when you get older you can't share everything, you can't share things with other people, you know, when you are kids it's much easier to share things.

How long after you came back did you separate with your boyfriend?

About 2 years.

Was it anything to do with going to England that you separated?

Yes, because when I was in England he had an affair with other girl you know when you are away and that is long distance relationship. I can just feel there is a difference, you can feel this guy is different from the previous one you know but you just can't stop the relationship from a little different but finally I found out and that is really sad and that's hurt.

Does he have a Master's degree?

He is a medical school student so now he has a training in a hospital so he doesn't need Master's. (51.33) I don't think he ever felt threatened by me because he is a doctor although he only graduated from university (degree), he graduate from a medical school.

Is it true that in Taiwan if a guy is less qualified than his girlfriend he can feel 丢脸 (lose face)?

I think it is true but I think it is quite normal, if I have a higher education I will look down on the guy (laughs). If I am looking for a new boyfriend now, I think he needs to be mature than me and maybe the job and the income or education is not the most important, but to be honest, to be very honest, I think these are still my considerations so I

can't, I will never say, I don't care about that you know in your mind you still want to judge, that kind of thing. Maybe I don't want to do that on purpose, you know, I don't want to look down you but I just, maybe I will do that.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

No (rising tone), nothing.

Did you feel different?

Not really, that's not good. I just feel, before my ex-boyfriend ask me to have a Master's in Taiwan, don't go abroad because he don't want to separate but I say I have this plan for many years and while I was together with someone and my ex,ex-boyfriend asked me to stay in Taiwan and I did but we still separate so this time these things I won't give up my study for anyone, even you. He feel very bad, he say 'oh you give up for someone else but for me you just want to with your opinion your decision and you can't just change for me' and I say I have to responsible myself and now I'm quite happy I have the degree.

Did he not want to go to England with you?

No, because he has medical training in hospital and he can't go, he visit me once during new year. It was good because he gave me a red envelope (laughs).

Was that the best thing about him coming to England?

No matter how much money in the envelope it is just the how do you say that, gesture.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

They just don't have the experience with the other countries so they may not have so many experiences to share, the experience in the US or in the UK or their friends like that but the majority of my colleagues all study in other countries. But I don't feel any other difference.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

I sent Christmas cards to my housemate and my host mother right, yes, still contact with my housemate and my host-mother in Oxford. Only two weeks in Oxford and I went to stay there and visit her many times. And I also bring my mother, bring my sister, bring my ex-boyfriend there to show her but every time I want to pay for the food or pay for something, she always tell me it's her honour, very, very nice.

So, you did meet some nice English people?

But she's a Irish.. laughs..

Do you still have any involvement with English culture?

I like watching English movies and BBC and I like people who speak with English accent. I always try to repeat, it's so interesting, and also, not only I repeat, I also ask my sister, repeat it repeat it, very, very nice, it sounds very elegant, very educational. Even, no matter I can understand or not because some accent I just can't understand like do you know the Blue, they speak the very strong London accent, I can't understand but wow, so charming. Their accent just very attractive. You have a British accent too so you are attractive.. laughs. I also listen to Virgin radio from the website or sometimes you know some movies, you know Matchpoint, they took in London the British accent so I still want to have that kind of movie and last week I had brunch with my friends and I still choose British breakfast with beans and tomato and sausage.

Have you been back to the UK since?

Not yet, but I wanted to go back in Autumn. I do plan to go back when I get money, the ticket is very expensive.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 3 to 5/6

Maybe this one, oh no, number 5, because I still have British breakfast, and you know, when I have British breakfast, you know sunny egg right and always I want to have semi sunny egg. And the yolk should be raw and I will have one piece of toast and just dip it. For Taiwanese they don't eat egg like that, it is very disgusting or weird for them but I just like it, very, very, very much. They think it is unhealthy like that but I don't care, it is just really nice.

So, what has changed since coming back and now?

Because I get used to the weather, the environment here and now most of friends are, should be 99% of my friends are Taiwanese so just become more Taiwanese, it's reasonable.

So what are your plans for the future?

Huh... scary, I don't know, I so far my plan looks like I am going to stay in Taiwan for a long long long time but I still get, in the future I may spend time in a foreign country, I don't know why, just get that feeling. I still want to work with big international company in Taiwan doing marketing and if I get the chance to go foreign country you know for 1 year programme, I would be very excited to do that.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

Still quite happy, cannot complain so far, everything is good. Because I don't have very bad damage or something so I should still be happy.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

It's a good thing, nothing bad. I hate banking there, do you know why, very inefficient. It's a developed country right ? You know, they can't withdraw money from other banks, like us we can withdraw the money from other banks and we can pay for some bill from ATM in Taiwan, but there I can't, you know I can't transfer money to another account. If I want to do that in bank, they will charge me about 20 pounds... 20 POUNDS !! If they charge me 20 NT$ I still think it is very expensive and every time when I want to transfer money I always withdraw the money and go to another bank by bike. Very weird and once our TV licence is paid by my credit card I didn't remember to put money in the account so the TV licence couldn't get my money so they charged me £35 for punish me, it's very awful, so shit, £35 and the TV licence is only £6 or something and also when I get the letter they say it is your responsibility to make sure you have the money in you account. The way they speak is very tough, oh my God, it's a country very, very inconvenient. You know they have got advantage and also disadvantage.

How about your work environment now?

I insist I should have 7 days holiday but in a foreign company we still have floating holidays, about 6 days so totally about 13 days and you know once I told my Spanish guy I can't go to UK to visit him or go to Spain to visit him because I don't have so many holidays so he asked me how many days do you have, I say 7 days and do you know what question he asked me, how much they pay you ? Why you get so less holidays. It's very weird, we work hard but our pay is not so reasonable. It's unfair. I local Taiwanese companies you have to work late and you are waiting for your supervisor or your boss left and then you can left. If you left early they will question if you don't have enough workload or you did that but I think in foreign company they don't ask you to work late.

Claudine

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

1 and a half years, I study my Master's there. And I also attend a short course about fashion management in St Martin's in London so after I finish my Masters I attend that course for three months so in total I stay for 1 and a half years. Master's degree in Retail Management at [UK] University. The second course is easy but I just find an excuse to stay there longer, I really pretty like England, the environment is really good.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

I have come back here April so it's about 9 months already.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No, no, but I have been to a lot of countries, I have a short course in America before for just one month and our company I just went for travelling, that's all. When I studying in England I also travelling around Europe, Italy, France, Switzerland, Spain, Germany, a lot, I can't remember it. That's the main reason I went to England to be honest, because most of the Taiwanese choose to go to American to study but I choose to go to UK because I want to travel around Europe.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

In fact I prefer to stay in a place that's more culture. American, it's different in some ways, not for enrich yourself I think.

Because I think Taiwan is too small, the people here is too narrow because we are a island so we only think, feel the things from our point of view but foreign countries especially the big country, UK and America, they are bigger and they teach you international view and I want to leant about it and in fact I want to improve my English.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

In fact I want to come back Taiwan. Because I know my family is here, I won't stay there.

Do you live with them?

No, they live in another town, not in Taipei, Hsinchu, but it has really changed me a lot, I mean after I come back form the UK, I need a lot of space, my own space, so when I come back, I have been argue with my parents because they can't understand it, before I go to I went to UK for study I can be a very lovely girl and always stay at home and I don't have my own space to be honest. But because I stay in UK for such a long time, and I know that sometimes, I just grow up and sometimes I need my space.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 7

I'm totally Taiwanese. Yes and I was really conservative but UK changed me a lot, I never been to club before I went to UK, when I stay in Taiwan, I never go out for drinking, I always stay how and all I want to do is spend time with my family, my friends and my friends are always also good person, I mean, they never went out after 10 or something. Now I have new friends. I mean my best friends become my kind of before they go out at 9 and then have fun and drinking. I just find another way to arrange my friends, when the daytime I feel I want to do something healthy I will find my old friends but at night time I want to go clubbing or drinking, I will go out with my friends in the UK, I mean, I met some Taiwanese in the UK so we will usually go out together.

Before I left Taiwan I feel really panic and that moment to be honest I have a boyfriend, I had a boyfriend for five years already so when I leave Taiwan, I think I don't want to, I tell myself it maybe it's a chance to know if he is the right person for me, if we can stay for such a long time we didn't meet face to face and we can still communicate very well, maybe he's the guy for me, but I tell myself maybe I can take a look, but before I went to England, I totally don't like Western men and I will never think about that I will have a relationship with any English man, I don't think if I have romantic story like I met an English person there, I fall in love, I think that is kind of silly.

Why didn't you like Western men?

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I think, in our opinion, our concept, we will think that Western men or English men will only want to stay around you, they won't put a lot of effort on the relationship thing and they all want one night stand relationship only.

How was your boyfriend when you left?

He told me when I get on the plane, he told me that he was crying, nearly crying because we never separate for such a long time but to be honest before I went to UK about one years ago, I supposed to go to America for study but I don't want to lose him so I choose to stay another one year in Taiwan and then I decided to go the UK so basically there they have the one year for us to prepare this kind of leaving.

How did you feel to leave?

A bit panic but exciting as well. Not really about sad just panic because I know it will be a good chance for me to know if he is the right guy for me, I have spent five years with him already. I know my English is not that good at that moment but I think just try because you just come there for study so any mistake is allowed especially the language thing, you have to speak more and more.

I cry on the plane, of course, because I didn't feel lonely at that moment, I just feel I am leaving my boyfriend, I didn't feel that sad because I'm leaving my parents, because I know I will come back but at that moment I know it is big decision for both of me and my boyfriend, my ex-boyfriend, because if we broke up before I come back, I will never have the chance to meet him again, but I will always have time to spend with my parents but not with him if we broke up. He took me to the airport, the story goes even terribler. I'm very talkative (laughs).

3. **Experience of Living in the UK**

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

I feel disappointed to be honest because Heathrow airport is an old building already compared to the Chiang Kai Shek airport in Taiwan, quite old, and because the driver, we ask him to pick us up, it's a Chinese and a car is very old and he's a Chinese and I don't think I come to the right place, I went to the right place, because I think I am still in Taiwan, we speak Chinese and I went with another two friend, they are Taiwanese as well, so basically I didn't feel that I'm in England, I just feel OK it's an old country, nothing special, ugly because the highway is ugly, not like Taiwan, because Taiwan highway is quite new so everything is looking good looking modern but not in the UK and we speak Chinese and I still remember the music the driver played, it's very old Chinese songs and I really want to cry at the moment I say what the hell am I doing here?

Who arranged the car?

Because there are some other Taiwanese stay in [UK] University for about one year already so we contact them before we went to the UK so they arrange that for us. Old car.

What did you expect?

I expect UK to be more modern, more elegant, you know but all I see is Chinese and old things and even the trees disappoint me, I think the trees should be very beautiful, the colours should be very bright but that day it was raining, I feel really really disappointed that day.

How long did you feel like that?

About one month later. One month very disappointed, another thing is that we arrived in the university and went to the dormitory and the dormitory is really not that good to be honest, we share a place with another ten people and I didn't live in the, I didn't choose the ensuite because I think I'm going to learn the language I should spend more time to talk with my flatmates, and my room is in the first floor and there is a big trash can outside my window, there is no view at all and it was quite noisy on the Sunday morning especially because they will come and collect the trash there and it's just so disappoint me, everything there, even the living standards is so bad because I didn't see the really good side of England and I think in that moment I challenge myself why I come here, I left my boyfriend and my parents, before I went to UK, I have a good job as a PR in hotel and all I see is modern and high fashion but when I went there, everything just so old and disappoint there. I hope there is more culture or in my opinion UK, the model for UK should be like London, everything have culture but not. I still remember the fist thing we went to town ([UK city]) and we went by a very small road but it is a shortcut so the view is very bad, there is a big road and the car is passing by you and you have to walk by the side and the houses are not pretty and it is not like the houses in the movies and I say what am I doing here but when I walked in [UK city] town I though this is really nice, I think OK it is England, it is really pretty.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

Because as you know I'm very talkative so I will continue my story, after I arrive UK for another two months (phone rings) and after two months my Taiwanese boyfriend, exboyfriend, he lie to me, he say he feel depressed about his

job so he wants to be alone and he want to take a break about our relationship and I feel really guilty at that moment because I come to England and I give up him and I can't help him at all and so I fly back to Taiwan and I find he has got another girlfriend. SO the second time I leave Taiwan it was really really upset and my parents take me to the airport, they was really cross with me at that moment, they don't think he's worth it, I paid for the ticket and come here and just find the ugly truth, you can tell me the truth, I can accept it. We have been together for 5 years first, just 2 months.

Who was the girl?

He was with his best friend's girlfriend, it was really horrible when I know that. I came back for one week but I can't stay in Taiwan any more, so I told my parents I want to leave Taiwan, I want to go back to study, at first I was totally broken hearted, you shouldn't have lied for me, I wouldn't have spent the money to come back.

Did he know you would come back?

Yes, and he said are you sure, even if it is possible that we cannot get together again and I was really innocent because he was my first boyfriend and I didn't notice that when he say I want to be alone or I want to concentrate on my job, that kind of thing is kind of bullshit, I just believe him, but when I come back and I notice, I followed him.

How did you feel when you came back to UK?

Terrible, I can't eat, I can't sleep, all I do is crying, sobbing, about one month, two month. Because when I try to call him he will say I'm busy and I was really lonely sat that moment. I met some Taiwanese there as well but as I told you before I went to England I'm not that kind of party girl so I don't go out with them but sometimes we have dinner together, but the Taiwanese I met in the UK they were very nice because they knew I was very upset so they will cook for me or comfort me. They are really nice to me. And one night a girl asked me to go out clubbing because in the University we usually have the student union they will arrange the party every Wednesday and Friday night, so one night she call me and she say, come on Claire, just go out, you have to open you mind and accept the truth, you broke up with your ex-boyfriend and he is a asshole so don't cry for him any more, we should go party or something and then that night I don't want to be lonely, so I say OK, and that girl was funny she said as soon as you can get rid of your past then you will meet a new guy and I can't believe that because I never have another relationship with a man before because he is my first boyfriend and I just feel really upset I won't find anyone, anyone nice than him, but that night when we go clubbing I met a guy (laughs), just a quite cute guy from Thailand but anyway it's just a guy for me tell me there are still a lot of nice men there you shouldn't cry for your past. And that's my party life beginning and after that I can't quit it. Because I think at that moment I just want escape about the past, when we go clubbing, I can have fin with my friends and we will drink and everything is more accepting for me because the Taiwanese are very nice, they will take care of you, boys will still get the concept that Western men only want one night stand, when I get drunk and some Western man want to approach me, my friend will say are you OK, you sure you want to dance with him or do you want me to help you get rid of him so I pretty much appreciate my friends, my Taiwanese friends there and they make me feel that I'm very accepted, don't worry about anything.

Then on New Year's Eve I met an English guy, two months after I split up, so my friends say, hey you are easy girl, you can't eat, can't drink, can't do anything for totally one month and then another month later you met an English guy and you fall in love.

With whom did you live?

After my presessional course I moved to I changed to an ensuite I share the flat with three other friends from Greek, and Dubai and Norway.

Who did you spend you time with?

To be honest, before I met my English ex-boyfriend, I only spent time with my Taiwanese friends because it will come to be a group and you will feel safety so that will not much time to practice your English and [UK city], about half [UK city] students are Chinese so I will only speak English to my flatmates and my friends in the same class, that's all and other times I will just stay with my Taiwanese friends so we speak Chinese a lot. My classmates are mainly from Greece, no English, I think not that many British will do the Master's. But after I met my English ex-boyfriend, we spent a lot of time together and he introduced his friends to me so to be honest without him I wouldn't know the true England, he always drives me around and show me the English culture and take me to the bar and drink beer or something like that. I met him in a club. Not really that drunk, I still remember everything.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Not really, but when we because we have other friends from China right, in front of them I will feel I am Taiwanese, I'm not Chinese, not because the politics or something, political, only because we are really different so I have to tell you, I have to point out the difference between Taiwanese and Chinese

What are the differences?

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The way we are thinking, the way we are talking and the Chinese people always want to show they are the leader for the whole Chinese including Taiwan but basically my Chinese friends are very respect us, we never have a fight about silly things. I have Chinese friends, still contact with a very lovely girl in China still.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes, I'm more open-minded and I'm not that conservative any more. For example I don't think go out for drinking is dangerous any more. Because when I stay in Taiwan, stay with my parents, I have to go home, even I am 27, I have to go home before 10 o'clock at night. My parents are very, very conservative. Because I'm more lucky, I made an English boyfriend and whenever I went out, I will go with him or his friends or my Taiwanese friends so basically I'm really lucky, I didn't feel England is very dangerous place, [UK city], the security there is really nice.

Did you become more English?

Yep, definitely, drinking and the way I'm thinking, I'm more independent now.

Less Taiwanese?

I'm not that conservative anymore and I think there is another big difference I notice before I went to UK I didn't meet my English boyfriend yet and the routine day for me would be like I went to work and I come home and watch TV, relax at home but after I met my English boyfriend he teach me how to make your life more interesting after he come back from work, he will arrange one thing such as go swimming or do something else, or even just go to a bar for a couple of drinks and so when I come back to Taiwan and I start to work I basically I will obey this kind of rule, I tell myself I shouldn't just involve myself at work and there's afterwards I will go out with my friends and sometimes we will stay out late until 10 or 11. I just don't want to life to have work only. Because most of the Taiwanese will go home and do nothing, watch TV. It depends on what kind of job you are in, in another side because my boss is from Germany, so he don't want us to work overtime that is the most important thing for me so why I can enjoy my life so much because most of the Taiwanese boss will want you, his employees to be put more time at work, work overtime is the normal thing for them. We get 3 or 4 days holiday for the Christmas.

Attitude towards money?

Not really, about money thing, do you know that most of the Taiwanese, when we are in the UK, our parents will support us, at that moment I spent a lot, but when I come back to Taiwan, my dad told my mum that you have to ask Clare to be independent in finance so they don't support me any money so I start to know woo, I spent a lot of money in the UK. My dad will always put the pressure on my mum and ask my mum to tell us, if he tell us directly I will argue with him and he hates that, so he will ask my mum and my mum will ask me and I will argue with my mum. My father is scared (laughs), he just don't want me to make a scene.

Have your relationships changed?

Yes, I think I became more, before I met the English guy and before I broke up with my first boyfriend I only think that as soon as you got the relationship, you have to continue it, I was thinking about marriage but then I got my English boyfriend and we broke up because as soon as we meet each other we knew I will go back to Taiwan so he just said, just enjoy the time when we can stay together so after that I won't think about that, you can try a relationship, you can do your best but if it not work, you have to give it up.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3 to 6

In the beginning about number 3 and then about number 6.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Because my family is here and I can get a much better job in Taiwan, because I won't be that kind of girl who will only stay and rely on my husband or my boyfriend, I don't want to be that kind of girl and if I put a lot of effort in my job I can get promotion or even I can get my own business. I am more ambitious since I came back to Taiwan, when I stay in UK, I just must enjoy my time there because I know that will be the only chance in my life to stay in a country for such a long time but when I come back to Taiwan I tell myself girl you have to be more mature, you're adult.

How did you feel to come back?

I feel totally heart broken because at that moment I still like my English boyfriend a lot but we just say that if we can enjoy the time together then it will be a happy ending for us already.

Why didn't he come to Taiwan?

He's an accountant, he got a very good job in England so why he have to come to Taiwan. Maybe he didn't really love me that much. To be honest, I'm sure because he's not the right guy for me otherwise we will try to find a way for our relationship, but he always try, he's still nice to me, we still talk, so I learn a lot of things from him, because I had a very bad break-up with my Taiwanese boyfriend so I don't think after we broke up we can be friends any more but he try to teach me that we can do that. He is about 1 year older than him.

Were you excited to come back to Taiwan?

No, no, because I know as soon as I come back to Taiwan I have to face my parents, it means that they are very conservative to me and they will ask me to be a good girl.

And did you live with them?

Yes, until I get a job in Taipei.

Did you think about coming back to Taiwan before you left?

I tried to forget it because I did not want to come back to Taiwan, I feel really, really panic.

On the airplane I cry, when I left [UK city], my English boyfriend drive me to the airport and he was crying and I was crying that was the first time I saw his tears because he's that tough guy he would never show his emotion. I still remember his text me and say saying goodbye is not an easy thing but just the best wishes or something (looks sad).

4. **Experience of Coming Back**

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I want to go back to England! My parents came to meet me at the airport. I feel stressful because I can't tell my parents that I got an English boyfriend in the UK and that now we broke up and I come back to Taiwan so I was very depressed. Until yesterday, not today, today is a new year now so I shouldn't do that. I was crying for about probably one month every day, every night and then I even have to see a doctor because I can't take that kind if emotion any more. They gave me antidepressants pills, that was quite serious and I can't tell my parents I can't control my emotions any more, I can't tell my family what's going on, I can't tell them why I was so upset, because they are really very conservative, if I tell them I get a Western boy, they will ask for details, details, details and it will drive me crazy so I can't tell them, and my parents can't understand me at that moment, they think I've changed a lot, but in fact I just because I broken heart so I want be alone but my parents can't understand it so we have a very bad situation at that moment, relationship at that moment.

Did you have your own room?

Yes.

Was it only the relationship that made you feel bad?

When I think about how lovely the life in the UK, because he is most of my life in the UK so I even cannot try to recall the memory.

And because the environment here is very bad, before I moved here, here is ok, a bit similar to the living in the UK, because in Taiwan, most of the time you won't want to enjoy working because the traffic is really bad, the air condition, the air pollution and everything but when I live in is areas I feel very healthy, I can walk nearby here, and go shopping, sometimes walk will help me a lot, it will make me remember the feeling I was in the UK, I take a walk or go somewhere.

What happened with your parents?

They hate me. They think why I change so much and my mum say I feel regret to send you to UK because they don't know what happened, what's going on with me and I just feel depressed and my mum was really angry with me because she say, hey you grew up in Taiwan how come you hate Taiwan now, you don't like Taiwan any more, but I can't tell her because I still miss that guy there, right and then it's compared with England, Taiwan is really noisy and you can't see many green things here.

Is this how you expected to feel?

No, not at all, I thought I will be more strong and I supposed to be familiar with Taiwan and I love Taiwan before but why I become like that?

And now?

It's just life.

Are you getting used to it?

Yeah, yeah, yeah and I will try to find the lovely things in Taiwan so I can accept this kind of situation, but that is after 9 months, that's a long time to be honest. Because I told you I met my English man on New Year's Eve, 1 and a half years ago so that was a very meaningful day for me.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

My friends, I think so, they don't say anything, because I still act the same thing in front of them but just the way I know I've changed, I know the way I treat my life and my work, totally differently, but the way I treat my friends basically is the same.

And you parents now?

I think they think I start to become more normal, because now we can talk, I mean I talk to my parents about my life in Taipei, before I can't even say a word when they ask me about life in Taipei, I just don't want to say a word because I feel depressed but now I will talk to them and discuss everything.

Did the medicine help?

To be honest, at that moment it really help, if I stop taking the pills I will feel really panic and I will start crying. But I'm fine now, I take the pills about 3 or 4 months ago, now I stop it already.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Of course, they are more narrow minded and they only care about the small things and the way they talk but I find that basically it is about the education. My friends say I look a bit more like a girl from the Western country, I think that because the atmosphere, I make myself feel I free, more free, before I'm not that kind of girl, because most of the Western girls will make you feel they are very independent, they know what they are doing. I feel that now since I went to England. It's a good thing.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

Yeah, Taiwanese friends from England too, and I still talk to my English ex-boyfriend so I'm still in love with English culture, just be brave, it's more easier. I haven't met anyone else yet, I don't want to touch relationships, it scares me, I don't want to broken my heart and I have to spend another nine months, just go crazy.

Have you been back to the UK?

No, I will never, ever go back, it is too painful. I will avoid to go back to the UK.

If your company sent you?

I would say yes but it would be very painful.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 1 to 3

Because the way I'm thinking and just think I can't fit in this society any more. I just worry I can't love Taiwan any more, I mean this environment but now it's fine now.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

It's a good thing, because so many things happened in England, if I never been to England it will never happen to me, even if it's heart broken but I still very cherish.

Any negative things?

Not really. It is still a good thing to do.

Plans for the future?

Have my own business and travelling around the world or something. I still want to live in Taiwan but when I make a lot of money I want to move to another country.

Where?

America, not UK (laughs). Never go back.

Did you graduate?

Yeah, yeah. But in the beginning, the reason I come to the UK is not for study to be honest, even for my parents, they just want me to be more independent and try to take care of myself more but they still want me to get the Master's because they pay for much money, so I tried to enjoy the time there and that is the only another reason I chose [UK city] because [UK city] is not top school to be honest, the top university so the way they asking student to study, they don't really ask students to do a lot of study and I think that will be more easy for me.

Critical thinking?

To be honest, I'm a very bad student, I always just pass my assignments, I never get high scores, I didn't do much work. And then when I graduate, my English boyfriend was really proud of me, he said I can't believe you graduate. He will correct my English, my dissertation, he read all my dissertation and correct the grammar things and try to make the sentence more meaningful.

I know my parents feel disappointed about me, they suppose I become more open-minded, lovely girl but when I come back I was just so depressed and don't like every thing here, I think now is a bit better and so what I'm doing now is try to prove that I've become normal and I concentrate on my job, because they want me to be a kind of business woman.

To support them?

Not really, they want me to be more independent at work and he even want me to have my own business. Maybe I want to do the trading thing, so not what I'm doing, try to create more experience in my life, being a sales or buyer so that would be a skill for me if I have my own company. And don't want to meet any man. But during the nine months I met another 2 guys but I know, I just try to forget about that English man. So now I just have all the wrong, not really relationships, you both have feeling but you know that it is not going to be a very good relationship between you two, I'm just lonely but now I just be friends with them. I live with another two girls, we share a flat, one is come from Korea, another is a Taiwanese girl, so you can tell the differences between me and Taiwanese girl and Korea girl, because the Korea girl has similar background, go overseas for studying and working in Taiwan, so we are more similar, and totally different from the Taiwanese girl, she is really conservative, just like me before. The way you treat your relationships more seriously, I mean seriously is good but too seriously. Now I'm more independent, I told you that girls need to be teached, the English guy said if we have more space then we have more things to share so when we spend time together we have much to share and we can really enjoy the time, if we spend too much time together we don't have friends and the only person I see is only you, it will narrow your mind.. I used to think we spend more time together and you know me well, I can still be your friend but I forgot that everybody needs space. So now I would say my thinking is more like British is I have relationship I know I still want to hang out with my friends sometimes and I don't want my boyfriend to be beside me all the time.

I haven't got a relationship with a Taiwanese man so I don't know what will happen, but actually it will be the ideal relationship for me now. Otherwise you only spend time with one guy and you get bored. Anyway I don't want any guy, it was so painful I even need to take the pills. I'm not that kind of person who think about suicide because I know my parents love me my friends love me, I just feel upset. I will never ever go back.

I think I've become more optimistic now, I know there are lot of opportunity happen in the future, when I first came to Taiwan I felt that nothing else is going on in the future, just stop there, just thinking about the old times, I don't think anything will happen in the future. I just accept now that we have split up. To be honest if I didn't meet the English boyfriend I won't feel in this way.

I think I have to take more opportunities and meet more friends, but I spend such a long time I even cannot believe that I spend such a long time, it's just like yesterday, I just cry one day and then I feel better but in fact I have spent 9 months to build up a new myself. I was really negative, and I hate that kind of feeling that time just stop and you are not going anywhere, cannot escape. But I was really lucky to meet that English guys, he really show me a lot, he always drive me around show me the place in the UK, show me the history because he has a car in England so I can go a lot of place my friend can't go and I can join the daily life of the British. I didn't plan this, I told you I hate Western men, now not really. I love to talk. Even you didn't pay me, I would still be very talkative, I feel really happy because I have the chance to meet an English man in Taiwan and talk and the English, British accent I just feel familiar with this because I didn't really call my English boyfriend as soon as I come back, we never talk, only MSN.

Ashley, the way she treat her job is totally different, before she went to UK she totally contribute herself in her work, but after she came back she got a very easy job for her because she is a very capable girl but sometimes she will complain to me, say this job is too easy to me.

Sandra

1.   Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

One year and eight months. For study and travel around. Study at [UK] University, International Marketing Management. One year, before that I did one month language school, then presessional course.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

2004, February, almost three years.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2.   Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Because there is a different culture and lifestyle, main reason is not for study. I study to add value, if I can get a Master's degree, I can convince my parents to fund me to study in the UK.

Why the UK?

The time is shorter, one year can you can get a degree and different culture, European culture, more attractive compared to American, it doesn't have any culture. But British got accent (laughs), at the beginning ..

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I know I need to go back to Taiwan because my family, my friends, they are all in Taiwan. It was temporary.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Excited, I'm leaving.. yeah... not nervous, I got a little bit sad to say goodbye to my parents but excited much more strong. I went by myself but some of my friends in UK already, in [UK city]. They study in language school.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 5

Thinking, or the way I feel I enjoy my life, I'm not that busy person, before I go abroad and I do the job that I like it very much. Not very, not that much planned. Normal Taiwanese are busy, empty, always in big city and rushed. But I think people always think they are special but they are not. Maybe I am that kind of person (laughs), to be honest.

How about the leaving Taiwan?

My parents take me to the airport, I fly to Hong Kong then England.

3.   Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Freezing, ahhhhh. And not friendly a little bit. Because my friend pick me up so I think it is fine.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

People not very friendly, one time, they take me to do the x-ray but even I show the woman, I say, I've done it in Taiwan but she don't trust me, she say I have to do it again so I wait 2 hour more just to take the x-ray test. This was before SARS so I'm not feel that comfortable. I say I done it in Taiwan, they were rude to me, they say no.

One month I stay in the host family and but the family is not that good because the horrible food and they are not friendly so at the beginning, the first month I not feel very happy but when I go [UK] University, getting better, because I have more friends and my own bed so I can decide what to do, so getting better.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

I live in Cranbourne and campus (uni accom), housemate, two are from Thailand, one is from Hong Kong, and all girls, friendly.

Who did you spend your time with?

English people not much. Asian students mainly. European students, not that much in student village or in Cranbourne (university accommodation). Mainly with Asian student, Japan my friends, Ahmed do you know that guy from Oman, he's my flatmate. No English friends, only you (laughs).

Why no English friends?

I think the whole environment, in [UK] University, particularly in postgraduate course, we don't have British classmates, even we have just one or two but they have their own group so it's not easy to make British friends but other European, they are friendly, they are willing to get to know you more. British people not easy not willing to get to know you. From my experience, the students from [UK] University, the British are not friendly.

Later I moved to Wimbledon, I lived in another host family, they are very good, and we keep contact, last Christmas I send cards to them.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Yes, yes, they always in a group, most of my friends were Taiwanese. I felt proud to say I'm Taiwanese, but I hate people to call me Chinese. I argue all the time about this, Mainland Chinese people, they are weird.

Do you think they are different?

Yes of course, the value concept, in many, many ways different, and they always say Taiwan is part of China and I hate this. They are selfish sometimes when you are doing the teamwork together and they didn't work very hard and sometimes they have different views to express something very strange.

Did you have any Chinese friends?

My friends, maybe no, or few.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yeah, yes, definitely. In UK, when you act like a student you have to be more open-minded to make friends but in Taiwan you don't. For example I work in a company, I just do my job well, I know who I want to make friends. But in the UK, if I didn't make friends, I would terrible.. you know what I mean. So I have to change my behaviour and try to be more friendly. Maybe less Taiwanese but not more English, not English, many foreigners, more international maybe.

In what ways less Taiwanese?

Before I answer the question, do I need to define how I feel about Taiwanese?

If you want.

Taiwanese, Taiwanese. A little bit difficult, because at the beginning I say I am not typical Taiwanese so very tricky. I'm still me but I'm still little bit different from Taiwanese. When I was in the UK, I become less Taiwanese from beginning, so like this.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3

In Taiwan, I don't drink that much, I don't go pub often, but in UK, it is part of your culture, so I try to adapt to your way of life. So when I come back to Taiwan I think pub is good to relaxing, I still feel that now, this mainly remind me the life in UK. I start drinking in the UK, not a lot, more than enough. Now I sometimes do, that's a big change. Alcoholic (laughs).

Did you ever feel the UK was your home?

Not home but the place I like.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

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Because I finish my dissertation, I passed. I travel a lot and went shopping, I think it is time to go back, I had fun already, enough. I went to the whole England and France and Czech Republic because the visa problems so I just decide to stay in the UK, to travel. Outlets, it depends on who goes with me, shopping.

How did you feel about returning to Taiwan?

A little bit sad and I know because I don't know when I can come back in the future and I need to work in Taiwan, so I think er... like student life is end, finish.

Did you feel sad because it was the end of student life or end of life in England?

Is that the same thing?... maybe it is because of England, because of the lifestyle, I'm getting used to this, like a vacation every day, so I enjoyed this lifestyle. More stress of course and sometimes boring.

Did you miss Taiwan when you were in the UK?

Of course, I miss my family, I miss Taiwanese food, this is very important. In Taiwan everything is very convenient, for example 7-11 (laughs – works for 7-11) but in UK I like that kind of life, peaceful, so if I get retired in the future, maybe UK is OK, but not for medical part, the medical problem, insurance. I have some friends who have problem with the NHS, you have to pay a lot if you want to see a doctor, if you are an international student.

If I thought I would stay in England forever, I would feel panic !! Because the culture differences, a real problem, I know it is just a short term stay so it's OK, to improve my English or cultural experience, but if you ask me to stay forever, maybe it's not good idea. Because UK getting aggressive culture, I mean even you make friends and you go far you can still not understand the group, I feel I don't like it, maybe you have the same feeling in Taiwan. It's not easy to make friends, people here are always so busy. Two weeks ago, I left work about 12 o'clock for maybe 3 days but I don't like this kind of lifestyle. Usually we meet friends in the weekend not in the evening.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I didn't feel excited, excited mmm, not excited, happy to meet my family, my friends again and think maybe I will come back again.

Did you think about coming back to Taiwan a lot before you left?

At the beginning, but after I finish my dissertation I say, this is the last chance I have to stay here, so I don't want to go back.

How did you feel when you first got back?

How, no no, maybe just warm, it is February so it is cold, freezing because we don't have heating in the house in Taiwan, in the UK we do, so when I come back I say why don't we have heating here, in the UK we do.

I was happy when I get home because my family happy to see me again. I didn't feel bad at all.

How about adapting to Taiwan again, was it easy?

I came back to Taiwan in February and I start work in March, so that is one month to take break, but I took time to get used to it. 不習慣. My home time is in Kaoshiung but I come to work in Taipei and people are always in a rush all the time, and in the MRT sometimes I just sit on the chair and wondering what are they doing, will me be part of them in the future, and really confused and I don't want to be. But soon, maybe 6 months later, 1 year later, I know I become one of them. Now I am one of them, poor me. But at the beginning I am not used to it, to rush. I was not unhappy to come back, but confused. What are they doing? (laughs).

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

No, but in some way I'm more independent and ehhhh mmm confident, yep, because I think, mmm I'm different from others. I don't live with my parents now, my parents is good but I think for me I want to move out. I live on my own now and like that way.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/friends you made in the UK?

Yes, yes, English people is only you but mostly Taiwanese people. I like to watch TV and practise English accent, the BBC is easier to understand than ICRT (local American radio station). Everyday I listen to BBC radio. And Harry Potter, he is British culture (laughs).

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 3 to 5

Now I am more Taiwanese than before I went to England. Because I get in a big company, it makes me to be more socialised. And at the beginning I think I'm not that social people before I went to England but because I get a Master's degree I think it is better to get in a big company for future, so I have to work hard, I have to pay for it, this is why I am more Taiwanese than before. My colleagues they study in Japan, America, England, most have studied abroad. Studying in the UK probably helped me get a job in the company, I passed the English test, easy… too easy. In that time but not now (laughs). I don't speak English much any more, just with Japanese people.

What are your plans for the future?

In which way. If I can work in a company to contact different culture, yeah, it's cultural difference, I would like to because it is, because now I'm working in non-profit organisation so I love to do the non-profit organisation, I like this kind of job but on the other hand I want to meet more people from different cultures. If I can go abroad for a short term it is fine. Or many one or two years. But Taiwan will always be my home.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally? Why/why not?

With what? Generally, good but too busy. But so far so good, I have to accept it. Maybe it will getting better in the future.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Good thing to do, yes, yes, yes, definitely. For me, the attitude, is different, my attitude, is more open-minded and now I can accept people from different cultures. Before I didn't know I can accept or I can not but when I study in the UK I know this is culture differences. For example, when I met Greek, at the beginning, in Taiwan, I think it is a good country, I want to go there, I like it, but when you meet more Greeks, you say, these people, mmm, interesting, not good for communicate and you will know people from North European, they are this kind of style and people from South they have different kind of personality or their attitudes towards life, and I'm more socialise maybe because I've been to the UK so maybe it is helpful, it's helpful to get me to adapt to society more.

Anything negative about going to the UK?

No, I can't remember. If I get idea I will tell you.

Mabel

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

19ᵗʰ of September of 2003 and I back on 2ⁿᵈ of January 2005. I remember the exact dates because it is very important to me, it's a really new experience in my life. You know before I go to UK, I don't have lived in other place other then my house, I don't have lived in school and sometimes we will go travelling but I don't have long term travelling, it's the first time I leave my house for a long time.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

2 years, just over 2 years. More than two years.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No, small trips yes, Hong Kong, Japan and Bali island, interesting travelling points, what else? Similar like that, and French, Switzerland, yeah, yeah, yeah.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Because I want to study further, I want to upgrade myself and I think the Masters is necessary on this age, especially with our company, or in our country, Master is very important 學歷 (study history). I went to the UK because I think in England the university is very practical and I want to learn more about the different life and learn more English and learn more about foreigners' life and one of my friends she study in the UK, in Warwick and she tell me a lot of her study in the UK, very nice and very historical, so I decide to go to the UK. I want to go travelling in the USA but I don't want to study there because I think American people is not very honest. Similar like that. Not very good to the foreigners, I think English people should be more friendly. That is thinking in 2003 but ... (laughs)

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I didn't plan to stay in UK because I don't have enough courage, if I have enough courage, maybe I will considering about stay in the UK, but I just plan to study and come back, temporary trip. I work in same company, company keep my job and no salary, but keep the position for me and when I come back I can continue the job, but I applied for it, my boss doesn't allow me to do that, at that time I have made a lot of plans to persuade him but he still object me so I go to a higher boss, his boss, and say something like that, I think the higher boss is very generous, he knows very clear about the importance of the yeah, of the Master's degree, he is Taiwanese, he never study abroad, he visit but I think he is more generous to think about his employees career plan and he thinks the short time study is good to his company and to him as well. Not very common in Taiwan, maybe his daughter also the same age as me and she has studied in a foreigner country and he knows the importance. I am doing a different job now.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

My feeling is so sad, of course very excited, very plan for the future life, every time I plan for my future study life I'm so excited and waiting for that, but when I thinking I'm leaving my parents, my sister, my brother, even my sister's boy, he's very cute, he just 2 or 3 years at that time very, very cute and very familiar to me so I, so very not good, very sad, I'm very sure that I leave my job and I'm very happy, leave my company.

Did you go alone ?

Yes, no friends there but I have my friend's friend. There's a girl, she is married an English person as well, and she is study in [UK city].
Of course, I cry a lot on the airplane, on the plane to England and there's a guy sitting next to me and he look at me a long time and he want to say something to me but I don't want to talk to him. He looks like some kind of 中東 (trans.- Middle Eastern) so a little terrible, I know he is friendly but don't want to talk to him. Taiwan people don't like, look like a terrorist.

China airlines is overbooked so I buy a ticket to the Singapore airlines. Sorry I forget that there's a 我同失 (trans.- my colleagues) my colleague also study in [UK city] at that time, she's a mother go with her daughter, she go to UK earlier than me, and they go to airplane to take me to [UK city], that's good, I very thank to her. She studied public in England, main campus, about corporations, public corporations.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 6

Because you know Taiwan and Mainland China, sometimes the local Taiwan is not Taiwan, do you mean this the local Taiwan or the international Taiwan? My family is from Mainland China but I am born in Taiwan, actually I'm not so support or so agree with Mainland China but some local Taiwan things or habits I don't like it. I'm just between them.

What things don't you like?

I think they are not so fair, sometimes they think if you are the totally local Taiwan, what do you do and what do you say is totally correct. I don't think they are very fair, they are not very sensibility rational, reasonable. Before go to England and now, but now it is more strong, maybe a lot of things here now, currently they still like to power their people even though they make some mistakes, I don't like this part, but I think Taiwan is very cute, their people is very cute and very friendly. Generally I feel quite Taiwanese.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Not very good, not very good place, very tired and when I see her I call her Maojie, and I hug, we hug together and I almost cry because it's a long trip, almost 24 hours, via Singapore and stop over there and go to London.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

Very old, there is very old and look like, because it's night, I think, it's about 10 o'clock, and at the airport because it's SARS period, in 2003 so every tourist from Taiwan or Asia should have very detailed check in so I wait at the airport with a lot of Mainland China students airports, very noisy, very loud and wait very long and I'm afraid Maojie is leaving or is not... finally I leave the airport so the feeling is very terrible and the people's not very friendly, in the customs, in the airport. I didn't feel welcome, of course not, look like a virus, want to make a lot of checking, I forget the details.

What about the first few weeks in England ?

Just.... Shocking. And trying to adapt myself and I'm not very good on directions so Maojie take me several times to school and to the home, I stay with her, not in Cranbourne at that time, but I still cannot make directions at that time. She take me to the how do you say, the Square and I feel, where am I?

How did you feel?

Confused and 混亂 (trans.- mixed up) and I talk to my boyfriend at that time and some sad and very missing, very mixed the feeling so mixed, I don't know I can't organise it now, but it is a feeling I want to keep it.

Did you start university immediately?

No, I stayed with Maojie almost one week. I arrived at 1st stage, I moved to Cranbourne on 26th and it's the exact date of the school start. The 20th week I live with Maojie.

Did you meet any local people in the first weeks?

No, only the guard in Cranbourne (university accommodation), he always called me little girl here, little girl your room.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

One from Taiwan, she is the tourism student and another is from Thai another from Indonesia, one from Iran, one is from Brazil. All girls. No English people, there are seldom English people in [UK university] Master's.

Who did you spend you time with?

Actually, then I know a girl from Mainland China, her name is Vinny, and she study in finance and we get along with each other at the beginning time and then I know a lot of Taiwanese people, although I try to practice my English there, I think I still get used to live with Taiwanese people, and after the course begins, I know Sean and .... And other students you don't know. Most of my friends were Taiwanese people, it's a pity.

Did you have any English friends?

Maybe you only. If you can say... but I you know, I really thank you for your about my first assignment, yes first assignment failed, it's too shock to me, terrible. I very sad, then you help me, and I can't believe why I get this too poor report. 31%, I remember, it's a famous ice cream brand.

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What happened?

The problem about, I don't know when I have to study from other reports, from other books, I don't know I have to make the reference, and I check the document several days before and that is really interesting and I make the, who told me that the Chinese style of conversation and I don't know how, I don't I have to refer to many books.

How did you feel when you got your result?

Of course, crying, and sad, I don't want to talk to other people about this shameful mark. I didn't tell anyone except for you. I went back to Taiwan with a free ticket by EVA airlines for Christmas.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Yes, yes, not Chinese. Before I go to UK, I want to say I'm Chinese, I'm China, when I'm in the UK I don't want to say I'm Chinese, I'm Taiwanese.

Why?

Because comparing to the real Chinese people, I want to say I'm Taiwanese. There's some habits or talking ways different.

How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Very proud, very proud, yes, you know our teacher, from Brazil, prefers Taiwanese than Chinese and, can I say it..

Yes.

And I like her because she is very public and very support to Taiwan, sometimes she say, when we make discussion and China people is very strong and they say some point of view is not very fair, she will say, come on Taiwanese, you should say something, you should fight with them, she always make us want to say no... normally we cannot say it but sometimes in class we argue, not very often.

Was it easy to adapt to this?

No, because they always think they are right, they can say something for us, they think we are one small island belonging to them, some political views. At that time I feel I want to protect Taiwan.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yeah, yeah, yeah, I want to practice my English and more like English people, the tone and the accent, I like their, your accent, I want to practise, I go to language centre to practice, I think it is very useful, and there is very nice person there, Paul, he is very nice and very kind and the language lab was useful. I regret that I don't have a lot of time to practice.

Did you try to make friends with English people?

I try but there is only one, one English girl and we are not in the same group, but I have talked to her several times, and she is nice and very smart and talking very short using exact words. I don't know her name. But I'm sure she doesn't remember me.

And outside of school? Did you every meet English people?

Some people, that some job, career or some people or some 老太太 (trans.- old women) old women, especially after living in Cranbourne, I moved to an apartment near the sea and every floor women and old men and when we go to life we talking, they always say about the weather. I think the old English people are very kind and they treat us like their children, and oh yes, I have worked in a restaurant, a coffee shop, only one year, in Boscombe, I forget the coffee shops name, it's on the second floor in the shopping centre and the boss is an English women, she is very serious, if I'm to work at 9 o'clock and I come at 9.05 or 9.03, she will try to find any time during the day to tell me you come time of day and you don't come late. And she was very strict, of course, I don't like here and no one else likes her. We are all international students and we all hate her. One day when I work, a very strange woman sitting on the table, she say 'where do you come from?' I say Taiwan, they say Thailand, I say, no Taiwan, they say yes I know Thailand, I have take a boy or some teenager and support him the money and help him to grow up, like 獎學金 (trans.- scholarship) and I feel they think that Thailand is a very poor country and they feel sorry for me, I told her three times, Taiwan, Taiwan, Taiwan, but they say I know Thailand, Thailand, Thailand.

And how did that make you feel ?

I felt annoyed and especially when they say they support the people there and they ask me, are you poor? Or something like that, and I remember I tell her, no we are not poor so we can study here, something like that. They say our country is poor, but I think they think it is Thailand, not Taiwan. And another time is in London, I get up very early in the morning because I'm going to take Eurostar to Paris to pick up my parents and my brother and on the trip I asked an English guy, some they are walking like that on the street but I don't know the direction of the station and I ask him "can I walk there?", do you know what he say, it's really impolite, he said "you cannot walk there because your legs are too short" and I reply "I can because my brain is not as small as you" and I'm leaving. They were young guys, look so 驕傲 (trans.- arrogant), some young guys are very 驕傲(trans.- arrogant) and some specially appear like that.

Did you have any experiences of racism?

No, not so strong, just like that, young guys who but I think I didn't make very clear to express my meaning. Some people is not very friendly but everywhere is the same, sorry I think interesting experience is when we go to pay in a restaurant and the English guy speak very, very quickly, and me and my friends we ask him to say it again, and he just is so ignore us and doesn't want to say it very slow and my friend is very smart, he say a lot of Chinese, and we say in Chinese 你也聽不懂阿 (trans.- he also didn't understand), he say, say it again and we say nothing.

Thinking differently ?

Yeah, yeah, yeah, very different. Now I think there's nothing a big deal, nothing so 沒有事情是那麼困難那麼嚴重. 無所謂 (trans.- nothing is really so difficult, whatever). You have another way to live your life. The critical thinking, yeah, I think it is a good way to consider about things but you should have your own opinion, maybe some subjects, gossip news is not correct.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3

Actually I'm very care about English now, yes. (First choice 4-5.. then 3). Of course, I'm a foreigner there, maybe not so much, maybe number 3.

Did you ever think England was your home?

Yeah maybe, I like the place and I think if I have enough time to live there, I'll make another visit to there. I think only one years is not enough to best a foreign country.

Who were your friends?

Some international friends. Like the Chinese girl, Vinny.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Because my family, my home is in Taiwan, my youth is in Taiwan.

Did you ever think about staying in the UK?

No., no, at that time no, but now, if I have time and enough money, I would try to have my life in UK for a long time.

How did you feel about returning to Taiwan?

I think it is a little bit scary, because I'm more close to my home town, I'm afraid that I'm not better than before, and I'm afraid that people here doesn't like me or they want more anticipate on me but I didn't make it. And secondly, I'm afraid to go back to the company, to China airlines. And, of course I want to be close to my family but yes, and I'm actually, I'm very nervous to meet my boyfriends that time because some emails and telephone give me not good message that the feeling.

So were you with your boyfriend in England?

The same guy but I don't think it's still the same relation, the same feeling. When I come back for a long year and live here for a long year, about last year, 2005.

Did you feel sad to leave England?

Yes, little, some sad. When I get on the bus to the airport, I'm just thinking I'm leaving here, when will I come back? I didn't cry. I felt happy to leave, counting the days. At the beginning time in Cranbourne, me and my colleague, we take a calendar and we cross everything until this day we come home.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

Excited, very excited and 1 know my parents and my family are waiting for me at the airport so I want to be very fast through.

How long did you feel like this?

Of course, I feel happy, because they didn't see me for a long time, so people treat me very friendly.

Did you miss England?

No, at that time, no miss England.

Did you feel sad?

No, of course not.

Was anything strange?

Strange but familiar. Nothing made me feel uncomfortable. Oh, maybe because I live alone in the UK, and now I live with my family, more people there, it become more 熱鬧 (trans.- lively), it makes me feel better. Of course, I don't like to be alone.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself since coming back to Taiwan?

Let me think, attitude, behaviour. Of course I think yes money but it is not religion. Even more I believe in the religion, more respect and sometimes maybe the attitude to people or to the things that may happen.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Laughs... they didn't say that. And no, no, not so big change. No, but if they see some England products they will tell me, if they think about English, they think of me.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Yes, at that time, I feel slight difference. I think they are so, not very international. They look like actually, I a little bit superior to them, so what, I know it is not true, but I just think, I have lived there, of course I didn't tell them but I really feel a little bit superior. I feel more international and I can feel that they also feel that I am better than them and some people will say that they are so envious of me, they want this kind of life, and sometimes I will encourage them or push them to get this kind of experience. If I hear anyone want to go study in the UK or in foreign country, I will encourage them, push them and help them. Being more international is a good thing for my life, no problem. Maybe feeling superior means I am more English, because England is a nice country, a great country, I think I want to be born. You know China should be the same as England because they are same old and same ancient, so the same thing but it's really a pity that because of the politic, we divide, we should be together [Taiwan and China]. I now feel Taiwanese, I want the China to be Taiwan, the same freedom, the same democracy.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

Especially movies, the movies located in London, I am very happy, like Hugh Grant (laughs).

Friends you made in the UK?

No I don't see them, oh, the Taiwanese friends I will but the other foreign friends no.

With MSN?

No. But some Taiwanese people, we have met one or two times.

When you meet them, do you talk about England ?

In Chinese, yes we talk about England.

Do you plan to go back to England?

Yes, I do, if I have money.

What happened with your boyfriend?

I think it is different kind of point of view and maybe we are not so, maybe we don't have such strong feeling as before and he is emphasis his life and I am emphasis on my life and we don't want to match with each other. I met him in Taiwan we were together from about 2000 but at that time we just friends. We were together for two years and then I went to England. First of all he encourage me to go because he want to have foreign life and then eventually when the date is coming he seems a little changed, get mad easily, sometimes he doesn't want me to go, something. But I think he, the way he want to express something.

Why didn't he go with you?

No, he like a child, and very traditional and very 大男人主義 (trans.- chauvinistic).

Did he try to stop you?

He tried but maybe he think it impossible.

Did he visit?

I think at first he want to come and see me and we talk a lot and maybe he, his job is more busy at that time and he was promoted to a higher career and he always very, very busy and sometimes I want to make some complain and he says I'm too busy and doesn't have time, and I think, I'm so poor getting along in a foreign country and he didn't support me and then he say he didn't want to come to the UK because no time. And sometimes I want to share with him but he want to talk to me about his job something like that, far away.

When I came back, we were together but we go see movies and talking on telephone but I don't think I want him, I don't think I want this guy, I don't think he is the guy for me, maybe I just imagine how good it was, actually not, sometimes I just imagine when I in England he has troubles but I just lie to myself. When I come back, it is just my dream. I think I can make my life good on my own, I don't need him.

Was he sad?

Yes, and I'm sad too, but not so sad, not sad as I'm leaving Taiwan.

Was it difficult to live with your parents again when you came back?

Yes,yes,yes we have some argue period, because some habits or some living styles is not the same as I live in Taiwan before I go to the UK. Not the same, and my brother is growing up, he is going to you know 當兵 (trans.- military service), when I go to UK, he is 當兵, when I come he he 他已經當完兵 (trans.- already finished the military service). And he start to his life, he make to find a job and want to find his career, sometimes I think he is not very good to my parents, but he wants to do his own business, he met a new girlfriend and he pay more time on his girlfriend, something like that. He is my younger brother, he think I am controlling him but I just want to make him take care of my parents more, sometimes we argue and my parents say before I come back, they have everything peaceful 可能他們已經習慣了 (trans.- maybe they have already got used to my brother's behaviour) but when I come back I create a lot of problems, to be very critical so a lot of arguing happened for me, I make the family not peace. They actually they just ask me to 別關 (trans.- not get involved) the way they get together to my brother. 因為他們的習慣, 他們說沒關係 (trans.- that is their habit, they say it is no problem). OK now, because I communicate with my brother a lot of times and we think something different, and my older sister is always come to my home, and we are very close, my older sister's family and my family and my family is very close. Sometimes I think I'm too critical, to some things and I want to change it, I don't think it is good.

Do you parents allow you to be independent now?

They are very worried about my marriage, of course, they will want to see that I can find my Mr Right earlier and they will 放心 (trans.- relax).

What do you think about marriage?

Yes, because at this age of me, I should have my old family. Some points I am quite traditional, but actually I don't want to be alone, I don't think I need to have children, I don't need to have babies, but I want to have, very close friend.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 2 to 5/6

At first different (number 2) but not isolated. Now 5 or 6, because I really don't like the political, the society here, otherwise I like Taiwan very very much except all politic society, all those. Before I went to England I didn't worry about politics but now I hate it, especially in current days. I think our traditional ways or other things so perfect and several points are all so good but our government does not want to make us a better life, just want to make money for themselves only, make our society poor, this is so 太可惡拉 (trans.- disgusting). I'm care about the news here, when the news happened I will think about things according to another side from the news. I hate the news here, but I get the news from the website because they are organised. Sometimes I watch BBC but it is too difficult in English.

Has it been easy coming back into Taiwan life?

Of course it is easy.

What are your future plans?

I think if I'm lucky enough, I can marry a person I don't have to work, that is good for me. Yeah because I want to take some free job 有自由 (trans.- freedom). Have another chance to try another job, not in China airlines, yes, do not have to worry about money. Every Friday night I teach English to the elementary school, more focus on grammar, patterns.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

I should say yes because I'm luckier and better than most people especially because the job is OK and the salary is ok but the problem is that I want more.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

A very perfect thing to do, the perfect thing I have done in my life. Nothing negative, only negative thing is pay a lot of money and borrow from my parents and my savings. I don't pay back to my parents because Chinese parent are very generous to their children. If I have children, of course, I will encourage them to go abroad, and even more, I want to go with them, if I have enough money (laughs).

Fatima

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

One and a half years. I did MA Marketing. Actually one year for course and 1 spent 6 months for the dissertation so one and a half years. 我想已經回到(trans.- 1 think I have already returned to) American English. 剛剛回來的時候有比較多一點的(trans.- when I just came back, I think I had more of a) British accent 可是, 慢慢又開始回去了 (trans.- but, it slowly came back), because I used to have a very strong American accent, California accent, when I was in the UK, people say, are you American? I use to stay there for 2 and a half years.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan, 3 and a half years, three years and two months.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

San Francisco for 2 and a half years.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

因為那個時候(trans.- because at that time) I just want to recharge my batteries. That's all I can say. Been working for four and a half years in the telecom industry so too stressful.

Why the UK?

To do something for a change. For sure, the Master's is shorter in the UK.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

Sure, I thought I'd come back to Taiwan.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

How did I feel? Excited, ready for a challenge, true, it's true, after four and a half years my job wasn't challenging. Not sad to leave Taiwan, not at all. My family were very supportive.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 4 to 5

I was not Taiwanese, my past life I think, I was not really Taiwanese, and I used to (…) so that is why I think I am not that Taiwanese but on the other hand, I am Taiwanese, I am quite proud of that. All my family, most of my family is here and I love teaching Mandarin. I like teaching already Chinese who couldn't speak Chinese. I am not Buddhist, 我是基督教 (trans.- Christian).

3. Experience of Living in the UK

Excited, such in a hurry really, so many stuff I have to pack and I didn't have time.

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Finally, couldn't wait for my new life there.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

Mmm. because I've been to Europe many, many times so not that surprised. English people are not every 英國人 (trans.- English people) are gentlemen (laughs). I have stereotype, people say 英國人 (trans.- English people) they are all gentlemen but that is not true. My landlord, I need to stay a bit longer but this guy would like to have more money so that's why he would let other students stay there for another year so he make me move out and it is hard for me to find a place to stay. And unfortunately English law doesn't protect foreign students at all, not like California law. It is through the university especially this guy worked for the university. I did meet a lot of good people though.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

Other students, foreign students, one from Thailand, the other from Kuwait. Nice people.

Any Taiwanese?

No.

Who did you spend your time with?

With the French people, my best friend 是一個法國人 (trans.- is French).

Any English friends?

Yes, language teacher.

And your course?

Yes, yes, but not really that close compared to my French and other friends.

Are English difficult to be friends with?

No, not really, 他們請我去他們的家 (trans.- they invited me to their house), stay there for three four days. 我去那個 (trans.- I went to) York, 那個 (trans.- that) Brighton, with English people.

Any bad experiences with English people?

Yes, strangers I felt racist. Younger people, probably under 25, but they were drunk so what can I do?

How did that make you feel?

美國比較好 (trans.- America is better), in some way I can say I will see you in court, but in 英國 (trans.- England) I can't. It's really hard to say good or bad.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Of course, definitely Taiwanese not Chinese. Some people from Mainland China they were a little bit too aggressive when we talking about Taiwan and China. We argue for sure. I don't like to argue but I need to speak out for Taiwanese people, we have to let them know, not just be quiet, no way, especially when we are in a foreign country. I am not Taiwan independence but they all say Taiwan is China, say it belongs to them.

Did you have any Chinese friends?

Sure, but not the first year, when I went back for my dissertation I met some 中國大陸朋友 (trans.- Mainland Chinese friends).

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yeah, in some ways yes, because I read English magazine, English music, each English TV, I'd say the environment make me especially I changed accent I would say, the accent changed. Going to 那個 (trans.- that) pub, drinking which I didn't do in Taiwan before. It is really nice, English pub, with your friends and have a drink. In Taiwan it is totally different when you drink, people will think you are bad. Taiwan 酒巴 (trans.- drinking bar) is not like bar in England. They are full of loser 老外 (trans.- foreigners).

Did you become less Taiwanese?

In some way yes, maybe thinking, I believe in angels for sure, Christmas you see special programme talking about angels, before in the states, in Taiwan I didn't believe in angels, now I do. I went to church in the UK every Sunday in the beginning but later no. My mother's side is 基督教 (trans.- Christian). I some way probably this makes me outside Taiwan society.

Was the UK your home?

Not really (laughs).

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 2

People remind you that you are a foreigner in some ways, I was in shock, when I was in the States I didn't feel that way. People ask me directions when they are lost. Couple of times.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

I finish my, I got my, I just turn in my dissertation, done, sure. I didn't want to stay any longer... sorry (laughs), I'd rather go back to San Francisco, that's after I stay there for one and a half years in [UK city]. It's not that bad. Much better than Birmingham I think. 我有兩個(trans.- I have two) choice, [UK city] and Birmingham, Birmingham not nice too much crime.

How do you feel when you are leaving England?

Finally (laughs), no actually I would like to stay there a bit longer with my friends. Sad to leave my friends, and [UK city] 很漂亮 (trans.- very beautiful) actually, take a walk by the sea. The harbour right. I cook every day to relieve my stress.

Was the UK stressful?

Oh, for sure, very, very stressful. I had a friend who had problems in the UK, the second semester because not a long break, this guy couldn't stand it any more and become cuckoo, Taiwanese, the only Taiwanese on the course, so I did support him but nothing I could do, he need to go and see a doctor you know. 真的很可憐 (trans.- really unfortunate), after he said I will continue to study PhD, we say huh.

And you?

No, 有的時候我想我一定 (trans.- sometimes I think I must) must be out of my mind, 真的 (trans.- really).

Leaving Heathrow on the airplane, how do you feel?

Relief, you know why, I have so many stuff, more than 70 kilos, three or four, I didn't have to pay extra, I was lucky, Eva, very very nice to Taiwanese and a lot of Taiwanese people, help them for sure. British Airways, evil airline. You are lucky you have a Taiwan 太太 (trans.- wife) but I sure you are not like the other English guys, very narrow minded. Typical Taiwanese are also narrow-minded and more conservative and traditional. I am not typical Taiwanese.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I very happy, very very happy. No feeling sad, not at all, and finally Taiwanese, 台灣話 (trans.- Taiwanese language).

Did you feel like a foreigner when you came back?

No, no, because I'm Taiwanese.

What did you find easier, going to the UK or coming back to Taiwan? Why?

Erm, To me I would say almost the same, no, no really, no different. The only difference is 我有那個(trans.- I had) jetlag and the motorcycle wake me up 一個月(trans.- one month), finally it is jetlag. The only complaint, too noisy.

Did you live with your parents again?

Yes, nothing I could do, They are very typical parents, very 囉唆 (trans.-nagging). Especially mother. 想你媽媽很囉唆 (trans.- like your mother in law is nagging), I still live there now.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself since coming back to Taiwan?

Not really, getting fatter probably (laughs). 在英國(trans.- in England) if you fine but after you came back... wooo. I miss the oven, in Taiwan there is not oven, very very different, not really hard to get the ingredients but the price is ridiculous.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Not really, no change, not really with relationships.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Of course, very, very different. Way of thinking, sometimes it is hard for me to communicate with them. You cannot blame them right, they have never been Europe, so I've been there more than 10 times, of course we are different in some ways, but I will tell myself I need to be even more humble. The more you see the more you say I'm not like that. Some people become 驕傲 (trans.- arrogant) but that is not right.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

Sure. Email. With French people, Greek people. Greeks are very very friendly, hopefully I will go and see them.

Now you are working at a language school?

我的興趣 (trans.- my hobby) hobby you know is enjoy teaching. In Taiwan we don't have that kind of Marketeer position, having a Master's from a foreign company, too be honest I am waiting for an opportunity so one day I can put myself into practice. They don't understand, they ask what are you doing here, that is not fair, what is wrong with it, I used to work for a company but if it doesn't make you happy, why do you need to stay there. This job, the people, the pressures, they say, you can do better, just a language teacher. I get extra pressure because I have a Master's. Everybody gives me pressure, colleagues, family, friends, my boss here.

How about money?

Of course I love money but it is not that important actually I study, I travel it is OK. If you work in a company you have no time to teach Chinese for sure. I can choose not to marry. I have been here for more than 3 years.

Have you been back to the UK?

No,

Do you plan to?

Yes, but 很貴，飛機票很貴 (trans.- very expensive, the flight ticket is very expensive). But I went to Prague last year. 因為我很喜歡旅行 (trans.- because I love to travel).

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 6

I would say easy to get back in to the culture. I wouldn't say I'm more Taiwanese than before I'd say it's normal right. I appreciate Taiwan more now after the UK. I appreciate San Francisco more, I would say it is my second home, 我有一個 (trans.- I have a) godmother there. I would say 英國人 (trans.- English people) have age discrimination. If you are a mature student, they expect more, they can tolerate teenagers make mistakes but... my last landlady said you must be crazy, you graduate form bachelor's degree, that's ridiculous. What about English, all the courses for Master's are all international students, where are the English.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

OK. I would say, 8 out of 10. Before I went to UK probably 7.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

It's a good idea for sure. To get to know English people and 英國 (trans.- England) or Scotland 很漂亮(trans.- is beautiful), to travel. Nothing negative, even the landlord 是不好的人 (trans.- is a bad person) but it is OK.

Jill

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

Eight and a half years, September 23rd 1996 till January 9th 2005. I remember when I went and I remember when I came back.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

2 years ago.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

Japan for one year before the UK.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

I went to Scotland to study Scots, I think three years before that I went to Scotland to travel and I heard Gaelic and I began being interested in it so I looked around and I ended up applying to study Scots. It was a curiosity, I wanted to learn more about that language, that place, languages in that place.

Why Scotland?

I was travelling alone in Scotland after going to Japan and I've always been interested in languages, that's why I pay attention to that and it made me want to go back. I couldn't tell the difference between Scots and English. Scottish people can, I can't, I don't know why. It's a bit like Taiwanese and Mandarin, if you speak both languages, you know which one is Mandarin and which one is Taiwanese but if you don't, it's confusing.

Also the other reason was, I think I didn't finish the first year because I didn't have any background of Scots so they asked me to do a study for the first year and I made it through Scots 1, Modern Scots, just like regular exchange students, they have to do three modules and that was my condition at the time, I didn't even understand that. Then I went to another class which is sociolinguistics I think so the terms were that I would continue for three courses and pass them then I could do a post graduate degree in Scots, but I didn't finish them.

The reason I went was because I was interested in languages.

Also I was running away from home. It was quite bad actually, I think it was 1996, it was the year, I was actually supposed to go in 95, I got my offer in 95 but at the time I was seeing a doctor and he told me to put it off, I was having session with him, I was having a really bad depression but I didn't believe him, I said I have to go and I'd rather die in Scotland so I remember it was October 3rd, I wrote some articles about this, it was October 3rd 1995 and the week before he said to me we met every Friday afternoon at the time and he said you can't go, you'll die in Scotland or you won't complete your degree anyway, I said it doesn't matter I'm going and he said see you next Friday and I said Friday I';; be in Scotland, but I couldn't, just on the way to the airport, I figured something out and I say ok I'll stay for another year so yes, at the time I was having depression for the previous few years but that year 1996 was particularly bad because I stayed and had a session in more depth, so that was the other reason I wanted to go, leave actually.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I didn't plan to come back. It didn't matter where it led me, it didn't matter if I stayed in Scotland or I went somewhere else but I didn't mean to come back here, home.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Freedom. Relief. Freedom from, I thought I was going to be free from depression and from the reason of it (silence)... I think various problems, things you pick up when you grow up and didn't realise it and it just came out and it came out in my first, in the last year of university, bang and then it came out, and I was in shock I think, I didn't know, I never knew I wasn't happy before. And then one day I started crying non-stop and I still couldn't figure out what the trigger was and I wrote a series of article about the process and 15 years and I still couldn't remember what triggered it, I was happy, I was in my final year, I was with my first boyfriend and there was nothing particularly serious in my life at the time, it's like somebody set off the alarm clock without you knowing and one day (wooo).

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CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 4

I think half and half, I was very bound by the sort of things that grew up with me but I was also very, I had a longing, I had a familiarity towards Western culture and being studying English languages and stuff and I think I was fluent in English from a very early age sort of without knowing why. I just pick up languages very quickly, apart from Scots and Gaelic. I even studied Finnish before, it's very interesting and one of the most interesting languages in the world. I enjoyed it. My major was in languages, in English, but I was pretty crap at school. I wasn't the best of students, I was never, I was just never, I couldn't be bothered with the English literature, it was too difficult for me at the time to read. I remember reading Wuthering Heights when I was in [UK city] and I was fine, I was in the whole book you know but when I read ten fifteen years ago I just couldn't be bothered because the language was different and unless you've been there and you've been to a variety of the languages and that sort of thing you can't really begin to appreciate it and I think Wuthering Heights in English was too much for a university student to appreciate.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

It wasn't too bad because someone was sitting next to me and she was studying in [UK city], can you believe it, I sat next to a girl who was studying in [UK city] at the time and we were chatting all the way there and she told me to come visit, so I actually visit her in [UK city] the first week I was in Britain. I didn't know anyone else in the UK. I must have felt, like I say, freedom and release and I was an experienced traveller by the time and I'd been to Edinburgh before and so I wasn't really that, the first thing I did was to find a bed and breakfast because I went before the university accommodation happened so I spent four days in bed and breakfast and doing shopping and stuff. It made me feel normal, because I went to a new place where nobody knew me and that was a good thing.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

The air was different. I have to say people in Edinburgh are quite different from people from the rest of Britain, years later I realised I think Edinburgh being a city with so many tourists, they are more open to international students, they are used to international students, they are used to foreigners, they are just lovely to foreigners, they are very open minded whereas when I went to [UK city], the experience was quite different but Edinburgh made me feel very welcome.

I think that, I'm not sure if it is culture concern or value concern or because of culture is different or the value is different but they are all bound together and it was something to learn, for example when I came back to Taiwan, I went to open a bank account, it took three hours or two hours and they asked me to stay there to wait and I thought can I not come back later or can you not call me up or send it to my flat when it is ready and they said no, no it will be ready in a minute whereas in the UK you are used to being sent home and they say we'll put it in the post, that's a big difference, I'm still not used to how efficient everything is here and that part of the UK is something to get used to, you go to the bank or the go to the shop and it takes forever. And the way people do things, they only serve one people at a time and that was very different. They form a queue differently; a queue is a queue, not seven queues. They are also other differences that are due to I think the culture difference or because of values, they want to treat you as a customer and that's why they don't serve two people at the same time and they don't pretend they are smart enough to serve two people at the same time, that's something I can think of now. Also the way they see law, a law is a law, if you, if someone else breaks a law, there is no excuse for it, other people won't go on and try to explain for him or try to find excuses for him, if you broke the law then you broke the law, you have to accept it and being punished, the attitude towards the legal system is very different, the value of law is much more higher in the UK and therefore people behave differently, they abide law I think, not everyone, I'm not saying everyone is the perfect citizen but it does have a deeper root in the society and therefore influence people's behaviour. And the distance between people are further, not further, maybe further I think when I first saw it I thought it was further but there is a certain distance between people there and later on I think it was a kind of social class but there is almost a certain kind of distance according to how well you know each other and you have this distance, you can't see but it's there and you won't break that distance unless you go upgrade yourself and become a different kind of friend, it's an invisible glass there something there, something you don't I couldn't see at the beginning because people be very kind to you which could be misleading because they could be so friendly and you thought you know you are such a good friend and there is no boundary between your friendship which is wrong because you still you don't know each other, or even if someone very friendly invites you to their house it doesn't mean you can just do whatever because in Taiwan I think it is very easy to misunderstand that because if you are close then you can be rude.

It is something I found really difficult to get used to when I came back because in England or in the UK, you get used to thinking that the law is a sort of honour, you abide by the law not because you get punished but because you don't want to be someone who is breaking the law and it is an honour to yourself, a respect to yourself, I came to think that, but here people don't care, I think there isn't, maybe it's not about the law, it's about not having enough self-respect because I don't do, I don't run red lights because I'm afraid of being caught or not because the law says no, I have enough respect to say well I shouldn't do that then. But people here don't get their values from self-respect, there is a gap between a law is a law and we are us.

I think we haven't grown up yet, we are like 40ish and Denmark, Denmark is on TV now they been talking about how advanced and developed they are they are like those 60s boring pension countries, we are like 40ish, we know better but it doesn't mean we do better, we are still trying to learn our values and law is one thing. Actually we are still growing up, Taiwan is like 18 year old, old enough to know better but not behaving properly. Politicians should grow up, you know.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

There were three stages, the first stage, all the friends I had were international students, and then the second stage, because of what I was studying, most people I knew were from Taiwan because my classmates and after they left all I had left were English friends. I studied Chinese-English translation in [UK city], that was a Master's degree. Mostly Taiwanese, occasional one or two Mainland Chinese, I think I remember one but she didn't stay long. I also went and started working at the university so I met local people, [UK city] people. And also because I was in contact with other friends I've met from Edinburgh area and I was still in contact with them.

Was it easy to make friends with local people?

I think most of them I met, my best friend I met in research class, he became my best friend and others I met, other good friends, at work from working in the admission office at the time I think I started working there 2003 or something, I can't remember, but I worked at the university for quite some time. That was a very English environment, working in the university, Christmas parties and birthdays and that sort of stuff, I feel that I fitted in alright because I could never have fitted in completely, a) I was still a student, I worked part-time sometimes, sometimes I worked full hours, sometimes I worked part-time but my age, I was similar age to them or even older than them so my role in there was kind of funny, and also because I think that was the main thing, if I wasn't a student, I could probably blended in and pretended I was English or something but that wasn't something I did but yes I made some good friends at work.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

I didn't really, the company ask me silly questions because we were handling application forms from all over the world and the company would ask me what does that mean, but most of the time I didn't feel that I was someone else from a different country probably because I just I'm probably because I really did blend in, I don't know, dying for a drink Thursday night, go out on Friday night get pissed and end up with a pizza and kebab or something. Should be English person.

Have you been watching the news?

Oh about Jade Goody, I miss that really Big Brother, silly and funny. The politics here in Taiwan upsets me, sad.

Did you feel Taiwanese?

Not towards the end, no. I feel a bit sad in the supermarket or something because where I live, it was only towards the end that the population became different but for many years I was the only Asian looking, even different looking person in my neighbourhood and they got used to me but at the beginning I didn't know anyone, I lived in a residential area on my own and went to the supermarket and people are like "you're funny here, why are you here?". You know when you appear to be the only one of something everywhere...

You know Taiwanese say Chinese people are funny, they recognise each other and they know instantly if they are Chinese or not.

Did you ever have any experiences where people weren't nice to you?

A few times yes, verbal abuse from kids but I can't really remember, don't remember bad memories. I thought this is quite normal really, I think compared to others, as far as I know I haven't been through too much really. I've been quite unbothered thankfully.

I did feel proud, towards the end I became really proud, once I realised how little people know about Taiwan and how often people confuse us with Chinese and Thailand, I made a point to let them know that we are not Chinese and actually towards the end, all my workmates they know that I feel offended being called Chinese or mistaken as Chinese, they knew that they've been to one of my lectures, called why, the reason why I'm not Chinese. Proud to be Taiwanese.

We are rich, we are highly educated, we don't behave, we behave badly, like kids and we have servants from other countries, we pay them badly and we treat them badly and we don't have self-esteem, we look down on ourselves and we fight all the time, psychotic country.

Why no self-esteem?

Because we've been abused the whole time, we thinking we don't deserve to be Taiwanese, there are no such think as Taiwanese, being Taiwanese is equal to being a slave. When you have been abused for long enough, you stop believing that you deserve to be yourself. Some people call it Stockholm syndrome, I think we are just more psychotic really.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

I think some out of necessity, you know food, you know how some Taiwanese, they live abroad and they refuse to eat English food and those things but I think the last five years or so, food wise I was very English, I enjoyed a good roast dinner and I even made roast dinner myself and I enjoyed the English cuisine and stuff and how bad it was (laughs). I didn't quite understand why some people, they had to live there and they insisted on having Chinese food every day and they insist that their stomach won't get used to it or something like that, I couldn't understand that. I think I've changed quite a bit but I think that is just out of necessity but I think that if you are open-minded to begin with you won't have problem with that, but I have to say that miss fish and chips but I reckon I am not the only one, because I've heard that from other people too, but that is out of necessity and out of maybe admiration or something better I would say something to do with the law or order or there is something in that society that the respect and that I would veer to out of desire and to think well that makes, if doing that makes me a better person then why not, if doing that makes me feel better about myself then why not for example driving, or something like that. But deep down I think the whole process was an education, not an education to be a better self but an education to get to know myself to re-evaluate my own values. I have a combination of Taiwanese and English values and which ones do I keep, which ones do I throw out, it's a process of searching for myself and to know what I want for myself.

What Taiwanese values do you think you have kept?

You have to define first what is the Taiwanese value and what is the English value, it's not that I didn't keep it, it's just that I didn't have any use to it in England. For example the relationship with my parents, I didn't have to use that when I was in England but once I was back in Taiwan, they came back to my life again and the Taiwanese or the English value, for example, if I try to stick to the speed limit, I keep being overtaken endlessly. So I would love to keep the best from the both worlds but in reality they don't work like that so occasionally I do miss the how I behave in England. I miss drinking; I haven't had a proper drink for ages. I think at the beginning because I was in Scotland and I was doing (xxx) that was the second year, the first year was relatively quiet, the second year I went to study I did a Master in (xxx) and there were loads of international students coming to Scotland for a bit of excitement and every Thursday night we went to the pub and tried to be Scottish, drank ourselves to death and you start to sort of liberate yourself from drinking and trying to understand why Scottish people do that or the British you know, that's the young way of integrating yourself to another life and later on it became a way of life I did it because well if it helps me to relax and unwind, out of necessity really. Thursday and Friday night. It just became a way of life, if you have something to celebrate, go to the pub, you have a row with your boyfriend, you go to the pub with your friends or if you are going shopping you stop at the pub for a drink, you drive in the countryside, you stop for lunch in the pub, it just becomes part of life really, it's not something particularly you have to try to do, it's like that. But why do Taiwanese go to KTV and lock themselves in a room and sing to a machine, unwind I guess. I did throw up once. I think as far as I know most students, the pub culture in Britain, I mean we call it pub here in Taiwan but it is completely different culture, it's been transformed into something completely different and the pub culture I miss is the one with good roast dinner and pudding and drink in the afternoon, summer afternoon. Summer afternoons outside and having a breeze and having some fun and winter, next to a fire open fire. I remember quite a few occasions I was in a pub on my own and just sat next to the fire reading and having a drink.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

I don't believe that you can one day become completely English, especially at such an age, picture 5 or 6 with a bit of Taiwan left, for survival.

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 5/6

I felt freer in the UK, I had no family there, I have to say it was a tremendous freedom.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

I ran out of money. If it was time, then it was time. Before I left the UK, I felt a bit, probably unsettled but sort of desperate to do it because so many years ago I thought I wasn't going to ever going to come back but then I couldn't escape destiny and a bit unsettled because I knew it would take me a long time to get used to life here but I had accepted it and something happened in my life and I have to say I think I also felt brave that I didn't run away again from the decision. It's quite something when you try so hard to run away and be able to return so complex feeling. I had to ship back 650 kilos. Not a lot of furniture I can't understand why it is so much, 450 oh I have a list, they made me make a list for declaring or something and I made a list, 450 books I remember, a desk, a bookcase, a chair. Not antique (laughs) Ikea furniture or something,

Why did you want to bring all the furniture back?

The bookcase, I put it up myself 2 years ago on Christmas. I think there was something there were two easy of back you either hire boxes, 7 boxes for £100 or something or you do what I did and at that time I like my desk, it took me ages to find, I went to office and all the furniture shops to find that proper big enough desk and the bookcase I put up myself one Christmas and also my things from the kitchen, my pots, very expensive pots, I saw them in Sogo the other day, 8000 NT$ for one pot, that French thing. And tremendous amount of books.

Did you think about coming back to Taiwan before you left?

Think about what? I have to say because by that time my relationship with my parents had repaired quite a lot and I wasn't that apprehensive in that respect and also because I'd been living on my own for so many years it was quite an excitement to do something new although I didn't quite know what was coming. At least at the time I thought I was having the sort of a warm family again, for years I was living like an orphan or something, so it was a bit excitement, just a bit but of course I'd miscalculated.
I did come back in between for a few weddings and stuff.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I cried. I always cried at the airport when we landed. I didn't cry to leave the UK, never. Probably would jokingly say I was a cold hearted bitch (laughs). I was just came to a point where there was no point feeling sorry for something you can't have and if it's a life you are not meant to have then it's no point feeling sad.

Did you leave many friends behind?

No not really, they had all gone back to Germany or something. It just didn't help, crying wasn't going to change anything. Crying when I got back to Taiwan was a natural expression of emotion. First few weeks I just felt like a foreigner and my mum treated me like a foreigner she couldn't stop telling people, explaining to people she just got back from the UK, she's lived there for 8 and a half years, I had to stop her every time she tried that, every time we went out shopping and buy things I ask her a question and she has to explain to the shop keeper, oh she don't know that, she's new here, put it badly like a dog who just won a prize, you know like the thing in the language, she was trying to say that she wasn't trying to say look at my daughter, she just came back from the UK, proudly bragging, and oh god. I think she was just really pleased, I don't know about her but maybe she never thought I would ever come back either. The first few months, she was just saying that to people a few months ago, ah she lived in the UK for eight and a half years and I have to stop her.

How long did you feel like a foreigner?

You know what, it didn't last very long because I started travelling very soon and once you started travelling back the other side you can feel like there is something else, she can drive on the other side, no problem but what was the question?

What was different about Taiwan?

I didn't know how to get into queues. I was just wait at the back and waiting for them to say come on and then I walk forward but other people always jumping in so for ages I just couldn't get into queues and what didn't that happen to you? I'll be waiting like two steps back cos that's the proper distance you keep with the people in front of you in the UK and also I talk very, I don't speak in loud voices, and I couldn't stand it people shouting at me or if people who serve went to serve other people I couldn't stand it, I felt very offended and I couldn't stand bad service or being rude, it's pretty bad actually for the first two months I kept saying to people: can I speak to your supervisor please? I think they treat you better if you are white.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

I think the thing is they used to me being different and sometimes they laugh if I say something and they laugh, they say you are just being English but apart from that not a great deal, for example I still keep the, you know how some people, some Taiwanese people they insist, even in England, even in Britain they couldn't change the habit of taking a shower before going to bed and I just totally messed up, I have shower sometimes in the morning, sometimes before bed or whenever during the day sometimes but I think it's partly like that and on some level I just unleash myself and I just don't care about the Taiwanese tradition or the English tradition, it's about being me, I don't care where that comes from it's me now, doesn't matter when I have a shower as long as I have one, in a way my life has become like that and I think it's to do with what I said before about finding myself and at some level it doesn't matter being English or Taiwanese, it only matters being me, so I think that's ok next one.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

It's a very bad question, I'm different anyway. I have a client and she did a Master's in Manchester and we spoke on the phone one day and she said oh she was going back, it's very weird, I think she's been back for probably over a

year or something and she says I'm going back to England and we were talking about, we having this conversation about what to buy or when she is going or when she is changing plane or something and it's sort of you immediately form this bond together and oh you are form the same group even though I've only been to Manchester once and even though our experiences might have been completely different, as far as I know it must have been completely different but there is still something that makes you feel like you belong to that group so in a way I mean I'm always different from people no matter they been to study in another country or not but

How about people who have been to the US?

I can't remember. I had a friend, I had two friends and I think being in the UK the one difference I know from studying in the UK and studying the US is because America is such a big country and everything they look inward, everywhere they go is America whereas once you stay in the UK you get used to looking outwards because you go to Europe and I think that's what I get from I don't know everyone who been who ended up being like this but I do feel a lot more open minded myself than before. Not in terms of watching BBC24 or watching CNN I think that is quite pretentious. Depends what I listen to, I mean if I want to listen to radio, I listen to Radio 2.

Attitude towards Thais/Filipinos in Taiwan, has that changed at all?

Well apart from reading about those people because I've never been there, I've never been to Thailand apart from changing planes, actually I've been to Bangkok airport several times but I've never been to Thailand, it's just not a country I'm personally interested in knowing or I thought would be able to inspire me, it's not that Western culture is so much more superior, that I was affected, it's to do with whether a culture is inspiring or not so up to each individual.

Have you been back to the UK?

Twice, I went back to have my viva. My viva got resubmission just before we met. Went back, I just needed a break. Saw some friends. I have a friend who lives in Bishop's Stortford and also I went to London to meet with other friends.

I was just writing about that the other day because people keep asking me that, keep asking do you miss UK do you want to go back or something and once someone wrote me email and asked me that and I said you ask me if I miss the UK, do salmon go back to the upstream to give birth, do bird fly south for the winter, it's not a question of missing or not, it's a question of you feel the need to visit but since then, I've become a heartless bitch, it's too hard to miss something or someone and can't have it.
It's my past and I want to look into my future now it was something I went to December I went to Japan to meet a friend and I went to Hokkaido for a few days and I was coming out from, it was so Christmassy the whole city, it was just before Christmas and it was dressing up just like Christmas in [UK city] or any British city and I was coming out from Starbucks with a cup of coffee and I was standing in front of the train station and you know how streets in front of train station are trees and I thought that is UK and I thought, I'm not going back, I was doing a (**) and I though, I'm going to my future.

How long did it take you to feel like that?

I spent the first year missing the UK, especially during winter when I didn't have Ribena. They got that in Singapore so I'm going to get some in Singapore, the proper one. And Marmite. My niece, I think she is part of the reason I've felt the changes because she has grown up so much and I've become a loaded aunt, because I started writing a blog I think five months after I came back so it was June 2004 so I got used to writing stuff and that's what I wrote that day in Japan just decided probably it's been going on for a while I just didn't realise that but that particular day I just thought that was my past and I wasn't going to you know walk into that street and just because I missed Britain, I just decide I'm going to get back to my books and get on with the future, that's very British I thought, just get on with it. It took nearly two years to get to that point, quite a long time isn't it

Was coming back positive or negative in general?

I have to pick one? If I consider the whole experience of coming back to Taiwan and coming home then it has a very negative feeling as if I've come back to where I started but if I see it in a way that this is just another stop I'll be going somewhere else in the future then this is just a stopping point, this is somewhere to stay for a while, no different from the UK or anywhere, [UK city] or wherever I stayed before.

Your plans for the future?

It's not that I'm actively planning something to go somewhere, I mean I do have that thought at the beginning but it just occurred to me that this was a new country to me two years ago and I'm getting used to it now and I'm getting to integrating to this society again or how different it is from the life I had when I first went to Britain, it's the same thing all over again only maybe this time I'm not sure even slower or faster some things I feel I still can't get used to

like I say coughing and spitting and traffic and so why do I have to put a label on it just because this is where I grew up and I have to put a label on it, this is returning home and I just making a stop.

Coughing and spitting, did you notice this before the UK?

It's very Chinese, they do it all over China and it's very Chinese habit. I think the thing about being polite is you don't know how impolite one is until you see how far it can go to the other extent, if you only seen impolite people all your life then you are not bothered because they are all around you but it's only when you've seen how polite other people are and you think Oh my God can people live like that.

Do you have any contact with friends in the UK?

Yes, sometimes, we are all grown ups, we don't talk about the past a great deal.

Are you still interested in news in the UK?

To be honest, not any more, I used to I'm not sure, it's not I'm not sure if it is to do with England particularly but I was really excited when I found out that channel 4 put their news on the internet because I really like John Snow and I had a good cry when I heard Hammond, you know the guy who had a crash, I had a good cry when I heard he was in a crash cos last time I went to Britain I saw one episode they were doing so such stupid silly things I just couldn't stop laughing for an hour. They turned three cars into boats and as I say I was really excited I thought I was going to watch it every day and for a while I watch it every day, Channel 4 news and very often I just listen to Radio 2 and sometimes I put the replay and listen to yesterday afternoon Steve Wright in the afternoon at 2 o'clock and then I thought I was just kidding myself, even if I listen to them, I mean I did enjoy listening to them and it couldn't, it doesn't erase the fact that I'm not there any more. I know a lot of people listening to the BBC on the internet and they call in and they write in and say oh we are listening here in Barcelona or something but I'm different, I'm not British, I mean are British, they can listen to the Radio, but what they are talking about has nothing to do with me any more, it doesn't concern my daily life any more and one point I just went stop pretending I guess.

Do you watch Taiwanese news now?

Apparently yes, because I write critics sometimes, not critics but I write comments sometimes, like I said before psychotic, people who need treatment. It is very disturbing, very unprofessional It's just like a kid with a minicam, anything, just anything that has got blood or sex or scandal, let's put it on. Or price, how much is this, how much is that, your mother-in-law must have got that from TV, they do that on the news all the time, how much is this, how much is that, how much is the iPod, how much it would have cost, how much is it going to cost and every time I turn it on I thought oh give me a break, I don't want to know.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

Oh, when I first came back, probably that one (4), oh I went back to very first one, isn't that the same one I picked, so I've made no improvement. Now, probably that one (5). I don't think I will ever be completely integrated to any society any more, I think from now on it's more important to be me than to be part of anything. It's not much a decision as a discovery. We are all countries although I don't really know what it means, it's in English patient, she said that but it's not in the book and I don't really I'm not sure I know it means but I like the sound of it. I think it probably means, to me to see yourself as an individual rather than an attachment to anything. I'm a freak. What do you expect, I live in a small flat on my own outside in the coast where the population is probably three thousand, I don't go out of the flat for about 4 days in a row and I only go out, I don't even have internet connection there, and I only go out to chat to people when I go out to shopping otherwise I don't talk all day, what do you expect?

Do you like that lifestyle?

Yes, I think it's heaven. I haven't spoken in English for ages, I haven't spoken in such length for ages. Strangely I don't miss it, I thought I'd miss speaking English, I was just quite alright not to say anything. Have I not dropped any accent ?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 4/5

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

Quite happy. I'm quite pleased with my, I think I've this so recurring theme, the whole experience I've been through 15 years of the whole depression thing, it affecting me for about 15 years and being in the UK was a big part of it and at the end it was not so much that depression was cured but I really had truly found myself and I listened to my own voice and I looked into my what I wanted and follow my heart and I think that is why I'm happy, I'm not looking forward to hearing the news of my PhD, I'm not sure if I want to know, it would be nice but I'd be under the pressure of going out for a teaching job which is lot more pay but I'm not sure if I'll be happy there and I used to buy a lot of books when I went to the bookshop and now I don't have to buy anything because I'm asked to, people pay me to

read and write and I like to read and write and life couldn't get better than that. Also materialistic desire, because I wanted to buy the flat next door to knock it through and I could only afford it if I went into teaching, also holidays, three month holidays and stuff. My dad says I'm a labourer.

My relationship with my parents has reversed, I've become the caretaker and they've become the cared.
For the last three years I think I've come to realise to help her in some ways, she was in very bad health two years ago and living with old people makes you you don't, you're not afraid of death any more, living with old people you see how they fade every day and you think if I die the only thing I ask for is die in peace, you know about Chinese, they curse people, 你不得好死 (trans.- you don't die well) you don't die well, that's a real curse, because there is a peaceful death and there's a painful death and most people in our age, at our age, we don't care about that but when they are that age, 70s and they facing death on their face every day, they fear a painful death. They only say age gracefully in English, they don't say die gracefully in English. I think what I've been trying to do is to help her age gracefully really.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

It was a must thing to do. Oh God, I wish it never happened, I would have been married and had kids by now, not good, no (ironically).

Jimmy

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

Two and a half years. The first half a year I was studying in language school and then nothing to do for half a year. Just stay in homestay and do some travelling around Europe and then I went to university in July 2004. 3 months BUPEP (presessional English course) and then started university (MA Information Systems Management).

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

9 months ago.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

I think after the military service and then I start to think about my future. The first choice is to just go find a job and the second I was thinking like go abroad to get a degree and to let my English become better than before so I just want to improve my English. So go abroad you can get a degree, you can improve your English, I think that is way I decided to go abroad.

And why did you want to improve your English?

I think English is like an international language and then if you have English skill you can communicate with other people and I think it is quite good for your job and for your future if you want to go to like a manager role, if you want to get a good job, I think the English is a basic skill for the people in Taiwan, maybe you can say for the people in the all over the world.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

First I was thinking like to find a job, stay in the UK but that is really difficult for the foreign people to stay in the UK because in the working permit to stay in the UK so I gave up and I come back to Taiwan. But I wanted to stay in the UK. Especially because of the pub (laughs).

Why did you want to stay in the UK?

Actually because I think the life in the UK is not like in Taiwan, like in Taiwan people rush every time and you need to work overtime and you don't have holidays, just a little bit, and too much stress, that will make you sick. The UK is a good environment, fresh air and I think most I like is the life is relaxed, there is no stress and also you can have a good job I think.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Leaving Taiwan I was felt, I think I feel quite exciting because the new environment and new things and I will meet new people yes so everything's new. So I feel exciting and looking forward to see England.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 6

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Err.. (pause) let me think.... I think I feel everything is new, first week I stay in my friend's house in London and then you know I never been to London before so I feel everything is new, everything exciting, the bus is different, the street view is different yes, quite new.

Did you feel home sick at all, sad or anything?

No (laughs), because in Taiwan I used to live outside, rent a house by myself and not with my family and military service for almost two years, I just come back every week or every month so I didn't feel homesick when I was in the UK.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

Ok first I would say the people in England is more relaxed, you can see the people walking on the street it is totally different, they are not in a rush, they walk slowly and probably I would say many people are friendly probably like er older people they are quite friendly and compared to Taipei everybody is in a rush and you can see people are not friendly like twenty years ago in Taiwan, so it is quite different.

What about younger people in the UK?

Ha (laughs) they are quite rude, to be honest (feels uncomfortable), I don't know why, sometimes they probably think you are not English you are from other country and younger people they are not polite to foreign people, I don't know why. They are always threatening and it's quite rude actually.

Did you have any bad experiences?

Er yeah, when you are walking on the street and you just pass by and then they throw something to us, when you walk alone. But I just think this is especially for the young people.

And how did that make you feel?

I feel not comfortable and I feel like I'm not in my country and they don't think you belong to this country and they don't like you.

So did you find it difficult to be part of UK society?

But if (thinks) for like my English classmates they are quite nice so probably because if you are walking on the streets, if you don't know the people, I mean probably like the teenagers, they are not nice at all. My English classmates, like if you have any problems, they will help you and then they are quite nice and then they decide to, if you have got any problems in the class, they will help you and they will try to make you understand. You know, because English is not our first language sometimes we don't understand or people speak faster. They were about 30, 40, no teenagers.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

The first one and a half year I stayed with my host family, it's like one couple and two kids, English. And then the last year I stayed with another family, one couple and one little girl. I think that is the very good experience that I will never ever forget live with English family.

Did you find that you were part of the family or outside the family?

I think the first host family, I think they treat me like a part of their family so I am very pleased and glad to stay with them because I think they make me feel like I'm part of the family and they take me to the supermarket and every weekend I go out with the family, yeah, it's quite nice.

Did you have any English friends?
Yeah, yeah I did.

Who did you spend most of your time with?

For the first host family I think I spent most of the time with the family and then the second host family I think I spent most of the time with my classmates.

And where were they from, the classmates?

From Europe, and Thailand, my girlfriend was from Thailand and some other Taiwanese friends.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Pauses (difficult question) I think the life in the UK, for me, when I was studying in language school and stayed with the first host family, I think I'm like an English because I didn't go out with, actually I can say I didn't have any Taiwanese friends by that time, I just spend all the time with my host family, my classmates from Brazil, from Colombia, from Saudi Arabia. And then I start my Master's course so I got to know more people from Taiwan and then probably you can say like more international students from Asia and so I start to speak Chinese because you know if you are the same nationality yeah.. so like for the last year I didn't feel I think I can say I felt I'm more like Taiwanese.

How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

I think I've been proud to be a Taiwanese.

Did anyone ever call you Chinese?

Actually I don't... this is quite difficult.... (laughs uncomfortably) actually I prefer to be called Taiwanese. Yeah. I had friends from mainland China and they are annoying because they always ask you... are you Chinese? But I don't think they, it is quite difficult to distinguish, like I always say I'm from Taiwan, I don't think I'm Chinese. I say I'm from Taiwan.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes, like errrr.... For example like in Taiwan people are shy to express your feelings, but I think like er when I in the first host family and I can see like the kids they express their feelings and so I think I have been changed a little bit so I start to express my feelings straightly.

What kind of feelings?
Like, in Taiwan, if you don't like and people ask you what would you like or would you like tea, if you don't like you are not going to say, no I don't want yeah you will say, oh ok, I think many people have got this problem. I think from last time I start to say if I don't like, yes I say, I will say, so I think I have changed a little bit.

Do you think that was more English?

Yeah and I think I started to watching football, I started drinking in the afternoon (laughs) started to get drunk from afternoon and then like every night I went to nightclubs. In Taiwan I never do that before.
But no fighting (laughs again). Before I went to the UK I think I couldn't finish one can of beer and get red. And I think that I have learnt from the English family they encourage the kids to do everything, not like protect the kids, in Taiwan, parents they don't like kids to try new things but I have learnt from the English family, I think kids need to try every new things so I think that is very good point I have learnt from the English family. So when I have children I will encourage them to do more. I think because the kids they need to try new things, not like you protect not to do everything. They will not learn from the fail.

So before you went to England you didn't believe that?

Yes I didn't, I didn't.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 5

Did you ever feel that the UK was your home?

Yes I feel the UK was my home when I was with the first host family, the second host family because I didn't cook with them, I cooked by myself and then the first host family we spend all the time dinner and breakfast together and then we chat we talked so I think that is more like feel like home.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

I think this January because my visa would expire in the end of January so I have to come back, I have no choice (laughs nervously). I was hoping to stay but I have no reason to stay, because no job and I finished my studying so I couldn't stay anymore so I have to come back.

And how did you feel about that?

I think even now sometimes I really want to go back so I still try maybe I can find a job or like find a good opportunity to stay in the UK, probably find a job. But no more study.

Did you think about coming back to Taiwan a lot before you left the UK?

(Groans) Actually I didn't want to come back so I tried not to think too much about coming back.

Why didn't you want to come back?

Because I think that is a very good place to stay to have a job, to live there. I think that and I get used to live in the UK because you know two and a half years is not a short time yes so it is quite difficult to come back (looks sad).

4. **Experience of Coming Back**

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I was probably excited to see my family. (ahhh) I feel very strange. I feel I'm not Taiwanese, everything is very strange, like when I first arrived to England, yes that feeling is really exactly the same. I feel like why here is so many cars and so crowded and the air is not fresh and the people is strange (surprise tone). Because I get used to in England everything is quite slow and so when I first come back I think I feel uncomfortable, people are walking very fast, it's not easy to I have like two and a half year never seen people walk like that.

Is this how you expected to feel?

I expect it to be difficult to come back and everything to be strange because I didn't want to come back. I was not happy at all to come back.

What did you find easier, going to the UK or coming back to Taiwan? Why?

I think it is going to the UK is easier because coming home like you don't feel you are Taiwanese and you are not English, yeah, you are in the middle, the feeling is quite strange.

Do you think other students feel the same?

I think many students have the same feeling. I think if the people they don't feel like this, after the school finish, the course is finish they come back to Taiwan immediately, they don't want to stay more, so I think the people like they don't feel they are in the middle between two nationalities.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan?

I think first for the life expense, I think Taiwan is more cheap. The food, actually I get used to eat like a English food, I like it, so the food is not a big problem for me and I think the big difference is here in Taiwan is cheaper than in England.

I think I still want to find a good job, that will never change.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

I think my looking is a little bit different, I use hair gel to sticking my hair, that is more like an English. I don't drinking in the afternoon anymore, only at the weekends.

Have your relationships changed in any way?

Yeah, yeah (excited), because I think after I come back and I express my feeling, like I will say like to my ma 'I love you' and I hug my ma, I didn't do before I went to the UK. My ma like that, she doesn't feel uncomfortable. I live with my dad as well but the relationship is the same you know in Taiwan, the father is more, more strict, so I still respect the same. Closer to my ma and probably a bit closer with my dad.

Do you feel they still protect you?

I think for my parents, even now I'm 28 I think they still thinking I'm the kid so they will never change I think. Traditional Taiwanese.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

OK, I think maybe you can compare with like people they don't have experience to study abroad they don't think, I think their thinking is not open, open-minded, it's not like they don't have, they see the things it's quite narrow and for me I think after I stay in the UK and I met many people from different countries and I know different culture and I think I can see the things different. Probably like more international or more open mind. I think that is a little bit different from the people they don't have any experience studying abroad.

And your work colleagues?

My boss no but I think now in Taiwan many companies they want to employ the people they have experience studying abroad because people studying abroad as I say they have a view a more international and they see the things different and they have met different cultures. It is for business global international and it's easy for the people who have experience studying abroad because they see they know the people from different countries like they know their personality they know the way people do that. I use my international experience in work now (excited) like I met the engineer from Japan and from America, you can see it is totally different from these two countries. Of course it is because I improve my English quite a lot the UK so I can have more opportunities to speak to the people from USA, from Japan, that is the only language we can communicate in.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/friends you made in the UK?

Yes, actually we still keep in touch with classmates they are in the UK, in Italy, in Brazil and I still watching football. I watched the world cup, I support England, I have England flag on my face and England t-shirt. When they lost, I remember that night when England lost I think we were very sad and disappointed, it's like you support a team from your country and they lost a game, I think it is the same feeling, very sad. I feel I have a part of England in my heart.

Have you been back to the UK since you came back?
No.

Do you plan to?

Some of my friends, we studied together in the UK, we are planning to go back UK in 2012 for Olympic Games but actually I maybe next year if I got long holiday I would like to go back to see some friends in [UK city].

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 2 to 4

Since the time you arrived and now, in that time what do think has changed?

I've come back for 9 months and I start to work in February so I think I get used to see the lifestyle in Taiwan. I have new girlfriend and spend most time with family and girlfriend, if she is free (laughs).

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

Not satisfied (laughs), too busy, too stressed and still looking for opportunity to go back, to go back to UK. I think I need more work experience, that's the good way to get a job back to the UK I think. Sometimes I'm joking to my ma, that I want to go back to get another Master's degree but just thinking about that because I know it's too difficult for me to get PhD in the UK, I'm not going to spend like five years, I'm too old for that.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

I'm glad I had a study experience in the UK and I have wonderful life there, I met many people and I saw different cultures, different people good people, bad people.

Do you think you would feel more satisfied now if you hadn't been to the UK?

I think if I didn't go there I would feel, no actually from when I graduated from university I was planning to go studying abroad actually so I think that is my kind of like dream. Now I have to find a new dream. I think my English is not getting worse because for my job I need to send email in English to communicate with the company in America so I don't think my English is getting worse. And actually I watch football and I still watch like the travelling channel and it's all reports in English and I follow news in England, I still care about England. I also think England is a good place to stay for the kids in the future and I could go there forever, never come back.

Taiwan for kids, is too stressful for the kids, you've got lots of exams, for me when I was grade 1 after school I can play with my classmates and my friends on the street but now the kids need to go to like extra English class, they need to learn more stuff, they've got lots of exams, that's really tough for the kids. In Taiwan every kids they do this go to extra English class, their parents send them to there I don't know if I can leave my kids with that. In England people finish work probably like at 5 o'clock, they spend much time with the family but in Taiwan people finish the job like at 8 o'clock to 9 o'clock even later so you don't have time to be with the family, that's the life in Taiwan. I think the UK is better. I will try to spend more time with my kids but society makes it difficult because the lifestyle is like this it is quite difficult and tiring. I also think in Taiwan that you don't have any personal space, you don't have any room for yourself, that's why make people more thinking narrow, always not like thinking positive, always negative thinking.

Did you notice that after you went to the UK?

I think I noticed when I came back here. People in the UK give each other more space, in the UK it is quiet, here it really noisy (laughs) people everywhere. You also don't have fresh air in Taiwan, like last weekend I was thinking if I were in the UK, in [UK city], Sunday morning, I can walk around the beach, fresh air, and then get drunk in the pub (laughs) it is quite different. I wouldn't like to go to Australia, I just want to go to the UK, and only to [UK city], maybe when I retire (laughs).

Will

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

15 months I guess, studying Master's degree in International Marketing Management, (laughs) almost forgot.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

December 2003, three years already, my god, so long.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No, never.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Well I don't know, I just want to expand my visions about, if I just staying in Taiwan doing the same work, it's killing me , I just want to change another view and see different culture and I also especially like British pop music and some bands and some football so that's why I chose England not to America. I don't want to see people like cowboy like that. I want to go to English speaking country because it is easier, we've been taught English since junior high school.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I actually do not want to stay there, I know I will only stay there for 1 and and half years and then come back to Taiwan. It was always temporary.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Of course, very nervous, because I don't even know how long I can stay there because it is totally different, you have to handle the bills for electricity or water, you have to make a phone call, set up the internet and use different language, that's a big challenge, how can you possibly listen to the lectures, use English. It is always a problem for me. I'm really excited to leave Taiwan, really excited. Maybe one hour miss my mother but didn't miss Taiwan. I went to UK with my wife so maybe make it easier.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 5

I don't know why. My friends would say that I am a little bit different with them, you know 台客 (trans.- typical Taiwanese 'working class' customs), I can doing the same thing with 台客, local Taiwanese people what they are doing, very traditional, I can do that but understand but I also like some part of foreign culture, so I don't think I am totally 100% Taiwanese.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Now.. finally... finally I come here.. I'm actually excited. Although I don't know how to recognise the signal you know, we took coach to [UK city] you know, we went to [UK city] first, only two months, we arrived in July and then went to [UK city], I prefer [UK city]. [UK city] is... yeah..

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

The working attitude, in England, ladies in the bank they will just only say, "I'm sorry there is nothing I can do at the moment", this is their typical answer, I'm sorry I don't mean to offend you (laughs) and the efficiency of bank is totally out of efficiency, I don't know why does it take so long to apply one card, I don't understand and maybe I met some little girls in [UK city], and they would spit at me when they saw me, and that was the first time I met racial discrimination and I was a little bit shocked but I can understand because perhaps some people maybe some Chinese in [UK city], they are not doing so well, this was maybe first months. They were 11 to 12 years old, three people, all girls not with their parents. But I can understand, maybe I should say I don't mind.

What do you think about UK people in general?

In some ways they are the same and in some ways they are different. Actually local people are very serious, they are looking very serious, but if you spend some time you will find they are still willing to talking to you, I don't know in London, maybe it's the weather, maybe the weather makes people not feeling so good, the weather so dark, how can you be happy?

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

With my wife and a couple of months we also lived with one Australian guy, I think you know him, Peter, he gave us £28 per month and he cover electricity and water and teach us English.

Who did you spend your time with?

I will say maybe 30% with foreign people, 70% with Taiwanese.

Was that your choice?

Naturally, I would say naturally. Some topics you just can talk with friends, there are some topic as I don't know, and they will sometimes say things, they will say English but they will say Italian and Greek or they will say come joke which is not English based so I cannot understand, so how can you integrate in these cases.

Did you have any English friends?

Yes, I did, not too much but they were nice. Karen's classmates, they were always doing homework together, one guy called Jimmy he's a guitar player in London and we have the same topic we can talk about music.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Yes I am, I'm not ashamed but I'm not proud because I know we are different there, I can feel, too many times we walk in London centre and people will say, I just can't understand why there are so many Chinese and I remember girls riding bikes in [UK city] shouting 'you fucking Chinese pigs' I don't have to feel very sorry but I know I am different there but I try to do something, when I'm doing haircut I will try to talk to that guy about the [UK city] football team, you know how are they doing ? but I don't know if the topic is right. I can just start a topic with talking about the weather.

Did you always like football?

Oh I am. I was especially focus on England and Italy during the world cup, these two teams. I support England and I even type some words in front of my desk say England rules, you know during the world cup. I think I used to be there and I like the atmosphere, it is not very high class, it is middle class, I mean the football audience, and I like the feeling, there is not such kind of sport in Taiwan that you can see... not too much... yeah...

I went to two or three football matches in [UK city]

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes, yes, I would say two ways, one is try to be relaxed, not so nervous worried about everything because the weather no the environment is totally different so I'm a student I just focus on study and then enjoy the feeling walking down Christchurch Road, the seaside. And in the academic, I know more do the critical thinking, that's something I never met before, the critical thinking, especially Karen, yes, she learnt a lot.

Do you think that has been useful since you came back?

Uh, yes, yes, it's useful, and we try to.. most of Taiwanese people are silent, during a group but we try to express our feelings, you know, doing some critical thinking, I mean it's not challenge the leader, we say, do you think this is good, I would suggest blah blah blah and what do you think, yeah, yeah..

Do you think you became more English?

Yes, (laughs).. funny think is every time the company when they get someone the phone call from England, they are looking for some new products, they always pass to me they never pass to others, or some European countries, they will only say William, just talk to William so yeah you know last night I'm still watching the Premiership 30 minutes edition about the football and so, I'm still missing there, the highlights....

Do you think you became less Taiwanese?

No, no, I'm still typical Taiwanese. I think I changed because I wasn't feel very good there one period, I was sick so maybe there was too much stress and writing report or something and also something about [friend] and [friend's

wife] problems, I tried to involve and try to make them get together finally I become, they are putting pressure on me, it's hard to explain... ummm, in England, Taiwanese in England, we try to think different, that is very important, we have to adapt the environment and there is something better than Taiwanese people, I mean if I work in Taiwan I would never say that there is nothing I can do, in some way I think they are not good in some way...

Were you involved in the Taiwanese society?

A little, but if you are outside the group people are nasty to you. I don't think that is fair, just people have different thinking about how they want to live in England, if some people said I just want to talk to foreigners that is OK, we don't have to say you are not one of us... I have to say that I am in between, I am not 100% here, I am not 100% here, so it's quite complex feeling when you ask me this question.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 4

Food?

Personally no problem for me, although everybody complain but I'm not that kind of people, fish and chips is also better for me, I have no problem with the food except the scrambled eggs, very bad (laughs).

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

I'm the biggest boy in the family so finally I have to go back and I have to work to make a family, have a baby, although I want to stay there, actually if I'm not the biggest children in my family, I would stay there. I'm the only boy and I have two younger sisters so I have to come back. My responsibility raising your children raising your parents typical people would say that is the boy's responsibility, not the girls.

Do your parents live with you now?

No, but I visit them always and making phone calls and when I came back from England, I love them more than when I went there, I know they are important to me, although I think it is not fair to us to me because I want to stay there but that's life so you have to, in Taiwan you have to, I can't be so selfish you know, not like my sister, my sister is in America now, she doesn't want to come back. I really came back for my parents. I have to.

What do you think about English people treating old people?

I have no comment, I think that is just culture, although I sometimes feel these people, these old people they are sad, I know they are sad, I can see from there eyes, always be lots of old people sitting on the chair in the park, I don't know, I can see.

How did you feel to leave England?

I feel sad, very sad, Karen even cry when we took the coach to Heathrow airport, the last time time we left, very sad, very sad, we were thinking, there are many place we still haven't go, there are too many things to see and we haven't seen.

Do you think about going back?

Yes, definitely. I actually went back twice but not in [UK city], only in London, for work and I would say, when I arrived Victoria station, I took many pictures there and the train the [UK city], to [UK city], yeah.

Were you prepared to leave England?

I just planned to go back.

4.   Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

Depressed, very depressed. I miss there and I still miss there, at least I like the environment although the winter is.. yeah.

How long did you feel depressed?

Almost one year, almost one year and I finally adapt the environment here. In that time we saw lots of things and we thought about England.. too many things, the flag... some English accent you know, sidewalk, American say that right and we, you, England say pavement. And if you see a movie called love is all around and it is a typical England

movie right. Different people and they all live in England and before Christmas, many many story happened, we love the movie, we love the accent.

Did you expect to feel bad ?

No, I don't know why, I don't have to much time to think about it, I'm only feel I miss it... yeah.

What did you do when you felt sad?

Watching I like, football I like and then saying hooray in the living room, with Karina.

Did you move in with your parents?

No, our own apartment.

And work?

I arrived, in first 3 months, I tried to find a, I have the choice, I want to be a sales, I don't want to be a marketing and something else, I don't know.

What did you find easier, going to the UK or coming back to Taiwan? Why?

Going to the UK, because yeah yeah.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan?

More critical. Yeah, hard to explain, I actually, I think I only remember the good things, I think I don't remember the bad things, you know, I automatically remember something, I only remember the good things. I forgot all the bad things.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Yeah, yeah, I would think many different culture and what I do there and I started to like having an afternoon tea. I don't know, and I would tell them not to, sometimes, not to focus on work only, my friends. My parents know that I love them more, because before when I stay in Taiwan, I didn't spend the time with them and I know they feel lonely and ... I don't know, I try to talk more with them and say I actually miss them when I'm in England and even do the hug. I never do this before, our culture is not like that, we don't hug always.

What do your parents think about it?

They think it is strange, they like it, but they won't hug me.

Maybe it is very easy to satisfy them, say thank you for everything they do for me, and invite them for dinner, not like before. I think my relationship with them is better now than before.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

The first year when I come back maybe a little bit different but after that I feel also the same, not too much difference. My boss is, he typically loves German, German food and everything so we have lots of common issues so we can talk, so no problem with him.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

Yes, no more friends, three years oh god I feel sad, I actually think about this when I drive here today, I will be very open to you, our tone is different, we can be good friends, but you know we don't have common.. yeah.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 4 to 6

Erm... because after all I have to stay here, so maybe the work, most of people they still not lucky as I am, I had the chance to go to England, they only stay in Taiwan and all they talk about is the work, so if you want to stay with them and become one of them you have to join them. You know, we have one bubble gum, red bubble gum, 檳榔 (trans.- beetlenuts), I'm a sales so if you want to talking something with factory people you have to buy and give to them and you can talk more, you have to, do you know, it is very funny, every time, I have to go to the factory once per week, I will prepare that kind of things. I feel I am more Taiwanese now. It's not easy to enjoy the environment, too many cars and the air is not quite good, when I come back, the second day, I get a cold and for one or two weeks.

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What are your future plans?

I try to you know raising children, giving him a good environment, stay in Taiwan and spend more time with my parents. A job is only 33% of your life, above this 33% you have to do something different.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

No, no not because of the children, because of the environment, the country, the government in the UK, when you are argue something, you argue very rationally but here is unrationally and they don't have good plans for the future they only see the something is for them, that's not good for us, for our next generation, is it too serious (laughs) I don't know, they are only looking for the short term, their own advantage, I feel sad. Working is 馬馬虎虎, it's just a job, you know, the best job is you know doing nothing, sitting there only 8 hours then going home, I tried not to put more attention on my job but right now it is a little bit impractical. Have a good title, is not 100% of your life. But my boss give me more pressure because he is Taiwanese.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

It's definitely good thing, you never know how you will learn until you go there, no matter good or bad things it is a part of you, it become part of you now, and some Taiwanese people, they same experience with me, they say discrimination very you know, is very serious, but to me, I won't look at that. If someone comes here and we don't know who they are, we all feel very strange. Generally I think they are.. how could the football be so well, the Premiership, we have professional sports but we are not good at running, or sport, how can we make the sightseeing industry and tourism better, I think UK have a good plan for tourism although when you go to Liverpool, Manchester and Scotland, only in the station you can find lots of information so you don't have to worry what am I going to do, but in Taiwan we don't have this. We should.

Eddie

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

One year and four months, study for Master's degree, Graduate School in International Business Finance. Quite boring.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

1 years later, 2 years ago, sorry, sorry.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No, never.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Because I want to practise my English skills and I think I need to realise more internationalisation and want to make some foreign friends there and learn some new skills there. For Taiwanese students, I need to learn English than other language, so English country is more prefer for us. The other thing is we don't need to spend much time to get the degree in British, if you want to go to USA maybe you may spend one or two years to prepare and then you need to spend another two years to get the degree but I need to say maybe easier, maybe sometimes we to do the dissertation maybe it is quite good for us to train our logical skills but if you study in USA you don't need to write dissertation in most schools. You can choose exams or something, I prefer exams, I think most Taiwanese prefer exams, but for me I think dissertation is good for.

International friends, is that English or others?

I think English people maybe prefer but I make some friends from other countries.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

Return to Taiwan. Because it is hard to find a work there and I think for us just spend one year, it is hard to live there, another thing I think maybe we need to spend much time to used to the life there. If I have much money, I will spend much time there.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

A little bit excited and a little bit afraid because I never been to there and many things I don't know, it is quite different from visit there or travel there, going long-term.

Were you sad to leave Taiwan?

Sad? I don't feel sad. I just think how could I study there (laughs). I was worried about study in England, living in England. I think it is quite interesting, initially I think I don't need to bring much things to Britain because maybe there have 7-11 so I can buy something there for example, but when I get there, my god, there is no 7-11 there!

How did you feel about that?

I though Oh my God!! Where can I buy food or where can I buy some commodities, fortunately I found there is a Asda in town centre (laughs).

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 7
I am very Taiwanese, like my friends.

On the aeroplane, leaving Taiwan, what happened?

My parents came to the airport, they are not crying, they just plan to have dinner together in Taipei, they are very excited and I feel depressed because I think I don't have a very, my prepare is not very well, is very rushed. Four months between I decide to go to England and I left. Most of money is support from my parents, fortunately.

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3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Where is the coach? Where is the coach station? How can I go to [UK city]? I go there with Ada and Ada have no experience there, so we just find someone Taiwanese and she knows where is the coach station and bring us to take the bus there. Quite nice.

How did you feel in the first few weeks?

Oh, so calm, I don't know how to say, totally different culture from Taiwan. Maybe this is not more convenient than Taiwan but more slowly, the pace, more slowly, and I don't know, I'm not sure, it is correct, maybe we the first foreigner we meet, they are all the staff in the university, all the teachers in the university, they are all friendly, so initially I felt friendly there. I think most people are friendly but some people in London, not really friendly, young people.

Any bad experiences?

I think I can accept that because in Taiwan some young people maybe are impolite and maybe impolite.

Any racist experiences?

Some day I lived in student village and one day I had a dinner with Kai, do you know him, Taiwanese, study in media school, and we just have party there and some I think 13 year old boy just threw an egg, threw in the house, we were just very shocked and he just ride a bicycle and run away.

How did that make you feel?

Just shocked.

Any homesickness?

The first half year, a little bit, I want to eat something and I think it is stressful in the to study so you will get some homesick. The homesick is made from the stress, if you very, very happy you don't have to think.

Did you miss your family or friends?

Both, I would say. We just use MSN or email or sometimes make a phone call back, make me feel better, but I think it is more to be you know some Taiwanese students will go back to Taiwan for vacation and you must stay there, it is quite sad, especially Christmas, nobody is in the street, but fortunately I just go to Cranborne house and have a party with Ada. Chinese New Year we have a dinner together. Feel a little bit homesick but for me it is OK because when I served in Air Force I have two years just stay in Taidong (A city in South West Taiwan) and when we are lunar new year.

With whom did you live?

Student village, I lived with Chinese, Taiwanese students in the same house. The university decide to put us in the house. 3 Taiwanese and one Chinese there so we speak Chinese, oh my god!

Who did you spend your time with?

International Student organisation, it is quite good but I don't have much time. Mainly Taiwanese.

Any English friends?

No, no. Most of them are Turkey, or Greek, Taiwanese because our poor English so sometimes it is quite difficult to have a chat with them and different culture, sometimes they don't know what you are talking about or maybe our context is very boring for them, we don't read too much cinema. My course, many many international students, only I think 4 English people, in our course there are 30 students there. Only 4 English.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Yes, Taiwanese, I just come from Taiwan. I was happy to say that, yeah, it's OK but sometimes Chinese students will say, you are Chinese not Taiwanese.

What did you do when they said that?

We have a different passport. I don't like to argue with them because the problem can't be solved by the argue. So I keep quiet and I'm not angry because I can realise what they think and I have some Chinese friends, they also have the same feeling, outside the Beijing and Shanghai.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

I think I'm different in the UK, since I just arrived in British because I do feel different because I want I just study there. Sorry, 1 more different in thinking, yeah and sometimes I care much more myself what I think about and I can accept anyone what they think, I don't like joking on their idea. When I was in Taiwan, before I go to British sometimes I will think this is wrong, this is right, but after I go to British I think it is OK, this way is OK, this way is OK. Because you know much when you know friends, because they have different culture and different background and of course they have different idea (phone rings). Maybe half year later.

Did you feel less Taiwanese?

More Taiwanese. Yeah. When I feel I'm different. I just, I think it is thinking style is more similar with English, cos I think I can accept any idea. More open-minded.

Did you want to have English friends?

Of course, I think it is very difficult because they have their social society, it is very difficult to join in them. Yeah.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 2

I felt different, I think the major problem is the language skill. Communication problems, I think this is a big problem.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Because I need to make money and I think it is more easy to apply the work here and of course my friends, my family here so it is easy to live.

And how did you feel about returning to Taiwan?

Of course excited because it doesn't mean I don't like England, I have I don't see our friends, each other, I want to go back to see my friends and see my parents. A little bit sad, after all I lived here one year and four months, I like the environment, very beautiful, I really feel sad and I'm regret that I don't spend much time to have travel around the British. I just go to Cambridge, Oxford, London, Bath, Swanage. As soon as I finished my dissertation I left England. I prolong the visa one time, one year, I still had time to stay in UK but I decided to come back to Taiwan.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

Oh quite hot and finally I come back and I'm happy but I just because I finish my degree and I prove I do this so I happy, but not I'm happy I come back to Taiwan, a little bit different. I really like UK, even now I always think I want to go back there for have a journey there, even Europe.

Was it difficult to come back to Taiwan?

A little bit, because after all it's long time that I quite long long time stay in England, after I come back I just feel slow down, slow down,

How long did it take you get used to it in Taiwan?

Half year. For six months I don't want to work. I start working two weeks later. I find the job in the website and they just contact me and they told me they need an interview, can you come back to Taiwan. I start looking for a job in England. Indeed I performed the interview there, two weeks later I started work. Not quite good.

Did you have any negative feelings when you came back?

Not too obvious, no.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

No. A little bit, my relationships have changed, I don't like my friends to interrupt my concepts or what I think about.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

I think that most different is I'm more realise the international issues, international people, in other factors I think there is not too much difference but it is quite problem, sometimes my colleagues will think, you come back from England, or your English is very well, or you get the degree in foreign so you can promote quickly actually I think it is unfair. One or two colleagues not happy with me.

Is your international awareness helpful?

Yes, very very helpful because you can communicate to the other people, you can open your mind to other ideas and easier communicate with foreign friends. Sometimes I deal with international people, sometimes we got international case, with American.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/friends you made in the UK?

Yes, you (laughs). I still see Ada and Jill.

Do you plan to go back?

Maybe next year I want to go back. I want to go to Edinburgh. What I shame I don't go to there.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 5

Sometimes I certain things in my concept is different from Taiwanese who didn't go to study abroad. I don't know what they thinking about, they are too complicated and I'm sometimes more easy, simple.

What are your plans for the future?

I think continue to work in Chinatrust bank, quite bad. I want to do some special business with my friends in Taiwan, maybe some business related to credit industry or something. I plan to stay in Taiwan, maybe I also want to go to the China also to, depends, I'm not sure.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

Satisfied with what, it is very important, if you say my performance with work, I think I am satisfied but I'm not sure if I'm satisfied with my work or my life. Sometimes I think it's too hurry for me, the tempo is too fast, the quality of life is not good.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Good thing for me, because I got real special experience there and I think it may be very helpful for me for my work and for my future.

Anything negative?

I don't think so, I don't think so. Thank you to endure my poor English.

Simon

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

It was two years more or less. Study English in a language school and did my Master's there. The plan was always to return to Taiwan.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

February, 10 months.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Well, because the language English was getting more and more important in Taiwan and also I didn't get promotion in my company because of the language study was too bad, so go to UK get promotion eventually. It's a trading company so the language ability was very important. Well, when I say important, I don't say English was a plus, English was a basic, so if you don't speak English you kind of useless. I could read, I could write, I just couldn't speak.

Why the UK?

Because I thought it was quicker to get my degree. Time is money.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I wish I could stay in England, well, I did try, kind of looking for a job in London but eventually I didn't get any.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

I felt excited, basically, look forward to being in the UK. Not sad, very very excited.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 7

Yes, very Taiwanese, for example, I just couldn't survive without rice (laughs). I bought a rice cooker in Chinatown in London. The meal I'm so used to having, and I basically just do whatever my parents tell me to do, I just kind of obey, whatever they say, I didn't have my own judgement and opinions about everything.

How did your parents feel about you going to England?

They don't have any kind of opinions. I decide myself. The first big decision in my life.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

When I got in England, my brother told me my parents did cry when I left but they didn't want me to see that, I didn't cry, I feel excited. I went alone, no friends in England.

Freezing. Absolutely freezing. I arrive in February, it was snowing. I started to get nervous when I arrived because, well, as I told you, I didn't have any English at all. British people speak British English which was totally different with the English I was taught when I was growing up, we were taught American English so the accent was totally different. Once I found I didn't understand anyone when I land, I start to get normal. I took National Express to [UK city] from the airport. Well, the coach had three or four stops, in Ringwood, and Christchurch and then eventually [UK city], but I didn't have any idea where I was, so very nervous. I try to ask the people to help but the bus stopped so I get off the bus, and he came at me and blahblahblah, in a language I didn't understand, so I decided to go with my intuition and I was right (laughs).

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Before I went to England I thought most of British man were like gentlemens but (laughs) I don't know, when I was in [UK city] my English teacher encouraged us to go to the pub as much as we can, because he said the more pub you go to, the more language you can learn and you can learn the local language in the pub so I found that British people, they are totally different when they are drunk, they went like naughty and I don't know, they think like fighting, not of me, but I used to, I seen lots of people fighting in [UK city] square, that is again different from my image, I thought most British people are gentlemen and ladies. I felt I was in the wrong country, it wasn't England. Shocked. And the internet facility was not good, perhaps this was because I was in a host family, most of them were older so they didn't know what the internet is. The internet is like basic stuff in Taipei so I found it very very unconvenient, before I went there, my agent told me the Internet facilities was very common in the UK.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

Host family. I had seven different host families but the last one was the longest I have been with which was one year and six months.

You had 6 host families before that in six months?

Yes, I wanted to move, the first family is very much like your 婆母娘 (trans.- mother-in-law), they kind of check my room out every day after I left the family, the host family well I think they are crazy, every time I got home they went like why did you leave you room in a mess and why did you put your umbrella there, and you should done this like this, and I thought, wow, where is my privacy. But at that moment I didn't have any English at all so I just couldn't argue with them, I couldn't express myself very clearly so I just left. The rest of 5 were very similar with that, I don't know why, perhaps I was very unlucky. Two of them were European people, I just can't remember where they come from but two of them were English.

Who did you spend your time with?

I would say, I spent most of my time with my host parents, the last ones, Owen and Sarah. Well, they don't have any children, I was the only one student in their family so we are very much like a family. They even want to adopt me.

I honestly didn't spend time with Taiwanese society, when we talk about friends, I would say, the teacher from Anglo-continental.

Did you choose not to be with Taiwanese?

Not really, but I kind of I didn't have time really, I had a part-time job when I was in England, so my life was like went to school and went to restaurant and work. After that my host family only spent most of my weekend being with them. That was my life there.

Did you choose to get a job?

I just didn't want to spend too much of my parents' money.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Erm... personally I didn't but my host family said I am. Sarah, my host parents said I'm very Taiwanese because I have eaten noodles and rice very very regularly (laughs). I taught them how to cook rice and they did very well eventually. I gave them my rice cooker when I left.

Do you still have contact with them now?

Yes, every like Christmas time, mothers' day I always send them cards. They really feel like my parents, and their birthday.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes, yes, I hadn't gone to the pub before, also for example when I was in the first classroom in Taiwan, basically we just listen to whatever teacher say, we are not used to expressing ourselves or our opinions, but in the UK, we got to do that so that's different. It was difficult in the beginning but in the end it became not that difficult. I would say that yes, I became more independent.

More English or less Taiwanese in any ways?

Yes, I think so, for example, I start to give a priority to pedestrians which I didn't before. You know, the driver in the UK always do that so I'm doing that right now. Oh, yes, in our tradition in our society, we don't always say the love to our parents, but I start to say that since I came back.

Do your parents like that?

They feel strange really. I think this is less Taiwanese.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 4

Not completely English but maybe a bit.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Well, obviously the visa issue, in addition at that time ASUS which is the Taiwanese laptop maker gave me an interview notice so I came back for that interview. But unfortunately I didn't get that job but two or three days later my current company also notice me to go to the interview and then I got a job, and I start that straight away. Only one week, I got very busy, originally I wanted to go back for the graduation ceremony which I didn't go to.

Did you start applying for jobs in Taiwan while you were in the UK?

Yes, I did though, I did look for a job when I was in London and also I applied Taiwanese job website.

How did you feel to leave the UK?

Sad, really, what I could imagine, my life would get more and more busy so I expect to work overtime and be stressed.

Was England your home?

In sometimes I would say yes. I would say 50 and 50, I like England and on the other hand I thought my life would be more and more stressed.

Any problems in the UK?

People were sometimes unfriendly, I don't know how to say, the teenagers in [UK city], they insult me when I walk down the street, and they shout me when you alone on the street. I felt this was nasty.

4. Experience of Coming Back

My new family thought I would come back for the graduation ceremony so they weren't that sad.

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

Boiling, hot, very, very hot, strange, the tempo was too quick, the language is different, that's pretty much it.

Did you feel like a foreigner?

Yes, because everybody was like cold, I was wearing a t-shirt, feeling hot. I felt were much a foreigner because I was more independent, I was alone in England so I didn't have to be a stay with my parents but I realise they were very 囉唆 (trans.- nagging). Very difficult to live with them again.

And now?

No, no, no, we spoken about this many times, we compromise and basically they are not 囉唆 (trans.-nagging). It is normal they were behaving like before I left because I hadn't seen them for a long time, you know the Taiwanese family, they are very very happy kind of cooking for you and they want you to eat all up so (laughs) you should sort of shower, but why, because I want to wash your clothes, I can do it myself, I want to do it for you... at the beginning like this..

Have you noticed any changes in yourself since coming back to Taiwan?

I become more 小氣 (careful with money), because always I'm getting older and older. I my parents want me to get married but I want to live on my own well at least get my own place to live so I need to save money. Get money. Still generous to my friends but I have become more 小氣 (trans.- stingy) to myself. I want to move out three years later, buy a house. If I do have girlfriend at that time, I will get married. I shouldn't say 小氣 (trans.- stingy), I just say I just get more sensible with money.

Also football, I didn't like before I went to England but now football Chelsea, I support Chelsea. And I like Guinness, drinking more in the UK, still doing that now, a habit. Perhaps English tea with milk, and one sugar.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Yes, more independent, this is a good thing. My parents know my English parents, my real parents came to England in between my stay in the UK, they stay for two weeks and my dad can speak a little bit English so they got on very well.

How long before you felt normal again in Taiwan?

Last month, nine months to feel. Nothing really happened to change me, I just adjust myself, I tell myself I really have to get used to it otherwise or , well that is my home now, I have to, nothing really happened. For last 8 months I felt bad, definitely, now I have to accept it. I think I will be happier this way.

At first my friends thought I was different from before, 想法像英國人 (trans.- English thinking) and English grammar when I spoke Chinese and 有一點滿 (trans.- a bit slow), whoever speaking to me, I think 3 seconds, then I got it (laughs). This could be the tempo.
What did they think?

My parents think I'm strange, they say, why are you like that? I say, I don't know, I just don't understand you. Now I'm back to normal.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Oh yes, very very different. The people who have been abroad tend to be more confident, at least I don't feel nervous when I speak to foreign people, and they are more independent, say again, the people who have been abroad, when we are doing teamwork, they are more willing to contribute their thinking, ideas. But I found the local people because the condition in Taiwan is serious, you've got to fight with your colleagues, so the more you hide, the more idea you hide, the more opportunities you get. That's true, but to me I don't want it, I always think that team work, as long as the project gets done, everyone, yes. This is from living in the UK, doing teamwork at university with different nationalities.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

Yeah, we still chat on the MSN Messenger like once a week. My girlfriend was also in England.

Is this why you are together?

Oh yes, yes, erm… my ex-girlfriend was Taiwanese before, well, obviously we were from the same culture, for example 我們像發跟英國人不一樣 (trans.- our thinking styles are not the same as English people) 有些事情會讓我們(trans.- there are some things that can make us) upset事情可能你們不覺得 (trans.- things that you wouldn't think). 所以有的時候我跟英國朋友講話的時候,他不會覺得這是怎麼嚴重的事情但是我們會覺得太嚴重 (trans.- so when I tell my English friends, they don't think it is serious), 我像他們了解. 所以我們找到一個(trans.- so we try to find a) like不一樣的(trans.- not the same) culture 就很容易(trans.-so it is easy) fall in love. I met her in a language school in England. When both of us were in England so obviously both of us got homesick and things like but you know that means a lot to us, our home our country but when we spoke to our host parents, they went like that's nothing, but what we wanted was just to speak to someone and nothing we were expecting more, just OK, all right, so that's brought us to be together. We split up one month after I back to Taiwan, long distance (laughs) makes a difference, so now I have a girlfriend who was in England, we talk about England sometimes. We have this in common.

Sometimes also Taiwanese men basically can't put up with girls who earns more than they did or more qualified. I don't mind, I can spend their money (laughs) 小白臉 (trans.- a man who spends his wife's earnings. Not very respectable in Taiwanese traditional culture).

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 2 to 6

Also my friends felt the same way, I didn't really know what happened, some of my friends were strange when I came back, they thought maybe that I speak English so they are maybe threatened by me.

Did you expect that?

No.

How does that make you feel?

I'm OK really.

I should say, I do get chance, I will live abroad. Well England is the first priority and Canada would be the second. America, I don't really like that. Don't know why, just don't like it.

What are your plans for the future?

Try to move abroad, retire somewhere else, Canada maybe. Two months later I have to go to Canada and America for work. I want to see what Canada is like.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel?

My current life, no. Too much time on working, yeah. Working too much. From 9 o'clock to 5 o'clock I've got my internal stuff to do then at 8 o'clock till 11 o'clock in the evening I've got my conference stuff to do meetings with customers in Canada so obviously it's like 14, 15 hours per day, everyday but not on the weekend. Otherwise I will quit. Some people, their customers are Japanese so they don't have to stay so long at work. Three or five years there to save money, I think so, I hope so really.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

A good thing, life changing thing.

Anything negative about it?

At this moment I would say no, nothing bad. When I was thrown by the stone, when teenagers throw stones I feel bad. But everything else was fabulous.

And now, has it made your life easier or more difficult?

Easier, at least I got a better job.

Before I went to UK, I thought everything there, very good. But when I'm there, I see many social problems, I think Taiwan is not bad now.

I hate the journalists here, they can say whatever they want, I think most of them are lying, they can even come out with news like tomorrow... they don't have to provide any evidence, just say what they want, they have the freedom, they have the power to do that.

Steve

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

About 9 years. Study, 95 I think, language school for half a year and foundation for one year and five year six years in UK practice school. Almost got a passport, 10 years and apply and wait another 2 years.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

About 3 years I think, 3 and a half, or 4, I think 3.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Because my what can I say, eject me, 拒絕 (trans.- reject) the visa, reject, the officer I think, the visa, the home office. Because first of all I decide to go to the US and then reject me, then I go to the UK to study. Nine years is a long time.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

Actually for me, it is temporary, it is sort of study period for my life, but for my parents, for the older relatives, they all want me to stay in England, to get the visa. 我覺得，自己就回來 (trans.- I decided myself to come back), but for 一年我有一點 (trans.- one year, I'm a bit) Only one year left, but I still decide, yeah, no more England.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

I'm not different from a part of other Taiwanese.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 6 to 7

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

I sort of feel so, what can I say, I expect, I was expecting something, I can learn English so fast, I can go to university, apply the good university, I think it is quite expensive and I have no friend, no relative at all and I can't say I fully understand English, probably only this is good and good morning, that's all. It was quite difficult at first but this is 你感覺 (trans.- you think)… you can do something really good, going to university and wow, university life and you are.. I went to Architects Association in East London, you know first time I arrived I was in Swanage, near Bournemouth, in the very very good place and then I went to South London you know the name is 什麼? (trans.- what?). You can by train the last, South, next to London, Croydon, Croydon, for one year for my foundation. Croydon is no good. I think it is rough place but I wonderful time in Croydon because my landlord .

Did you have any English friends?

Yes, in Croydon, just for my foundation year. But after that it is quite difficult, because you know the Architect Association is about 80% overseas students so you can't get a really English. Most of my colleagues were international students, few Taiwanese. 我剛去的時候很小很小 (trans.- when I first arrived there were very few), about 13 years ago, United States is popular, now England is popular. No Mainland Chinese then either, 現在很多，以前很小．很小很小． (trans. Now there are many, before there were few, very, very few).

Did you have any 大陸 (trans.- Mainland Chinese) friends?

有，有一些，(trans.- there were some) but it's about last two years, or last one year, when I working. I work one year to one and a half but most time I 大公 (trans.- part-time work), I part-time.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

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I think a little bit, 有一點點 (trans.- a little bit), you know it's just, how can I say, when I was in UK, this period was about 20 to 30, this is period 像一個男的, (trans.- like a male) the mind you know they grow up change, 所以說, (trans.- so, that is to say) I could say the most important education is in the UK so I can sort of think different from the 在台灣你十幾歲學的東西不會, 不太回去改變, 你真的學的東西 (trans.- In Taiwan, the things you study when you are about ten years old, that can't really change, the things you really study). OK for most people right, they grow up from 20 to 30. So I sort of grow up in English environment. The, what can I say, the transaction is different and you learn different things.

Do you feel less Taiwanese?

No I feel quite Taiwanese, for the first three years I quite reject Taiwanese, I don't want to be with Taiwanese because I think, 我去英國需要學英文(trans.- I came to England and I need to study English) so I sort of reject Taiwanese but after three years and you miss the 就是(trans.- that) the country, and Taiwanese friends, you go out, every weekend for the dinner.

How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Proud, if anyone call me Chinese I very unhappy. 忘及很多英文·將不去來· (trans.- I have forgotten a lot of English, it doesn't come out when I speak) 我回來四年了, 三年· (trans.- I've been back for four years, three years).

What did you think about English people?

Most, 大多數遇到英國人多都很好那時間· (trans.- most English I came across were nice at that time).　My ex, the brother in law, Scottish, nice people and my landlord in Croydon, so nice. 大多數遇到英國人多都很好但是在學校遇到的老師 (trans.- most English people I met were nice but the school teachers) not so nice. They are tough and they are so tough 但是大多數遇到英國人多都很好 (trans.- but most English people I met are nice)· Sort of like you are international student, they like international student but for some people, you know, we speak always always, I always think they laugh about the accent. I think, I don't know, joke about your accent or the English or something, I think, I don't know.

Did you ever have any English girlfriends?

No, I think it is difficult to get an English girlfriend.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3

I don't drink, I hang around with my boss, so weird, you know in the Friday afternoon, they just have the we call it association, beer, you know hang around in the.. but just only Friday night, we don't hang around Saturday and Sunday. I, OK, I don't drink, I don't drink at all but we still hang out.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

For the better life I think, what I think is, my job is done, 我的責任 (trans.- responsibility), just study. You know Taiwanese people always think you know probably that English, if you study in the UK, work, earn money and have the good life in the United States and I can stay, the outside country, they always assume it is better than Taiwan, and I just can't get, and why this English people, England, no better than Taiwan, you know why suddenly they are not very rich country and then they say, what they sell 他們賣語言, 他們只(trans.- they sell language, just) culture. 因為你們...文化可以賣,語言可以賣. 但是我很喜歡英國(trans.-because, they.. culture can sell language, can sell. But I like England very much), it is quite a different culture. But I always wanted to come back to Taiwan, UK was never my home. OK, we, if you see the overseas student or 外國人(trans.- foreigner) there is probably two kind. One kind, they have just arrived, probably they stay one or two years, and they 他們很喜歡英國, 他們覺得(trans.- they love England, they think) Taiwan everything, the air pollution, they can't breathe, something like that. And we have 我有很多朋友(trans.- I have many friends), I got quite a lot of friend, they stay in England ten, I think more than ten years, most of my friends they stay more than ten years, all we talking about is how we want to come back to Taiwan, how good is Taiwan, we hate England, we hate something you know the white people, something like that you know and we eat Chinese all the time and we talk Taiwanese, well we talk Chinese and it is two kind of people, what I think. 一種人剛到他們很喜歡台灣, 那我們另外種我們 (trans.- one group who have just arrived they love England (sic.), and then another group, we), we can't... 不是我們不能回家(trans.- not that we can can't go home) because parents they say you have to stay there, that is the they plan a life for you.

Do the parents want to live in England later too?

I think. So you got the why yes.

What happened when you came back?

My parents sort of angry, quite. But now I'm doing good so they are OK.

How did you feel when you decided to come back to Taiwan.

You know, excited. Sort of sad, Sort of exciting to a new life. You know why? Because, I think I can't come back, then once I decide to come back to Taiwan, I sort of quite happy and quite, I not quite happy in the UK, because you can't really get good job. I got job but for most overseas students I got quite lucky because I have good salary, but you still can't quite reach, just like property ladder you can't go up. I'm working in small firm, architecture firm, about three or four people and I'm still not satisfied, I think I can get better chance in Taiwan, that is what I think about.

Did you feel sad?

No, 我覺得比較高興. 因為 (trans.- I felt more happy, because) in UK, I have something like £80 salary per week, working from 10 to 6 and I can't remember and if I practise one year, I can sort of take exam, 我的 (trans.- my) part3, we have part 1, part 2, part 3 it is RIBA Royal Institute British Architects, they divide to part 1, part 2, part 3. I did part 1.

Is that useful in Taiwan?

I can't really say it is not useful in Taiwan but it is the thinking, what they taught you was how the 邏輯的想法 (trans.- logical thinking) it's very very useful for me but I still think that the nine year education is very very useful for me and is the most important education for me. Actually I have, I never study in Taiwan, when I was in school I learn nothing and in UK 大家都(trans.- everyone) how can I say that word, OK, you go to school, I did nothing then when you pinup or when you do the things, you show everything in the whole world, we have the pinup every week, then during the week you just say I so lazy, I doing nothing then the day you show everything, in England this is international school and people so get the relationship between people is so intense. I don't want share information with you and that is the environment I grow up in England. You can't imagine that. Everybody is one group, 我們沒有一起 (trans.- we didn't work together) job 每個人都很teamwork. But apart 1st year, 2nd year and 3rd year I did three times, it is quite difficult.

How did you feel when you didn't pass?

I feel sad in they are unfair with me, they are unfair with me, I did quite a lot of work, but they don't judge you on how hard you, they don't judge you how hard of your work, they just want to see the creative thinking or something in the, if some work, if they buy your story even it is only three page or the drawing, they buy it, if you go to the jury said I did this 10 models and I have the 100 drawings, if they don't buy your story, you fail. They don't judge you how hard you work, like the traditional aim. This is very different from Taiwan, why, when I was in first year, right, the final day, they invite quite a lot of teachers from outside and some people from outside, I still can remember one student, they not only failed him, say you repeat, they downgrade him, they say you have to go to foundation. I don't get, if you are not qualifying first year, you downgrade to foundation.

Did you finish?

Actually I was talking to the head of school, the University of East London, he was in Architects Association for ten years, I was talking to him and he said, for your work you can go to 4th year, but I still decide I still want to repeat again in my third year again because for me the target was to be an architect and I did my third year again because you needed to pass your part 1, when you pass your part 1, you pass your pat 2, when you pass your part 2 you practise for 2 years, then you pass your part 3, then you can be a qualified architect. That is my goal, my aim, so I did my third year again, After I pass my three years, then I passed my third year then I jump to the different system to diploma school, because we 不一樣的 (trans.- it is not the same) system, we need to do 5 years degree course but so Part 1 Part 2 but we made the offer different system, the Master's course, so called, 美國他有(trans.- America they have) Master's Course 英國沒有(trans.- England doesn't). So I jump to do Master course, I did my part 1 but I never did my part 2. In Taiwan it doesn't matter though.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

For the first 6 months I think I was bright, I think I did nothing, want to enjoy my life, and 我沒有去找工作 (trans.- I didn't look for a job) ok, for the rest, 我休息的 (trans.- I relaxed)

Who did you live with?

My parents, living with them, nothing good, nothing good, I 因為我回來生活不太一樣，生活方式(trans.- because my life when I returned was not the same, lifestyle) the way you live 生活的方式不一樣. 比方說我們比較完睡 (trans.- life style not the same. For example we went to bed later).You still think you live under someone's roof, but in England I rent a house and you are your own and you 你跟你自己的事情 (trans.- you have your own situation). My parents are 囉嗦 (trans.-nagging). It was OK though because I got money, I got my own money, I don't depend on my parents, money I save in the UK and I sort of doing some, for the first six months I sort of doing some stock, the trading, so I was doing quite well, that period was after SARS so the stock market was so high so I was doing quite well so I got money and I was thinking, I don't need work, I can live with my investment life and was really, I was thinking that. I was happy to be back.

Did you miss England?

No, never, not since I came back. Weird, no? Probably in an, it is not weird, because you are so busy to think about your life, you don't think back.

Working here and the UK. Is it different?

Of course, I need to adjust to the Taiwan working life, for the first, 前面一兩年 (trans.- the first one or two years) you can't 你不能適應 (trans.- you can't get used to) the behaviour of the Taiwanese, they impolite, they just sort of impolite I think. Like a waitress or the behaviour 你不能適應 (trans.- can't get used to) but the life, the culture, for me is no problem because I think I have to say because I grow up in Taiwan, I learned in England so I know all the culture.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

More responsibility, 比較負責 (trans.- more responsible) more responsible. My parents, they proud of themselves but I don't think I'm proud I was been in UK.

Did you feel like a foreigner in Taiwan when you came back?

No, not at all, you can ask my colleagues, I never speak any single word of English. 我從來沒有講過一居英文在公司，我公司人知道我有在英國國外留學過但是從來沒有聽過講過. (trans.- Until now I have never spoken any English at the office. My colleagues know that I studied in England but they have never heard me speak English). I don't want to show off, first of all, I don't think I speak good English but for the interview I would prefer to speak English, right and second of all I don't want to shock some, I hate people when they talk, they want to speak half Chinese and half English. 我不喜歡因為我覺得你跟台灣人講 (trans.- I don't like it because I think you speak to Taiwanese people) if you talk to Taiwanese and how come you speak half Chinese and English, I don't know, but if you talk to English people, then probably you want to explain in English.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Er, half half, 一點點吧 (trans.- a little) you know people always get you know bit proud, I'm just come back but on the other side, I am no different from the other Taiwanese.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

No, not at all. I'm kind of person 我只會往前座我不會去 (trans.-I can only go forward)

Have you ever been back to the UK or do you plan to?

No, no.

For business?

Then I will, but never live there, 不會 (trans.- I can't).I think if I had choice then I would prefer probably study is OK, and if I got money for the retired life I probably think 澳洲，紐西蘭，紐約(trans.- Australia, New Zealand, New York).

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

It was very easy to get back into Taiwanese life

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 5 to 7

I think I'm 100%, no I act like Taiwanese but inside sort of a different thinking but I 我還是覺得(trans.- I still think) (number7), just for the education part, you think different, I don't mean you think different with the other things, but

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when you analyse things, when you talk about business, when you think about the plan you act, when you office, you act like a 老外 (trans.- foreigner). Because I want this stuff today, so you are thinking of today, but apart from that I still very, very Taiwanese.

This kind of thinking is it useful?

Yes

Any problems?

不會拉 (trans.- no) What I can say is, 其實在現在的環境有太多人去過留學的所以說，你不會說(trans.- Actually, now in this environment there are too many people who have studied abroad, You cannot say) (phone ringing) 我不覺得說我比別人特別吧，因為太多人，如果你去一個 (trans.- I don't think I am more special than anyone else, because there are too many people, if you go to an) office太多人每個人都是說是博士 · 你因為你現在 (trans.- too many people, everyone has a PhD. Because now) interview的對象應該有很多都是只有去兩年 (trans.- you probably have met many people who went for one or two years) but you probably never meet people probably stay for 10 years, 9 years, 20 years, so probably we think different from the others.

What are your plans for the future?

很多 (trans.- many) we the company which doing interior, investment portfolio, we are sort of, that's my future I think I want to do. I want to stay in Taiwan, not another country, not even Mainland China. Not for me.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel? Are you satisfied with life generally?

Yes, yes.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Very, very good thing. What I should say that if I don't have the ten years, nine years education in the UK, then I don't have the 我沒有今年的真絕 (trans.- I would have this year). Help me establish the company so. If I don't spend 9 years in the UK, no today.

Do you think it was a good or bad thing to come back to Taiwan?

Good thing, of course.

好久沒有講過英文，都忘記了 (trans.- I haven't spoken English for ages, I've forgotten it all) (laughs).

I hate that kind of people who think they are more English when they come back, 我不覺得那種不(trans.- I don't think that type) 自己的(trans.- one's own) culture, just like I hate the I sort of don't like the people 他們到英國也覺得台灣不幸活了，因為他們 (trans.- they arrive in England and think Taiwan is not good) 我遇過一個最跨裝的事他去三個月吧 (trans.- I met a person who had been there for three months)，他說他覺得台灣沒辦法活得下去 (trans.- he said that it is impossible to live in Taiwan)，因為不可能有空氣怎麼髒的國家 (trans.- because it is not possible to have a country with such dirty air) ... 不高興 (trans.- not happy).

I never say I'm English here but I know some people they say they are Australian because they study in Australia. I also hate this kind of people.

In their first 3 years, I still sort of proud of being Taiwanese, 可是你不(trans.- but you don't) hang around with Taiwanese people, doesn't mean you don't proud you are Taiwanese. Most Taiwanese are very proud of being Taiwanese, people say I am from China, make me really angry. Once I was in airport in customs in Morocco, I was argue with the customs, he said you are from China, I say no, Republic of China, it's Taiwan, he think I am from China, we argue about 10 minutes with him. 他就是一直說你就是中國大陸，我說不是不是我是台灣 (trans.- he says you are Chinese, I say no, I'm from Taiwan).They say Cheena they don't say China.

我覺得最不一樣是 (trans.- I think the biggest difference is), lifestyle change在英國(trans.- in England) you do nothing, just coffee and chatting, party, everyday你不用你的頭腦 (trans.- you don't use your brain) then you are so lazy about working. Enjoy life, this is why difficult for some students.

Shaun

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

One years, I went to there September 2005 and I come back on September 2006. Study the Master's degree in International Marketing in [UK] University. It's not bad but everything is very expensive, like London.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

Almost 4 months.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

I have been to America, Seattle for 8 months to study English.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

I want to have much more different experience, and to maybe to learn some to improve my English and I think the biggest reason is that when I come back I can get a better job, and why I choose UK because I like football. I went to just two matches because the ticket is so hard to buy. I saw the Chelsea versus Manchester City and Arsenal versus, that is a Championship game so some small team come from Eastern Europe.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I also think after I graduate maybe I can find some job in England that's before I go to UK, I think so, but after I went to UK, I think UK, I don't like UK very much. I don't want to stay especially because the teenager problem.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

I feel very excited, maybe I can meet the girlfriend in the UK. Maybe English girl, maybe Japanese girl, maybe Chinese girl and actually I met there, I have a girlfriend, from my university, she study MBA, she come from China, so different country, she is in Shanghai now. And I will going to find her, I'm going to meet her on Saturday, I'm going to Shanghai. I fly to 澳門 (trans.- Macau), then fly to China. I have to go because my girlfriend cannot come to Taiwan, she only can come to Taiwan by tour, with a tour and she could not go to Taiwan by herself, she has to go to some place with a tour. Very annoying. Maybe when I have the nice job we can get married.

Yes, I am also very nervous to go to UK because maybe I cannot find a place to live or maybe my luggage will get lost. I have to take the bus to go to Reading and then transfer the train to [UK city]. I had no friends there when I arrive. I have to go to the school by myself. When I arrived there I find out actually it is not very difficult, but I very nervous. Even I been to Seattle, that is a different country.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 7

I think I was very Taiwanese. Before I will choose this number 7. I will go to Shanghai and try to find a job. If I get a job. My girlfriend's father say he will introduce a job for me.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

I feel a little bit small, small, smaller than what I think before because when I go to Seattle, everything in America is very huge, very big, but when I arrived in Heathrow airport, I think it is a little bit small and darker, the colours there and the building and the light there, dark. Very different form America and everybody, they don't smile, they are more unfriendly than in Taiwan. The teenagers sometimes if you in UK if you go alone in the night and some teenager will come to you and they will say Chinese pig or something. I feel very terrible. For me I think this happened about three or four times, in [UK city]. Even in Tesco, when I am buying some food, there is a girl and she come to me and she yell at me, I don't know why. I know that is because your policy right, you have the law that say, in England if you cannot hit the children, you cannot punish the children.

How about older people?

Older people is very nice.

I always compare UK and America, and in America when you go to a shop they will always say have a nice day or something like that but in the UK, not like that.

With whom did you live?

I live in the accommodation with other Asian students like Thai, and China and some of the Korean, Japanese. I spend most of time with the other Chinese, not Taiwanese because I don't know why the Taiwanese in our school they are a little bit strange. I think maybe they are girls and when I go to UK they there is one girl I think she feel very nervous and she never go outside, she at her home, her accommodation every day and just go to the school and after the school she just come back and sometimes she will call everybody and say not that important and there is another girl, she always want her family to send a lot of food for her, after that arrive she don't want to eat that, she just give it out to her friends; I don't know why, maybe she just want everyone to think she is a good girl, don't know.

Did you find Mainland Chinese different from Taiwanese?

Yes, I think different, I think the most interesting difference is they know they are big country and when they do something they have to think more bigger and more longer, they have a longer plans about their country, in Taiwan everybody think about just two years because of the election, in Taiwan we have election every year, so this year we have Mayingjiu and this year we have Taipei city mayor and next year we have the presidential and in 2008 there is president. They only think one or three years but I think in China they think much bigger than Taiwan and in Taiwan we have get rich for 20 maybe 30 years, but for the Chinese people they get rich maybe just 10 years so some culture things, sometimes I think they OK I will say that later (laughs).

I think some of them are spoiled because of one child policy, I talk this with some of them. I argue with them and they always lose. Because something is right and something is wrong, they even know they better talk, so they are always wrong, for example Taiwan and China is two countries if not why do we have our own passport, need visa.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Yes, yes. I feel maybe some culture difference, Taiwanese students in the UK, they always want to save money because some of the Taiwanese students go to the UK, they borrow from the bank, they have to pay the tuition by themselves, but for me, my tuition, my father pay, I think it is quite a lot of money, I feel I have to pay back. But my Chinese friends, they almost they think they don't have to pay back, I don't know why, maybe they spoilt. I felt proud to be Taiwanese, yes. I think that when I saw that kind of thing in UK I think life in Taiwan is not bad, I still feel very proud.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes, and I have more international view when I in the UK because I saw many people come from every country for example India, in Taiwan we have never had a chance to contact with the India or people come from Middle East, we only see the news from India. This was a good experience, and I feel I have to care much more things from global thing, before I never think that. Before I only concentrate on Taiwan situation. I think it is more Taiwanese, because there is lots of different countries that I feel to be a Taiwanese I have to bring something for this earth. Like recycle, Taiwan is good but not enough, when I go to American and UK I think you don't really recycle and waste a lot of things.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3

I was always a foreigner in England, I'm 老外 (trans.- foreigner). I feel my accommodation is my another home but not England. We live in a flat and there is six rooms and every of my flatmates they are come from Asian and we finally we become very good friends so my accommodation is my home and my friends is my family in the UK. We cook together and share our things. I had one or two English friends but not very much. The English people is my girlfriend's friend because she study in MBA programme and that programme had some more English people. My programme has no English people. There is one girl come from America. Most of them come from China or Africa and lots of people come from Greek. Greek people they are, they have their world and they are not friendly. And after I went to Italy, I think the English people are the best in Europe, because I went to Italy for 10 days, one day our luggage get thiefed from our car, some people stole our luggage from the car, in Pisa. Shit, and the policeman, we call the policeman and the policeman come to our place in one hour. Too common and they don't want to do anything even though the fingerprint there, but they just don't want to do anything, they say when they find our luggage they will call us, and we can go. The insurance not cover with that part. We lose everything and the bad news is before that day we went to a shopping mall and everything half price so we buy a lot of stuff and everything stolen. Clothes

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and wallet and some jewellery. One of my Chinese friends, his passport get lost too so he stay in Italy for 2 more weeks to went for his passport and new visa. English people are nice compared to Italian.

Was the UK what you expected it to be before you arrived?

I thought England was elegant, but not true. I think England there is two class, one class is high class and one class is the low class. I didn't know there was a low class before. I only know there is a football hooligans.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Because one of my friends, he is a Taiwanese and he after he graduate from our school, one or two years ago, he find a job in UK and I think the pay is, the salary is 2500 per months, UK pounds I think. Very high because he is a computer engineer. But he say his friends work in the same company, have 5000 per month, double money. I think if you are an English people to work in that company you will get more salary. I think even though I work so hard, I still could not get a better pay than the other countries' people just because I'm Asian people, so I think that is ridiculous, so I decide, I want to work for my country but now I have to work in China with my girlfriend but it is still better than work in the UK, work hard and don't have the good pay. My visa still valid due till January 23. I still have time but I come back because Italy. Before I go to Italy I still think after Italy I want to go to maybe Germany or French, or something like that to have a travel, and after that I will come back to Taiwan but after I go to Italy I feel so disappoint and even the England I want to go to Edinburgh but after Italy I don't want to, so I come back earlier. This happen end of August and I come back September 18th.

I'm very happy because I can go back to Taiwan, I can eat a lot of delicious things. I think English food is good but it is too expensive so I have to buy some food cook by myself. When I left England I feel sad because I think England is my second home because it is second longest place I have lived for my life but mostly excited.

How did you feel on the aeroplane?

I feel so long because I have taken the Singapore airplane and when I at Heathrow, because there is a terrorist, so I stay in the airport for maybe one hour or two hours longer just to get to the safety check. Every liquid, you cannot bring on. After I get on the airplane, I happy to leave Heathrow airport.

Did you drink in the UK?

Sometimes when I watch football games, I will go to the bar. Not often in Taiwan.

4. **Experience of Coming Back**

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

So crowded. When I get back I sleep for three days. Back to Taiwan, when the first time I walked outside close to my house, I feel so many people, where's these people come from, because when I in [UK city], there is no people in the campus. Less space in Taiwan, but it is more convenient, when I in the UK and I want to buy some food, I have to go to the Tescos by walk and 15 minutes, but in Taiwan only it's 1 minute because 7-11 or some place. I think it is different, the convenient is positive, when you want or say the comfortable it is negative. But in Taiwan I can be with my family so feel very comfortable. I like to live with them. I think living with my parents is quite interesting because they every day you can talk with them and sometimes they will say something you back and they know you so you can feel very relaxed. My mother is very 囉唆 (trans.- nagging) but it is OK.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Yes, they think I have changed. My sister, since I come back, she say I grow up, I start to care with the other people, before I go to UK, I don't care, I care much more to my friends but not family. Yes, I do care about my family more, I think family is much more important because they are a big part of your life.

Has your relationship changed with your parents?

Actually, after I come back from America it has already changed, maybe now it has changed much more after I come back from UK. When I come back I hug my parents and tell them I love them. For a girl I think this is normal but for a boy I think it is very 娘 (sissy). Now I don't do it any more,

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Yes, some Taiwanese will think that if they didn't go abroad, they will think the other countries, everything is much better than Taiwan, but after I went to UK I think some things in Taiwan are really good, so I feel proud to be Taiwanese. For example, Taiwan 高鐵 (trans.- high speed train), when I in England I feel very surprised, England train so fast, faster than Taiwan but I went to website, I went to google and I found out that the UK normal one is 200

kilometres per hour and German is 350 KPH but now Taiwan have our high speed rail train, it's 300 kilometres, I feel very proud for this country. But in Taiwan, Taiwan's TV, Taiwan's news, they don't know about that, they always critical that, that always say why you us Japanese train and don't use European system and blah, blah, blah, and everything Taiwanese will be bad, every building, every bridge is not good, I feel why are you doing this? I watch a lot of news but I think the way I watch news changed after I go to America, I am much more feel to think I'm Taiwanese, we are a good country in the world.

I always think that England society is 變態 (trans.- perverse), Taiwan society also but different. For example after I saw England teenagers, he row across the ocean to America, just one guy, and I see that I think, oh that is English. That is why he do that, English people always do something very crazy.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

Yes, with the MSN, with the Thailand's friends, China's friends. If I have time I would like to go back to be a tourist there, but not a student. Because the Master's degree in the UK is very intensive, every week you have assignments to do. Also, dissertation, nobody tell you how to do that, I think even we have a supervisor, they just tell you, this part is not good, this part is not good, and you have to change it by yourself.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 7

I still feel very Taiwanese, I'm the Taiwanese in an international context, that's globalisation.

What are your plans for the future?

Go to China to work and marry my girlfriend. I think in China there is much more chance to get rich, for example a better chance to get a better job, I want to have a try.

What do your parents think?

They think not bad, there is already a lot of companies in Taiwan, they already move to China. I'm not sure what company I want to work in, maybe some foreign company, they always have a better pay.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel?

I'm not happy because of my dissertation, and I have my girlfriend always want me to go to China.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Yes, definitely a good thing for my life. I think even the bad things are also a good thing sometimes. In the Neihu senior high school I met an English teenager, he came to Taiwan to teach English, he just graduate from university, and he just been to Taiwan for one year and he don't like Taiwan because he only eat vegetables, but Taiwanese vegetables the food is more oily so he can only can eat in high class restaurants so he have to spend a lot of money. I speak with him in English and play football with him every week.

Almost every Asian student, my friends they have this kind of bad experience with England people. I think Scotland also have this kind of problem. But I think every country has this kind of problem, in Taiwan we also have immigrants, Thai workers and some people look down on them.

And you?

For me, before I went to UK I look down on them because I feel they are dirty because they are black skin and they always sit on the ground but now I feel that's just culture difference and they are also people, they are people, they are also friends. Actually my Thai flatmates they are Chinese people, their grandfathers come from China, in Thailand always Chinese people is rich so that is why they have money to go to UK to study.

Olly

1.   Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

One and a half years. Finance Master's degree. 3 months presessional course, in Glasgow, so I had to read books before the class so I could understand. The accent is very ...

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

3 years ago, the end of 2004. Oh no, 2, 2 years.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2.   Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Want to improve my English and experience of my life, some finance background and friends.

Why the UK?

UK is cheaper and shorter, one year course. And maybe because Europe, I want to travel in Europe, it is more colourful, different cultures in Europe, not only American culture. I travel in France, Greece, German, Austria, Switzerland.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

Come back to Taiwan. Temporary.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

This question is quite difficult. (Doesn't understand the question).

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 6

Of course excited, the future. Not nervous, not at all, actually not sad (laughs). I was crying a little bit at the airport, just one tear I think.

3.   Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Glasgow. The accent is terrible, I couldn't work out 15 or 50, when the taxi driver want to charge the... right now 15 or 50. It's not that modern, I thought more modern, but I know Glasgow is not the largest city in Britain so especially about network, I mean Internet not convenient in Glasgow but in Taiwan, you can have internet anywhere and very convenient, 7-11 is all around but there is no 24 hour service in Glasgow I think, maybe one, I just know one. But I live in a little bit far from city centre so my view is not very representative. My location is around like do you know 三重台北縣 (trans.- a suburb of Taipei) not that very crowded. People in Scotland are very friendly, when I feel confused they are very friendly, I just need to open the map and some Scottish there is someone walk to me and can I help you?

Any problems with the local people?

No, more friendly in Glasgow rather than Edinburgh or London.

With whom did you live?

One Taiwanese from Kaoshiung and two Koreans, one Irish and England and one Poland, that's all. Private flat, I rent it from the landlord not the school (Lack of understanding). I spent the first three months for presessional and lived with all Taiwanese and then I move out from the apartment, I want to move out it's always stay with Taiwanese people, I couldn't learn something else.

Actually Taiwanese people or maybe myself. Because the different culture I think and eating style so I you know what I mean, I have actually always eat with my Taiwanese friends, the 室友(trans.- flatmate) someone I , flatmate, always with the guy from Kaoshiung.

Any friends from other countries?

Sometimes we can talk with them on the MSN they still contact.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK?

You mean, when I in the UK I feel more myself more Taiwanese, 大陸 (trans.- Mainland) my ex-girlfriend is 大陸 (trans.- Mainland) quite different they judge, Taiwanese people is more open-minded, the view she told me that people from China is, the view and their mind is more narrow and they like to judge, they judge everything, not everything actually but they like judge, it's because of the 文化革命 (trans.- cultural revolution) and she told me that the Taiwanese friends are more open-minded, I can see that. I will say I'm from Taiwan but it is quite different in the 大使館 (trans.- embassy) when I have to apply the Shengen visa it's quite different. Their attitude is quite different from the Taiwanese and the Chinese, it is easier for the Taiwanese. My girlfriend works now in Shanghai, very beautiful, just five months, our relationship is only five months, we split because I had to come back to Taiwan, quite sad.

How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Proud, I would not say proud, actually sometimes sad, it's China, Asia, but, I don't know how to say, the position of Taiwan is more and more outside of Asia, sorry about my poor English. We play a less important role in Asia especially the economy so we have to be clear about our government, we have to work abroad so that is why I study corporate banking for Taiwanese small and medium companies. I work for HSBC now, our clients are almost in China, maybe one year later I will go and visit them.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Because we have to discuss the paper with India friends or Chinese friends so we have to have the accept different views or opinions, yes, more global actually. A little bit more open-minded actually. Actually what I want to say is, of course I know before I go to UK I have to have the open mind open my mind but now in the UK now I know what does Indian friends think and what does British friends think. I don't like drink actually because my physical nature, how do you say that, when I drink a bottle of beer I will sick.

Did you become less Taiwanese in the UK?

Yeah, how do I say that 飲食習慣 (trans.- eating and drinking habits) something I eat, something I drink different, I prefer that kind of light meal, I don't like Chinese everything is 湯湯水水(trans.- soup, soup, water, water) you know, oil very oily, I don't like that, I like light meal. Very convenient, sandwich and how you say that Crisps, Walkers crisps, cheese and onion (laughs excitedly), there's no Walkers in Taiwan, only Lays, it's different. After I came back from Glasgow I might change my eating habits. Even now I prefer light meal.

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3

Was Scotland ever your home?

Yeah, little bit, aha. When I hear the Scottish accent I feel, yes different feelings, like some is Edinburgh accent, the guy 007 Sean Connery, or like Hugh Grant the British accent.

Was the UK what you expected?

Very convenient about the financial, the service of banking in Glasgow, in Britain, I think the service in Taiwan is better than, it's true very disappointed that, I think I go to the wrong country (laughs). (Phone rings, answers). I think the financial service is more friendly and or maybe I'm from Taiwan, is that true do you think? Do you think it's not very convenient in the UK? I'm from Chinatrust before I take this job, customer service is amazing, local bank. Now HSBC is Hong Kong bank, it's not so good. Corporate bank is OK because the branches is not enough here, only eight branches in Taiwan, quite little. They focus on the big customers.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Because my it's my place to how to say that to I can show myself I mean my background only support I work in Taipei because my friends, my relationship is in Taipei, if I want to go to Shanghai maybe five or three years because for banking I need the relationship and friends, I have to stay here and then step by step and then to Shanghai, maybe.

What about staying in the UK?

No, that's not my place, if I want to stay in UK I have learn IT or something else I guess, because my spoken English is not good enough I couldn't stay in the UK, but maybe Shanghai.

How did you feel to leave the UK?

I feel sad but it is almost because of my girlfriend not something else, of course a little bit my missing of Glasgow, but most I feel sad because of my ex-girlfriend. She couldn't come to Taiwan because of the visa, if she want to work in Taipei, she have to stay here for eight years and then she can get the visa for working, it's true, even if you get married, the same, I think the same, eight years.

Do you still have contact with her?

Yeah, sure, msn.

Did you start to look for a job in Taiwan while you were in the UK?

I search for some information but not, I start to looking for job after I came back Taipei.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

I just want to have a big meal (laughs) because of the terrible food in UK (laughs), always only chips, I don't know what, fish and chips, awful.

What did you eat first when you came back?

Chinese 火鍋 (trans.- hot pot) a kind of hotpot, xianjiao it's a kind of dumpling, you must eat that before, shenjiao a kind of jiaozi one kind of jiaozi.
Did you feel different when you came back to Taiwan?

Maybe it's quite convenient.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan?

I changed but what is that (laughs). Think the most important thing is more globalised, that's the most important thing, anything else… independent, that's all. I still live with my parents now. I really want to move out, I want to have my house, my own house, actually I still feel that now but it is very expensive in Taipei, quite expensive.

Did you feel uncomfortable when you first came back?

No.

Miss the UK?

Actually still now, sometimes, I miss the living style but that's not the point because of living environment, for example not that crowded.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

No one said that, no one told me about that but I don't know maybe but they don't tell me.

Have you relationships changed?

No.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Yeah, I think the most difference is the what I said international open-minded, we could accept different cultures or different people, that's the difference.

How about critical thinking?

No not really.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/friends you made in the UK?

Well I watch to BBC instead of CNN. Of course I read Taiwanese news but my homepage is BBC. Not many friends in the UK still contact with. Seldom see the Kaoshiung guy, maybe once in one year but most of them live in Taipei and I still see them.

Do you plan to go back?

No, too expensive, maybe with my, I don't have girlfriend now but maybe some day with her.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 5/6

I still think I'm Taiwanese, I don't think.

Plans for the future?

Actually I think people couldn't make I think we could only plan for one or two or three years but not over five years so maybe so now my I just work in the how do you say it, now I focus my job in Taipei for three years after three years I don't know, maybe Shanghai, maybe Vietnam, I don't know.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel?

Yes, the salary is quite OK, better than before.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

Of course good, good because I got a Master's degree and it's the ticket to the get a good job, Chinatrust it's the best local bank in Taiwan and the Master's degree let me get a ticket to get in and then go to HSBC, it's a good bank. They only offer for three kinds of people, one is 台大(trans.- National Taiwan University), one is政大 (trans.- National Chengchi University) and one is international students. I think they offer for the three kinds of staff, I'm the third one, graduate from the international.

Anything negative?

From now I don't find anything negative. Some of my friend they married to the Scottish guy, now they are in Chiayi Taiwan and then they will go to Edinburgh.

Raymond

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

It's about 2 years. I think it is divide in 3 parts, in the first 6 months, I stay in London and the middle, I stay one year in [UK city], and the last 6 months in London. I also did a presessional course. If you want have the most friends or eating or shopping or going the bar maybe London is the better choice. If you want to study like a normal student so you better maybe you should choose [UK city].

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

It's about 1 and a half years. In the summer.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

I want to study because my parents and my ex, they want me to have the different experience. So I think, maybe it's not good, because I have a real chance so I can go to study abroad, so then which country I should choose, actually my first choice is Japan but my parents they don't want let me to go to so because my sister, she study in Tokyo so they think maybe I should go to another country, they don't all children all going to the same place and I don't like America, but don't ask me why, I don't know, maybe by movies, impression, so I don't like, so I only have two choice, United Kingdom and Australia so I spent maybe two weeks I went to Australia, the Sydney and the other city I forgot the name and I think I don't like the environment at all, so I choose England. I choose the Master's because that is like a project.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

I think I'm going back to Taiwan when I finish the course but I am not sure how long I will stay in the UK. It was always temporary for me. Actually I think there is good, the environment is good but I think finally we are foreigners so maybe the government not accept all foreigners so I should back my country, I think it is better.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

The first time, nervous, because very far so I have no friends there so of course nervous. Not excited. A little bit sad because I don't know just a feel, because my friends and my ex.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 5/6

I think it was attitude, not very follow the culture, yeah. For example maybe do you know 孝順 (trans.- filial piety) it's a very traditional Taiwanese or Chinese culture but sometimes I think it is not very important to me. Of course to my parents I will do it, but sometimes for other parents, if they are not good, why should we do that? Teachers I think it depends, because like you, you have given me a very good experience, so if you want I will give you, but other teachers they do not so for me it is the same. It depends on the person really not their 社會地位 (trans.- social position). I think it is about your personality and attitude to other people. But maybe some people will think it is a traditional culture so we should follow it but I will not.

I went alone to the airport. On the airplane I feel alone, that feel a little low and think what should I doing, maybe I will, I don't want do it, just feel like that and finally I will think I can't back to, no way, just continue to do it.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Afraid, because the very big airport and actually my language is not very good at that time, I just can use very simple words, so I don't know how to do the process and how to do it right. In my first time there was my language school, there will someone to pick me up. When I first go there I forget the name, it's a north city, it's a harbour, I because I choose the language school they have many different branch so I choose the branch in the harbour but I forgot the name, north than London about one hour.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

It's very different for my expect, it's not like technology there, because my home stay so it's a traditional English house, so I'm not used to be my room, they don't have lock, lock, so for most of Asian they feel very terrible because you don't have a privacy and they can come into any time they want. Because in the morning maybe I don't want going to school but they will force me to going to school they will knock door and coming into and open door and they told me get up you should wake up, going to school. They are not old, maybe forty or fifty. No children. And I still other Taiwanese classmates, they told me that home stay was not very good, because before for me there are another Korean student, maybe a lot so they are angry because the language centre they give them money so they should spend this money, they can earn more money. I didn't like them.

It's OK because my sister she has a friend who study in London, in [UK city] so she told me maybe if I don't like, then I can change school and maybe I will lost two weeks study fee and I can come to live with her, so I came up for two weeks and then transfer the London branch, very good. Bell language school.

With whom did you live? Spend your time?

I live in student village in [UK city]. I live in the international students, my roommate they are because I have three roommate at this time, one is from Brazil, and second one is from Indonesia and third one is from Iceland or other country in North West. They are just flatmates because my English is not good enough at that time for easy communication.

Maybe you can say it's Angela or because we live together, but I think my friends in London, but they are from Taiwan too.

Any English friends?

English friends, not really, maybe you have some friends but just not usually to communication. I think if you are female, Asian female, you will be very easy to get English friends but actually from my experience if you live in London or in [UK city] it must be someone interesting in you , it is possible to get a friend.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Doesn't matter I think. No. I would say Taiwan, I think some people won't think we are from China because of different feel, 氣質 (trans.- makeup, personality, behaviour, all these things). Most of people will from China, they have to work, most of Taiwanese they don't need to work.

Did you have any Chinese friends?

Two, I have two but I know them because my friends, Taiwanese friends, they study in London, they will know Chinese, they will introduce me to them.

Are they different?

Totally different, by opinion or by some value or by experience, just like if Taiwanese want to study abroad it is very easy, you can prepare the money, but for Chinese, they need some power, they need relation, 需要有一點群力 (trans.- need some power). Family high level. They always say Taiwan is ours, I think it is very impolite.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

About me? Yeah, because when in [UK city] we should stay at home maybe all day because we need to do some research or study or plan an essay and in London not many place you can go, so most of time maybe stay at home very much but in Taiwan you can go many places and very convenient and very cheap I think, you can quite safety and very cheap. So in London you always always by walk or by bus, or you can going to if you can't go to anywhere busses very expensive. I think it is different because salary and living expenses different. I not usually drinking.

Any thinking?

I think it's about opinions, in my life because I before I study abroad maybe I will think about other people but not enough respect. But when I study now I think about how to respect other people. Maybe 4 years ago I would try to talk other people, tell them my opinions or my advice but now I won't do it. You could say that is form UK, maybe if I study in other country it is the same, but I'm not sure.

Less Taiwanese in any ways?

No, because there is many Taiwanese, so I think it is environment, Taiwanese it is like an attitude for your life.

Critical thinking?

I think it helped and 'it depends' (laughs).

How far would you say you were comfortable with the local life/community in the UK?

No, I am not like English. I think that tradition and culture is very influence you so that's why we are not same, I think forever. Before we know this, we like never thought about it.

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 1/2

Any bad experiences?

Actually, no not any because I always think by their culture or individual technology so I think it is OK. Just I don't like is my home stay, because we should live together so if they are not very polite or not easygoing they will not good.

I think English people is OK, they are cold, I think their attitude will make them very cold, but it depends, sometimes they are cold but they just try to respect your choice, so you will feel they are cold. Now I respect people's choices more. Even the Norwich people, the people in Norwich their opinion is very different from London because when I am going to London by myself, my host stay they told you should very, very careful, many bad people in there, many thieves so you should take your bag in front of you, you don't like to carry your bag back. I think why? They are living the same country, not so far. I enjoy London and I always carry my bag on back.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

Why? Because if I don't want to do a qualification or other study, I should be back here. I never thought I can find a job in there. Because I know no many, I get many information, even you are English, now is not very easy to find a job in there, and we are foreigners so when I finish I come back Taiwan. It's a long way from Taiwan, you know. I came back to Taiwan 3 times in 2 years, first time is I finish my language school, the 2nd time is for Christmas, the 3rd time is my grandfather passed away.

When I was going to leave I felt excited, I was ready to leave, of course, I want to go back for holiday if I can but actually I really happy to back to Taiwan for living. I didn't feel sad because if I have chance I can go back for holiday and see my friends, if I have never have chance to back to London, maybe I am sad, but I do have chance so why?

At Heathrow, I feel good, because the last night I still going to nightclub with my friends so don't have time to sleep, straight to the airport, I can sleep on the airport, in the airplane. I went clubbing very much in London. I tried drug once, not bad, it is OK, because I think it is not legal or illegal because my friend told me in London the police say OK, but in Taiwan that is illegal so not try. In London it is good because satisfy my personal experience, if you take one pill you feel more relaxed and more friendly. And you feel, your friends around you, is very nice.

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

Finally (laughs), it's OK because I take the China airlines so when I on the airplane I feel happy because the food are very good. I think I like fish but I don't like chips (laughs). I live in Taipei, and I go back to my parent for just 2 days. Because my parents, their opinion and attitude is very different from me, so if we live together too long we will argue and get angry every day, so not a good idea. Actually I live them until 20, after 20 years old, I always, I just live with them maybe one week per year. Now I am 33.

When you first came back to Taiwan did you feel uncomfortable?

No. Because I ask the same question the other roommates in London, she told me because she when she senior high school student she going to London for study so maybe she live in London nine years, I asking the same question, she said yes she did, problems. I had no problem, I think it depends how old are you going abroad. More young maybe you will feel uncomfortable when you back. For me no problems.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself since coming back to Taiwan?

No, actually a little bit, because sometimes you compare the situation or compare the environment to abroad so this is my first time, it was easy to do this.

Do you watch the news in Taiwan?

The news, no, because the political things so I'm don't like.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Just notice no much different, because in traditional opinion my parents always think you are my children, you are my son, so you are always the same, my parents are traditional, I am not (laughs), my parents always tell me don't do this, don't do this, but I think it is OK, because in their age they should have that opinion or that attitude because in that environment so I think it is OK. I have two older sisters, I live with my Taiwanese flatmate.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

I think no, I always think I'm Taiwanese. I think of course maybe something for me I think even I went to Tokyo or Canada I am OK because in Taiwan I have gone to other countries like Tokyo, I went to Japan and I went to Thailand and Koh Samui island in Thailand four times, three for holiday, one for work. First time I went to Tokyo, I lived in my friends house and I just window shopping every day and see which products have a market in Taiwan and finally I found two or three products and my friends they do the translation for me and this company, they like me and give me the chance.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/friends you made in the UK?

Yes, they are in Taiwan, studied or some friends' friends they introduce me, we still keep contact but not usually. I haven't been back to the UK but I intend to, because we still have friend working there.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 5/6

The same between 5 and 6. It is of course sometimes I will miss the natural environment like the tree but just a little, in Taiwan it is very convenient, very small so we have different situation. So natural environment in the Europe or UK better but so what. I think they protect the environment well.

What are your plans for the future?

Actually I'm not sure now because I still want to find a job, full time job. You know the Mitsukoshi they invite me to have a shop in their department store yesterday, they talk to me, they want, they told me I can think about this idea but you should spend a lot of money so I'm not sure now, because I think I should go back to talk to my parents, if they support me, I will do this.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel?

Generally, I think beside my job, yes, I think I'm very satisfied, I like my country just like maybe you think sometimes not good in the United Kingdom but it is still your country.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

I think a good thing, maybe I think that is my opinion, maybe you think English traditional food is bad but you don't have to choose the traditional English food, you can live in London you can go into China town, but don't worry about food, I think it is OK so, but it is a good experience for me. Of course, my mind more open now to everything. Maybe before I was more closed minded. Now maybe I am more independent by myself, more confident.

When did you split up with your ex?

Actually I think we separate in the second part, when I finish my language school, back to Taiwan we are still together, so we separate when I went to London, I got a phone call saying maybe you are not good and I just say oh, I know, I see, of course sad but it's OK.

Will

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

1 year, 1year programme, so it's from 2002 to 2003, 12 months. First month I am doing a professional course and then I am doing the Master degree in [UK city] University, international public relations, it's a one year programme. I think I'm lucky because in our department, the proportion of the different language foreign student so we don't have too many British students, we don't have too many like Asian students, I think it's in good proportion. Yes, some from America, Canada, so it's good balance.

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

3 and the half years ago. Long enough.

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

Not as long I think, I'm in Chicago I think... the longest time is 2 weeks to Japan.

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Ok, I guess because first of all, my major in undergraduate school is in law and I mean law very fascinating for my future career, so one of the reason that I want to change my future career so I decide to go for a programme higher education and that's UK then. The second reason like I want to explore the world, I should spend longer time like travel or live in another country for awhile, I think it will be a good chance by study aboard. So actually why I decided study aboard.

Why UK? Why not USA or Australia?

Ok, probably I found it much more friendlier and human, should be UK school I didn't need to pay for the application than I already pay out, so also I prefer.. maybe you won't agree that but I think in Euro so I'm more into European culture and I like different thing, country, that's why I choose UK. One of the reason is like time saving and money saving.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

Oh no no no, I never, until I graduated from the college, I'm serious think about what do I set, should I go for, should I just jump in to the work pool to IT, or should I study for longer time. I think my... in 1999 I graduated from college, I think that I should go out and do some research and I decided, maybe I should go to UK. OK, I planned to stay in the UK if I have a chance, but I did try I came out some justifications, but I just realised during the communications because in England is not really English for the foreigners, different cultures especially Asian practicing to get the job there, so I realised that I should come back. I could be advantaged to me to have a UK degree to find job here in Taiwan.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

I say somewhere in between for probably like number 5, why? Hmm, I think the major reason should be my sexuality, like my sex orientation I'm homosexual, so I think that already have the contract to the traditional culture, and during my college, I think I do want to explore the world more, and I think other the western or other culture will accept me better, so I think at the meantime, I try to transform myself that's why I think I'm a little bit away from the traditional core of the culture.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 5

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

Excited, one year away from home, no more parents like, a lot of new adventures and whole new world is waiting for me, so I'm exciting.

Where you sad at all to leave?

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Not really, well, there was a moment my mum saying goodbye to and crying and cry, so I think oh, I should go back, but I rang her right away and say don't worry, I'll be ok, and after that after I hang up, I'm happy again.

Do you have brothers or sisters?

Yes, the younger brother, al lot of students, most of them like try to for the companionship or find the company with them but I going by myself all the way. I didn't know anybody at the time when I going to [UK city]. A bit, yes, uncertainty but I think most of them still be quite exciting.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan?

The suck, because before I arrived, I thought it the capital, the picture of capital should be a lot of sky scraper and a lot of building, but when we arrived, oh, no, and a lot of sheep, we don't know where, the big city. Then I got am I got what I pay? I'm not quite sure about that, and that's my day. Then I go to city centre, I find it's a medium size city even it just became what I imagined, or what I pictured, English city should be like London, so it's a moment of suck, but I got used to it.

Why did you choose [UK city]?

By the time, the study public relations there are only four schools operate the course, one in England Westminster, one in Scotland Sterling, one in North of Ireland, and last one is in [UK city], after comparison either the price and everything I found [UK city] could be the best chose. It's the cheapest, and not too in the North, with Sterling I think it will be too cold. And Westminster is a private school so I rather to go to a public one so I choose [UK city].

What did you notice the difference between Taiwan when you first got there?

First of all the driving, they driving at right side, UK people driving at right side, that's the first thing. And the people, before I arrived UK, people like all we have a feeling like English are a bit cold, they different than the others. Not that bad, actually curious, and they I think it's warm, they willing to offer you a hand or like ask "can I help you?" Maybe they won't go further but at least when we first met or like when we first arrived without know anything, there are few ladies nice to offer help.

Do you have problems with local people at all?

Just was one time, young people going to jump my bicycle because I was with my Italian friend, so yell at them I think, stupid lad.

How does that made you feel?

A bit frustrated, and then I feel sorry for them because apparently they don't know much about the world, or feel for the outside, I can understand that but I think, I do feel sad. generally speaking, not so bad, actually one of my friends just live in Mid-Wales I stay there for the other night, I found real Welsh people are quite friendly or maybe I'm the Asian never meet one before, I think they are very nice to me.

With whom did you live?

I lived in a flat, I only visit my friend stay with their flat. I live with another 5 flat mates, one from China, two from Germany one from Greek and other local people, it's from England actually, different ethic, black, Caucasian, Greek and Asian.

Who do you spent your time with?

Most of time in UK, I say 70%I'm still with my Chinese friends, about another 30 with my classmates, and then my flat mate, I don't actually spend much time in my class because I just doing the work and close to one of my flat mate, so most of time in the library of in our Chinese friend's house.

Did you have any UK friends?

Ya, the girl, she is white, the other one is my friend's friend, my friend's roommate. Basically I don't have many like British or Welsh friends, most of them from Taiwan or in my class, so it's from Europe, I think probably because local students they have their own style they have their own friends already. For international students you need to get up our network, with more time to spend with each other, so I think depends when they and why it's not easy to talk to each other.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK?

I think so, because one of the reason because political issue, because I will make famous that I'm from Taiwan not from China, so I'll try to gain Taiwanese character or feature, sometime it's hard to identify what's Taiwanese culture and what do we different from Chinese people.

Do you make any friends with Chinese people?

Ya, I have two close friends from Shanghai.

Do you feel any difference from you?

Different, ya, they are, like they quite a few differences, different way of thinking, those from bigger city. I think their culture more like it's 帝國主義 (trans.- imperialistic), getting use to it, but those from smaller province, I think the growing ethic background is quite different, he will obliged to how he put values and how he greeting how we act as a student. I also think Taiwanese are more willing to make friendly to other people while Chinese they tend to stick together and only eat Chinese food and speak Chinese and I think that's the different.

Do you feel proud to be Taiwanese then?

Yes, I am.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes, will I say both the major reason I feel 解放 (trans.- liberated) and I more a lot I went to Prague and I go different like I went to Ukraine, there I just find my... be happy, so I think I was in afraid of communication but I'm in UK so that makes a major change on my behaviour, I think I have changed. The other part is I like to learn UK culture since I'm in UK, I like to act and be involved so when try to borrow the recipe, and try cook, so that's another change, so I think we need to change, and I did. A bit, ya, and I not really... I don't even agree myself to agree in our case, it's not quite right, I don't like some of the community, just too drama queen, but well, in the UK I learn to respect all the difference and I think that's a good thing, after I come back, I just I think I made more friends, I just drop out all those instructions, so now I notice some more difference, far more than I went to UK before.

Do you think that in that way you became less Taiwanese at all?

Yes, but in the beginning I can feel the different, but I won't say it's a huge or great change. In the end, I think I still have the core of being a Taiwanese, we just add a few elements, the way we speak or diet change, but I think in a way of thinking we are still Taiwanese.

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 5

I will pick something around number 5 or 6, maybe I will say 5 to be, I tried to blend myself in it. But I guess, in beginning, most of time, I'm more like European, most of my classmates from Euro, continental Euro, so I learn different thing from them

4. Experience of Coming Back

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

Bad, quite a contrast, I remember I am flying from Heathrow and taking BA to Frankfurt, when the plant take off, I've been cry, oh my god , I'm going back to Taiwan, I miss the life here, I've got friends here... I cried for like 15 minutes, when I arrive Frankfurt, there I see the Chinese tourist group I hear in Chinese, 福建話,台灣話 (trans.- Fujian dialect, Taiwanese language). Then I start "Err, I don't want to go back". You think it's, yes, I just don't want to come back.

By the time I think I just back to the reality, I see my parents, I am happy see them. First thing I'm trying to get local food, next thing I want kind of job I should look for, and I hope I can find a job near my mum, so the next thing I try hardest ... than worrying about them.

Did you feel that you are like a foreigner when you came back to Taiwan?

Right, for the first few months, because the biggest difference are we can not because people understand you here, so we need to turn around instead with English. In the first month actually film will make a day like we use to do in the UK but somehow different.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan?

Somehow I am, but its kind of, like the different like people born or grow up in the foreign country. And we are in the middle, then the other one is the local people, but we are different from those haven't been aboard, but also different

from those spend whole life aboard. Maybe I got the influence, I don't really like States, the American, I would think they are arrogant, or doing the macho things. I think I'm a bit different.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back? Have your relationships changed in any way?

Yes, especially my friends from my college, the way of my thinking is different, and different judgement like 價值觀 (trans.- values). The way we believe things the way we like.

What about your parents?

Not direct comment from them, I didn't ask them, we don't talk about this but yes, they might feel the change. Yes, before I went to UK, Taiwanese or Asian parents they tend to take care of you too much, but then I during the time I was away, I thing I also learn how to be independent and catering, now we have our own space, we have more room. That's the change.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

I say probably around number 2 or 3, and in two months I probably go back to about number 5. I got the job, I'm more appreciating Chinese people, I think ok, I'm in Taiwan, the way I'm thinking and the subject we talk about it's what we are. It's good thing that somehow we still keep a chain and good connection.

CHART 3 – POSTSOJOURN – 3-5

What are your plans for the future?

I will hope that I can probably work in other country before my 35, so, probably in China or other Asian country. But in the end I think, I will still come back to Taiwan. I'm open to anything but I guess I will probably settle down. Later we can have our own financial stage so I think people then to get married and settle down after that.

So you have to be financially settled before you get married?

Ya, I think especially for man, somehow can be the provider.

Now you have been back for 3 and a half years, how do you feel?

If I score that, probably 75, Not exactly 100% satisfied but it's ok, except that I have no boyfriend right now, so that make another 25% (laughs). I don't think when I'm really old, I can't... either I have to open my own agency or to do some marketing... Work? We should get a life, not just work.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

That is a definitely a good thing, I will recommend to my friends except the pounds it's quite expensive. I think it's a good thing in my life, I made the good choice.

Trevor

1. Demographics

How long did you spend in the UK? What were you doing?

Around 4 years, almost 4 years. Just studying, studying my PhD in Management in [UK city].

How long ago did you come back to Taiwan?

Just more than 2 years, exactly 26th Monday, just over two years. (in fact, one year)

Have you had any other long-term stays in other countries?

No

2. Pre-UK Departure

Why did you decide to go abroad?

Actually, I'm not, after, ok, after I graduation, after the national military service I want to study my PhD abroad, so I want to America or the UK but.. before go to the UK I spend about 10 years to work for saving money to do my PhD study and finally I got the, passed the obtain the studentship from my government so I have the money to go but my subject was limited between management, about the management, in this field actually I should go to the United Stated because lots of technology is in the United States but why, because I was in the natural sciences, my first degree was in botany, my second degree was immunology, molecule immunology so it is totally irrelevant for me the management, so university in the United States, they asked me to start with the Masters degree. I think I take too long and I don't think I can afford such money, so I went to the UK and hopefully to university accept me, and I chose the University of [UK city] to do my PhD in Management. So that is why the UK, unfortunately I'm not really into the UK, I want to go to America. UK too expensive and another reason I'm afraid it is difficult to find some case or company to or related to the biotechnology industry and so this is the major reason I want to the United States.

What were your plans after studying in the UK?

Not exactly, I want to finish my studies and come back to Taiwan, I always come back to Taiwan, always temporary. Lots of Chinese (Mainland), they always say China is really good but they always stay in UK (laughs). But my plan was come back.

Do you remember how you felt before you left for the UK?

Exciting and nervous because and I'm a little afraid I can't finish because the first is the language problem, although I got the IELTS 6.5 but English not very well and I know the PhD is not easy to get I think the major problem was I'm not used to the social sciences. I always study in natural sciences, it is quite different, it's very different, actually I encounter such a problem in my study. I took my wife and kid to England, my kid too small to go to school, too young, she was around one year old when we left. No firstly I was alone, one years alone. Actually I've been back in Taiwan one year, more than one year.

CHART 1 – PRESOJOURN – 5/6

I'm not exactly Taiwanese, I eat the Taiwanese food, but for example some driving style, I hate someone they don't obey the regulations, I hate that, I hate that kind of things. But in eating style I'm definitely the Taiwanese.

3. Experience of Living in the UK

How did you feel when you first arrived in the UK?

I think I still got the same mood as before my visit. Not sad. I left my wife behind, I know I will miss her but not sad because I think I am going for another opportunity for the future. And I knew she would join me around one year after, so not so sad.

Why didn't she come with you at first?

Because she have to work, she can't quit the job or have vacation, or leaving long time at once, so she come one year later.

When you arrived at Heathrow, how did you feel?

Oh, I'm so sad but the sad is not because I leave my family but because I have to join a very very very long queue for medical examination. So I'm really sad, over I took the around over 4 hours in the airport before the passport control. I didn't know the regulation. I don't know why, Not SARS period, but I don't know, I found if I have examination in Taiwan and show them x-ray film or medical records then I can go through first but I didn't so I joined the very long queue. So I'm very sad (emotional) and I wonder why the English people are so inefficient so I get very sad. And after I get through the airport, the bus to [UK city] has gone. The last one, so I very sad, I sleep in the airport, hotels quite expensive (laughs). Very bad the first experience. They were not at all friendly to me.

What did you notice was different in the UK from Taiwan? How did that make you feel?

At that time not yet, no not yet. I would say they are friendly except inefficient. When I arrived in [UK city], I felt excited, very tired and when I saw the buildings in campus, oh my goodness, like the factory, a little disappointed. Because I saw the pictures on the website, quite beautiful and gorgeous so why like the factory... marketing marketing marketing marketing. City is nice, I didn't say the whole city, I just say the campus and also the campus very small, [UK city] is a small university and it is slightly different from my expectation. Negative impression. Even go to the Cambridge or Oxford university not as beautiful as the movie shows.

With whom did you live?

I lived with some other students at the different departments, from China, all of them are Chinese.

Mainland Chinese?

Yes, If I say Chinese I mean the people from Mainland China. If I say the Taiwanese I mean people in Taiwan. I just want to make the distinction between.

Did you spend time with them?

Yes, I would say, they are good because they are not so typical 像一些想法 (trans.- like some ways of thinking) about the political thing not so politically minded. Sometimes we will talking about the situation, no fighting or arguing but very reasonable, very friendly to discuss that, some views, some different views from each other. I think we are definitely different, for example, we are not the same country, another thing is, their suggestion to treat Taiwan, I don't like it and I will tell them that and they will say, they will explain, why blah blah blah, and another thing, I will talk to them about what Taiwanese people think but they and they can understand that but I don't think they will I mean it is not useful to change the leader's mind, I always think about that.

Were they your friends?

I would say yes.

Did you have any English friends?

Yes, my colleague, in my final years or young more senior than me and focus on the some of my department in management PhD, lots of them, They are nice, English people or some Arab countries, Korean, Japanese, Greek , Turkish, very international, and Germany, and in that time we have to communicate with the English and they good to meet.

Did you feel any bad feelings from the English?

Not so bad, no, after the arriving in the university of [UK city], I would say that they are friendly. I didn't meet any teenagers, only adults.

Where did you live?

The first year I lived in the campus and after my wife came I moved to the private house, apartment, flat with little baby, with a baby.

Did you feel Taiwanese in the UK? How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Yes.

How did you feel to be Taiwanese?

Cooking, and hairstyle and I always thinking I'm from Taiwan, I going back to Taiwan and always say, if someone asks me where are you come from? I always say Taiwan and they say I'm from Chinese and I say no, Taiwanese

(laughs). Actually I don't want to be Chinese because I heard a lot of bad comments about Chinese so I don't want to be Chinese, I want to be a Taiwanese because I don't want them to look down on me. 台灣獨立 (trans.- Taiwan independence) maybe an issue but not a major reason. I'm proud to be Taiwanese.

Do you think you began to think/act differently in the UK?

Yes I think, I er, I will, for living style, I changed, I think I changed I like the English style, not so nervous, so quick, so busy. For study I actually indeed I got the different thinking about doing the study. In Taiwan for example lots of people, lots of professors, they always think they just following someone's theories to see if they can apply it in Taiwan or not but in the UK I got another, I found English, they more like likely to develop something, some theories and some and other people can follow his theory so they can get in the leading position, so I think this is quite different. And another thing, because I was in life sciences, so I was pay some attention on the operations of the science laboratories in the UK, I found in Taiwan different, the main point is, in the UK, ok in Taiwan, professors make research to support some research project with existing theories to do their research but in the UK some professors, they will designing the special environment or do their research, I think it is difference. SO in that case I think the Taiwan professors may be limited in some areas or in some, I think that may be the reason they developing very good, as such a result.

Why do you think that is?

I don't know, maybe this is an interesting topic but I don't have time to think about it but it maybe be graduation from NGC, national Graduation Council, they control the majority of research funding, they ask the Taiwanese professors publish a lot otherwise the professors they not get a research funding. In that case they must do some low level research, enough so they can publish it in low level journals. Probably this is one reason, probably another reason is the education system, or cultural differences, possibly another reason is the UK is a very very (...) country, in the science and technology, leading country but Taiwan is not.

Have you changed your style then?

Yes, I have become more English for studying. But make my time difficult to survive in this system. If I do my study in this way, I will take longer time to publish so maybe I will be very low level, but it's OK, my university is not so concentrate on the research, concentrate on the teaching more than the research. It a private university and the students is not very good in their level. I prefer these people, they don't love themselves too much.

Do you think you became less Taiwanese?

Yes. Studying and the I respect the regulations more now. I don't know why, If I saw the red light, I will stop, even in the midnight I will stop, but the other people, (sound effects drive through), before I went not every time but after I come back from England I will do every time, respect the regulation, any regulation, even if it is a bad one.

Did you spend a lot of time with UK people?

No I don't think so, mainly with my wife, ah no, mainly with international people and half and half I think, when I was home that with my wife and sometimes I will we will go out we went out with other people, the international students.

Why?

I don't think, I think it's because of my studies, you know the PhD students they just do their research alone, it's not like a course, a class, you can meet people, but doing a PhD you can't. In my department we all go to study room, every study room around three or four people, it was very not a lot of chance or meet other people, so it is study environment.

Did you ever feel you were English?

No, no, no, no.

CHART 2 – SOJOURN – 3

Especially, I was influenced the study style, the study thinking or something like that, from the, from my director, from my colleagues and some professors influenced me or some staff in the university but not just from my supervisor. The first year I had research methodology training. We focus on the research philosophy and some research design and several times talk about the data collecting.

Why did you decide to come back to Taiwan?

I come back to Taiwan to do my field study. I spent around half year in UK, looking for some interviews or some companies I can study but I failed. I don't know why, maybe my language, maybe I was a foreigner, but then I can't

stay there without doing anything. I can't access any company in UK and my supervisor didn't help me, although he said he can help me, so I very sad with that so I go back to Taiwan. Actually I think, also the Taiwan I will say it is quite difficult to access the interviewees so I will say... actually when I was in the UK I think the English was unfriendly, the interviews, but after coming back to Taiwan I found them to be the same so I changed my mind, not so friendly, they are all unfriendly but I think it needs some relationship to contact them. Very, very difficult to access the people for interview. In Taiwan no I don't think it is easy, actually my interview is with professors, they always say I'm busy, I don't know why. They always say they are busy, they are busy but interestingly they all say that's quite good research topic but they all not so encourage me find somebody else and to do research but they don't want to help me, they all say I'm busy, I need to write a paper, I need to write a research report, it only takes one or two hours, I don't know why. Probably they are worried about the release, talking about their research but I explaining I don't want to talk about their topic, I just want to talk about how they perform their research, maybe they do it badly (laughs).

How did you feel about coming back to Taiwan after the UK?

Ohhhh.. it's quite 性情很重 (trans.- strong feeling), low, very low, a lot of thing in my mind, not good, very low I think I will say because I haven't finished the study and my supervisor he can't help me and I understand I need to face a lot of problems related to my research so I feel very low. Sad.

Any positive things?

I'm quite happy I can come back for the food but I'm not excited to come back because of the research problem. Another thing is I like the lifestyle in the UK, the speed and the environmental, although the UK's weather change fast, I feel sad because my study and I have to finish.

Did your wife come back with you?

Yes, she was happy to come back.

4. Experience of Coming Back

Did you ever come back to Taiwan during your sojourn?

Yes, I came back to get my wife.

How did you feel on the aeroplane?

Actually I still very very low and worrying about my research. At that time I had just collected 3 interviews with email but I think it is not good enough so I have to go back to Taiwan. I come back, actually, I connect the people when I was in the UK and I after I arrive go to interview and transcribe and analysis data and write up in three months. But before the methodology chapter I already finish in the UK, just the results chapter.

How did you feel when you first arrived back in Taiwan after your time in the UK?

It's actually quite happy, and I can see my parents, my friends, relatives although I still worried about my study.

Did you ever feel that England was your home?

Actually not, I think here is my home. I was happy to be back.

Any negative feelings?

Yes, about, my feeling was the negative feeling was related to the political situation, it's quite unstable and excluding the research.

Did you feel this more when you came back from the UK?

I feel more when I was come back, actually getting worse, I think it is getting worse. I still feel bad hopefully I will immigrate to ... I don't know, other country. At the moment I have negative feeling about the future because the situation and I think we got a lot of thinking about national identity, this is a major problem. Some people think they are Chinese and a lot of people think that they are Taiwanese and some people think that they are Taiwanese and Chinese as well so you got different thinking about national identity and I think such bad political situation at the moment in Taiwan. I just frustrating, why they can't use the normal procedures or legal procedures, why they must be, why they don't think, I don't think so good (sounds very sad). I'm tired about this, very tired.

Do you watch the news here?

No I don't like news here, I don't like it. Firstly they are unfair and secondly they make a lot of personal comments on the events, I don't think they should do that, they supposed to inform, not the commentary.

Did you feel the same before you went to the UK?

It's getting worse when I come back, getting worse. They love gossip, destroy lives and a lot of not important news and they make the, they lie, they will lie, invent the news, make the fake news and never change. So very sad.

Do you watch foreign news?

I watch BBC through the Internet or CNN on the television, but I prefer BBC.

Did you feel that you were a foreigner when you came back to Taiwan?

Yes, I think this, I feel, yeah I got the come back for example the privacy, when I call you I say for example could you give me your wife's mobile phone number. I n that case we know each other and in Taiwan I say here is her number, but when I come back I say I will call her and ask her to call you, I pay more attention on the personal data, privacy, even I know the people or know well the people who wants to do even I know A is very familiar with the B I won't give him the number. I think this is UK society or UK culture, pay more attention on the privacy. In Taiwan it is typical for parents to know about my life, I live there now, with my parents, I find it quite difficult because I was in Tainan and then come back to Taipei but I can't afford buy the house or rent the house, sorry apartment so expensive, so now in Taipei I will stay with my parents in law.

How is it to live with your parents?

(Grimaces) (Laughs) I just spend three days there and three days here, my wife she is always there, she is a poor, she is poor. My mother and father she's OK, she likes my wife, I think they don't get together, my parents in Kaoshiung and in Taipei it's my parents-in-law.

Have you noticed any changes in yourself (attitudes and behaviours) since coming back to Taiwan?

My thinking.

If you have changed, does this affect your life in Taiwan? Have you had to change your behaviour to get back into Taiwanese life?

Yes, in that way because when I want to introduce some theories I need to begin with qualitative research but most of my colleagues they use, test a theory so use a qualitative approach. In this case I can hardly find someone to discuss this qualitative approach, I mean the methodology, so that's my biggest research problem, major problem.

Do your family, friends and other people think you have changed since you came back?

Mmm, (laughs) oh yes, my friends, they say that, oh you are quite different, you are different in the thinking, in what ways, in research, in thinking about the research about the respect regulations, about the privacy.

Has your attitude towards money or anything else changed?

Money is important, no I haven't changed, no, I didn't change. Religion, no, Taoism.

Do you feel different from other Taiwanese who have not had an extended stay in another country?

Yes, I think so, I will say two levels, one level is accept a higher degree, I think they start their study style and the working, teaching style and research is quite different form someone who just received the higher degree, do their PhD degree in Taiwan, they don't think to be a leading researcher or doing some leading stuff, they think to be a follower is OK, they want to write more publications. And the teaching style, they will say OK, that's OK, if the student they don't like it. Another teaching style, they will make the students happy, I am not, I will talking about the basic of the topic and then added some case studies they can comment the real case and the theory and I explain that. But when I explain the theory the students think this so boring, so in that case the students, other teachers make them very happy in the class, that's a good teacher, but I don't think professors good, because I knew, I understand that if you want to develop some new knowledge or new theories it must be based on existing theories, knowledge. I want to teach students democratic thinking, I will give them questions, one politic student to think about the answers to improve their thinking, their opinions, but some teachers,, 'no it's OK', just give the answer, give their opinion to the students. For example, I asked the, for instance, I teaching about, one class, I teaching about the (**) lots of strategic analysis and I ask the students to think about that, provide their opinions, the students ask me to provide my opinion, I say no, because if I give you my opinion, you will borrow mine, so I don't want to do this but I will correct if you want to write your opinions on the blackboard, I will say not if right or not. I mean if it is right or not is not the thinking it is right or not, you can't judge it, you can't students thinking in this variable or good or bad, I say I will

correct. For example the SWOT strength is related to internal event and opportunities is external, I just correct them for this.

Is this from the UK?

I don't know, I never teaching before I went to the US, just teaching in military, national service but that's very formal, I can't change it, I have borrow the instructions.

How do the students react to your teaching style?

They find it difficult, but I think that is good for them.

Do you still have any involvement with UK culture/ friends you made in the UK?

Yeah, some of them, some friends in the UK, we still contact, I still email them, yeah, and discussing some, discussing my study.

Have you been back to the UK since you came back to Taiwan?

Oh yeah, yeah, yeah, once for the Viva, scary.

Do you plan to go back in the future?

I think I will, not just because of the viva, but to review the country again. I travel around a lot but it's a short distance, not the … we travel to some places around the [UK city], within two hours driving. I have a car, I have to, I have a baby.

How comfortable do you now feel since you arrived back into Taiwanese life?

CHART 1 – POSTSOJOURN – 4-5

Just arriving number 4, now number 5. Excluding the political situation, just only the behaviour Taiwan related to respecting the regulations and privacy and yeah yeah personal space, I could not in (…) personal space in Taiwan in a queue, they are quite close but in the UK. No and in the queue in the bank some banks or post office or ATM maybe they cut through the ATM, in UK, three, the people will make one line, but in Taiwan 3 queues. I always thinking why there's not just one queue and I just angry, I came here, I arrive earlier, pissed off, pissed off. This is after the UK, I get a little angry with queues but I become very confident. People here very close, in the UK in the tube there is some distance, there is some space. I prefer English now.

What are your plans for the future?

After PhD I will, the most important is finish PhD as soon as possible and I'm going to write some journal articles, some middle range journal articles.

Taiwanese Journals?

No, no, no, I don't like this, some international journal, I don't think Taiwan journals, probably I will if my students articles, if they want to write, I won't stop them, if my own research I prefer to submit to international journals. I'm supervising students, college students, not postgraduate, not yet.

Will you stay in Taiwan?

I think, but political situation is getting worse, I will consider, I will consider.

Now you have been back for _____, how do you feel?

Yes, yes, life is OK, excluding the research, apart the research everything is fine.

Do you think going to the UK was generally a good or bad thing to do?

It's a good thing, if I go to America I think my thinking maybe the same as professors, in Taiwan, not so, many receive their degree or received their education in the United States. Lots of them and many teaching their students passing their experience or their American thinking style to students. But I went to UK, and it's quite different, quite different.

APPENDIX D – INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Interview Consent Form

An exploration of the cultural transition cycle of Taiwanese academic sojourners in the UK

Researcher - Alex Tattersall, PhD candidate, School of Humanities, University of Southampton.
Supervisor – Professor Michael Kelly, Head of School of Humanities, University of Southampton.

Purpose of the Study
The purpose of this study is to investigate the cultural transition cycle of Taiwanese students returning to Taiwan from the UK Higher Education system. It aims to follow the experiences pre-sojourn, during the sojourn and post-sojourn, upon return back to Taiwan. Data obtained through interviews will be used to gain a greater understanding of the issues faced by such sojourners and to comment on methods for facilitating such cultural transitions.

Objectives of the Study
To apply and evaluate Sussman's model of cultural transitions and Shaules's deep culture model in an original context.

Procedure - Interviews
Interviews will be carried out one-to-one and will be recorded for later transcription purposes. Questions will be related to your experience before, during and after your cultural transition experience. Information volunteered during the interview will remain confidential, you will be given the opportunity to review the transcription and add, alter or delete anything you wish.

Withdrawal
You have the right to withdraw from this study at any time. If you withdraw you may also request that your data be deleted from the study.

Use of Data
The data collected will be used for completion of a PhD thesis project which will be made available by the University of Southampton library. In the future the data may be used for further publication or for conference presentation. All participants will remain anonymous.

Questions
If you have any questions regarding this project or your rights as a participant you can contact me at
amt202@soton.ac.uk

REQUEST FOR CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERVIEW

I, _____, have read the consent form and understand the contents as related to one-on-one interview. I have received a copy of the consent form for my own records. I consent to participating in the one-on-one interviews for this project.

_____   _____   _____
Participant   Researcher   Date

APPENDIX E – DATA RELEASE FORM

Interview Transcript Data Release Form

I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcripts of my interview and have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcripts as appropriate. I acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with Alex Tattersall. I hereby authorise the release of this transcript to only Alex Tattersall to be used in the manner described in the consent form. I have received a copy of this Transcript Release Form for my own records.