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THE ADJUSTMENT PROCESS OF SOJOURNING ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS

by

Jeremy Daniel Slagoski

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Teaching and Learning
(Foreign Language and ESL Education)
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

August 2014

Thesis Supervisors: Associate Professor Leslie L. Schrier
Assistant Professor Lia M. Plakans

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
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To my wife, Jenevieve M. Nelson, and to my daughter, Autumn, who provided the love, support, and happiness I needed to endure the process of earning my PhD.

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ABSTRACT

This multiple case study was designed to explore the adjustment and cultural learning of sojourning English language teachers (ELTs) in Japan and South Korea. Qualitative research methods were used to design the study and to collect the data. Using Holliday's Host Culture Complex model (1994) as a theoretical framework, shared patterns in the adjustment process emerged from the participants' blogs and interviews. The patterns provide evidence supporting cultural learning through relationships with various people in different parts of the host culture complex. The strongest pattern revealed that the relationship between sojourning ELTs and their co-teachers was one of the more beneficial relationships for the sojourners' cultural learning. However, these relationships were only found in government-sponsored English language programs, such as the JET Program in Japan and EPIK in South Korea. Another strong pattern revealed that the participants' relationships with their significant others marked a shift in their adjustment patterns in one or more parts of the host culture complex. This study prompted the creation of a new revised host culture complex, which includes foreigners within the target culture. These foreigners, some who are also sojourning ELTs, have shown to influence the adjustment process of the participants. Additionally, this study demonstrates the use of social media for research and professional development in English language education.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> Given the fact that language education occurs in multiple contexts and with diverse populations, it has become imperative that ESL/EFL teachers are adequately prepared to successfully transplant pedagogical innovations across contexts when desired, along with having the skills to explore, question, and deal with the realities of the various teaching contexts in which they will function (Dogancay-Aktuna, 2006, p. 281).

Research Project Overview

The purpose of this research project is to describe the variations in the adjustment process of sojourning English language teachers (ELTs) in Japan and South Korea. Using a grounded theory approach primarily based on the Host Culture Complex model (Holliday, 1994), this multiple case study will investigate how ELTs adjust to their new teaching and living environments. Shedding light on their adjustment will better inform the decisions for those who intend to travel to Japan or South Korea to teach English.

The terms sojourning and adjustment come from the field of acculturation psychology. The clearest definition of a sojourner comes from Stephen Bochner, a leading researcher in that field who states, "Sojourners go abroad to achieve a particular purpose and then return to their country of origin. The physical and sociocultural characteristics of the destination influence how the sojourners adapt, giving rise to the terms visited group and host nation or culture" (2006, p. 182). This term is suitable for those teachers who go abroad to teach English for a limited amount of time and can be applied to the second language teacher education (SLTE) learners who intend to teach in a country where they are not from.

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Currently, there are tens of thousands of sojourning English language teachers in Japan and South Korea. According to the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, there were 4,360 assistant language teachers (2,334 of them from the United States) in elementary and secondary schools in July 2012 (JET Programme, 2012). JET assistant language teachers (ALTs) only represent about a quarter of the total number of English teachers in Japan (Richards, 2009), bringing a rough total estimate to over 16,000 sojourning English language teachers in Japan.

In South Korea, the number of sojourning English language teachers is reported to be larger than those in Japan, at around 22,000 (Lee, 2010). 8,520 of these teachers are in Korea's equivalent to the JET Program, the English Program in Korea, also known by its abbreviated form, EPIK (Lee, 2012). Evidence of Korea's larger demand for English language teachers (ELTs) can be seen in many ELT recruiting or job posting sites such as Dave's ESL Café (www.eslcafe.com) which has three job boards, one for international jobs, one for China, and one for South Korea. For the month of September 2012, the Korean job board (http://www.eslcafe.com/jobs/korea/) posted around 300 job openings. Although South Korea has roughly 6,000 more sojourning ELTs, it is much smaller in geographical size and population compared to Japan.

There are at least 38,000 English language teachers in these two countries where English is not the native or official language, which is more than three times the number of members in the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, the largest organization of foreign language teachers in the United States (ACTFL, 2012, para. 1). So it is remarkable that there is less research available about these foreign language

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teachers and their classrooms compared to their counterparts and their counterparts' classrooms in the United States.

The term adjustment is more complex. Although it arose from and is still used widely in clinical psychology, the term is also used in the field of intercultural competence to demonstrate its complexity. While conceptualizing intercultural competence, Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) claim that adjustment implies a normalization process in that one gets over culture shock and then assimilates with the host culture. They prefer the term adaptation, which is more nuanced as it can be applied at the micro and macro levels. The micro level refers to adapting to individuals while interacting with them in the target culture, whereas the macro level is more similar to adjustment in that the sojourner demonstrates skill at making informed decisions about routine everyday life, not necessarily involving other people. I have chosen to use the less nuanced term, adjustment, as it is closely tied with the term sojourner for the sake of consistency. It is important to note, however, that the terms adjustment and adaptation have been used interchangeably more so in the field of psychology (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

While investigating the adjustment process of sojourning ELTs, I hope to uncover the sojourning ELT's fit or lack of fit with the cultural norms of the students, the classroom, and the host institution as well as the host nations of Japan and South Korea (Dogancay-Aktuna, 2005). Through a grounded theory approach, I intend to describe how sojourning ELTs adjust regardless of their or other's perceptions of fit of lack of fit. This approach can be rephrased as providing a framework for building a theory specifically on the intercultural communication competence for sojourning ELTs.

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Situating the Principal Investigator in Online Communities for Sojourning ELTs

This research project has been guided by my experiences as a sojourning English language teacher (ELT) in Japan, South Korea, and Russia. At the turn of the millennium, when I was new to the field, there were not many ways to learn about the experiences of sojourning ELTs as compared to now. I first prepared by reading travel and history books and watching videos about the target culture. Later, I enrolled in a graduate program to learn more about ESL education, most of which was geared towards ESL education in the United States. Unless one had access to scholarly journals, it was difficult to find resources that combined both the cultural and educational information about teaching abroad. Even those scholarly journals rarely published articles about learning how to live and teach English in another country.

With the advent of social media, the sojourning ELT experience has become much more accessible. There are many blogs, microblogs, YouTube channels, and social media pages written by sojourning ELTs. As a sample of the number of blogs and bloggers writing about their experiences in or related to South Korea, the website http://allthekoreablogs.blogspot.com/ provides a listing of the current blogs about Korea, many of which are written by sojourning ELTs. Many of these bloggers (and vloggers) have created online communities on their own to support one another as they grow more comfortable in their life overseas and/or in their English language teaching career. Some of these bloggers and blogging communities receive questions and comments from prospective ELTs who would like to teaching in a certain country.

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Each blog, microblog, YouTube channel, and social media page written by a sojourning ELT provides enough data to learn about an individual's experience. Some bloggers focus more on their new lifestyles. Others focus more on their culture shock in the English language classroom abroad. And still others focus mostly or entirely on English language teaching and learning. This study is interested in the former as it helps new or prospective ELTs gain the sociocultural knowledge that is difficult to access through some graduate programs and many scholarly journals.

Investigating Sojourning ELTs

> It is intellectually and pedagogically naïve to believe that teaching English abroad is no more than an extension of ESL at home just as it is socioculturally and perhaps even politically irresponsible to think that native speakers can go abroad and teach their own language without special training (Govardhan, Nayar, & Sheorey, 1999, p. 124)

Two books written by Adrian Holliday, *Appropriate Methodology and Social Context* (1994) and *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language* (2005), have been major influences to investigate sojourning ELTs. The latter and more recent of the two addresses the social and political issues sojourning ELTs face, introducing the concept of native-speakerism, which purposely sets apart native speakers (sojourning ELTs in the case of this study) from non-native speakers (local teachers in the case of this study) in a hierarchy favoring the native speaker and his or her perceived superior language skills and superior teaching methods, both of which can be perceived as desired imports to the target culture. It is assumed that many new sojourning ELTs are not aware of native-speakerism, and this is where Holliday’s earlier work comes in.

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Less theoretical and more practical than his later book, *Appropriate Methodology and Social Context* attempts to illustrate the social context of sojourning ELTs. The central guiding model for this study, the Host Culture Complex, was designed by Holliday to illustrate that the social context of teaching English abroad "can also be a system of cultures which are not mutually exclusive, with cultures overlapping, containing and being contained by other cultures" (1994, p. 28). The details of this model will be further explored in the proceeding chapter.

The Host Culture Complex appealed to me as both a former sojourning ELT and a researcher. As a former sojourning ELT, I recognized how many parts of the Host Culture Complex have affected or could have affected my pedagogy and my personal experiences throughout my years abroad. As a researcher, I found that the Host Culture Complex helped guide my interview questions in that I was able to form questions addressing the complexity of the social context. Instead of asking questions about adjusting to teach and live abroad generally, the host cultural complex helped me to reframe questions about adjusting to each specific part of the host cultural complex, such as the classroom, the host institution, professional teaching organizations, and the national culture.

Some sojourners, before they depart, have the opportunity to be part of the pre-service teacher education community in TESOL certificate programs and MA TESOL programs, most of which are found in what Holliday (1994) refers to as BANA countries with BANA standing for Britain, Australia, and North America. There are other programs for sojourning ELTs to receive certification of their preparation to teach abroad, but most of them do not carry the same level of professionalism as university

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graduate programs. Additionally, there may be a certain misunderstanding or lack of understanding among ELTs who teach locally of what it is like to teach English abroad. Thus, two goals of this study are to alleviate this problem by giving a voice to other sojourning ELTs and to build a stronger community of teacher-learners in second language teacher education (SLTE) programs.

Over a decade ago, a study on MA TESOL programs (Govardhan et al., 1999) came to the conclusion that most do not provide students information with how to teach English in difficult circumstances such as teaching classes with 50 to 150 students, with "untrained or undertrained local teachers with low English proficiency," with a "lack of appropriate textbooks and teaching resources," in "unfamiliar educational bureaucracies," and using "antiquated examination systems" (pp. 115-116). If this claim is true today, these MA TESOL programs are doing a disservice to anyone who plans to teach in those circumstances. SLTE programs need to provide pre-service ELTs with the necessary knowledge and skills to cope in those environments, especially those who are unfamiliar with students who will find them foreign, specifically sojourning ELTs (Dogancay-Aktuna, 2006; Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Golombek, 2011).

Govardhan et al. (1999) concluded their paper with suggestions for developing a preparatory program to teach English abroad. This study may help to shed light on two of their six suggestions: to "enhance the teachers' geographical and anthropological literacy and respect for other countries and communities, their cultures, their educational systems, and their conditions and ethics of work, including those that provide the sociocultural flexibility to cope with unfamiliar living and working conditions" and to address the need for the ability "to assess the propriety, feasibility, applicability, and

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practicality of any one or all of the [teaching] methods against a certain set of political, sociocultural, and pedagogic situations they are going to be working in" (p. 123).

Adjusting poorly to the classroom, school, or national culture may negatively affect the teacher's professional performance, which, in turn, may negatively affect the learners' development of their English language skills, and may ultimately harm the school's image. It is important to determine if and how stakeholders and policymakers can help reduce any problems their foreign ELTs have adjusting to the school or education system (Sabar, 2004).

Many studies have indicated that a closer investigation of the sociocultural context of schooling would help ELTs with forming a positive professional identity (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Nagatomo, 2012; Johnston, Pawan, & Mahan-Taylor, 2005; Seargeant, 2008), developing stronger intercultural competence (Cushner & Mahon, 2009; Dogancay-Aktuna, 2006; Francis & Jean-Francois, 2010; Sowden, 2007), and becoming more effective teachers (Cushner & Mahon, 2009; Masgoret, Bernaus, & Gardner, 2000). Few studies offer narratives of sojourning ELTs to help make sense of their own adjustment (Bodycott & Walker, 2000; Garson, 2005).

Implications for Second Language Teacher Education (SLTE)

A second major influence for investigating the adjustment process of sojourning ELTs were more recent calls for expanding the sociocultural knowledge base of SLTE. Both Seran Aktuna-Dogancay and Karen E. Johnson published papers in 2006 calling for this expansion.

Aktuna-Dogancay specifically points out a need for a greater awareness of cross-cultural variation in teaching and learning. She believes that SLTE can borrow concepts

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from the field of intercultural competence to enable a "discussion of the dynamic nature of cultures and the inherent individual variation in each group" (p. 285). One way to do this is to provide SLTE instructors and students qualitative data concerning the lived experiences of teachers and learners in a wide variety of contexts. One purpose of this study is to provide the field of SLTE a glimpse into the lived experiences of sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea.

Karen E. Johnson addresses several challenges to expanding the sociocultural knowledge base of SLTE. The fourth of these challenges is what Johnson calls located SLTE, which "calls into question the assumption that there can or should be uniformity in what [second language] teachers should know and be able to do" (p. 245). Holliday also addresses this uniformity in what he calls the "legacy of lockstep," in which teachers from BANA countries impose their teaching methods under the guise of the communicative language teaching approach (2005). This study considers Johnson's first step to address the challenges of located SLTE, which is recognizing why sojourning ELTs "do what they do within the social, historical, and cultural contexts within which they work" (p. 246). In the same section of the article, Johnson also provides a preview to what it may mean to adjust to new teaching contexts, "Those who have explored how [ELTs] negotiate their identities cite a combination of biographical and contextual factors that keep those identities in a state of flux" (p. 247).

Investigating the adjustment process of sojourning ELTs addresses both Aktuna-Dogancay's and Johnson's concerns for expanding the sociocultural knowledge base in SLTE in that the findings reveal the variations of English language teaching in Japan and South Korea. These variations, in turn, will help SLTE programs and prospective sojourning ELTs better understand the social contexts of their professional worlds.

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Purpose

The central purpose of this study is to describe variations in the adjustment process of sojourning English Language Teachers (ELTs) in Japan and South Korea. This adjustment may provide evidence for or against a teacher's fit or lack of fit to the specific schooling context (Dogancay-Aktuna, 2005). The participants' descriptions of their struggles and successes of adjusting are explored in relation to the components of Holliday's (1994) Host Culture Complex, a model used to show the classroom as "a part of a complex of interrelated and overlapping cultures of different dimensions within the host educational environment" (pp.28-29).

It is important to note that failing to adjust is a part of the adjustment process, and reasons for this failure are also essential to this study. The most common measure of failing to adjust is an early return to one's home country. However, expatriate studies have shown other ways of measuring failure in the corporate world and they could be transferred to the field of SLTE as follows: delayed instructional success, disruption of the relationship between the sojourning ELT and local people, damage to the school's image, lost opportunities, and high ELT turnover rates (Littrel, *et al*, 2006).

A secondary purpose is to explore the relationship between the components of the Host Culture Complex. Another purpose is to identify any patterns across the multiple cases. For example, was there a specific time, place, or event that all or most of the participants found it difficult to or helpful to adjust? Or is the adjustment process entirely unique to each case? This investigation may help SLTE programs better identify certain sojourner struggles as either part of the micro or macro domain of TESOL (Dogancay-Aktuna, 2006; Johnson, 2006).

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Research Questions

In order to achieve the purpose of this research project, several questions must be answered, stemming from one primary research question: In what ways do sojourning ELTs adjust and fail to adjust to the Host Culture Complex?

Secondary research questions

1. What variations of adjustment, if any, do the sojourning ELTs share?
2. How do sojourning ELTs describe their adjustments to the Host Culture Complex?
3. What external factors and internal or personal factors, if any, do sojourning ELTs attribute to their adjustment to the Host Culture Complex?

The first secondary question emphasizes this study as a multiple case study, whereas the primary research question could be more generally interpreted as a descriptive qualitative research question. The first secondary question shows that this study is more interested in shared variations rather than individual descriptions of the adjustment process. The second secondary question emphasizes this study's emic perspective, which is explained in Chapter 3. The third secondary question shows that the research gives participants three options to explain their adjustment: external factors, internal factors, and a combination of both. External factors refer to the parts of the Host Culture Complex that have caused the participant to adjust. Internal factors refer to the participant's perceptions or beliefs about his or her character or personality that allowed a certain type of adjustment. These secondary questions, therefore, inform the research methods and procedures for collecting data from participants, as well as for subsequent analysis.

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Definition of Terms and Acronyms

(through all chapters)

Acculturation – a term used more so for immigrants and refugees than sojourners (Sam, 2005); "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149)

Adjustment, cultural – the degree of change that occurs when individuals move from a familiar environment to an unfamiliar one, also known as intercultural adaptation

ALT – assistant language teacher, primarily used in the context of EPIK and the JET Program

Culture shock – "transitional process in which an individual perceives threats to his or her wellbeing in a culturally new environment" (Ting-Toomey, 1999, p. 245); a negative interpretation of intercultural adaptation or adjustment with emphasis on the negative affective components (Ward et al. 2001); the latter authors are trying to destigmatize the term

Culturalism (Holliday, 2005) – a phenomenon found in the profession of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) in which a teacher or administrator observes the student(s) as foreign or Other and focuses on the differences between him or herself and the Other student(s), and then reifies the stereotype. For example, a teacher may be performing culturalism when starting a sentence like this, "Japanese students are/(do)…"

EPIK – English Program in Korea, initiated by the South Korean government in 1996 to improve English language classes in Korean secondary and elementary schools

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by hiring English teachers from the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to assist Korean English language teachers

Host culture complex (Holliday, 1994) – a model used to show the classroom as a part of a complex of interrelated and overlapping cultures of different dimensions within the host educational environment

Intercultural adaptation – a process in which "the degree of change that occurs when individuals move from a familiar environment to an unfamiliar one" (Ting-Toomey, 1999, p .233) that can be divided into the categories of psychological adjustment and sociocultural adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1992)

JET Program – Japan Exchange and Teaching Program, initiated by the Japanese government in 1987 to promote internationalization in Japanese secondary and, more recently, elementary schools by hiring foreigners to assist English and, more recently, other foreign language teachers

Intercultural communication competence (Kim, 2009) – broadly, the overall capacity of a person to develop and maintain cooperative relationships with culturally dissimilar others

Native-speakerism (Holliday, 2005) – the idea that native speakers of English represent Western culture, "from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (p. 6).

Other/otherness/othering – the concept of distinguishing an individual or a group of individuals as different from oneself and/or not a member of your group

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Sociocultural knowledge base – one type of teacher knowledge that acknowledges the sociocultural and political information (macrostructures) that teachers need to understand the complexity of teaching

Sojourner – a person who goes abroad to achieve a particular purpose and return to their country of origin, such as an international student or an expatriate worker

SLTE – second language teacher education; used to show that certain issues can be applied to teaching languages other than English

TESOL – Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, a professional organization and a way to refer to the field in general.

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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Host Culture Complex

The primary research question of this study asks, "In what ways do sojourning ELTs adjust and fail to adjust to the Host Culture Complex?" Two of the three secondary research questions are also about this Host Culture Complex, which was introduced by Adrian Holliday in his book *Appropriate Methodology and Social Context*, first published in 1994. He argued that English language educators should consider the sociocultural contexts of their students and classrooms throughout the world. In this sense, the book was ahead of its time when articles appeared a decade later making similar arguments (Dogancay-Aktuna, 2006; Johnson, 2006).

The Host Culture Complex model first and only appears in Chapter 2 of Holliday's book. The chapter, creatively titled "'Coral Gardens'" comes from an article from Breen (1986) on the complexity of life forms found in a coral reef, which Holliday uses as a metaphor for classroom culture. Before introducing the Host Culture Complex model in his chapter, he wrote about eight pages on the complexity of defining and addressing culture. Much of his subsequent work shows how Holliday's ideas about culture have evolved since this book was published.

First, this chapter presents and explains the Host Culture Complex model as it appeared in Holliday's book. This is followed by Holliday's careful approach to defining and addressing culture in his chapter (1994) and in his next book (2005).

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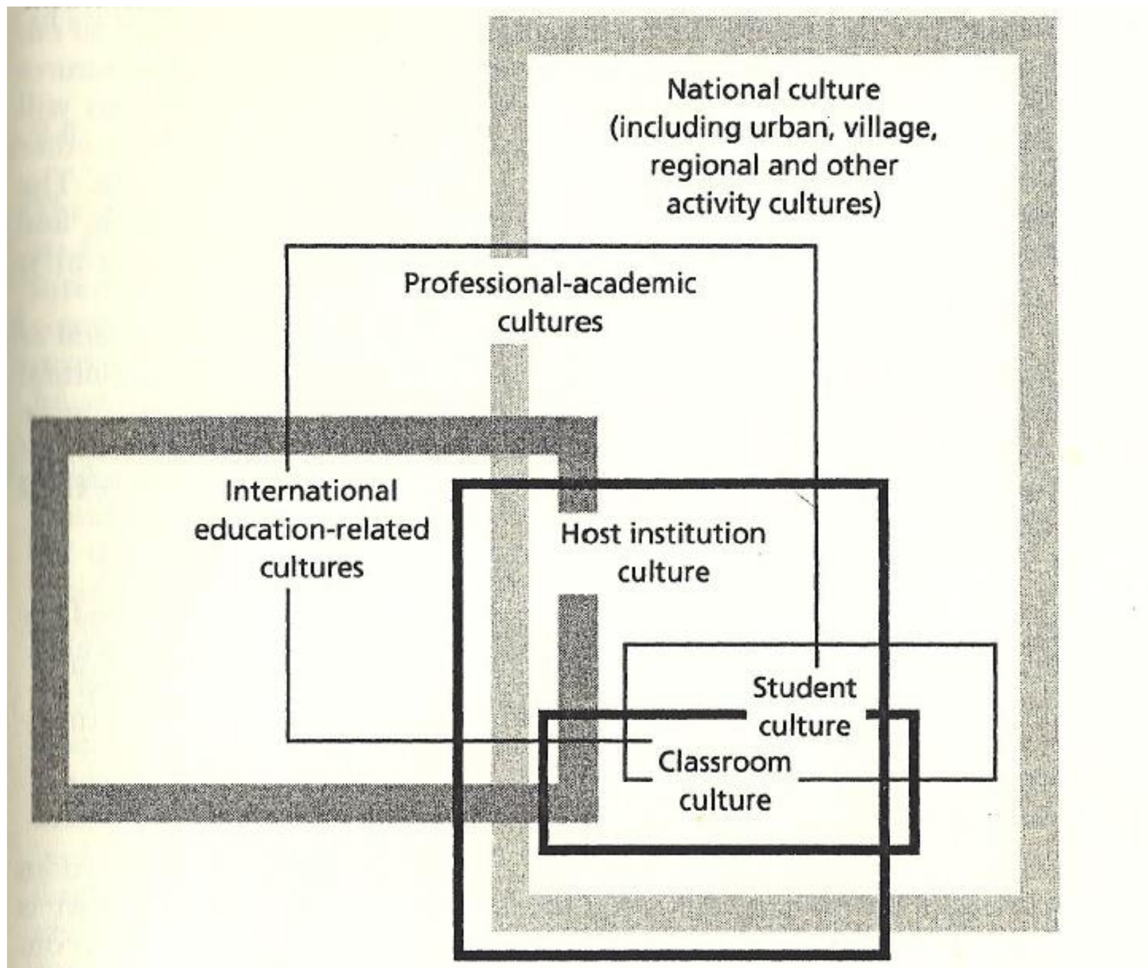
Figure 1 – Host Culture Complex



The Host Culture Complex model (Figure 1) appears in the section of Holliday's second chapter about diversity and interconnection. He presents this model to demonstrate that "the classroom is part of a complex of interrelated and overlapping cultures of different dimensions within the host educational environment" (Holliday, 1994, p. 28). It is important to note that this model is hypothetical and did not emerge from any formal empirical investigation. This model was published for practitioners to visualize "how this culture complex *may* interrelate" (Holliday, 1994, p. 28). Holliday does not identify how he developed this model. However, I found this model intuitively

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appealing to my experiences as a former sojourning ELT as it framed well the complexity of the various cultures within and surrounding the English language teaching context abroad. The purpose of selecting this model is that, through my literature review, I have found no better representation of this complexity.

As seen in Figure 1, the Host Culture Complex is made up of six components or parts, all of which are interrelated. The explanation for each part begins at the micro-level, classroom culture, and extends to the macro-level, the national culture. Following the explanations of each part is Holliday's evolving ideas on culture.

The Six Parts of the Host Culture Complex

The classroom culture represents people and interactions within the boundaries of a physical classroom. Some rules of the classroom are mandated by the host institution culture, but the rules are also negotiated between the English language teacher(s) and the learner(s). The student culture represents both the culture that the learners bring to the classroom from their home culture, which Holliday classifies as the national culture, and the culture that the learners create and co-create with the teacher(s) in the classroom and the host institution.

The host institution culture represents the people, interactions, rules, and regulations of the host institution. A host institution can vary in size from a small independent school to a system of schools. The host institution is responsible for organizing the teachers, the students, and the curriculum. Some host institutions can be solely focused on English language learning whereas others focus on other disciplines in addition to English language learning.

The international education-related cultures are the most abstract part of the Host Culture Complex. Holliday defines this as involving "the wider ethos of what constitutes education, an educational institution, a department, a discipline, a teacher, and so on"

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(Holliday, 1994, p. 30). For the purposes of this project, international education-related cultures are redefined as how English language learning and teaching is prescribed by the governing authorities and perceived by society at large.

Professional-academic cultures are as Holliday states, "the cultures connected with professional peer and reference groups, schools of academic thought and practice, professional approach, etc., generated by professional associations, unions, university departments, publishers, etc." (Holliday, 1994, p. 29). For the purposes of this project, these cultures are best represented by professional teaching organizations both locally and internationally and by the graduate programs that some participants attended. The most well-known local professional teaching organizations in Japan and Korea are JALT, the Japan Association for Language Teaching, and KOTESOL, the Korea Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, the latter of which is an affiliate of the TESOL International Association.

The national culture includes the urban, village, regional, and other activity cultures within the national boundaries of Japan and the Republic of Korea for this project. It is the definition of this part that Host Culture Complex can be criticized for being too simplistic as culture is defined by national borders. However, it is important to review Holliday's definition of culture at the time he created the Host Culture Complex model. It is also important to understand Holliday's evolving ideas on culture since the creation of this model.

Culture

In the beginning of his second chapter of *Appropriate Methodology and Social Context*, Holliday quickly critiques what he will describe as national culture eight pages later. In his critique he writes, "One of the problems is that the most common use of the word – as national culture – is very broad and conjures up vague notions about nations,

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race, and sometimes whole continents, which are too generalized to be useful, and which often become mixed up with stereotypes and prejudices" (Holliday, 1994, p. 21). Afterwards, he explains the danger of essentializing people from a culture, a concept he more clearly explains in his 2005 book *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language.*

Holliday introduces the concept of essentialism in the beginning of the second chapter of *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language.* As he introduces essentialism to his readers, he subtly reframes his Host Culture Complex model.

> The most common essentialist view of culture is that "cultures" are coincidental with countries, regions, and continents, implying that one can "visit" them while traveling and that they contain "mutually exclusive types of behavior" so that people "from" or 'in" French culture are essentially different from those "from" or "in" Chinese culture. This psychogeographical picture also presents a hierarchical onion skin relationship between a national culture and elements within it, so that "Egyptian school culture" is a subset or subculture of "Egyptian education culture," and so on (Holliday, 2005, p. 17).

One can interpret the last sentence to review his Host Culture Complex as non-hierarchical. This is the interpretation used for this project, so Japanese school culture is not necessarily a subculture of Japanese education culture and Korean student culture is not necessarily a subculture of Korean national culture.

Following the work of Holliday, this study attempts to embrace what he calls the "critical cosmopolitan" paradigm, "in which the notion of 'culture' is considered to be a social construction that is manipulated by politics and ideology" (Holliday, 2012, p. 37). Although the primary investigator of this study rejects essentialism and cultural overgeneralizations, this study has essentialist overtones because the participants may view their students and colleagues as essentialist others.

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Sojourning English Language Teachers in the Host Culture Complex

Using the organization of the Host Culture Complex model (Holliday, 1994), this section of Chapter 2 reviews literature at both the micro and macro levels. The first part of this section takes a closer look at the micro level, concerning the adjustment of sojourning ELTs in student and classroom cultures around the world. One of the articles reviewed in this section called this micro level "The Contact Zone" (Shi, 2009). The second part of this section reviews literature investigating the macro level, the role of the English language at national and host institution levels. In this second part, the international education-related part of the Host Culture Complex is represented by the role of English in Japanese and Korean culture and society.

The Contact Zone: Adjustment in the Classroom

This section reviews studies investigating global education contact zones, "where teachers and students with disparate cultural backgrounds and identities meet as active agents to 'produce, co-construct, and challenge the design of…programs in and through day-to-day pedagogic interactions'" (Shi, 2009, p. 46 citing Singh & Doherty, 2004). The purpose of this section is to show the challenges teachers face in the classroom and student cultures of the Host Culture Complex.

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Table 1 – Studies investigating sojourning ELTs

Source	Host Country	School	Number of sojourning ELTs	Distinguishing features
Barnes & Lock (2010)	South Korea	University	N/A	Emphasis on rapport
Breckenridge & Erling (2011)	Japan	Secondary schools	5	Being a native speaker
Chandler & Kootnikoff (2002)	Japan	Secondary schools	3	ALTs in the JET Program
Chen & Cheng (2010)	Taiwan	Elementary schools	3	South Africans as sojourning ELTs
Duff & Uchida (1997)	Japan	Private school for adults	2	Sociocultural identity
Gingerich (2004)	Lithuania	University	3	Teacher knowledge
Johnston (1999)	Poland	Private schools	3	Sojourning ELTs as postmodern diaspora
Johnston et al. (2005)	Japan	University	1	Cultural identity, being American
Kiernan (2010)	Japan	(multiple contexts)	21	Comparing narratives
Masgoret et al. (2000)	Spain	Summer school program (ages 5-15)	127	Supervisors' evaluation of ELTs

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Table 1 continued

Rao (2010)	China	University	N/A*	Comparing national philosophies of education
Shi (2009)	China	University	12	Adjusting to plagiarism
Swagler & Jome (2005)	Taiwan	(multiple contexts)	82	Psychological and sociocultural adjustment

Note: N/A refers to studies in which students were asked about their sojourning ELTs. Although the number of students were accounted for, the number of sojourning ELTs in those studies were not.

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Included in this review are thirteen studies (see Table 1) that partially or entirely investigate the adjustment process of sojourning teachers. Two of the thirteen studies (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Swagler & Jome, 2005) included additional participants for their respective purposes. Duff and Uchida (1997) included Japanese teachers of English (JTE) to compare and contrast their sociocultural identities as English language teachers with sojourning ELTs. Swagler and Jome (2005) included other sojourners, a minority to the majority of ELTs in the study, to investigate sociocultural and psychological adjustment to life in Taiwan. Although every study investigated the phenomena associated with adjusting to the classroom and student cultures, each one presented uniquely different findings.

Student Culture

Two researchers asked students of sojourning ELTs for their thoughts and opinions of their teachers. Rao (2009) interviewed 20 third-year students at a Chinese university for their impressions of their foreign or visiting English teachers and their classes. Barnes and Lock (2010) specifically surveyed 38 students at a Korean university about their beliefs and opinions on what makes an effective English language teacher.

The students in Rao's study (2009) picked up on the lack of experience of their novice sojourning ELTs, expressing that their teachers needed to pay closer attention to their needs. Although their teachers lacked experience, the students appreciated their friendly and helpful demeanors that helped build rapport. Students also praised their sojourning ELTs about their English abilities in terms of fluency, idiomatic language, cultural connotations, and error correction. Even though students appreciated the sojourning ELTs' demeanors and language skills, they expressed that the teachers lacked

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background and understanding of Chinese teaching and learning styles, which was a key factor in their frustration with their English classes. Rao concludes that the students would have been better served if the sojourning ELTs had better understood the philosophical differences between Western and Chinese education.

Barnes and Lock (2010) analyzed several studies on teaching effectiveness and categorized the attributes into five categories: rapport, delivery, fairness, knowledge and credibility, and organization and preparation. In a free writing exercise, the Korean students wrote about what they believed to be the attributes of effective English language teachers. The researchers then organized the responses into the categories they had previously arranged, and then sequenced them in order of frequency. The results showed that students wrote most about rapport (37.2%) and delivery (36.3%) with each of the other categories of attributes representing less than 10% respectively.

Both studies showed that students paid close attention to rapport as either a description (Rao, 2009) or a prescription (Barnes & Lock, 2010) for an effective English language teacher. However, the studies differed greatly in that, for the most part, Barnes and Lock did not report any sociocultural attributes in their literature review; nor did they find any in their writing exercise, except one that expressed the teacher's selective use of the Korean language to teach English.

To contrast the findings of Rao (2009) and Barnes and Lock (2010), we can look at a study similar to Rao's that asked Japanese students about their Japanese ELTs (Lee, 2010). Besides context and the background of the teachers, Lee's study differed from Rao's by using closed-response items rather than open-response items. Students in Lee's study found five of the twenty-two items to be distinctive characteristics of ELTs. Of

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these five, two of them had to do with rapport: "have more positive attitudes" and "show more enthusiasm." From this we can see that rapport can be important features of English language teaching for both sojourning and local teachers.

From these studies, one can conclude that although it is important for all English language teachers to develop and maintain a good rapport with students (Barnes & Lock, 2010; Lee, 2010; Rao, 2009), sojourning ELTs must also acquire contextual pedagogical knowledge to better meet the needs of their students (Rao, 2009).

Types of Classroom Cultures

This section identifies the three types of classroom cultures that sojourning ELTs may find themselves in. These three types are as follows: elementary and secondary classroom cultures, higher education classroom cultures, and private school classroom cultures.

Most of the sojourning ELTs in elementary and secondary schools in this literature review were government-sponsored assistant language teachers (ALTs) in either the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011; Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002; Kiernan, 2010) or the Hsinchu Program in Hsinchu, Taiwan (Chen & Cheng, 2010), which is similar to the JET Program except that it is a city program rather than a national program.

Sojourning ELTs in higher education represent the largest number (n=67) of sojourning ELTs in personal narratives and qualitative studies. This is the case because the researchers had easier access to these participants. Only a few researchers had an interest specifically concerning policies or practices found in higher education, of China

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(Shi, 2009) and Japan (Whitsed & Wright, 2011). For the other studies, the participants happened to be in higher education.

Only three studies (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnston, 1999; Kiernan, 2010) investigated sojourning ELTs in private language schools. Two of the three studies identify the type of private language schools. In Poland (Johnston, 1999), the private language school is the British Council, which is a British government agency that operates for profit in other countries to promote British culture and English language education. In Japan, Duff and Uchida investigated teachers in a private language school with a Christian history. Its philosophy at the time of the study was to promote intercultural understanding through the study of English and other foreign languages.

Teacher Identity and Learners' Needs and Expectations

After reviewing studies focused on sojourning ELTs in the student and classroom cultures, two categories emerged out of their findings and interpretations. The first is teacher identity, which can be interpreted as an essential element of the adjustment process. Many of the participants in the studies reviewed in this section needed to reconceptualize or re-construct their identity or identities upon entering the host cultural complex (Holliday, 1994). The second concerns learners' needs and expectations, which the sojourner needs to understand to become a more effective English language teacher.

Teacher Identity

Six of the thirteen studies (Chen & Cheng, 2010; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnston, 1999; Johnston et al. 2005; Kiernan, 2010; Stewart & Miyahara, 2011) looked into the identity or various identities of the sojourning ELT. This current study uses a postmodern definition of identity best exemplified in Johnston's position (1999) of

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sojourning ELTs as postmodern paladins, but best defined in Kiernan's study on narrative identity: "Accounts of postmodern identity represent identity as multiple, transient, generated through culture and located in multimodal semiotic and linguistic discourse" (2010, p. 40).

Based on these studies, I have classified the identity of sojourning ELTs into four groups, starting with Kiernan's narrative identity (2010), in which identity is created through personal narrative. The other three are cultural identity (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011; Johnston et al. 2005), professional identity (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011; Johnston et al. 2005), and sociocultural identity (Duff & Uchida, 1997). The latter identity is formed when individuals positions themselves within or against a group to enhance a sense of belonging or otherness. It is important to note that none of these classifications are mutually exclusive of another.

In fact, the juxtaposition of two or more of these classifications may help better explain teacher identity as a whole. An important concept of this juxtaposition is Self vs. Other, the distinction between a sense of belonging and a feeling of difference, which may indicate a hierarchical structure of power. For example, the South African sojourning ELTs in Taiwan (Chen & Cheng, 2010) have felt that accent marks their otherness from North American sojourning ELTs, who are a more desirable commodity. Additionally, sojourning ELTs in Japanese secondary schools and universities have felt that internationalization has emphasized the foreignness of their cultural identity in the institution (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011; Johnston et al. 2005; Kiernan, 2010; Stewart & Miyahara, 2011). This attitude is captured in a description of the role of culture in ELT practice: "Native speaker teachers become specimens of that foreign culture, their role as

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instructors of specialized knowledge overshadowed by their status as foreign nationals, so that it is the emblematic presence of a foreign culture in the classroom that is the defining factor in their appointment in schools" (Seargeant, 2008, p. 134). In this case, one may infer a relationship between cultural and professional identity in which the individual questions the value of one over the other in the institution, which is exemplified in Bea's case (Johnston et al. 2005), in which she felt a greater pressure from the university to act American than to teach English well. Finally, Breckenridge and Erling (2011) posits that the commodification of ELTs as native speakers ignores the professional identity that sojourning ELTs may have.

Learners' Needs and Expectations

Much of the reviewed literature concerning the student and classroom cultures (Barnes & Lock, 2010; Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002; Chen & Cheng, 2010; Garson, 2005; Kiernan, 2010; Rao, 2010; Shi, 2009) focuses on the needs and/or expectations of the learners. Two studies (Barnes & Lock, 2010; Rao, 2010) included interventions that directly asked students' thoughts and opinions about their respective sojourning ELTs. The findings from both studies showed that university students in South Korea and China both valued rapport the most. They preferred a foreign or visiting professor to be one that they could relate to. However, Rao's study (2010) showed that the students wanted sojourning ELTs to adjust their pedagogy to better fit Chinese educational philosophies, a sentiment echoed in Shi's investigation (2009) of sojourning ELTs in Chinese universities.

The situation differs from ALTs in Japan (Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002; Kiernan, 2010), who do not appear to have faced such pressures from students; rather they felt that

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they best met learners' needs and expectations when working along well with the Japanese teachers of English (JTEs). A harmonious relationship between an ALT and the JTE helped build a harmonious teaching and learning environment in the classroom. Following the JTE's lead seemed to be the best way for most ALTs to meet their learners' needs and expectations. This varied across Japan as some JTEs wanted ALTs to be nothing more than a walking tape-recorder whereas others wanted a charismatic ALT that helped raise students' interests in other cultures.

Many of these studies also shed light on how sojourning ELTs do not meet learners' needs and expectations. For example, Taiwanese students were not pleased with English being taught with a South African accent (Chen & Cheng, 2010). Additionally, several sojourning ELTs met resistance when trying to apply their standards of critical thinking upon their students (Garson, 2005; Shi, 2009), which in turn may have played a role in the participants' perceptions of student resistance. Although the South African ELTs could not entirely adjust their accent, most teachers from the other studies learned how to modify their approach to critical thinking in a way that was more culturally acceptable. These provide examples of how sojourning ELTs can and cannot adjust to their classrooms and learners' needs.

Conclusion

Although all of the studies in this section investigated sojourning ELTs adjusting to the classroom and student cultures, this current study differs from them because none of them were directly interested in the adjustment process. The category of teacher identity emerged because some studies were specifically targeting it (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnston et al. 2005). The category of learners'

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needs and expectations emerged because some studies were more interested in the students' perceptions than the teachers' (Barnes & Lock, 2010; Masgoret et al. 2000; Rao, 2010). Only one study in this section (Swagler & Jome, 2005) was primarily interested in adjustment, but not in the qualitative process as this study is concerned.

The Role of the English Language in Japan and Korea

This section reviews literature concerning the role of the English language in Japan and South Korea, providing a deeper insight to macro-level parts of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994). First, it presents a brief history of the role of the English language in Japan to demonstrate the relationship between the national culture and the international-education related culture of the Host Culture Complex in Japan. Or, in other words, the section begins by showing how Japanese society, English language policies, and English language education affect each other. After this historical context of English language teaching in Japan is introduced, the three types of host institution cultures are described. This section concludes with an attempt to clarify the most abstract part of the Host Culture Complex, the international education-related cultures, in the subsection concerning English in Japanese culture and society.

The section on English language teaching in South Korea follows the same pattern as the section for Japan, starting with a brief history, moving on to the three types of host institution cultures, and ending with English in Korean culture and society. Throughout both Japanese and Korean sections, special emphasis is placed on globalization as the phenomenon often used to explain the spread of English in both nations (Hashimoto, 2007; Jeon & Lee, 2006; McVeigh, 2002; Seargeant, 2008; Seargeant, 2009; Song, 2008; Yamagami & Tollefson, 2011). For the purposes of this

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study, globalization is seen as a significant contributor to the international-education related culture, which of course interrelates with the rest of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994).

English language teaching in Japan

During the 1880s, in the Meiji Era, when Japan ended its isolationism from the world and began to modernize, the English language was promoted among other foreign languages as a means to acquire content knowledge from foreign experts (Nagatomo, 2012; Seargeant, 2011). The Minister of Education at the time had a high regard for the English language, advocating for it to become Japan's national language (Ota, 1994 cited in Nagatomo, 2012, p. 11). However, this enthusiasm for learning English soon quieted down as the Japanese felt that they had acquired enough content knowledge to equal their foreign peers, thus initiating a period that gave rise to the nationalism that peaked in the Second World War.

Since World War II, oral proficiency in English has no longer been essential for university students; therefore, it is not tested in the university entrance examinations (McVeigh, 2002; Nagatomo, 2012). Although these exams have been changing since the end of World War II, the main format of the English portion of the exam is reading, grammar, and vocabulary (Rohlen, 1983). More recently, listening has been introduced. However, this annual university entrance exam drives the English language curriculum for most Japanese high schools, as the education system is designed around preparing students for the exam (Rohlen, 1983; McVeigh, 2002). There is a cascading effect into junior high schools as teachers want to prepare their students for high school, and many high schools have entrance exams as well (Rohlen, 1983).

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Because of the impact of the exam on the curriculum, Underwood (2010) claims that the grammar-translation method is still the most efficient way of teaching English, especially in high schools, through his analysis of English reading texts. Grammar-translation is one of the oldest methods to teach foreign languages. According to Richards and Rodgers (2001), its principal characteristics include focusing mostly on reading and writing, learning vocabulary only encountered in the readings, learning sentence-based grammar deductively, and using the learner's native language as the medium of instruction. David Nunan (1998) critiques this method, "[The learners] often knew a good deal about the language but were unable to use this knowledge to communicate appropriately. …[M]any concluded that it was a poor investment if all that work seemed to offer so little practical result" (pp. 70-71).

As for the philosophy behind the English language policy, the Ministry of Education, which is now called the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT), the role of the English language is to promote the internationalism of Japan, which has been interpreted by many researchers as advertising the unique quality of Japanese culture to the world. This mindset of policymakers is not new and has been around at least as early as the 1980s (Hashimoto, 2009; Nagatomo, 2012; Seargeant, 2009). As part of the effort to encourage the internationalization of Japan, the Japanese Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program was established. For English language teaching, the JET Program has recruited foreigners as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs), who assist in English language teaching in Japanese public schools but, more importantly, provide opportunities for cross-cultural learning for both the ALT and the Japanese students (Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002).

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Besides the JET Program, foreigners are also recruited to teach English in the universities and in private language schools. Although the number of ALTs in Japan is accessible through the JET Program's website, finding the total number of foreigners in the other programs is very difficult if not impossible because the Japanese government does not keep track of foreign teachers outside of the JET Program. Most governments of the foreign teachers do not know their citizens are teaching English outside government-sponsored programs like the Fulbright English Teaching Assistantship, and many private schools do not want to divulge how many foreign teachers they employ.

English in Japanese Elementary and Secondary Schools

MEXT's policies regarding internationalization, *kokusaika* (国際化), have had a tremendous effect on English language teaching in Japanese secondary schools, and even more so in elementary schools. The term internationalization is MEXT's and the Japanese government's interpretation of globalization as it applies to Japan, and is used discursively by these institutions for opportunities to change or create policies as well as to signal a threat to Japan's homogeneity (Hashimoto, 2007; Yamagami & Tollefson, 2011). The combination of these discursive uses of internationalization has helped MEXT with spreading the English language through the education system. Prior to 2003, English was taught in junior high school, grades 6 through 8, and high school, grades 9 through 12 (Hashimoto, 2007; Jeon & Lee, 2006; Seargeant, 2008; Seargeant, 2009; Yamagami & Tollefson, 2011). As of April 2011, English is now taught in elementary school (Hu & McKay, 2012).

MEXT's new policies add more stress to Japanese teachers of English (JTEs), many of who have reported a lack of confidence and a high level of anxiety to teach

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English (Butler, 2007; Hu & McKay, 2012). Although English language teaching in Japanese elementary schools has begun, the preparation of pre-service elementary teachers to teach English is poor, and there is a near lack of professional development of in-service teachers in elementary schools (Hu & McKay, 2012). MEXT's policies also increase the demand of assistant language teachers (ALTs) from the JET Program to visit elementary school classrooms. There is already a strain on the number of ALTs available to each secondary school. Because of resource constraints, many suburban and rural secondary schools must share their ALTs, who in these cases are called one-shot ALTs (Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002; Hu & McKay, 2012).

In addition to the lack of support available to Japanese teachers of English in elementary and secondary school, Japanese students receive less support from their parents compared to their Chinese and Korean peers (Hu & McKay, 2012). In this regard, sojourning ELTs who have taught prior in China, Tawain, or South Korea may notice a lower level of interest and motivation in their elementary and secondary students as a whole to learn English. In another study (Matsuda, 2011), Japanese high school students have placed the blame in their lack of interest and motivation not on their parents but on their Japanese teachers of English. These high school students report being aware that the English that is taught is not what McVeigh calls "genuine English" or "Japan-appropriated English" (2002, p. 152), instead it is exam English (Duff & Uchida, 1997; McVeigh, 2002; Seargeant, 2009).

The Japanese high school teachers in Matsuda's study (2011) also shared their reasoning for their students' lack of interest and motivation in learning English. Some stated that the students hated English before they entered the class. After asking students,

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Matsuda found this claim to be half true. Other teachers stated that they sympathized with the students in that they saw English as over-emphasized in the curriculum or they saw English language teaching as evidence of Anglo-American linguistic imperialism creeping into their classrooms, which few students acknowledged as true to their feelings. Matsuda's study shows that there is clear gap between the perceptions of Japanese high school teachers and students in terms of the lack of interest in the English language.

English in Japanese Universities

The evident general lack of interest in English in Japanese high schools grows to an even greater lack of interest in English and nearly all other academic subjects as reported in McVeigh's seminal book (2002) criticizing higher education in Japan as a myth. Although his book is a decade old and written through the viewpoint of a foreigner, many of his claims hold true in Poole's ethnographic study (2010) of professors in Japanese universities. Both McVeigh and Poole agree that English education in secondary schools sets up the poor performance found in English language students in Japanese universities. Poole differs from McVeigh in that he resists and rejects the essentialization of Japanese university students as quiet, shy, and reticent; however, they agree that these stereotypes may arise because most Japanese students have spent their years learning English through *yakudoku*, which is the Japanese equivalent to the grammar-translation method of foreign language teaching. The alternative to *yakudoku* is communicative language teaching, which is seen by many Japanese as a Western teaching approach that may not be applicable in Japan. Poole (2010) points out that this may cause some to blame cultural differences, but he reminds his readers that blaming culture is a simplistic, culturally-deterministic argument. In a

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final comparison, McVeigh (2002) provides an argument with substantive examples that both sojourning professors and their students are unhappy with the philosophy of education at many Japanese universities, whereas Poole provides a similar but less critical argument that Japanese professors are uncertain of the future of Japanese higher education as many universities are adopting Western ideals and practices in the name of internationalization (2010). With these two texts, we get a more complete picture of students and their professors who share anxieties about their institutions.

Two studies provide their own examples of how Japanese universities are internationalizing, mainly through offering more courses that are taught in English rather than Japanese (Hino, 2009). Although some universities are promising to offer all courses in English, such as Tokyo University (de Wit, 2012), other universities offer courses in English as an alternative as in the Teach-in-English programs found in the Japanese university in Stewart and Miyahara's study (2011). This current study is being proposed at an important time as Tokyo University has just started offering all courses in English. Tokyo University usually influences change across the education system of Japan because it is the highest ranked university in Japan and only the highest scorers on the national university entrance exam can gain admittance into the institution. Time will only tell how Tokyo University's internationalization will affect the rest of the county.

A few studies have investigated how Japanese higher education cultures have affected their sojourning ELTs. One sojourning ELT in a Japanese university expressed feelings of marginalization when she perceived herself as being valued for her foreign-ness or otherness rather for her teaching abilities (Johnston et al. 2005). Although they were more confident about their contributions to their university, two sojourning law

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professors in a Japanese university explained a similar feeling for being marginalized within their department (Stewart & Miyahara, 2011). They explain that this marginalization may be the result of the internationalization policies of many Japanese universities that hire foreigners to internationalize their institutions (Hashimoto, 2009; Nagatomo, 2012; Seargeant, 2009). Adjunct sojourning ELTs in Japanese universities (Whitsed & Wright, 2011) feel even more marginalized than their full-time counterparts (Johnston et al. 2005; Stewart & Miyahara, 2011) because of the same reasons in addition to their lower status as adjuncts.

Private English Language Schools in Japan

The demands for foreign English teachers in Japanese universities and private language schools vary. Although the majority of universities hire foreign English teachers just to teach English classes, some hire foreigners to teach content knowledge, such as law, in Taught-in-English programs (Stewart & Miyahara, 2011). The private sector has even a more diverse range of English language education. The most popular of these private language schools are the *eikaiwa gakko (*英会話学校), which are English conversation schools, offering alternative approaches to the grammar-translation method so widely used in secondary schools (Seargeant, 2009). These *eikaiwa gakko*, in nearly every city of Japan, staff as little as one or two foreign teachers to as many as around thirty, and serve customers (students) of all ages. Besides conversation schools, private English schools for children are also very popular and nearly as ubiquitous as the *eikaiwa gakko*. Some *eikaiwa gakko* even have specialized children's schools or programs. Other private language schools are aimed at business English, travel English, and test

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preparation English for exams like the TOEFL and TOEIC. During the peak of private English language schools, this was a 670 billion-yen industry (Seargeant, 2009).

One of the clearest differences sojourning ELTs in private language schools may notice from their counterparts in the JET Program and higher education is the commodification of native speakers (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011; McVeigh, 2002; Seargeant, 2009). Many private language schools use the image of the native speaker as a marketing tool to draw in customers. Seargeant (2009) dedicates an entire chapter to the concept of native speaker representing authenticity. Using this concept, the private language schools claim to offer a more authentic English, taught by real native speakers, as opposed to the inauthentic, grammar-translation method English or exam English that is taught by Japanese teachers. Sojourning ELTs run a higher risk of being objectified in private language schools, especially when they find their likeness posted on advertisements and when they find their school marketing its convenient location and service like a fast food restaurant (Seargeant, 2009).

The previous paragraph may sound like overstatement, but the commodification of the English language in the private sector is exaggerated even more in a theme park that offers its guests the experience of living in Great Britain and the opportunities to learn English from teachers who work for the park, British Hills (http://www.british-hills.co.jp/english/about/). This is an extreme example of how private language schools and theme parks are indirectly influenced by MEXT's internationalization policies.

Toning the rhetoric down, an analysis of the marketing strategies offers examples of how these private language schools can motivate and invoke interest in the same people who were shown to lack motivation and interest in English language learning in

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secondary and tertiary schools. Seargeant (2009) analyzes one of the advertisements from 2005 that portrayed English as a magical power to fulfill one's wishes, asking its readers, "What would I do if I could speak English?" (p. 111). Gaba's website in December 2012 (http://www.gaba.co.jp/aboutgaba/) promoted its one-on-one English courses, which are in effect tutoring sessions organized by the school, and it provides counseling sessions for those who "hate English" or "are not good at English," treating these attitudes like undesirable psychological conditions. In Chapter 7 of his book, Seargeant (2009) suggests that English is marketed as a tool to help Japanese, adults especially, meet their wide-ranging aspirations.

English in Japanese Culture and Society

Several studies have looked into how English has been appropriated in Japanese culture and society. Seargeant (2011) remarks on the great amount of English text found in public places all around Japan, including advertising, fashion, informational signs, entertainment, information technology, and other forms of media. Although some of these texts are products of Anglo-American commercialism, some are Japanese products and signs. Japanese participants in the study (Seargeant, 2011) held various opinions and beliefs about the widespread use of English text in Japan. Some participants felt that English is a part of Japan as it is now a global language and does not belong to any one country in particular. Others felt that these public texts in English were reminders that the language threatens Japanese language and culture by possibly creating a hierarchy of English-speaking Japanese over Japanese with limited or no English abilities.

Another study (Yano, 2011) investigates the English presence in the Japanese language and the influence of English on Japanese. For the former, Yano (2011)

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provides examples of how more and more English loanwords are being adopted by the Japanese in conversation and the mass media. The former influences the latter in which Japanese are becoming more accustomed to English phonemes that are traditionally absent or less common in Japanese, and in which Japanese are finding it easier to code-switch in some contexts instead of using a loanword to express a certain feeling or image.

A third study (Moody & Matsumoto, 2011) provides an example of what they call language entertainment, which is the Japanese media's portrayal of Japanese people speaking English successfully. In their investigation, they noticed certain common characteristics that these successful Japanese English speakers show to their audience: courage, self-effacement, and enthusiasm. The researchers conclude that these three traits help Japanese cope with their English language learning anxiety. Overtly showing courage demonstrates to the audience that determination is needed to speak English. These successful English speakers also show their audience how to manage their mistakes through a purposeful self-effacement, which is already commonly used in Japanese humor. An obvious use of enthusiasm helps encourage others to share the English speaking experience.

These three studies demonstrate how English is used and represented outside the domains of the education system. Some sojourning ELTs may find it difficult to adjust to the classroom if and when they notice multiple and sometimes contradictory roles of the English language in Japanese society and in the classroom.

English language teaching in South Korea

Japanese education policies greatly overlapped with and then disregarded Korean education policies in the early 20th Century when Korea was a Japanese colony until the

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end of the Second World War (Seth, 2002). Some studies (Seth, 2002; Shin, 2007; Song, 2008) claim that South Korea has never really escaped the influence of Japanese education policies evidenced in foreign language education, specifically English language education. The clearest example of this is the influence of the national university examination on the curriculum on secondary schools (Choi, 2008; Seth, 2002; Song, 2008), in which grammar-translation is still the dominant teaching approach but to a lesser extent than in Japan currently (Shin, 2007). However, South Korea differs from Japan as it suffers from what many have described as "English fever" or "English frenzy" (Hu & McKay, 2012; Jeon, 2009; Park, 2009; Park, 2010; Shin, 2007; Song, 2011), a subset of the more general "education fever," which Seth (2002) believes contributes to his hyperbolic position that "[t]he strong zeal for education among Koreans cannot be matched anywhere else in the world" (p. 250).

English in Korean Elementary and Secondary Schools

Education fever and English fever are most apparent in their relationship with elementary and secondary students and their families. According to Hu and McKay (2012), South Korean families spend about $20 billion a year on private education, which is three times the amount in Japan. An additional $5 billion a year is spent on sending children abroad for a better English language education (Jeon, 2009). All this money is spent to supplement the education many of the students receive in public schools.

Although this spending may indicate that the English language policies in South Korea are less rigorous than in Japan, this is not the case. The Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MEST) has made it mandatory for English language instruction to start in the third grade (Hu & McKay, 2012). Furthermore,

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MEST promotes a monolingual approach, called Teaching English Through English (TETE), for English language education in elementary and secondary schools, which has caused a great deal of concern and anxiety among Korean teachers of English (Hu & McKay, 2012; Shin, 2007). This "English fever" has spread so acutely that there are proposals to make English the official language of South Korea (Song, 2011). The argument for this is rooted in the discourse of globalization, or *segyehwa* (세계화), similar to Japan's internationalization.

Just as the JET Program is emblematic of internationalization in the Japanese education system, the English in Korea Program (EPIK) represents MEST's response to globalization. EPIK began in 1996, nine years after the JET Program in Japan, but it has already surpassed the JET Program in the number of assistant language teachers (ALTs) in schools by nearly four times (JET, 2012; Lee, 2012). One reason for this is that MEST has a plan in put one native English speaking teacher in every elementary and secondary school (Jeon, 2009). EPIK has more recently started TaLK, or Teach and Learn in Korea, a sister program to help put ALTs in schools in South Korean rural areas to make this plan come to fruition (Jeon, 2012).

Because of "English fever" and MEST's more aggressive plans that contribute to the spread of English, South Korea has been more successful at making English more accessible. However, as in Japan, the use of ELTs in this spreading of English is not without its critics in elementary and secondary schools. Shin's study (2007) found that many Korean teachers of English and some of their students do not believe native speaking ALTs are a benefit. They explain that many ALTs are native speakers of English but not native speaking teachers of English, an important difference. These

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sentiments are not unlike those found in Japan. The largest difference between Japanese teachers of English and Korean teachers of English is that MEST implemented and supported pre-service teacher training programs that emphasize communicative language teaching approaches at the same time EPIK began in 1996. This gives Korean teachers a pedagogical advantage over many Japanese teachers, not to mention many of their ill-trained, inexperienced ALTs, and makes them more responsive to the needs of their students, who tend to feel satisfied that the English they are learning is more authentic than the exam English that Japanese students receive in greater amounts.

The washback effects of the national university entrance exams in South Korea are similar to those in Japan, but not as extensive. They are most similar in the final year of high school, where nearly all teaching of English writing and speaking is stopped to help students prepare for the multiple choice exams (Choi, 2008). The reduced severity of this washback before the final year of high school is the result of parental support to acquire "authentic" English, something that most Japanese students lack (Hu & McKay, 2012).

English in Korean Universities

Before the past decade, not much literature in English could be found on teaching English in higher education overseas. Although this is evident in the case of Japanese universities, it is less for Korean universities, which still have yet to receive much attention. One reason may be that Korean universities are not highly ranked internationally. According to *Times Higher Education* (2012), South Korea's highest ranked university is 50th and behind other Asian universities in Japan, Singapore, and China. Korean universities rank even lower in ARWU (2012), making their highest

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appearance on the charts, in the top 101 to 150 universities. This is contrast to the condition of Korean elementary and secondary education, as Seth (2002) puts it, "South Korean education was strongest at the bottom and weakest at the top" (p. 236).

Segyehwa, the project of internationalization, affects Korean universities in the same way *kokusaika* affects Japanese universities in that many of them are or are planning to have English-only policies (Kang, 2012). One argument for this is to make Korean universities more competitive in the world and to keep its brightest students in the country, instead of going off to universities overseas (Kang, 2012). Several studies (Kang, 2012; Lee, 2010) have indicated that use of English as a medium of instruction is now one criterion for assessing Korean universities. Although South Korean universities share many characteristics of Japanese universities, the anxiety of lower recruitment is much higher. Both see the use of English on campus as a solution.

Private English Language Schools in South Korea

Over half of the approximately $20 billion that Korean parents spend on extracurricular lessons is for English language education (Hu & McKay, 2012). These lessons are sought in a variety of ways, through cram schools (*hagwon*), private tutoring (*kwaoe*), English camps (*yangeo-camp*), and language training abroad (*haewoeyonsu*) (Hu & McKay, 2012; Park, 2009). Seth (2002) describes this as yet another type of education fever: "*kwaoe* frenzy," which started in 1975, was banned by the federal government in 1980, and then started up again in 1989 when the ban was lifted.

This current study will focus mostly on *hagwon* (학원), which more actively recruit sojourning ELTs from overseas. Many sojourning ELTs offer private tutoring along with their other jobs, and the English camps usually hire sojourning ELTs already

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in the country for a limited time. *Hagwon* differ from *eikaiwa gakko*, their closest comparison in Japan, in that the numerous *hagwon* are smaller and more independent than the often fewer but larger and more corporate *eikaiwa gakko*.

As stated before, South Korean parents send their children to *hagwon* to supplement their education. Even though English education now starts at third grade at elementary schools, parents send their kindergartners to *hagwon* to get a head start (Park, 2009; Shin, 2007). Children of all ages will spend nearly all their waking hours before and after school at *hagwon* for this and other academic purposes (Park, 2009; Seth, 2002).

To date, very little to no research literature is available that describes the inner workings of *hagwon*. A Korean newspaper reports that there were over 70,000 operating *hagwon* in 2009, but not all of them were dedicated to English language instruction (Moon, 2009). Of the *hagwon* that are dedicated to English language education, one of the largest is YBM, which operates like many Japanese *eikaiwa gakko* in that it has a headquarters with many branch schools around the country (YBM, 2012). Finally, it is important to note that many employers of sojourning ELTs in South Korea rely on recruiting agencies to hire teachers from abroad (Jeon & Lee, 2006).

English in Korean Culture and Society

English has been deemed the most important language in South Korea for the past six decades (Song, 2011). Outside the domain of education, this importance is demonstrated through its prevalence in Korean media (Park, 2010; Song, 2011). Through discourse analysis, one study (Park, 2010) found that the conservative media positioned the ability to speak English as "an index of an ideal way of being in the global world" (p.

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25) by presenting a causal relationship between English competence and economic wealth, in which the former was responsible for the latter. However, Park (2010) argues that if there is a causal relationship, it is the reverse, where economic wealth makes acquiring a high competence in English easier. Even though the literature supports Park's claim (Hu & McKay, 2012), the mass media is more accessible to the public, who may unconsciously believe the positioning of the conservative press.

Using this framework, "English frenzy" extends beyond education into other sectors, specifically tourism, travel, and elective surgery. The tourism industry co-opts the education sector in the promotion of English villages, similar to the example of British Hills in Japan except that South Korea's villages operate more like English-only towns than cultural theme parks (Park, 2009; Park, 2010; Song, 2011).

One of the extracurricular activities mentioned in the section about private language schools in South Korea was language training abroad (*haewoeyonsu*), in which families will travel abroad to immerse their children in English language education. Usually in this circumstance, the mother will stay abroad with the children while the father continues to work in South Korea to support them. This type of lifestyle has been given the term "wild goose," as in "wild goose mother" or "wild goose father" who flies back and forth to and from Korea (Park, 2009; Jeon, 2009). In 2005, over eight thousand elementary school students supplemented their English education in this manner, with the number of students expected to grow. Although this is the most common method of studying English abroad, about half the number of elementary students either temporarily go abroad with the whole family, and another half emigrate permanently with the whole family (Park, 2009). The final and most drastic example of "English frenzy" is linguistic

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surgery, in which parents have their children's tongues surgically altered so they can better pronounce the English /l/ and /r/ sounds (Park, 2009).

A popular explanation for this "English frenzy" is the hegemonic social structure of South Korea (Park, 2009; Park, 2010; Seth, 2002; Song, 2011). English language ability is used as a marker of socio-economic status, similar to the portrayal in the conservative media (Park, 2010), and as a symbol of the idealized *gukjein*, a neoliberal globally-minded cosmopolitan individual (Park, 2010), which supposedly transcends a national identity. In this sense, English is the key to an ideal identity for many Koreans.

A less idealized and more historical explanation is the political and military relationship that South Korea shares with the United States (Shin, 2007). The United States has more visible military presence in South Korea than in Japan because of the central locations of their bases. It is more common to see American military personnel on or off duty in Seoul than it is in Tokyo or Osaka, and therefore the interaction between American military personnel and local citizens may be higher in South Korea, which in turn may encourage more frequent use of English and more familiarity with American culture.

Conclusion

This section of Chapter 2 has provided the macro-level parts of the Host Culture Complexes in Japan and South Korea. Although the Japanese and Korean education systems are similar, the English language is pursued more fervently in South Korea as its Ministry of Education (MEST) has included communicative teaching practices in its pre-service teacher training and it is closer to achieving the goal of having one native-speaking English teacher in each English classroom in the country. Both Japanese and

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South Korean federal governments have used their interpretations of globalization (*kokusaika* in Japan and *segyehwa* in Korea) to help aid the spread of English. The extreme representations of these interpretations are found in the building of English villages, in Japan's commodification of native speakers in private language schools, and Korea's expenditures on English language education.

Sojourning English Language Teachers and the Host Culture Complex

The relationship between the participants of this study, sojourning English language teachers (ELTs) in Japan and South Korea, and the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994) is that the latter is the context for the former. To best understand sojourning ELTs in the context of this study, they can be categorized according to the context of the host cultural complex.

Starting at the macro-level of the complex, sojourning ELTs in this study can be categorized according to the country in which they teach (Japan and South Korea) and furthermore, to the regions, prefectures (Japan), or provinces (Korea) where they teach. For the purposes of this study, it is easier to categorize sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea according to the type of host institution culture: elementary and secondary schools, higher education, and private language schools.

More studies have looked into sojourning ELTs in Japan than in South Korea. In Japan, the two most investigated groups are Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011; Butler,

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2007; Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002; Fujimoto-Adamson, 2010; Kiernan, 2010; Matsuda, 2011; Ohtani, 2010) and university instructors (Johnston et al. 2005; Kiernan, 2010; Lee, 2010; McVeigh, 2002; Nagatomo, 2012; Stewart & Miyahara, 2011; Williams et al. 2008). Sojourners who teach English in the private sector make up the third group, which may rival the other two groups in terms of population size. Although studies have investigated the schools (Bailey, 2006; Seargeant, 2009), fewer have investigated their sojourning teachers (Duff & Uchida, 1997).

This classification of sojourning ELTs in Japan can be transferred to South Korea, where the equivalent to the JET Program is the English Program in Korea (EPIK), recruiting sojourners to teach English in Korean public schools (Jeon, 2009). Like Japan, there is possibly an relatively equal proportion of sojourning ELTs in South Korea's universities (Barnes & Lock, 2010; Kang, 2012) and private English schools, the latter of which mostly can be referred to as *hagwon*. The rest of this section will review literature on these three broad contexts for sojourning ELTs.

Assistant Language Teachers

The first context is teaching English in government-sponsored programs like the JET Program in Japan and EPIK in South Korea. Literature reviewed in this context covers hiring practices, program purposes, teacher demographics, and key terms. For hiring practices, Jeon & Lee (2006) reports that the JET Program prefers applicants to be younger than 40 years of age, and it requires them to have a strong motivation towards teaching, and to have earned at least a Bachelor's degree before arriving to Japan. In contrast to JET, EPIK hires native speakers through recruitment agencies in South Korea

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and abroad. Both the JET Program and EPIK have a history of hiring unqualified ELTs, described as having little or no English teaching experience or training (Jeon & Lee, 2006).

For the JET Program, the improvement of foreign language education in Japan is the secondary purpose to its primary purpose of enhancing internationalization through cultural exchange. It is clear to all involved in the JET Program that the assistant language teacher's main role is cultural exchange and not foreign language education, which in this current study and still for most classrooms in Japan is English (JET Program, 2012). The closest equivalent to the JET Program in South Korea is EPIK, although it clearly states in its rationale that its purpose is to improve English language education. The first points of this rationale refer to English language education, whereas the remaining two are similar to the JET Program's internationalization enhancement (EPIK, 2012). Throughout the rest of this paper, I will refer to English teachers in the JET Program and EPIK as assistant language teachers (ALTs).

Japan, the larger of the two countries by area and population, has 4,360 ALTs (JET, 2012) whereas South Korea has nearly twice the number of ALTs at 8,520 (Lee, 2012). From this we can deduce that South Korea has a greater population density of sojourning ELTs who are ALTs, especially given the fact that not all of Japan's ALTs are English teachers.

The JET Program publicly lists the number of ALTs by nationality or citizenship. American ALTs far outnumber other JET ALTs at 2,334 or about 53.5%. British ALTs are the next largest JET ALT population at only 432 or just under 10% (JET Program, 2012). For ALTs not from a country where English is the official or dominant language,

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France and Germany have the largest number of ALTs in Japan, both numbering at 14. In contrast, EPIK only hires English teachers from Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States (EPIK, 2012; Jeon, 2009); however, EPIK does not publish the proportion of ALTs from these seven countries.

The JET Program has been running since 1986, whereas EPIK has only been around since 1995. In fact, the JET Program is one of the oldest programs of its kind in the world, and this is the main reason I defer to the JET Program for terminology, such as ALT. The literature on the JET Program (Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002) comes with a long list of abbreviations that sojourning ELTs in my pilot study have used extensively, so I will present the most widely used terms in explanation of the teaching contexts.

The counterpart to the ALT in Japan is the JTE, Japanese teacher of English, as most ALTs work along with or support a JTE. For most cases in Japan, the ALT is a visitor in the JTE's classroom (Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002). Although I have not come across an equivalent term, I will use KTE for Korean teacher of English. To refer to both JTEs and KTEs, I will use the term local teacher.

There are two types of ALTs in Japan, the base ALT and the one-shot. The base ALT teaches at one school, the base-school, whereas the one-shot teaches at several schools within a prefecture. Typically but not always, the base ALT works in densely populated urban areas whereas the one-shot works in less populated areas.

EPIK has recently developed a different approach to urban and rural English language teaching. In 2008, EPIK has started a sister program called Teach and Learn in Korea (TALK) for teaching English in rural South Korea. Besides locale, TALK differs

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from EPIK in that it offers fewer working hours per week, does not require completion of a BA degree, and is more open to hiring Korean who have temporary or permanent residency status in the aforementioned seven countries (EPIK, 2012; Jeon, 2012).

In 2006, the salary was roughly $2,600 per month for an ALT in Japan and between $1,480 and $2,800 per month for an ALT in Seoul, the capital and largest city of Korea. In the same year, their local counterparts made between $2,043 and $3,795 per month in Japan and between $2,258 and $3,877 in Seoul (not rural Korea).

Higher Education in Japan and Korea

Compared to assistant language teachers, there is less information in the literature on the population and demographics of sojourning ELTs in higher education. One reason for this is that each institution of higher education in Japan and South Korea has its own requirements for hiring and employing their sojourning ELTs as opposed to the nationally centralized organization for assistant language teachers.

With the few studies on sojourning ELTs in higher education in Japan (McVeigh, 2002; Nagatomo, 2012; Stewart & Miyahara, 2011; Whitsed & Wright, 2011), there are fewer of their counterparts in South Korea. In fact, no studies exclusively investigated the identities or demographics of sojourning ELTs in South Korean higher education.

Private Language Schools

Although private English language schools are nearly ubiquitous in both Japan and South Korea, the sojourning ELT population that teaches in them is rarely researched. Duff and Uchida (1997) and Kiernan (2010) were the only researchers to

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publish findings about English language teachers in private language schools, both studies in Japan. Duff and Uchida (1997) observed and interviewed two participants in a private language school that offered many foreign languages to learn for the purpose of developing intercultural competence. Kiernan interviewed both Japanese and sojourning ELTs in elementary, secondary, and higher education in addition to the private sector. Of the 21 sojourning ELTs he interviewed, four of them worked in what he called language schools.

Conclusion

Holliday's Host Culture Complex (1994) has shown to conveniently organize sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea by using the host institution complex to categorize them as ELTs in elementary and secondary schools, ELTs in higher education, or ELTs in private language schools. This section has shown how sojourning ELTs in these three contexts can differ. Now that we have looked how sojourning ELTs are positioned in the host cultures of Japan and Korea, we can move on to a better understanding of sojourners and their adjustment to the Host Culture Complex.

The Adjustment Process of Sojourners

This section reviews literature from the fields of acculturation psychology and intercultural communication about sojourner studies and cross-cultural training for sojourners and expatriates. Sojourners are defined first, followed by a summary of sojourner studies in acculturation psychology. Second, various theories developed and implemented in sojourner studies that are most relevant to the current study's purpose

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and research questions are reviewed. The final section of this chapter reviews two studies that synthesized sojourner research and English language teaching.

Sojourners

A sojourner is a temporary resident who intends to return to his or her country of origin after a certain goal has been accomplished or a contract or assignment has been completed (Bochner, 2006; Ward et al. 2001). This term can describe most ELTs who teach in a country other than their own; however studies outside the field of psychology have referred to them as expatriates (Holliday, 2005; Johnston, 1999; Littrell, Salas, Hess, Paley & Riedel, 2006). To clarify, an expatriate is a certain type of sojourner, one who is abroad for business or commerce (Bochner, 2006). In a sense, the term expatriate adequately describes instructors who work in the private sector, but may not be suitable for instructors who teach elsewhere.

Two populations of sojourners dominate acculturation or culture shock research: international students and expatriate workers (Bochner, 2006; Ting-Toomey, 1999; Ward et al. 2001). Bochner (2006) lists other populations that are gaining attention, such as international civil servants and military personnel, but does not include a category for educators.

Research on sojourners began with international students. The need arose with the growth of international education programs shortly after the Second World War. Nearly all of the earlier studies were not driven by theory and had practical aims, such as surveying outcomes of the sojourners. It was not until the 1970s theories started to

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develop and the research began to gain some attention outside the field of acculturation psychology, specifically in relation to the label "brain drain" (Ward et al. 2001).

Ward et al. (2001) provide a chapter dedicated to the analysis of research on the psychology of culture shock and international students. One major theme is that international students have a difficult time establishing friendships with the local students. Another is that stereotypes can have both a positive and negative effect on building relationships with members of the host culture. When investigating problems, the authors have found them to be contextually driven, especially in the areas of "student and teacher expectations, the patterns of classroom interaction, and [the] perceptions and definitions of intelligence" (p. 166).

Longitudinal studies are becoming more and more common when researching the phenomenon of adjustment in international students. Some studies have investigated the factors shortly before and immediately after arriving in the target country. Others have investigated the first few months upon arrival, or they have investigated the phenomenon of returning to one's country of origin.

Also relevant to sojourning ELTs are studies investigating how expatriate workers adjust to their host cultures. Following their chapter on international students, Ward et al. (2001), provide an equally detailed analysis of studies on expatriate workers. One major theme highlights the differences in work-related practices and values between the sojourner's home culture and the host culture. These differences may create problems between the sojourner and anyone involved with the company, from customer or client to coworker or staff. One of the most researched subpopulations of expatriate workers is the company executive.

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Compared to studies on international students, there is a larger demand for more quantitative studies into expatriate workers' adjustments to the host culture. For example, the differences between home and host culture can be quantified, and this list of items could be used to help with creating a cross-cultural training program.

Different stages of the adjustment process have been investigated, starting from the recruitment stage in one's home culture to the re-entry stage of returning to one's country of origin. Other variables that have received considerable attention are managing a culturally diverse workforce, acquiring the social skills appropriate in the host culture, mentoring other sojourners, and coping with gender-related issues.

Theories in Sojourner Studies

The fields of psychology and cross-cultural communication training have used many theories, and it is important to note that there is no one unifying theoretical framework (Littrell et al. 2006). Instead of summarizing and synthesizing all of them, only the theories most relevant to this current study are reviewed in this section.

Culture Shock and Cultural Learning

"Cultural learning is the process whereby sojourners acquire culturally relevant social knowledge and skills in order to survive and thrive in their new society" (Ward et al. 2001, p. 51). Social psychologists who are interested in investigating cultural learning can approach their study by looking at one or more of the following phenomena: the social interaction between sojourner and host nationals, the social psychology of a particular cross-cultural encounter, the differences in how people communicate, the social relations in multicultural societies, and cross-cultural transition and social difficulty

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(Ward et al. 2001). Although the first three are of interest in this present study, it is the latter phenomenon, more popularly known as culture shock theory, which is most important.

Previous culture shock studies using cultural learning as its theoretical framework have used questionnaires, such as the Social Situations Questionnaire, to assess the amount of difficulty a sojourner faces in one of many listed particular social encounters abroad (Ward et al. 2001). These questionnaires have attempted to categorize the most common situations sojourners face when living abroad, and they are not specific to the working condition.

Using questionnaires similar to those used in cultural learning studies, Ward and Kennedy (1999) found evidence to support both cultural learning theory and the U-curve hypothesis, discussed in the next section. Although the U appeared more like a reverse J or an incomplete U, the researchers found that more contact with host nationals reduced the levels of sociocultural difficulty. They also found that international students may appear unskilled for their time abroad and that cultural distance may play a factor in the variation across sojourning groups.

Culture Shock and the U-curve Hypothesis

One theory, originally known as culture shock theory, states that there are distinct phases over time of adjusting or adapting to the host culture. Several authors (Bochner, 2006; Littrell et al. 2006; Ting-Toomey, 1999; Ward et al. 2001) point to Oberg's discussion (1960) as the origin of this theory, when he highlighted four phases as seen in Table 2.

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Table 2 – Oberg's four phases of emotional reactions associated with sojourners

Phases	Description
The honeymoon	Initial reactions of euphoria, enchantment, fascination, and enthusiasm
The crisis	Feelings of inadequacy, frustration, anxiety, and anger
The recovery	Includes crisis resolution and cultural learning
Adjustment	Reflecting enjoyment of and functional competence in the new environment

Oberg's classic four phases have inspired greater use of Lysgaard's U-curve hypothesis (1955) that measures a sojourner's adjustment to the host culture with the top left of the U representing the honeymoon phase, the downward slope representing the crisis, the upward slope representing the recovery, and the top right of the U representing adjustment.

Using the U-curve or its revised variants, such as the W-shaped adjustment curve, has its benefits (Ting-Toomey, 1999). It is "intuitively appealing" and "a convenient, common sense heuristic for understanding cross-cultural adaptation" (Ward et al. 2001, p. 82). For this reason, a researcher can introduce the U-curve hypothesis to sojourners as a frame of reference to understand their identity change process (Ting-Toomey, 1999). The sojourners may be able to compare their own experiences to the U-curve or its revised W-curve, providing anecdotes supporting or refuting the trends of the curves or the characteristics of each phase. Additionally, the U-curve hypothesis is important to research in cross-cultural training because it shows that sojourners should expect to have different experiences at different times while they are living and working abroad (Littrell et al. 2006).

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The U-curve hypothesis has very concerning drawbacks. Most importantly, there is little empirical evidence that sojourners' adjustment follows the U-curve (Berry, 2006). Further criticisms points out that it "appears to be largely atheoretical, deriving from a combination of post hoc explanation and armchair speculation" (Ward et al. 2001). A literature review of U-curve studies have pointed out that in all cases there is a fluctuation of stress and/or general satisfaction over time, but they are not fixed to certain points in time and often do not form a U or W shape. The most common trend is that there is a downward trend, indicating greater stress and/or decreasing satisfaction in the host culture during the first few weeks (Ward et al. 2001).

To alleviate these problems, it has been suggested that future researchers who wish to use, develop, or analyze the U-curve and its variants should consider longitudinal research, selecting participants in similar contexts, and investigating specific outcome measures, such as sociocultural adaptation (Ward et al. 2001). Berry (2006) suggests a more qualitative investigation into the "specific nature of the experiences and problems encountered as [sojourners] change over time" (p. 51).

Identity Change

Chapter 9 in Ting-Toomey's text about intercultural communication (1999) discusses in depth the relationship between culture shock theory and the identity change process of sojourners. Citing Furnham (1988), Ting-Toomey lists how culture shock negatively affects one's identity in multiple ways. Citing Anderson (1994), Ting-Toomey provides another list, which identifies four types of "culture shockers." They are early returnees, who exit at an early stage, most likely due to a failure to adjust; time servers, those who choose not to integrate or even interact with the host culture, instead just

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waiting out their time abroad; adjusters, who moderately perform their required tasks abroad, interacting with the host culture behaviorally but not affectively; and participators, who perform their tasks well as well as emotionally interact with the host cultural at a deeper level.

These possible categories or labels of sojourners can be applied to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978) that is "concerned with the way in which people view themselves and their perceptions of in-group and out-group members" (Ward et al. 2001, p. 119). Social Identity Theory is used primarily by cross-cultural trainers to help sojourners develop strategies to overcome difficulties in adjusting to the host culture.

Sojourner Studies and English Language Teachers

In this section, two studies (Masgoret et al. 2000; Swagler & Jome, 2005) had an interest, similar to that of this current research project, in the acculturation of their participants. Masgoret et al. (2000) investigated 127 British and Irish sojourners in a summer English language program in Spain, whereas Swagler and Jome (2005) investigated 125 sojourners, 82 of them ELTs from the United States and Canada teaching in different programs and schools in Taiwan.

Although both studies used various psychological measures of acculturation, their objectives differed. Masgoret et al. (2000) examined two types of relationships. The first was between variables that were found to influence the adjustment process in sojourners. The second type of relationships was between the supervisors' ratings of their ELT's personalities and their teaching effectiveness. Swagler and Jome's (2005) objectives

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were simpler in that they were interested in what characteristics facilitated or hindered the adjustment process.

Both studies also shared similarities in their interest in investigating variables concerning the big five personality dimensions (Costa & McCrae, 1988, 1992) of their respective sojourners. These big five personality dimensions consist of extraversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness, openness to experience, and neuroticism. Although both studies used inventories from different editions of the same source (Costa & McCrae, 1988, 1992) to measure the big five personality dimensions, the researchers administered the questionnaire differently. The earlier study (Masgoret et al. 2000) asked the supervisors to report on the personalities of their sojourning ELTs, and the latter study (Swagler & Jome, 2005) asked the sojourners to report on themselves.

Most of the relationships between the multiple variables, including the big five personality dimensions, in Masgoret et al.'s (2000) study were found to be insignificant. However, two were significant. The first finding indicated that the attitudinal changes of the sojourners occurred in as little as four weeks, which aligned with other literature on adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 1997). Secondly, they found that the number of languages spoken by the sojourners in combination with their high supervisor rating on agreeableness and extraversion predicted teaching performance.

Swagler and Jome (2005) investigated personality and identity variables that may facilitate or hinder the cross-cultural adjustment process, which the acculturation literature divides into two categories: psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1992). For psychological adjustment, successful sojourners exhibited traits of lower neuroticism, higher agreeableness, and higher

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conscientiousness. For sociocultural adjustment, successful sojourners exhibited traits of more extraversion. Identity factors only improved sociocultural adjustment in that the more sojourners acquired the identity of the host culture, the better they adjusted. Demographically, they found that sojourning men adjusted socioculturally better than women.

The significant findings of both studies do not overlap much. The supervisors in Spain (Masgoret et al. 2000) appeared to favor sojourning ELTs that they rated with high agreeableness and extraversion scores. Looking at these same variables in the other study (Swagler & Jome, 2005), high agreeableness significantly correlated with facilitating psychological adjustment, and high extraversion significantly correlated with facilitating sociocultural adjustment. From the two findings, we have evidence that the personality traits of agreeableness and extraversion may help with the adjustment process, and these traits may also contribute to positive assessments from supervisors.

Conclusion

This section of Chapter 2 has reviewed sojourners and sojourner studies in relation to sojourning English language teachers (ELTs) specifically. This current study is designed to contribute to the literature on sojourner studies, specifically on developing theories specific to sojourning ELTs rather than international students and expatriate workers, who have received the greatest attention to date.

The previous sections of Chapter 2 explored the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994), specifically its six components and Holliday's evolving definition of culture (2005, 2012). This chapter also reviewed literature of sojourning ELTs in the host

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culture at the micro and macro levels. For the micro-level, the chapter reviewed literature concerning sojourning ELTs adjusting to the classroom and student cultures in multiple contexts. For the macro-level, the chapter reviewed literature concerning sojourning ELTs' relation to Japanese and Korean national, international-education related, and host institution cultures. This chapter ended with an examination of reports on sojourner studies from the field of acculturation psychology. All of these sections combined provide the contextual and theoretical background to research the adjustment process of sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea. The reviewed literature in this chapter has helped provide a theoretical framework on the ways sojourning ELTs adjust and fail to adjust to the Host Culture Complex.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

The Study

The central purpose of this study is to describe the adjustment process of English Language Teachers (ELTs) during their sojourn to Japan or South Korea. The primary research question guiding this study asks in what ways do sojourning ELTs adjust and fail to adjust to the Host Culture Complex. This adjustment may provide evidence for or against a teacher's fit or lack of fit to the specific schooling context (Dogancay-Aktuna, 2005). The participants' descriptions of their struggles and successes of adjusting is explored in relation to the components of Holliday's (1994) Host Culture Complex, a model used to show the classroom as "a part of a complex of interrelated and overlapping cultures of different dimensions within the host educational environment" (pp. 28-29).

There are three secondary research questions. The first, asking what variations of adjustment, if any, do the sojourning ELTs share, looks for similarities between and across the multiple cases of this study to identify any features that may be transferable to the population. The second, asking how do sojourning ELTs describe their own adjustment to the Host Culture Complex, gives voice to the participants, describing their adjustment process that may differ from previous literature on sojourners. Another purpose for giving voice to the participants in the second secondary research questions is for credibility and reliability, to show any influence or lack thereof the researcher has had on the sojourning ELTs' perspectives on adjusting to the Host Culture Complex.

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The next secondary research question investigates the external and internal or personal factors that may contribute to sojourning ELTs' adjustment processes. External factors include the sociopolitical factors surrounding teaching English in Japan and South Korea in addition to the cross-cultural variation in teaching and learning English in those countries. These factors are contrasted with the internal factors of ELT theories and teaching experiences.

Multiple Case Studies

Qualitative Research

The multiple case study is one genre or design of qualitative research (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2009). For many years, qualitative research has been traditionally juxtaposed to quantitative research in terms of methodology and philosophical worldviews (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). One of the most distinguishing features of qualitative methodology is that the research is conducted in naturalistic settings as opposed to controlled ones. Instead of collecting data through investigating controlled variables in an experiment or through a test, the qualitative researcher collects data through interviewing, observing participants, and collecting documents and artifacts. These are the methodological features that set qualitative research apart from quantitative research.

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Constructivist Paradigm

Qualitative research is more than a common set of methods; it requires a paradigm. The constructivist paradigm is one of the most accepted paradigms in qualitative research, and is the worldview that will be used in this multiple case study. Also known as naturalism and interpretivism, constructivism maintains the logic of induction for its process of research, most commonly through a grounded theory. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) explain this logical approach as follows: “Abstractions are built as the particulars that have been gathered are grouped together. Theory developed this way emerges from the bottom up from many disparate pieces of collected evidence that are interconnected. The theory is grounded in the data” (p. 6).

There is more to a research paradigm than logic. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) describe three other categories found in many paradigms: ontology, epistemology, and axiology. Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality, and constructivist thinkers believe in relativism or multiple realities. Epistemology is concerned with the relationship between the researcher and that being researched, and constructivists believe that reality is constructed in the interactions between the researcher and the participants. Therefore, closeness to one’s participants and subjectivity are important characteristics in qualitative research. Axiology is concerned with the role of values, so it is common to find a published study highlighting the constructivist researcher’s values in terms of biases and personal interpretations.

The logic, ontology, epistemology, and axiology of a constructivist’s worldview dictate the methodology of his or her qualitative study in that the research actively looks for multiple perspectives from participants through multiple interviews (Creswell &

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Plano Clark, 2011). This theoretical lens is often used in case studies, and it will be used for the purpose of this study.

Negotiated Perspective

Because qualitative research is interested in the participants' perspectives, the emic is valued over the etic perspective, which is the outsider's view (Merriam, 1998). However, for the purpose of this study, a negotiated perspective of both emic and etic has been implemented, in which the experiences from the emic will be negotiated with the theoretical background of the etic in interviews and member checks (Drew, Hardmann, & Hosp, 2008). More specifically, the Host Culture Complex model and theories used in previous sojourner studies helped the primary investigator organize and add more meaning to the participants' perspectives.

The Host Culture Complex

Holliday's Host Culture Complex (1994) was used as the primary theoretical framework for collecting and analyzing the data.

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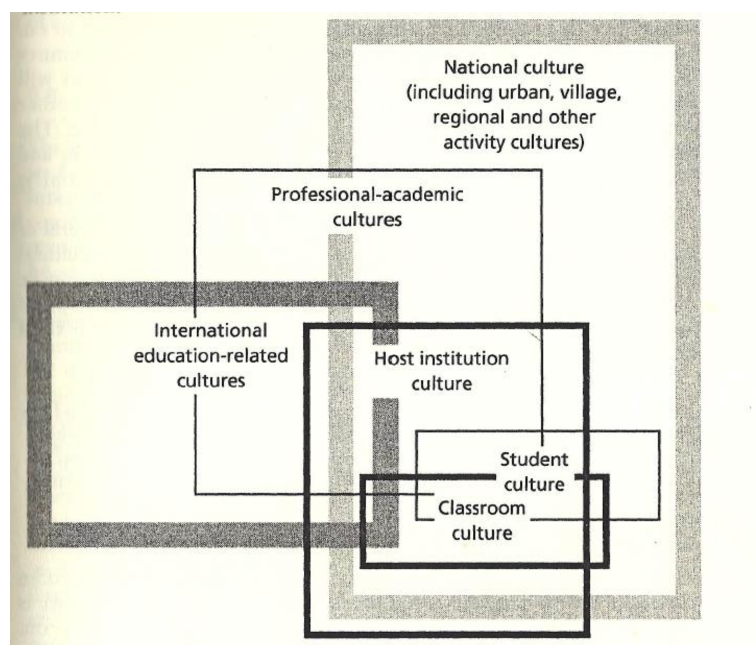
Figure 2 – Host Culture Complex



The Host Culture Complex helped frame the interview questions, specifically in the third set of three interview sessions, so that the primary investigator solicited responses concerning the participants' successes or difficulties adjusting to all six components of the complex. Furthermore, the Host Culture Complex helped provide a frame of reference during the data analysis procedures. After the initial coding process, discussed later in this chapter, the Host Culture Complex provided a system to organize the first set of codes. As previous mentioned in this paper, the Host Culture Complex model (Holliday, 1994) was not originally designed for purposes of research. However, this research project demonstrates that the model has value in framing qualitative data.

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Case Study Studies

A case study is the most appropriate design for this study because the phenomenon herein is intrinsically bounded (Merriam, 1998, p. 27). The proposed research is bounded first by type of participant, the sojourning English language instructor; second by location, a city or region of a country to which the participants have sojourned; and third by time, the initial stages of cultural adjustment.

Single and Multiple Case Studies

The multiple case design is better suited to the study than the single case because it is able to see "processes…that occur across many cases, to understand how they are qualified by local conditions, and thus develop more sophisticated descriptions and more powerful explanations" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 172). The difference between single case and multiple case studies is clear in that a single case study investigates one case, whereas the multiple case study investigates more than one. Because a case is an intrinsically bounded phenomenon, these cases could range from a child, a classroom of children, a school full of classrooms to a district full of schools (Merriam, 1998, p. 28). All the examples in this range would be considered a case if they are perceived as a unit. To be categorized as a single-case study, the individuals within this unit cannot be compared.

In this case, a multiple case study fits the research interest of comparing and contrasting individual cases of new sojourning English language instructors. This study may appear to be a single case study because it is concerned with the phenomenon of cultural adjustment among all participants. However, the purpose of comparing and

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contrasting participants or cases is to find how and why their adjustments differ. Yin stresses that if an investigator has chosen to conduct a multiple case study then he or she must follow a replication design, which means "each case must be carefully selected so that it either a) predicts similar results or b) predicts contrasting results but for anticipatable reasons" (Yin, 2009, p. 54). In addition, a rich theoretical framework is vital, when following a replication design, "to state the conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found as well as the conditions when it is not likely to be found" (Yin, 2009, p.54). Yin uses prediction as a synonym for replication, in which certain narratives, themes, or variables arise across cases.

Figure 3 from Yin's text (2009, p. 57) played a large factor in the decision to choose the multiple case study design. It illustrates how the researcher had devised to carry out the study. In the definition and design stage of the study, the researcher must first develop a theory, and then select cases and design the data collection protocol. Once that is complete, the researcher should be ready to prepare, collect, and analyze the data from multiple cases. The researcher should write individual case reports during this time. Upon completion of the individual case reports, the researcher then can analyze and conclude his or her findings across the multiple studies, showing if and how the theory needs to be modified, and if and how policy implications need to be developed.

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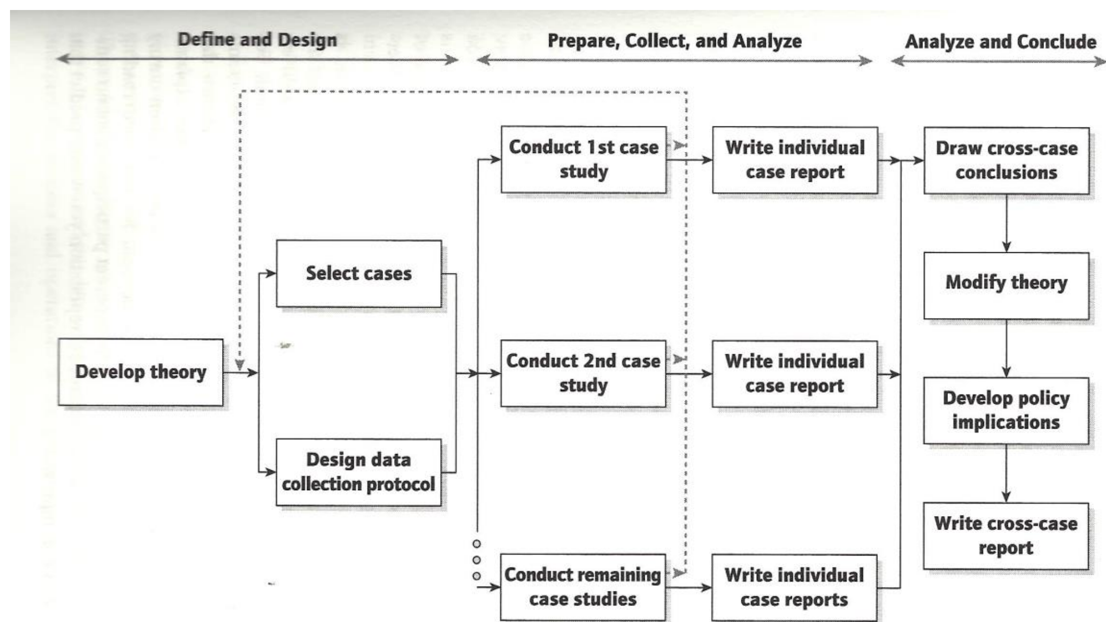
Figure 3 – Case Study Method



Holistic and Embedded Case Studies

Yin's matrix of basic case study designs also illustrates the distinction between holistic and embedded case studies. The difference between the two is that a holistic case study requires only one unit of analysis whereas an embedded case study requires more than one (Yin, 2009, p. 50). For this multiple case study, the main unit of analysis is the sojourning ELT. How these cases differ allowed for different data collection and analysis techniques. For example, one embedded unit of analysis was for sojourning ELTs in Japan and another for sojourning ELTs in South Korea. For another example, the types

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of host institutions (government-sponsored English language programs and private English language programs) were also embedded units of analysis.

Data Collection

Target Sites

Holliday's Host Culture Complex (1994) helps identify the target sites of this study. The target sites are the Host Culture Complexes in Japan and South Korea that range from the micro-level of the classroom and student cultures to the macro-level of the national borders. Using the host institution as a convenient reference point for the participants, four of them taught in government-sponsored English language programs, such as the JET Program and EPIK. Two of the participants taught in Japanese or Korean universities, and one taught in several private English language programs in South Korea.

Target Population

The target population of this study is sojourning English language instructors in Japan and South Korea. Sojourning means that the instructors are not from their respective countries and did not originally intend to stay there for more than a few years. Table 3 shows people who were included and excluded from this study based on the two descriptors of the target participants, sojourning and English language teachers.

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Table 3 – Criteria for participant selection

	Included	**Excluded**
Sojourning	Intends to stay in Japan or Korea for at least 1 year; Intends to return home	Originally intended to stay in Japan or Korea for more than 10 years; Has no intention of returning home to live or work
English language Instructors	Teaches English as the official/legal reason for sojourning; Teaching English is the main source of income	Regards teaching English as a side job; Uses but doesn't teach English for work

Participant Selection Process

The maximum number of participants for this study was originally set to fifteen (n=15) participants with the idea that saturation of data is more important than representation across multiple English language teaching contexts in Japan and Korea. Because saturation of data is more important, I did not believe I could handle collecting and analyzing qualitative data from more than fifteen sources.

The first route for selecting participants was through online blog search engines, such as http://www.google.com/blogsearch, and websites for expatriate communities, such as http://www.expat-blog.com/. As I began finding bloggers who fit the profile of the target population, I noticed that many of them kept a blogroll of other blogging English language teachers.

While learning more about the blogging community of my target participants, I discovered that many bloggers used other blogging platforms to connect with others. I

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initiated the blog search through searching for traditional blogs, such as those found on Blogspot, WordPress, and Tumblr. Many of these bloggers also used microblogs, such as Twitter, and video blogs or vlogs, such as YouTube, to connect with others. When I began following these bloggers on Twitter and YouTube, I discovered a larger community of blogging or vlogging English language teachers in Japan and South Korea.

In March and April 2013, I had found and cataloged thirty-six blogs written by sojourning ELTs in Japan and thirty-nine blogs written by sojourning ELTs in South Korea. I also identified forty-four sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea who used Twitter and nineteen who used YouTube.

Blogs

Blogs were my initial method of collecting data from my participants as they helped me find a community of sojourning English language instructors who are already expressing their thoughts on living and teaching abroad. From these blogs, I was able to determine whom to contact for follow-up interviews and for possible recommendations for other contacts.

A blog, short for web log, is a genre of online text that originated as a personal journal or diary but has extended to a variety of purposes beyond journaling (Rettberg, 2008; Wakeford & Cohen, 2008). It appeals to the writer because it is an affordable and sometimes free medium to publish one's work online. It appeals to the reader because it offers a window into a person or a community's views and ideas.

There is a dearth of scholarly work on collecting data from blogs specifically. Fielding, Lee, and Blank's (2008) comprehensive handbook includes blogs, but only as a

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medium for the researcher to write and share field notes. Rettberg (2008) provides an overview of the phenomenon of blogging with more emphasis on journalism and business than the sciences and social sciences. However, Rettberg (2008) highlights concepts that are important for conducting qualitative research that overlaps with virtual ethnography, or netnography (Kozinets, 2010).

In his third chapter, Rettberg (2008) posits that a blog exists for a community. This community can be the blog's intended audience, unintended audience, and other bloggers contributing to that blog. The concept of an online community can be extended to social network theory, which focuses on the spread of ideas. Rettberg believes most blogs consist of a community made up mainly of weaker social ties in the unintended audience as well as the intended audience if it is broad.

As an ethnographer, Kozinets (2010) asks if online communities can become online cultures in that culture is learned and consists of systems of meaning. Learning how to interact with other bloggers or, more commonly, with other "friends" on social networks like Facebook is an example of what Kozinets dubs "cyberculture." Much of his book discusses the nature of cyberculture and how it is different from but also influences cultures outside of the Internet.

Most blogs seemingly have a lesser impact on cultures outside of the Internet than the popular social networks, but they can have an impact on smaller populations. Rettberg's (2008) example of this is journalism. The first popular blogs, most notably *The Drudge Report*, became famous through journalists who were using blogs to get the news out faster and through journalists who were following blogs to get a quicker scoop of the news. Another cyberculture is among musicians, music critics, and music

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aficionados who bypass the music industry to share their love for making and sharing music.

The blog community of interest for this current study, sojourning ELTs, has not been discussed in any scholarly literature, so there has been no evidence claiming that there is a cyberculture of this population before this current study.

My pilot data showed me that there are mainly two types of sojourning English language bloggers who write about their experiences, those who teach in the JET Program or EPIK and those who teach in private schools, the former of which outnumbers the latter. The bloggers who I have found that teach English in Japanese and Korean universities tend to keep their blogs professional, meaning the subject matter is only about their profession and not about their personal life.

My pilot data showed that there are more bloggers than fifteen, my maximum number of participants. Because of this, I selected blogs based on the following criteria in order of importance.

1. The blog is current, meaning the blogger is still publishing on a regular basis. My indication that the blog is current is that the latest post was published within the last month of data collection.
2. The blogger often writes about his or her adjustment in Japan or South Korea. This is a measure relative to the other bloggers. For example, I will select one who writes about adjusting once a week over one who writes about adjusting every thirty to sixty days.
3. The blogger writes thick descriptions of his or her experiences. Some bloggers wrote little to no descriptions about their experiences adjusting to

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living and teaching in Japan or Korea. So, in this case, the term "thick description" here is relative to all sojourning ELT bloggers. Thicker descriptions increase the probability that I select that blogger.

4. The blogger has written about the first few months of his or her living and/or teaching experience in Japan or South Korea. The earlier the experiences the better as the literature indicates that adjustment levels off the longer the sojourner has been in country (Ward et al. 2001; Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009).
5. The blogger has written relatively more about his or her experiences teaching English in Japan or South Korea than other bloggers.

When I found a blogger to be very strong in three of the five areas, then I contacted that blogger first with the intention to inquire about the lack of evidence or development in another area. My pilot study had shown this to be a fruitful path as one selected blogger wrote a lot about adjusting to the country but not about teaching English. The correspondence showed me that the blogger was open to discussing teaching experiences in depth.

Interviews

Interviews were my second method of collecting data. Although I prefer to conduct face-to-face interviews, this approach was not economical for interviewees who are living abroad. Compared to the limited amount of literature on collecting data from blogs, there is more literature on collecting and analyzing data from interviews conducting online (James & Busher, 2012; Kozinets, 2010; O'Connor, Madge, Shaw, &

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Wellens, 2008). One reason for this is that the technology to conduct interviews online, specifically via email, has been around for much longer than web logs (O'Connor, et al., 2008).

Asynchronous Interviews

An important distinction between Internet interviewing and traditional face-to-face interviewing is that the former can be conducted synchronously and asynchronously. Asynchronous interviews are said to be easier to conduct (James & Busher, 2012; O'Connor, et al., 2008). The most common form of these interviews is email, in which the researcher can send research questions one at a time, in sets, or all at once. The participants can reply at their convenience within a time frame set by the researcher. Less popular forms of asynchronous interviews use bulletin boards, message boards, or Internet forums. The reason for their poor popularity is that third parties may be able to view, edit, and delete the messages (James & Busher, 2012; O'Connor, et al., 2008).

For this current study, I used Qualtrics, a web survey software program, as a more secure substitute for email because I could not guarantee the security and confidentiality of my participants' emails to me. Qualtrics provided a more secure solution for participants responding to my interview questions. Furthermore, the program provided a secure place to store the interview data. Although spontaneity may be even further decreased because of the extra steps involved to write individual follow-up questions through a survey software program, I believe that it did not differ too much from email in that each participant received their own personalized survey so that it seemed more like an interview than a survey.

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Synchronous Interviews

Synchronous Internet interviews are more similar to face-to-face interviews, so novice researchers may be able to transfer most qualitative interview research literature to this mode of online interviews. However, an important difference is that the researcher needs to be more knowledgeable about what software packages to use considering the technological literacy of all the participants involved (James & Busher, 2012 ; O'Connor, et al., 2008). The advantages and disadvantages to using either mode of Internet interviews are summarize from the literature in Table 4 (James & Busher, 2012; O'Connor, et al., 2008).

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Table 4 – Advantages and disadvantages of conducting synchronous and asynchronous Internet interviews

	Synchronous Interviews	Asynchronous Interviews
Advantages	Higher level of participant involvement Function more like a face-to-face interviews More spontaneous exchanges Participants can feel more involved in the discovery process	Email is one of the simplest modes to set up Participants can respond at their own convenience Allow participants more time to think about their responses
Disadvantages	Complicated to set up Research needs to accommodate time zone differences Limited access to participants with a higher level of technological literacy Group interviews may be chaotic Fast-paced nature may be difficult to analyze and interpret	Convenience of time gives participants the opportunity to edit their responses to be more socially desirable Participants can easily ignore or delete emails Greater risk of nonresponse Loss of spontaneity Researcher cannot moderate group interviews as well More difficult to establish rapport when email is sporadic Participants may easily digress from the questions

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Although a quick glance at the table makes it appear that synchronous interviews are more advantageous, the disadvantages carry a larger weight in that much depends on the technological literacy of everyone involved in the research project. There is also a greater dependency on technology for synchronous interviews to go smoothly. Although the literature does not mention it, the experience of this researcher has shown that successful synchronous interviews depend on not only the researcher and the participants, but also on the Internet service providers and on any information technology (IT) support that the interviewer or interviewee has available.

Differences between Internet and Traditional Interviews

This section describes how both synchronous and asynchronous Internet interviews differ from the more traditional face-to-face qualitative interview methods, specifically in terms of establishing rapport, obtaining informed consent, and reconceptualizing private versus public data.

One of the largest obstacles to establishing rapport in Internet interviews is the lack of visual cues, especially for asynchronous interviews. The lack of physical presence and non-verbal cues creates more work for the researcher to build a relationship with the participant through text (James & Busher, 2012; O'Connor, et al., 2008; Orgad, 2005). Although this may seem detrimental to the success of the interview, some participants enjoy the greater sense of anonymity or pseudonymity provided through this lack of visual information and, therefore, may be more honest in their responses (James & Busher, 2012).

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There are a few suggestions to establish rapport for Internet interviews. One is to set up at least one synchronous interview with web cams, so those involved in the interviews may see each other. However, if this is not possible, the researcher should share more personal information about him or herself (O'Connor, et al., 2008). Two studies (Kivits, 2005; O'Connor & Madge, 2001) have shown this to be an effective way of building rapport in that it stresses the importance of equal power relationships between the interviewer and interviewee. Personalization is important through the interview process, and the researcher should not distance him or herself at any time for risk of losing participant engagement. If possible, researchers should engage in off-line discussions with participants to verify the authenticity of their interviews (James & Busher, 2012). Although this was not possible for the current study, I add that one can verify the authenticity of interview data through other online data, such as blogs.

The nature of anonymity and pseudonymity online adds a challenge to obtaining informed consent. Many Internet users maintain an online identity that cannot be easily traced to their identity in the physical world because of the use of pseudonyms or no identification. It is important for the researcher to let the participants know how their level of anonymity or pseudonymity will be maintained, increased, or decreased due to the nature of the study (James & Busher, 2012; O'Connor, et al., 2008). A second problem connected with obtaining informed consent is the non-response. In off-line studies, a non-response is typically interpreted as a withdrawal from the project. However, this withdrawal may not be voluntary for online participants, who may be unable to respond due to a permanent or temporary loss of access to the technology

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needed to respond. In this case, the researcher should provide alternative modes of contact in case this situation occurs (James & Busher, 2012; O'Connor, 2008).

The last matter is part of an ongoing discussion within the research community about the nature of privacy online, which started in the late 1990s when more and more users realized that they were leaving permanent data trails of their browsing habits and online transactions on the Internet. In 2002, the Association of Internet Researchers was the first of many professional groups to define what is meant by "private spaces" online (Buchanan & Ess, 2008; James & Busher, 2012; Kozinets, 2010). Their strict definition excluded emails and any other open environment where identity verification is possible.

Kozinets (2010) points out the confusing guidelines for Internal Review Boards in the United States, which state that, although interactions with another person for the purpose of gathering information in human subjects research, the research use of spontaneous conversations and documents that are publicly accessible, such as those found on the Internet, qualifies for a human subjects exemption. However, he clarifies later that online research is human subjects research when the researcher records the identity of the participants and cannot legally and easily gain access to their communications or documents online.

Regardless of one's interpretation of public and private spaces on the Internet, the researcher must maintain high ethical standards in relation to their participants, whether their identity is authentic or inauthentic. At the very least, these identities must be respected and protected from intentional or unintentional harm (Buchanan & Ess, 2008; Eynon, Fry, & Schroeder, 2008; James & Busher, 2012).

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Data Collection Procedures

Data collection procedures occurred over the summer of 2013 in several stages. Participant recruitment began on May 15th based on the blog selection criteria described above, but this is when I discovered my blog selection criteria were too exclusive. Many of the bloggers did not provide contact information or could only be contacted publicly online. Because of this, I had to readjust the criteria to be more inclusive of the bloggers who provided contact information and could be contacted privately and confidentially. The criteria changed to as follows:

1. The blog is current, meaning the blogger is still publishing on a regular basis.
2. The blogger writes about his or her adjustment in Japan or South Korea.
3. The blogger writes thick descriptions of his or her experiences.
4. The blogger has written about his or her experiences teaching English in Japan or South Korea.

These criteria also needed to change because many bloggers who I contacted did not respond to my recruitment email.

When they responded, I requested their permissions and consent for document analysis and interviews. Once I received their permission and consent, I gave them the option to be interviewed via Qualtrics, the textual asynchronous option, or Adobe Connect, the audio-visual synchronous option. For those who chose Qualtrics, I immediately sent them the first set of interview questions, only slightly modified to reflect their teaching context. The second and third sets of interview questions were

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more personalized according to their blog data and their responses from the previous interview(s).

Data Collection Timetable

Below is Table 5, which shows the various stages of participant recruitment and data collection.

Table 5 – Data collection timetable for each participant

Participant	Recruited	Blog Data Collected	Interview Data Collected
Phil	May 15, 2013	May 15-22, 2013	June 19-August 13, 2013
Sophie	June 18, 2013	June 18-25, 2013	June 29-July 29, 2013
John	June 21, 2013	June 21-28, 2013	June 24-July 12, 2013
Luke	July 8, 2013	July 8-15, 2013	July 10-September 9, 2013
Dionne	July 23, 2013	July 23-30, 2013	August 4, 2013

Immediately after the participants gave their consent, I began collecting their blog data by copying and pasting their blog content to a Microsoft Word document. I discovered the most effective way was to have one document represent one year's worth of blog posts per participant. While copying and pasting the blog content, I located the beginning and end points to each blog as pertained to my research questions. For example, the beginning point of a blog for my purposes was when the participant began

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writing about going to their host country. The end point of the blog was when the participant wrote about returning to his or her home country without an intention to return any time soon to teach English. If participants were still blogging about their experiences in Japan or Korea, then I set the cut point to August 1, 2013 when all participants had consented to be interviewed and blog data had been collected. No posts beyond August 1, 2013 would be considered for this study.

The rationale for copying and pasting blog data from an online source to a document was that I might lose access to the online blog data for several reasons. I may lose accessibility to the Internet for an indeterminate period of time. The web servers hosting the blogs may be down for an indeterminate period of time. The participants may choose to modify or remove all or part of their blog entries after the duration of my data collection. The participants may delete their blogs. A hacker may alter or destroy their blogs.

Time for interview data collection was dependent on the availability of the participants to respond to the interview questions. Dionne was the only participant who preferred to be interviewed synchronously for all three sessions at once, which explains why her interview data collection occurred in one day.

Data Analysis

Because this is a multiple case study, the data for this research project was divided into five cases, one representing each participant. Furthermore, each case had two sets of data: blog data and interview data. This section of Chapter 3 is divided into these two sets.

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Blog Data

Blog data was analyzed first as it was immediately collected after each participant consented to be interviewed. Once a participant's blog was copied and pasted into a Microsoft Word document, I began to peruse each of the blog's posts with special attention given to posts that addressed the interview questions and the purpose of the research project. This was the first stage of blog data analysis.

The second stage consisted of creating copies of the blog data in another Microsoft Word document for the purposes of eliminating posted material that did not address the research questions either in part or in whole. As I pasted,I put each copied item under one of three themes: 1) teaching English in Japan or Korea, 2) adjusting to living in Japan or Korea, and 3) other. Some posts had topics overlapping the first two themes, which made for a more relevant post to the research project. Examples of posts that were not relevant to the research project, themed as "other," included topics such as traveling to countries other than the host countries and in-depth reviews of video games, local restaurants, and graded readers for children.

For each participant, then, there were two sets of blog data in two separate Microsoft Word documents: 1) the total blog data with every post up to August 1, 2013 or when the participant left the country, 2) the abridged blog data with only posts relevant to the research project. Table 6 shows the difference in length between the two sets of blog data for each participant.

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Table 6 – Blog data included in the study

Participant	Total Number of Pages	Abridged Number of Pages	Percentage Included
Phil	542	172	31.7%
Sophie	1990	190	9.5%
John	250	107	42.8%
Luke	214	167	78%
Dionne	N/A	22	N/A

Dionne's blog was different from the rest of the participants in that she used a different blogging program and the majority of her posts were photographs or links to other websites. I only copied and pasted the few posts that contained text she wrote.

The last column of the blog indicates the percentage of the blog data with content about teaching English and adjusting to the Host Culture Complex. Sophie's blog is unusual in that only 9.5% of the blog data was included; however, most of her blog content was not about teaching English in Korea or adjusting to living in Korea. Many of her blog posts were about other countries, such as the United States, Georgia, and Chile. Another content item that took many pages concerned restaurant and food reviews, mostly in Korea.

The second stage of blog analysis ended when all the blog data was abridged to posts with content concerning teaching English in the Host Culture Complex and/or concerning adjustment to living in the Host Culture Complex.

The third stage differed from the first two stages in that I could begin further coding the content of the posts by highlighting themes relevant to the research questions. This is also when I started analyzing the interview data.

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Interview Data Analysis

Interview data analysis began when the blog data was reduced to contain only relevant posts concerning the research questions. Both sets of data could be coded and analyzed for themes. The interview data was selected first for this stage of analysis because each interview followed the same protocol, and thus, it was easier for me to identify themes based on the organization of the interview questions.

To ease coding, the interview data stored on Qualtrics was downloaded as Microsoft Word documents, one document per interview session per participant. Microsoft Word helped the searching and scanning process essential to coding and analysis. Dionne's interview data, stored as an audio recording on Audacity, an audio recording and playback software program, was transcribed by the principal investigator onto a Microsoft Word document. Table 7, below, shows how the first set of interview data was organized in separate Microsoft Word documents.

To expedite the process of cross-case analysis, I reorganized the interview data into a second set by order of question rather than by participant. I created four new Microsoft Word documents, and I organized each document by order of questions as each interview followed the same ordering of questions. Therefore, the new organization was as follows: 1) interview data from the first session of interview questions for all the participants were organized into one document five pages in length, 2) interview data from the second session were organized into one document seven pages in length, 3) interview data from the third session were organized into one document fifteen pages in

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length, and 4) interview data that was unique to each participant via follow-up questions were organized into one document three pages in length.

Table 7 – Interview data on separate Microsoft word documents

Participant	Session 1	Session 2	Session 3
Phil	2 pages	4 pages	7 pages
Sophie	3 pages	4 pages	8 pages
John	2 pages	6 pages	7 pages
Luke	3 pages	4 pages	8 pages
Dionne		24 pages	

In summary, the first set of interview data helped me to code data for single case analysis whereas the second set of interview data helped me code data for cross-case analysis. The first set offers a thick description of each participant whereas the second set offers the convenience of finding themes across cases.

Qualitative Validity

It is important to note how validity is addressed in qualitative research, such as this multiple case study, as compared to quantitative research, which often uses the terms internal and external validity. Internal validity is concerned with the quality of data collection. For qualitative research, this is a particularly tricky concern because it deals with reality and the constructivist paradigm asserts that there are multiple realities. Briefly, how does the researcher know he or she is reporting the truth? Merriam (1998) answers this question strongly for qualitative research:

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> Because human beings are the primary instrument of data collection and analysis in qualitative research, interpretations of reality are accessed directly through their observations and interviews. We are thus 'closer' to reality than if a data collection instrument has been interjected between us and the participants. …In this type of research it is important to understand the perspectives of those involved in the phenomenon of interest, to uncover the complexity of human behavior in a contextual framework, and to present a holistic interpretation of what is happening (p. 203).

In essence, it is important that the voices of the participants are made clear so that the reader may identify any differences between the ideologies and perspectives of each participant and the researcher.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) have offered a set of criteria to "reconceptualize traditional quantitative validity concepts and to use labels that are more acceptable to qualitative researchers" (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006, p. 278), which have been used and reinterpreted by other qualitative researchers. Instead of external validity, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed the term "transferability" to address similar issues for qualitative research in that the value of a qualitative study is that the interpretation of its results can be transferred to other contexts.

Credibility

Merriam (1998) proposes six strategies to reduce threats to the credibility of qualitative case studies. For the purpose of this paper, I reordered them and only included the ones that are relevant to this study. Additionally, this section concludes with credibility issues specific to online research and blogs.

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Member checks and Collaborative modes of research

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) mention member checking as a common strategy to determine validity, and Merriam (1998) defines member checks as "taking data and tentative interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the results are plausible." Member checking also played a valuable part of the data collection in this study in that I asked my participants via Qualtrics to verify if I have represented them accurately through a summary synthesizing their blog and interview data.

Although one purpose is a strategy to reduce threats to validity, another purpose is to give participants a chance to reflect and amend their narrative since the original blog posts and their interviews. To strengthen this member checking, participants were given the option of accessing the same literature that helped me make certain inferences. In this sense, data analysis was a collaborative effort as each participant gave me feedback after checking the narrative. This collaborative effort in the data analysis and interpretation demonstrates the multiple realities as proposed in the constructivist paradigm.

Researcher's biases

Throughout this study, it has been my intention to clarify my assumptions and theoretical orientation. Marshall and Rossman (2011) provide techniques to demonstrate this strategy to reduce threats to my credibility, specifically stating that "research designs should include reflection on one's identity and one's sense of voice and perspectives, assumptions, and sensitivities." Marshall and Rossman provide reflexive questions for triangulated inquiry based on Patton's textbook on qualitative research (2002).

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Let me first discuss myself as a qualitative inquirer by answering some of Patton's questions (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 98) that have not yet been answered so far. The first of these unanswered questions is "What shapes and has shaped my perspective?" I strongly believe that my previous experience as a sojourning English language instructor has greatly shaped my perspective, especially in terms of inspiration and passion to conduct this study. However, I have the perspective to take on the responsibilities of a qualitative researcher who is no longer in the same context as my participants. I have differed from my participants in the following ways:

- At the onset of this study, I am not a sojourning English language instructor, although I have lived and worked in Japan and South Korea for a total of three years each.
- Most of my experiences living in Japan have taken place over a decade ago, and I am confident that some elements of the respective national cultures have changed based on historical events, such as the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami, China's growing political and economic influences in the region, and the disputed claims to the Liancourt Rocks (Dokdo/Takeshima) in the Sea of Japan (East Sea).
- Popular thoughts and opinions from Japan and South Korea may have changed. For example, the private school where I first taught is no longer open, and its corporation collapsed in a national scandal. Furthermore, the market of private conversation English schools has changed in the past decade in that I did not find it familiar when I visited Japan in 2011.
- My experiences since teaching in Japan for the first time have changed my beliefs and attitudes about the profession. These beliefs and attitudes have changed even

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more after reading extensively in the past few years about the profession of teaching English specifically in Japan.

- Technology has made contact between cultures more accessible. As I have witnessed in my international students from Japan and Korea a few years ago, one is able to keep in touch and better updated with one's home culture with better access to family and the media of popular culture. To put this into better perspective, email was a new phenomenon when I was a new sojourning English language instructor. There was no Web 2.0, no YouTube, no Google, no smartphones, etc. in the first five years of my teaching career.

My identity as an English language teacher educator also shapes my perspectives. However, opportunities did not arise in which I had to inhibit my instinct to offer professional or pedagogical advice. The participants did not request it.

Perhaps more influential on my perspectives is a stronger identity as a foreigner in Japan and South Korea. I believe I avoided promoting the stereotypes that arise concerning foreigners in Japan and South Korea as well as stereotypes concerning Japan, Korea, their cultures, and their citizens. Although they emerged from the perspectives of my participants, I did not encourage nor discourage them.

Triangulation

The concept of triangulation has been in case study research for quite a while (Foreman, 1948) and is best described a discussion paper by Denzin (1970).

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Merriam (1998) and Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) describe triangulation as an important strategy to reduce threats to credibility. Creswell and Plano Clark define triangulation as "data drawn from several sources or from several individuals." This study meets this definition in that data will be drawn from at least three sources, participants' blogs, email correspondence, and interviews, from several individuals as this is a multiple case study.

Online Research and Blogs

Analyzing data from online sources posted by individuals or communities is a relatively recent phenomenon and has received a great deal of attention by various groups concerned about research ethics, thus giving rise to Internet Research Ethics (Buchanan & Ess, 2008; Kozinets, 2010). One of the main concerns relevant to this study is the blurring of public and private space online (Buchanan & Ess, 2008; Rettberg, 2008; Kozinets, 2010) and what constitutes human subjects research. According to Kozinets (2010), the following research criteria is not human subjects research: 1) use of spontaneous conversations in a publicly accessible venue and 2) analyzing blogs if the researcher does not record the identity of those involved in the blogs' narratives. Although the researcher has adamantly refrained from recording and revealing identities of bloggers and their community members, it is relatively easy for the consumers of this research to identify them through the use of an online search engine.

Another concern is possible harm through the use of publicly accessible blogs. One possibility is that bloggers may have strong feelings about the research use of their stored communications (Buchanan & Ess, 2008; Kozinets, 2010). To prevent such harm, I have requested permission from the blogger before I included any descriptions or

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reproductions of the blog's content in my data collection. Because I followed up blog data collection with interviews, I sought informed consent from the blogger for both blog and interview data.

A final concern is the anonymity and pseudonymity of bloggers. Some bloggers use pseudonyms to distance their real selves from their audience (Buchanan & Ess, 2008; Rettberg, 2008). There is only a certain degree or amount of the real self that may be portrayed online. This may be a problem for the ethnography, but for grounded theory it is not necessary to reveal the blogger's complete self. Reasons are similar for anonymous bloggers, and I maintained this anonymity throughout the data collection and analysis.

A common trait of bloggers is to create a certain level of fiction or even outright hoaxes to entertain their readership (Rettberg, 2008). Through triangulation, I was able to detect no evidence of fiction or hoax, which demonstrate that the bloggers were familiar with the narrative and identity of the sojourning English language instructor enough. If their blogs were fictitious, then it is not so far removed from the blogger's reality.

Reliability

One notion of reliability pertains to the consistency of coding the transcribed interviews (Merriam, 1998). To demonstrate this reliability, a third party was invited to code the same transcripts using the same system with the goal of attaining a high-degree of intercoder reliability (Marshall and Rossman, 2011).

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Transferability

In order to demonstrate how this study can be transferred to other contexts, it is necessary for me to provide rich, thick descriptions of the data as is characteristic of qualitative research (Bogden & Biklen, 2007; Merriam, 1998). Readers and future researchers should be able to determine how closely my participants and contexts match those of their related interest.

Another strategy to promote transferability is using a multisite design, which is inherent in this multiple case study in that my participants were teaching in different schools and may be for different purposes. Merriam (1998) states that this strategy can maximize diversity in examples of the adjustment process of new sojourning English language instructors.

Conclusion

This chapter has described how the research questions will be addressed, through a multiple case study using grounded theory while collecting and analyzing blog and interview data of sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea.

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CHAPTER FOUR

OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

This multiple case study explored the adjustment process of five sojourning English language teachers in Japan and South Korea. The guiding framework of this study is the Host Culture Complex model as proposed by Holliday (1994), which helped illustrate the multi-layered cultural context for the adjustment process of all five participants.

The chapter as a whole answers the primary research question, "In what ways do sojourning ELTs adjust and fail to adjust to the Host Culture Complex?" and the first secondary research question, "How do sojourning ELTs describe their own adjustment to the Host Culture Complex?" by providing descriptions of sojourning ELTs' adjustment process to the Host Culture Complex through the lens of the participants' experiences reported in their blogs and interviews.

After introducing the participants, this chapter is organized according to how the participants adjusted to each part of Holliday's Host Culture Complex model (1994). It is also organized by the amount of data that supports each section, starting from the most to the least. The largest finding concerns the relationship between the participants and their respective co-teachers. Unlike other sections in the chapter, this first one shows how a relationship helps influence the participants' adjustments to multiple parts of the Host Culture Complex.

Following the section on co-teachers, the chapter explores the shared patterns and important single case findings of the participants adjusting to the national culture. The participants blogged and spoke about adjusting to this part more than the others.

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However, a close second concerns their adjustments to their respective host institution cultures. The majority of this chapter, in fact, emphasizes the participants' adjustments to the national and host institution cultures.

Following those two parts of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994), fewer shared patterns and important single case findings arose from the classroom and professional-academic cultures. After discussing the findings from those two parts, the next section provides a rationale for reporting little to none about the student and international education-related cultures.

Once the findings for four of the six parts of Holliday's Host Culture Complex (1994) are reported, the chapter proposes amendments to the complex and a new revised host culture complex is presented. The two new additions to the new revised host culture complex, both of which include foreigners, are discussed with a rationale and findings for each one.

After the shared parts of Holliday's and the new revised host culture complex are discussed, the chapter ends with a report on two participants who have left or plan to leave their respective countries. This report briefly questions the decisions to leave the countries as a failure to adjust to the Host Culture Complex.

The Participants

Five participants consented to be interviewed for this study, two of who have taught English in Japan and three of who have taught English in South Korea. Of the English teachers in Japan, both were men teaching in various contexts: Phil, who taught in the JET Program, and John, who taught in the JET Program but now teaches in a

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Japanese university. Of the English teachers in Korea, I interviewed both men and women, but their teaching contexts were not as varied: Sophie taught in two different private English language schools, one for kindergartners and the other for adults; Luke taught in an elementary school for a provincial government English program; and Dionne taught elementary students for EPIK and now teaches in a private Korean university in the same area.

Table 8 – Participants who have taught English in Japan

	Phil	**John**
Years in Japan	2008 – 2012	2000 – present
First ELT context	JET	JET
Other ELT contexts	N/A	University
Citizenship	USA	UK
Primary blog	Blogger	WordPress

Table 9 – Participants who have taught English in South Korea

	Sophie	**Luke**	**Dionne**
Years in Korea	2008 – 2013	2010 – present	2011 – present
First ELT context	*Hagwon* for kids	Middle school	EPIK
Other ELT contexts	*Hagwon* for adults	N/A	University
Citizenship	USA	USA	USA
Primary blog	Blogger	WordPress	Tumblr

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Phil was an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) for the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program from summer 2008 through summer 2011. Although he returned to Japan afterwards for a brief period of time, his main goal was not to be an English language teacher. Therefore, his experiences in Japan after the summer of 2011 were not included in this study as they did not meet the criteria. Phil began blogging about his experiences in Japan at the start of his second year as an ALT, in July 2009. Therefore, the only data that reflects his first year experiences arose from the interview. Phil is from the East Coast of the United States. Throughout his blog, he made only a few references to his home and family there. The majority of Phil's blog focused on his life in Japan and his reflections of living in Japan and teaching English as an ALT for the JET Program.

Sophie taught in three different *hagwon* (private English language schools) from summer 2008 through summer 2013, when she left to get married. She intends to resume teaching English in Korea in 2014 with the hopes of finding employment at a university. Sophie began blogging about her sojourning experiences during her job search process in May 2008. Sophie is from the New England region of the United States. Throughout her blog, she made only a few references to her home and family there. Most of her blog focused on her life in Korea and teaching English in the various *hagwon*, especially the first two, where she taught young children. She did not write much about her third *hagwon* experience as she was simultaneously enrolled in an online MA program based in the New England region of the United States. She also wrote extensively about living and traveling to other countries from summer 2008 to summer 2013, most notably her

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English language teaching experience in the country of Georgia in the fall and winter of 2011, which do not meet the criteria of this study.

John has been teaching English in Japan since the summer of 2000, when he arrived as an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) for the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program. He now teaches English at a university with no intention of leaving Japan anytime soon. Online evidence of John experimenting with blogging goes back to August 2005, although he refers to earlier attempts. He blogged for a couple years then quit. It wasn't until August 2009 that he began to blog more purposefully, mainly about his English language teaching approaches and professional development. Growing up in several different countries, John considers himself to be from Europe with no strong ties to one specific European nation. Throughout his blog, his only references to Europe are few and far between, mainly about his excursions there.

Luke lived in the same city and taught English in the same school in South Korea from summer 2011 to summer 2013. He blogged nearly every month from the start to near the end of his time in Korea. Luke is from the Midwest region of the United States. Throughout his blog, he made a few references to his family but much more about his home state and alma mater because he was able to stay connected with other ELTs from there. By the end of summer 2013, Luke had made the decision to go back to the United States.

Dionne has been living and teaching English in Korea since spring 2011, where she arrived to teach for the English Program in Korea (EPIK) at several public schools in a rural part of the country. Now she is teaching English at a university in the same area of the country where she taught for EPIK. She started blogging before she arrived in

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Korea, and her blog posts are mostly about herself and interests with a few posts about teaching English. She describes her blog as being mostly “lots of pictures, a couple stories, every once in a while a video.” Compared to the other participants’ blogs in this study, hers is unique because the national culture is not the central theme; rather, as she described, it is more eclectic. Dionne has lived in several parts of the United States, but she considers Nebraska to be her home.

Co-Teachers as Primary Cultural Informants

Before reporting on the participants’ adjustments in each of the components of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994), it is important to introduce the co-teachers, who helped the participants adjust to multiple components of the Host Culture Complex, including the national cultures, host institution cultures, and classroom cultures. No other individual or group of individuals had helped participants adjust to more than one component of the complex.

Four of the five participants have had the opportunity to work as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) for the JET Program, EPIK, or GEPIK. Government programs like these provide sojourning ELTs the opportunity to work closely with their local counterparts as co-teachers. These programs are set up so most ALTs learn how to teach English according to the needs of the school and the language policies of the country. The participants taught English with local (Japanese or Korean) counterparts in the same classroom for part or all of the time depending on the program and teachers. In each case, participants provided evidence of their cultural learning in various parts of the host cultural complex, most obvious being the classroom culture which they both shared

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in and co-created with the local teacher and the students. Additionally, the participants found their respective co-teachers to be helpful in learning about the national culture.

Relationships with Japanese or Korean English language teachers (ELTs)

Phil and John both worked for the JET Program. The findings of this study support the literature (Chandler & Kootnikoff, 2002) that Japanese ELTs act as ambassadors of the Japanese education system to the visiting ALTs in similar fashion that the visiting ALTs act as ambassadors of their home countries. John's experience as an ALT in the JET Program predated the interviews by nearly a decade, and all of his active, (meaning currently available to read online), blog posts were written after his ALT experiences. In contrast, the majority of Phil's blog posts were written during his second and third years as an ALT for the JET Program. Similar to the JET Program, Dionne worked for the English Program in Korea (EPIK) during her first year in Korea.

Luke worked for the Gyeonggi English Program in Korea (GEPIK), an English language program for public schools in Gyeonngi Province, which surrounds the city of Seoul. Because Luke was the only non-Korean ELT at his school, his best support for adjusting to the school and classroom culture were the Korean English language teachers, some of whom he worked with in the same classroom. Luke described more positive and negative experiences with Korean ELTs compared to other groups of people he was in contact with, thus providing him a deeper glimpse into Korean culture, both general and school specific.

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Unlike the other participants in this study, Sophie never worked in a government-sponsored program like EPIK or GEPIK in Korea. However, she worked in a private English language school that employed Korean English language teachers. Although she did not team-teach or teach in the same classroom as the Korean ELTs, she learned about some elements of Korean culture through social exchanges in the teachers' office.

Phil's Co-Teachers

In his blog, Phil describes many instances in which he learned helpful information about Japanese culture either directly or indirectly from his Japanese colleagues. When given the chance to reflect on his relationship with Japanese ELTs, he commented on how they helped provide him with a positive image of Japanese people:

> Early on, one of the social studies teachers befriended me and invited me to watch or join in with the Judo club. I visited several times to watch and we chatted - it turns out his wife had been an English teacher. I was surprised early on and many times throughout my stay at how kind and welcoming many of the people I met were, especially some of my fellow teachers.

The general tone of his blog narratives that involve Japanese teachers was often in this positive and respectful manner. This tone helped me to understand how Phil perceived and interacted with many of his co-teachers.

More specifically, the Japanese teachers he worked with helped gain insight into Japanese people, culture, and language, the latter of which was a major theme in Phil's blog. Phil was not shy to ask Japanese people, including his colleagues, questions about the Japanese language. For example, when he was asking others what form of the first-person pronoun was most appropriate to use, he wrote:

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> I also asked one of the English teachers I work with. She's in her mid-twenties, so her perspective should be comparable. She answered similarly. ぼく [boku] is usable when trying to be more polite, like when speaking with coworkers or (sometimes) superiors, though you should probably switch to the more formal わたし [watashi] or わたくし [watakushi] if you're really trying to be polite. おれ is indeed more casual and more masculine, but [the teacher] also said it can sound a bit adolescent, like a teenage boy or something. She also said she doesn't care which one her boyfriend uses (I bet he uses おれ [ore], though).

This quote is one of several examples in Phil's blog that demonstrates how he asks Japanese people he is friends with or works with about the Japanese language, especially concerning pragmatics.

In addition to language, Phil had more experiences learning about Japanese social norms through his colleagues. In his blog, he describes learning how communication styles differ more dramatically between formal and informal contexts as compared to those in his home country of the United States. More importantly, Phil also notes that he perceived a difference in communication styles between the younger and older adult generations. One insightful exchange he shares on his blog is as follows:

> After last week's encounter [with the police], I mentioned it to several teachers I work with. Two of them (English teachers), after confirming that everything was all right, simply said something to the effect of 'Ah yeah, that happens sometimes...' and seemed a little too embarrassed to talk about it any further. Two others seemed genuinely surprised.
>
> …I went on to explain that we foreigners have to always carry around our ID in case we are stopped by the police. These two teachers (Japanese and social studies) honestly seemed to have no idea. They went on to ask me about Japanese policies on naturalization, permanent residency, and the case that a foreigner wants to marry a Japanese citizen. I don't know if it's just the younger generation, but they seemed surprised and sympathetic.

This blog example supports Phil's position in the interview, "I was particularly interested in (and was often surprised by) learning about Japanese culture from younger Japanese

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people's points of view. Younger teachers would get fed up at having to worker longer and harder than lots of more senior teachers, but they put up with it because that is the culture." A similar argument might be said for younger and older teachers in the United States and other countries, but Phil's first experience with the education system as a teacher was in Japan.

Other examples of Phil's adjustment to Japanese communication styles from and with Japanese teachers concern politeness and saving face. In one blog post, Phil describes how one teacher politely questioned his vice principal's remedy for not feeling well. When the vice principal replied that the remedy would help, the teacher only replied with a neutral, seemingly non-judgmental, "Ah…"

In a later blog post, Phil gives tips for his successor in the JET Program, telling him that one English teacher always acts like he understands English. His tip for his successor was to not take that for granted. This may be an indirect way of Phil telling his successor to maintain that teacher's reputation through saving face. Both this paragraph and the previous paragraph are examples of how Phil was learning the Japanese communication style of maintaining group harmony over individual interest.

The Japanese teachers also helped Phil adjust to a hybrid of the host institution culture and the national workforce culture, the latter which I posit as a subset of the national culture. I theorize that this hybrid is a culture about the local English language teachers and the national education system to which they belong. Although Phil is not directly affected by the decisions made by the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT) for the Japanese ELTs, he is affected indirectly. When discussing Japanese ELTs in his blog and in the interviews, the phenomena that he most often refers to is the year-end

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shuffling of teachers to and from other schools in the city, prefecture, and country. Phil explains this process in a blog post, "It's that time of year again, and I always find it a bit sad. The way schools (at least high schools) are administered in Japan, teachers are assigned to a school by the Board of Education for a usually undetermined length of time. Depending on a teacher's age, a guess can be made – for example new teachers generally stick around at their first school for 3-5 years, and teachers a few years away from retirement usually won't get moved around very much. Aside from that, though, it seems pretty arbitrary."

In the interview, Phil mentioned briefly, "Teachers were of varying quality, but that is a result of the Japanese school system – teachers are swapped around every year or three and there is a lot of change in the faculty over time." Both this quote and the previous one show that Phil was emotionally affected by this end-of-the-year process as he admits that he finds it a bit sad. It may also reflect his frustration as he has no control over the Japanese English language teachers he loses and gains through this process.

However, he is pleased when the school gains a teacher they lost the year before, "Last year we lost an English teacher I was really fond of - she was very mother-like and really pushed her students, in a good way. By some strange twist of fate (and this almost never happens), she's coming back this year." This quote also demonstrates his professional relationship with one of the Japanese ELTs and what he believes to be evidence of good teaching, setting high expectations for her students.

Phil's blog posts also reveal other smaller areas of Japanese national culture that Phil learned from his Japanese colleagues first or most remarkably. These include perspectives on ethnic heritage, attitudes towards taking vacation days, perspectives on

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poor English used in marketing and publicity, and the masked use of "talking trash" to friends.

Finally and more importantly, Phil learned about his roles and the roles of Japanese teachers within the Japanese education system. In his blog, he writes about two situations that are important for teachers to attend out of social obligation. One is a tip to his successor about going to lunch with the other teachers: "Always go out to lunch with your coworkers when invited. It may cost a bit more than going to the cafeteria, but it helps build a rapport and makes you 'part of the team.'"

The other is an example from the interview of *enkai* (宴会), or Japanese drinking party as translated in his blog, "Teachers (and I think most companies) plan end of year and start of year parties, in addition to having other occasional drinking parties. I didn't always feel like going, but usually enjoyed myself. Interacting with coworkers in a different, more social setting can be a lot of fun." The important part is his admission of not always feeling like going but realizing it was more rewarding to go anyway, which is evidence of his cultural learning about Japanese national culture, where it can be interpreted as rude to turn down an invitation to a social gathering with one's colleagues.

His blog supports this notion as he makes inferences about Japanese national culture through his experiences and observations in *enkai*:

> In Japan, there is something called the *sempai-kouhai* system. Schools, clubs, companies – basically anything with an organizational structure employs it. Essentially it means that senior members (*sempai*) act as mentors to junior members (*kohai*). In return, these junior members are expected to treat their mentors with respect and a degree of deference. In other words, if your *sempai* asks you to come in to work on Saturday to help them finish a project they're working on, you do it. You had a date planned for Saturday? Better reschedule. Downward pressure. Probably the most common example of this is the Japanese drinking party or *enkai*.

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Phil writes in the next couple of paragraphs following this one about the benefits and disadvantages of participating in *enkai*, that members of the younger generation tend to dislike the tradition, and that his girlfriend has helped him further understand *enkai* based on her experiences.

Earlier in the interview, Phil admits that this tradition of Japanese national and institutional culture is something that he had difficulty adjusting to. He says, “One aspect that I had trouble with was placing ones work/professional life above personal life. I saw this with my girlfriend and with other Japanese I knew. It's not uncommon for people with children and families to work late and then go out drinking or to other social events. That's something I don't think I would easier [sic] be able to adjust to, if at all.” Although these events with his co-teachers have helped him learn more about Japanese culture, they were not necessarily positive experiences.

These were only some of the many examples of how Phil learned about the Japanese culture complex, especially the national and host institution parts, from Japanese teachers. His co-teachers, the Japanese ELTs, played a more important role by connecting the national and host institution cultures to the classroom cultures and student cultures because they worked with him and the same students in the same classroom. Although three of the other four participants also worked with Japanese or Korean co-teachers, only John wrote or talked about them as extensively as Phil.

Co-Teachers as Part of the Host Institution Culture

The previous section has provided evidence of how Phil’s co-teachers helped him adjust to the schools. This section differs in that it shows how Phil learned how to adjust

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to Japanese teachers by observing and interacting with them. In this sense, his co-teachers represent the host institution culture.

Although Phil does not mention if and how he learned about the classroom culture from his co-teachers, he discusses several times of how he learned about the teachers themselves, who are a part of the host institution. One example of this is when he learned about how high school teachers advance with their students (cohort) through their three years, so a Japanese English language teacher will stay with a student from his first to his third year of high school. Phil was a bit confused when he found that this pattern was not the same for ALTs like himself.

In the interview, Phil discussed learning about the variability in his co-teachers' teaching quality and their dedication to teaching. He blamed the variability of their teaching quality on the Japanese school system. He also shared that he assumed some teachers "tried to coast on low expectations, but there were also a lot of good-hearted teachers who poured their lives into their work there and did their best to support their students." Phil did not discuss in depth how he came to these assumptions, but he sympathized with his co-teachers as he believed their students "often had lots of problems in their personal lives."

Luke also learned about his co-teachers and how his role was perceived at his host institution, a middle school in a city near Seoul. When describing how he adjusted to the classroom culture, he showed how he was grateful for his co-teachers' help, especially during his first year. At the end of his second year, his attitude changed a bit as he learned more about his role in the middle school:

> I think most of my co-teachers could do a better job with me in the classroom, actually. I wish it was more of a partnership in the

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> classroom, but the reality is most co-teachers treat my class as a kind of break time. They will only step in if the students are exceptionally loud. It's important to note I am not calling them lazy--they are all extremely hard working. I think I should have made it more clear [sic] that as the teacher who speaks both languages, they are a very important bridge for me. Many times I think the teachers could have helped me translate difficult instructions, make sure the students are on task, or help them with any sheets they may have. Like I said, I think it's mostly my fault. I have been doing this for two years now[,] so they see me as an able teacher--sometimes they won't even come to my class. Perhaps some of them have a misguided sense of not stepping on my toes when I am teaching.

It is important to note that Luke was interviewed during a time of self-defined "burn out" from teaching. However, this quote shows how far he has adjusted to and learned about his role in the host institution culture, which explored in more detail in the next section.

Luke's Co-Teachers

Luke's teaching context differed much from Phil's in that he taught English in Korea and at only one school, a middle school, as the only foreign ELT at the school. However, Phil and Luke were similar in that they were young white adult men who came to their respective host countries right out of college, and they spent about the same length of time teaching English as ALTs, which was two and three years. They also came to their respective programs with an advantage over some of their peers. Phil had the advantage of having briefly lived in Japan before, and Luke had the advantage of being well connected with other ELTs in Korea from his alma mater before arriving.

The interviews and blogs revealed that Luke's adjustment was similar to Phil's in that they both learned about differences in communication styles, local teachers being "shuffled around" at the end of the year, obligatory social gatherings for teachers, and the health risks of being a teacher.

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According to his blog post, Luke learned about Korean communication styles quickly, on his first day at work:

> Co-teacher: Ready for your first class, Luke?
>
> Luke: Yeah, all set.
>
> Co-teacher: Okay. I've got some bad news. Your blood tests came back and the hospital thinks you may have hepatitis. You'll go back in about two hours. Now have fun at class!
>
> Luke: …
>
> I went back alone this time, with no translator. I don't want to sound all mopey, but I'll take you inside my psyche at this moment, which I would deem a Top 3 in my most stressful times in my life. I am still jet lagged, have just started a new job. I think I may have hepatitis. I don't really know where I am in the city, and the only people who are qualified to tell me what's going on don't speak my language, nor I theirs. Despite all this, part of me was still laughing at how awesome of a situation this was.

This quote provides an insightful glimpse into not only his first exchange with his co-teacher but also into his adjustment process for his first day. The communication style here was both abrupt and loaded with two stressful events, the first day of teaching and a possible diagnosis of a potentially serious disease. Fortunately for Luke, it turned out that he did not have hepatitis, but a first impression like this may have better prepared him for future communication with his co-teachers.

An adjustment phenomenon more similar to Phil's was what Luke has titled "The Great Korean Public School Teacher Shuffle," which is similar to Phil's description of the end-of-the-year process of gaining and losing teachers at the schools where he taught. Luke describes his first impressions of this phenomenon as such:

> Changes are a'comin at school. We have teachers leaving and retiring, and new ones coming in. One of my coteachers will not be coming back, and another will be leaving for another school—all part of The Great Korean Public School Teacher Shuffle. I'm

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> sad to see them go—they were great. Last night, we sent them off in style with a dinner. And by "in style" I mean "soju-soaked"—I'm still feeling the effects. So some teachers made some tearful goodbye speeches, and I sat there with a dopey smile on my face, ignorant of what was being said. I love these dinners, because after a few bouts with soju, I can smoke out the other secret English speakers among the faculty. Most are scared to speak English, you see.

This quote shows that Luke felt the same unhappy emotion for losing his local teachers to the "shuffle" as Phil did. This blog post also provides evidence of the obligatory social gatherings for teachers; however, Luke seemed to have attended this one through his own choice and not out of obligation.

Luke provides more examples of these social gatherings in a blog post a year later:

> The Korean school calendar is pillared with teacher dinners, ceremonies and the occasional free style rap battle (not really). The latest dinner ushered in a new era of alcohol consumption with the teachers. Soju is the lubricant of choice for older men trying make me their sons, younger people make [sic] me their friends, and females of all ages keeping a safe distance away at all times (I kid…maybe). Any inhibition to try speaking English with the whitest [foreigner] they have ever seen is quickly eroded with a few bouts with the bottle. At this dinner, I happily discovered the new math teacher speaks English. Her translation abilities were quickly put to the test, as one older male teacher took a fatherly interest in me, and let flow a stream of slurred Korean. His pace quickening then shortening, pitch rising and falling, it was like seeing a great orator let loose and tell you how he really feels. After two minutes, I was invested. What pearls of wisdom was he slinging my way? What window into his soul, battered yet wizened from years of triumph and failure, has this beer and soju opened? What great insight into the human condition will he set alight within my mind, guided by his many years of experience?

Luke writes more often and in more detail about these social gatherings in his blog compared to Phil. Both of their blogs demonstrate how this teacher "shuffle" has helped them learn more about the host institution culture and how it may also affect their

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relationship with their colleagues as evidenced in the following quote from a blog post in his second year:

> The new year started in March, which means another round of the Korean Teacher Shuffle. This time we said goodbye to 16 teachers while welcoming 16 new ones. Two of my original co-teachers have left, and my good friend MJ finished her contract. I'll miss them all. The teacher replacing her is brand new, fresh from college. She sometimes asks me advice, and I advise her to not take any advice from me. That's generally good advice all around. It was also strange when I seemed to be more comfortable than the incoming teachers, a reversal of the roles [for] someone who is displaced out [from the] culture.

This quote differs from the earlier one as it demonstrates Luke has grown more comfortable or confident as an ELT in Korea, which could be interpreted as a successful adjustment to the host institution culture from his first year to his second year.

A large amount of Luke's adjustment to this host institution culture is the culture of the teacher's office. He provides a good summary of this learning in a blog post he wrote during his second year in Korea, "[I'm being] immersed in an atmosphere in which I am unaware of what is being said. My office is the frenetic nerve of the school. Teachers are loudly talking on the phones and to each other. Students are constantly poking their heads in or gallivanting around, trying to find a teacher. Information is flying everywhere, yet I don't receive any. I am mostly just numb to it now." Throughout the blog, he writes about his professional and social interactions with his co-teachers. During his first few months, he wrote about his gratitude for the help he received from his co-teachers. This grateful tone then switches to slight annoyance as he is learning about his unique role in the school and in the teacher's office as displayed here:

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> 11:08 a.m. – A teacher comes and asks an English usage question on the exams the students will take next week. It's one of those that requires me to review the English language from a distance, because I don't have a proper answer to the question "Why is it said like this?" other than "Because…it just is."
>
> What am I, some kind of authority on English? Oh…that's why you hired me? I see….sorry. (this time I really am sorry)

He also writes humorously about his annoyance with the little things at the office, such as his co-teachers' cellphone habits. For the most part, however, he blogged about being the top resource in his office for English language usage and pragmatics: "When the teachers start correcting the short answer section, I'm called up to bat. I'm used as a resource to deem a deviated response acceptable or not."

As a final point for adjustment help from his Korean co-teachers, Luke demonstrated his growth as an English language teacher by observing the Korean teachers who were younger and newer than him. In the interview, he stated, "Another factor I have observed is the age of the class's homeroom teacher (not the English co-teacher). Of my most problematic [8th grade] classes, they all have young or almost brand new teachers as their homeroom teachers. I think these teachers are still learning effective discipline strategies, and are still working on cultivating their persona of authority." As for the older more experienced Korean ELTs, Luke demonstrated his adjustment process in the classroom as follows:

> I think most of my coteachers could do a better job with me in the classroom, actually. I wish it was more of a partnership in the classroom, but the reality is most co-teachers treat my class as a kind of break time. They will only step in if the students are exceptionally loud. It's important to note I am not calling them lazy--they are all extremely hard working. I think I should have made it more clear that as the teacher who speaks both languages, they are a very important bridge for me. Many times I think the teachers could have helped me translate difficult instructions, make sure the students are on task, or help them with any sheets they

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> may have. Like I said, I think it's mostly my fault. I have been doing this for two years now so they see me as an able teacher--sometimes they won't even come to my class. Perhaps some of them have a misguided sense of not stepping on my toes when I am teaching.

Luke's blog postings and interviews both demonstrate that his Korean co-teachers have helped him learn much about the host institution culture. This differs from Phil's blogs and interviews in that Phil learned a lot more about the national culture from his colleagues, but this may be because of Phil's greater curiosity. Luke's blog demonstrated a greater interest in becoming a better teacher. This and other personal differences between Phil and Luke and the other participants, and how they may affect their adjustment process, are discussed later in the next section.

Phil and Luke's Adjustment Process

Both Phil and Luke learned about a socializing phenomenon for teachers at the host institution. Phil refers to this phenomenon by its Japanese name, *enkai*, and Luke refers to it as a teacher dinner. Phil dedicated a blog post to this phenomenon, which he described generically as opposed to his direct experiences with it:

> *Enkai* can be a lot of fun; loosening up with your fellow soldiers in the trench, having a few beers, and hopefully forming a more cohesive bond with the people you see almost every day. While an occasional drinking party with your boss and coworkers can be a good time, for most Japanese people these are not optional, recreational activities. They are after work, but they are obligatory. I've heard from a couple of overworked Japanese that many young people don't like it, but it's just the way it is. Even if you're tired or sick, if your *sempai* (senior worker) invites you go to drinking after work, you go. "But what happens if you don't?" I asked. Apparently you become ostracized and will likely never be invited to another work-related social function. Talk about harsh.

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Although it was unclear if Phil attended *enkai* of this fashion for his schools, his previous explanation, when advising his success in the JET Program, of this social obligation was much gentler.when advising his successor in the JET Program: “Always go out to lunch with your coworkers when invited…”

Luke’s narratives of teacher dinners showed that he attended these social functions regularly: “The Korean school calendar is pillared with teacher dinners… The latest dinner ushered in a new era of alcohol consumption with the teachers.” During these dinners, Luke reported learning more about and bonding with his fellow teachers. In his interview, Luke mentioned that these teacher dinners also help strengthen his bond with his principal: “The principal and I are on good terms and will drink a little together at every teacher dinner.”

One more host institution phenomenon that both Phil and Luke observed and commented on was what Luke called the Great Public School Teacher Shuffle. Both Japanese and Korean public schools shuffle around their teachers at the end of their respective academic years. This host institution culture phenomenon seemed to be one of the more difficult ones for Phil and Luke to adjust to. Earlier in this chapter, it was noted that this shuffling of teachers left both of the participants feeling sad, as they were helpless in this shuffle that appeared to be arbitrary to them.

Luke’s second experience with the shuffle made him more conscious of his role in the host institution culture. He realized that he was more comfortable with the classroom culture than the incoming teachers, although he did not feel comfortable giving advice to them. In Phil’s interview, he places the blame of the varying quality of teachers at his school on this shuffle, although he does not provide any reasoning behind this.

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Nonetheless, Phil and Luke both exhibited displeasure towards this phenomenon that was completely out of their control.

Dionne's Co-Teachers

Dionne's relationships with her Korean co-teachers differ greatly from Luke's in that she taught in three elementary schools as opposed to one middle school. She had to work with up to eighteen different co-teachers as opposed to Luke's five. Because she worked with eighteen different co-teachers, she may not have been able to develop as deep of a relationship as Luke had been able to with his co-teachers. Like Luke, she was also the only foreigner for most of her classrooms. Because she worked in three different elementary schools, she did not work in one teachers' office as Luke had. Another important difference between Luke's school and Dionne's schools was that hers were in a much more rural area of Korea, farther away from the big cities like Seoul and Busan.

Dionne only spent one year working for EPIK, so her ALT experiences were shorter than the other four and her relationships with the Korean co-teachers were less developed. However, she reports on the obligatory social gatherings of teachers that both Phil and Luke also had to attend in their contexts. Dionne's interview differs from Luke's blog posts in that she reports on learning about the national culture of Korea, especially its social structure:

> At least three times a week, (EPIK school teachers and I) used to go out for dinner. And we were just really active. We'd play volleyball. And after volleyball, we'd go out eating and drinking and *noraebang*. It's just that community aspect—of *This plate's not my plate*—that was really weird to me. It was really hard. Later on in life—it's just that I'm not a newbie anymore because after a while, they start[ed] expecting me to follow the culture. Whereas before I could break [the rules] and get away with it. But

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> I think [after] about a year and a half of being here, I remember, one of my friends—she's younger than me and we were all out with some of our older friends. And the younger person has to listen to the older person. And we had to finish the food, so I told her, "Hey, you have to finish the food because I'm you're *nuna*. And you're *eoni*. Finish it! And she went back to [sic] me and told the other ones [who were younger than I,saying], "Oh well, if you are, then we are your *dongsaeng* so you have to do this and this." Oh my gosh, this opened up a can of worms. So that was an adjustment, and now I'm required to follow the rules.

In this narrative, she points out a couple of examples of Korean national culture practices. The simpler one and the one that was the most difficult for Dionne to adjust to was eating from a communal plate, touching the same food with one's own chopsticks. The more complex one concerns the hierarchical social structure of Korean culture that is based on Confucianism and traditionally very rigid. She uses the Korean familial terms of *nuna* (a mistake as this is said by males) and *eonni* (said by females), which mean older sister, as well as *dongsaeng*, which means younger siblings. In the case of Korean familial relationships, the older sister has the right to tell her younger sister what to do.

In another narrative from the interview, Dionne gives another example of learning about the social hierarchy in Korean culture through an experience with her co-teachers shopping for ingredients to make pizza and smoothies for an English language summer camp. Before they went, they had to prepare a budget without knowing the exact prices of each ingredient. When they went shopping, they found some of the items were above budget, and her co-teachers felt that they could not purchase them, "And so when we're at the store together. We're like, *So the prices are different*. So we had to call the principal and call the finance office. And I'm like, *This is just a headache. Let's just buy the coconut milk! It's like ten cents difference*, but that's the whole culture. You can't do that. It's from the top down. Even if it's irrational, it's still logical in their culture."

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Both this example and the previous one show how Dionne learned about the Korean social structure, which seems to be stricter and more irrational than the social structures she knows in the United States.

Besides eating customs and the social structure of Korean culture, Dionne learned more about the host institution culture and classroom culture. In the interview, she said one advantage of working with eighteen co-teachers was she “could just mimic their style in order to adapt to the culture of the classroom.” One disadvantage, however, was the inconsistency between the demands of each classroom, in which some of her co-teachers wanted her to prepare the lesson.

One feature that set EPIK apart from its Japanese equivalent, the JET Program, was that ALTs taught in summer and winter English language camps. Dionne reported about teaching in these camps more than the three elementary schools perhaps because they were more centralized as a single unit of culture. Dionne recounted working in the camps with some of her co-teachers from the elementary schools, stating that it was more liberating in that they were not as tied to the English language learning textbooks. That was as far as Dionne discussed learning about and adjusting to her first host institutions with the help of her co-teachers.

As a final point on learning about the host institution culture, Dionne gained a lot in terms of emotional support. In the interview, she mentioned that that her co-teachers were really aggressive in helping her get the job she had at the time of the interview, working at the local university. “They all look up to this school a lot, and they say, ‘You have to give her a job. Please give her an interview.’ They were really aggressive. So [the university staff] kind of already knew who I was.”

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In her blog, she sums up her emotional growth and gratitude for working with her co-teachers at her first host institutions through EPIK: "The last and most basic reason why I have had such a pleasurable experience here is by following the Golden Rule: to love others as you love yourself. Working with children and having fourteen-plus co-workers requires a lot of love. Everyone is different, handles situations differently, and communicates on different levels. It's amazing what a smile, gentle touch, and a heartfelt *thank you* can do."

Once she began working at the university in her second year in Korea, she lost the opportunity to work with co-teachers. Her Korean university classroom culture was completely run by her, which admittedly made her feel more humble about her teaching skills. Dionne's narratives were the only one that shared the sharp contrast between teaching with elementary co-teachers and teaching as a university instructor.

John's Co-Teachers

Like Dionne, John also taught with elementary co-teachers before he became a university instructor; however, his experiences were in Japan. Unlike Dionne, he did not share the same contrast between teaching as an ALT and teaching as a university instructor. One reason is that his ALT experience was nearly a decade behind him. In the interviews and in his blog posts, there are only a few references to working with co-teachers, but there is enough to show what he has learned from this experience.

He dedicated one blog post to reflecting on his experience working for the JET Program as both an ALT and a coordinator. His many years of experiences in both positions shows that he learned that some co-teachers "aren't quite sure what to do with

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ALTs," and he suggests that the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT) "provide more training and examples of best practice in schools and teachers." In this same paragraph, he points out that "often the youngest teachers are assigned to be ALT supervisors, whereas in many cases the head of English would be more suitable." These statements demonstrate John's deeper understanding, compared to the other participants in this study, of the relationship between ALTs, their co-teachers, and the host institutions.

In a previous paragraph in the same blog post, John writes about how he learned of the contributing factors of what can make an ALTs experience stagnate in his or her second year, "how their [first] year has gone, how they have been treated by teachers and schools, and how their particular ALT community is." Here, John points out succinctly what he believes to be the external factors that affect an ALT's adjustment process, something he could not have learned without his experiences teaching with and observing co-teachers.

Summary

This section has demonstrated how co-teachers have acted as primary cultural informants for Phil, Luke, Dionne, and John. For Phil and Dionne, their co-teachers helped them learn just as much about the national culture as the host institution culture. Additionally, all of them learned how to teach in the host institution culture from observing, "mimicking" in Dionne's case, and talking to their co-teachers. Sophie, like many other sojourning ELTs teaching in private English language programs or schools, was the only participant who did not have this adjustment process.

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Adjusting to the National Culture

This section explores how the participants adjusted to the national culture, which the primary investigator interprets as daily life outside the context of work, which is teaching the English language. Three patterns emerged across the multiple cases when analyzing the data concerning adjustment to the national culture. The first is that the participants considered adjusting to the national culture to be their primary concern before and immediately after arriving to the host country. The second is that all the participants reported more intense socializing during their first few months. The third is that most of the participants found a significant other (spouse or intimate partner) who helped them to adjust to the national culture.

Following these three patterns shared by the participants, this section will explore the unique patterns of Dionne's and John's adjustments to their respective national cultures. Dionne's faith and John's perception of home have both played an important role in their adjustment to the national culture.

Importance of Adjusting to the National Culture

A pattern that emerged from the interview and blog data of all five participants, especially during first few months in Japan and Korea, is that it seemed more important for the participants to adjust to the national culture before adjusting to the host institution and classroom cultures.

One possible reason for their attention to be driven towards the national culture more than the host institution and classroom cultures may be because of their initial reasons for traveling abroad to live in Japan or South Korea. All participants were asked

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what played a larger factor in their decision to go abroad: to live in Japan or Korea or to teach English there. All of them answered on the side of living in their respective countries. Phil said he wanted to work in Japan but the work did not necessarily have to be teaching English. His initial goals were to improve his Japanese language skills and travel around the country. John was about the same, saying that teaching English in Japan was "very much a means to an end." His goals were to learn the Japanese language and culture and to practice martial arts.

As for the participants in Korea, both Sophie and Dionne wanted experience abroad. Sophie had already visited countries in different continents, so Korea would be her chance to experience East Asia. Dionne thought of herself primarily as a writer and wanted her experience in Korea to help her create an identity as an international writer. Like Dionne, Luke thought of himself as a writer, but he wanted to be an "economic migrant" in Korea as he was well aware of the limited options for work as a writer in the United States. One of the major initial goals for all three participants was to learn Korean, and for Sophie and Luke, Korea provided them an easier opportunity for another major goal, to explore the rest of Asia.

Although all five of them were interested in teaching English in their respective countries, their interests in living abroad played a larger factor. Because of this, I posit that they were more interested in learning about the national culture than the host institution and classroom cultures when they first visited. Beyond their initial reasoning, the evidence for this position is clearer for some participants than others in their blog.

Phil's and Sophie's blogs provide the best longitudinal evidence of the preference to learn the national cultures first. Throughout his time in Japan, the majority of Phil's

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blog is dedicated to his specific interests in Japanese culture and certain epiphanies about it. Of his interests, Phil writes most about the Japanese language and popular culture, specifically television commercials and video games. Among his epiphanies, he writes about his perceptions of Japanese communication styles, such as "trash talking," and his perceptions on Japanese national identity, particularly its collectivist characteristics. In one blog post, he makes direct reference to his adjustment process but does not include his teaching experiences in this reflection: "The longer I remain here, the easier it becomes to just keep on remaining. The language gets easier, I become more and more familiar with the culture and adept at routine activities that were once a challenge. I make friends and grow to care about people here."

Like Phil's blog, Sophie's blog also mainly highlights her experiences and understanding of Korean culture more than her experiences and understanding of the Korean classroom culture. The first year mostly highlights her independent tourism of Seoul, and she only blogs about teaching twice during this time. During her second year, she begins to write a little more about her experiences and development in the Korean English language classroom. By the end of her second year, her blog explores more in depth about Korean national culture as she gains more experience. By the beginning of her third year, she takes on a more serious tone of learning about the classroom culture, most evidently in the blog titled "Becoming a better teacher?" Later on, she demonstrates her dedication to learning more about the classroom culture and the professional-academic culture of the Host Culture Complex by enrolling in an MA TESOL program.

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Dionne's interview reveals more about her adjustment process in the national and classroom cultures, but it does not provide any longitudinal data like blogs do. In her interview she stated that she has become more serious about her teaching: "So now that I've reached the university, I want to build up my portfolio, go to conferences, do everything that I can possibly. That way I can go to an American university." Of the five participants, Sophie, John, and Dionne have acquired master's degrees for teaching English language in their respective home countries while they were teaching abroad, which indicates a more serious dedication to adjusting to the classroom culture.

This section's main purpose was to show that most participants were focused on adjusting to the national culture first before adjusting to the classroom culture. All five participants expressed an interest in living abroad over an interest in teaching English abroad, and I posit that this may have played a major factor in this order of adjustment. Of the five participants, Sophie, John, and Dionne have shown the greatest dedication to the profession by earning their MA in TESOL while they were teaching English in their respective countries. Phil and Luke have left their respective countries and are currently not teaching English, although Luke has expressed a strong intention to return to teach English in Korea soon.

Early Social Patterns

This section reports on shared patterns across the multiple cases that showed all the participants had a wider variety of social groups during the first few months after arriving to Japan or South Korea. For most of them, these early social patterns stopped or tapered off when they met their significant other, discussed in the proceeding section.

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During this same time, the first few months in Japan or Korea, many of the participants reported feelings of loneliness or isolation. I posit that these two are related in that the participants sought out a wider social network to mitigate these negative feelings.

Phil and Luke were the only two participants that arrived in their respective countries already knowing at least one person who could help them with their adjustment process. Phil's predecessor in the JET Program was still in Japan when he arrived, so he was able to learn more specifically about the local culture in addition to the national and host institution cultures. In the interview, Phil knew that he was one of the luckier ALTs to have social connection upon arrival in Japan:

> Luckily for me, my predecessor on the JET Program stuck around in Japan to study at Osaka University. He helped me early on with some tasks like getting my foreign registration card, and we became friends. Relatively early on he introduced me to some of his Japanese and non-Japanese friends. He was also in a band, so I was invited to his shows and some other events. Those were interesting days, and I'm glad I met many people.

The music scene in Osaka was socially important to Phil as he continued to return there on his own later as he reports in his blog during his second and third years in Japan. It was at one of these shows that he met his significant other in Japan. The significance of this relationship will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Luke arrived in South Korea with twelve other new sojourning ELTs from his home state. Many of his fellow classmates kept in touch with each other through their blogs and social media postings about living and teaching English in Korea. Although he was probably the most well-connected participant during this early transition period, he did not have much of an active social life. In the interview, he stated, "I didn't have the

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excess funds to go out much so all social interaction was online with people back home and with colleagues at my school."

In his blog, Luke calls this first month being in "exile." In this regard, his early transition period was financially delayed a month. He dedicated an entire blog post, "The Exile Ends," about finally being granted the financial freedom to enjoy a more sociable life, which continued through most of his time in Korea. The first two paragraphs of this blog post best sums up his feelings of entering this "euphoric" early transition phase:

> It's finally here—the long awaited time I can stop living on a meager 5000 won a day and start fully living. After a month of waiting for the Korean bureaucracy to issue my Alien Registration Card, I finally got it. This means I can now open a bank account and get a cell phone and all that jazz. This has been a huge relief, as I was down to my last 3000 won (~$2.70). So ends the most stressful month in my life. But I did learn how cheaply I could live here if I really put my nose to the grindstone. It's just a matter of how much nose I want left when I come back. With my bank account freshly opened, the doors to exploring were thrown open.

Although Luke talks about exploring the city and country as a plan for his first few months in Korea, his blog posts reveal more socializing than exploring, but the socializing often accompanied exploring as revealed in his subsequent posts.

Sophie's first few months were more like how Luke anticipated his to be, full of exploring the city. In fact, she had the opportunity to explore the continent through her friendship with another sojourning ELT who she met at her school. Being away from Korea, however, may have hindered her adjustment process there. In the interview, she says, "I didn't expect to travel as much as I did in Asia, but after arriving, my first close friend was obsessed with travel, and I accompanied her on many trips in my first year and a half in Korea." According to her blog, she left Korea four times, visiting Taiwan, Vietnam, Hong Kong, and Beijing for at least one week at each place.

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When Sophie was in Korea and not traveling abroad with her friend, she spent most of the time on her own. In the interview, she states, "I was stable, I fell into a good routine in my first few months, calling home in the mornings, working in the afternoons, dance classes and dinner with co-workers in the evenings, Korean classes on Saturdays, exploring the city on Sundays. That was my life for the first six months or so." Her blog data confirms this routine. Many of her blog posts during the first year were about the different parts of the city where she lived, Seoul, which is larger than any city in her home country of the United States.

Although most of her independent touring of Seoul was not social, it demonstrated her independence during her first year. This solo traveling was balanced with a vibrant social life, which she describes in the interview, "I partied much more than I ever had at home, mostly because of my co-workers who I hung out with." In Sophie's case, her co-workers were fellow sojourning ELTs, in contrast to the other participants whose co-workers were mainly local ELTs in their first year.

Sophie's social life during her first year in Seoul was not too different from Luke's social life after his first month in "exile." Once Luke had the financial resources of going out to meet friends, he also had a vibrant social life, many times in Seoul, which was not too far from the city where he lived. In his blog, he provides his readers a glimpse of this social life in Seoul:

> In my latest installment of embarrassing drinking moments, some other foreigners and I sort of crash a *noraebang* (karaoke room) full of very nice Korean girls having a pleasant evening together, and then assault the ears of everyone in the room with god-awful performances of "I'm on a Boat" and "Summer Nights." But I wasn't convinced I snagged the "Bumbling Foreigner" trophy, so after butchering the songs, I accidentally dropped one of the Korean girl's phone in a bowl of *Dongdongju* (it's like makgeolli, only it makes your [sic] drop stuff.

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This paragraph is just one of many throughout Luke's blog describing his social life in Seoul and his host city. Most of his social life was spent with his friends from his home state who he was connected with on social media. In this way, Luke's social life differed from Sophie's. Many of Luke's friends shared the same background, coming from the same state and/or university in the Midwest. Sophie made most of her friends, initially, at the private English language school where she worked.

Another difference between Luke's and Sophie's social life with foreign or non-Korean friends is that Luke's social life did not seem to change much throughout his time in Korea, whereas Sophie's social life was more intense during her first year. In this way, Luke's social life was more similar to Dionne's social life, which did not diminish after her first year either. However, Dionne's first year was much different from her second year as she transferred from teaching at elementary schools for EPIK to teaching at the local university in the same rural area. Additionally, in her interview, Dionne mentions that she believed she was in the same emotional state from when she first arrived until the time of the interview, two years later: "My emotional state…you know, it would be close to a straight line because I'm pretty one-sided with my emotions. It would probably be like…at least close to straight. Most people describe me as being emotionally level-headed. …So I would say, emotionally, I'm still happy-go-lucky. I'm still giddy like it's my first day in Korea."

In the same part of the interview, Dionne mentions that she had only brief periods of feeling unhappy, followed by socializing with friends.

Sophie mentions a similar feeling of loneliness or isolation in her interview,

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> The first weekend, I still didn't have any friends, and I didn't want to sit in the windowless hotel alone, so I took my *Lonely Planet* and tried to follow a walking guide that they had inside. I accidentally missed the subway stop and I decided to get off and walk my way back. I never found the places that they described, but instead I found Deoksugung Palace. I remember being shocked because there was this huge traditional gate surrounded by the modern lifeless buildings all around. I went inside and they were offering free guided tours, but I was the only person, so I got my own personal free tour of the palace. I remember being in awe of how lucky I was.

Both Sophie's and Dionne's examples show how their socializing and independent exploration of the city helped them cope with their brief periods of feeling lonely or isolated. These short-term coping strategies, in a way, helped them adjust to living in Korea for the long term by developing friendships and educating them in the culture. By the end of their first years, both Sophie and Dionne had adjusted well.

The three sojourning ELTs in Korea, Sophie, Luke, and Dionne, have demonstrated different attitudes towards their first few months, but what they all had in common was that this was a period of more intense socializing. This was brought on by either a sense of loneliness, in the case of Sophie and Dionne, or by a lack of finances, in the case of Luke.

As for the context in Japan, only Phil gave a detailed account of his socializing during the first year. He was more fortunate than the other participants in that he inherited a social group from his predecessor who was still in Japan. In this sense, his social group found him rather than the other way around.

John, the other participant in Japan, arrived to Japan about thirteen years prior to the interview. His social life then was much different than it was at the time of the interview. He explains his current social life briefly as such: "I spend most of my time at work or with my family." When talking about his social life during his first year, John

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did not provide many details, but he gave enough information to demonstrate that his social life was more vibrant than it was at the time of the interview:

> My social situation [contributed to my emotional changes during the first few months]. Going out with others was fun and interesting, being alone especially in the evening was depressing. [Besides teaching English during the first year], I went out with friends or watched videos at home. [By the end of my ALT days], I didn't socialize as much, preferring to spend time with a small group of friends rather than large parties. [Nowadays], I occasionally spend time with friends but am fairly withdrawn socially.

John's descriptions seem much more somber than the other participants'. However, this somber attitude is somewhat captured in Phil's reflection on his feelings of loneliness that he writes tongue-in-cheek to an imagined community of potential JET teachers:

> When you first arrive, you will probably be feeling a bit lonely, and this is natural. But trust me on this – don't make Japanese friends right away. You're in Japan – there are Japanese people everywhere. You'll have plenty of time and opportunities. For now, just stay aloof and play hard to get. Be that cool foreigner who always answers monosyllabically. You're better off finding the one or two other foreigners who live in your area (and good luck - there's about 1 foreigner per 50 square miles on average) and clinging to them like an *otaku* to his *Gunpla* (If you're unfamiliar with those words, you haven't been accepted by JET – try again next year). Only by spending time with other foreigners will you be able preserve your cultural identity and ward off culture shock. That, and [by consuming] alcohol.

Although this was written in a jocular manner, the message is nearly as somber as John's narrative about his first year in the JET Program.

John and Phil both shared more somber descriptions of their isolation and loneliness compared to the participants in Korea. However, they both seemed to have had overcome a bit of it with socializing. Because John has lived in Japan for about

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thirteen years, he has accepted this somber loneliness as a part of his identity, calling himself "socially withdrawn."

This section has demonstrated how all five participants identified their isolation, loneliness, or "exile" during their first few months but coped with these feelings through socializing with others and, to a lesser extent, exploring the city or country. The next section illustrates probably the most likely cause for the end of these feelings.

The Importance of the Significant Other

The previous sections focused on the participants' priority of adjusting to the national culture before adjusting to the other parts of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994) as well as the participants' coping with their transition to Japan and South Korea by increased socializing. This section focuses on a pattern shared across four of the five participants and how finding one's significant other impacts the adjustment process. Three of the four participants with significant others, Phil, Sophie, and John, provided evidence that their significant others played a major role in their cultural learning.

During the participants' time in their respective countries, four of them found themselves in some type of relationship with a Japanese or Korean person of the opposite sex. Sophie and John were the only two participants who married their significant others. Phil wrote the most extensively about his girlfriend whom he is no longer with now that he has returned to the United States. Luke admitted to having a long-term relationship with his girlfriend, but did not write much about her in his blog nor discuss much about her in the interviews. Although Dionne did not mention having a significant other at the

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time of the interview, her blog posts indicated that she was on at least a few dates with Korean men.

Phil's Girlfriend

Phil is the only participant to mention his girlfriend by name. She will be heretofore pseudonymously referred to in this paper as Hiroe. Phil's relationship with Hiroe marked an important part of his adjustment process, primarily because she became his informant on Japanese national culture. Before writing about her in his blog, Phil's primarily culture informants, especially language, were his Japanese co-teachers in the JET Program. When he first mentions Hiroe in his blog, she is helping him with his Japanese language skills. He writes, "Right now life is pretty good. Work is satisfying, I have good friends both here and abroad, and I just started dating an awesome girl who isn't afraid to call me on my Japanese mistakes." In the next few posts about Japanese language, he credits her for helping him understand that using the word *ore* (俺, meaning "I") sounds masculine, as well as the difference among first-person pronouns.

The quote in the previous paragraph is an important one because it is one of the rare instances in which Phil directly expresses a moment in which he feels that he is successfully adjusting to the Host Culture Complex. In that quote, he mentions life in general (living in the national culture), work (the host institution culture), and friends outside the host institution culture (national Japanese and American cultures). In this way, Phil's feelings towards his relationship with Hiroe represent his feelings about his adjustment process.

It is during his time with Hiroe that Phil blogs more openly about his adjustment process in general. His blog started about ten months prior to this positive quote about

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adjustment. During this ten-month period, he had seven blog posts in which he directly wrote about his successes or frustrations with adjusting to the Host Culture Complex. Three of these seven occurred within one month of the quote. Within a ten-month period after this quote, he had over thirty posts about his adjustment process. The major difference between the first ten months and the second ten months is that he had Hiroe as his primary cultural informant for the latter.

Phil writes on several occasions how Hiroe helped him clear up his negative misconceptions about Japanese culture. In one post, he writes how Hiroe helped provide context to mitigate Phil's fears of Japan's "bleak future."

> Being that Hiroe is an intelligent and curious young lady, we've also had some conversations about cultural differences between Japan and America. The other day she asked me about a recent, somewhat angsty post of mine, which lead to a conversation about Japan's isolationist history and bleak future if it doesn't do something about its population problem, as well as the challenges facing foreigners here. …It's important to account for Japan's isolationist past—something I had read about and that Hiroe again explained when we talked about this.

In another post, Hiroe mitigates Phil's feelings of being discriminated against by Japanese people. He blogged about how some media outlets blame foreigners for crime, but Hiroe told him "she doesn't associate foreigners with crime and doesn't think most Japanese people do either." These two instances provide examples of how Hiroe helped Phil positively adjust to living in Japan, by managing his frustrations that could have lingered longer without her help.

Although the previous two examples were conversations based on Phil's interpretations of what he had observed or read with little or no direct experience, the

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third example is Phil's reported experience with confronting what he first believed to be outright discrimination against foreigners:

> [Hiroe] was set to play piano at this bar/live house in Kyoto on Tuesday. We get there and walk in together, and she walks inside while I stop at the entrance to pay the cover charge. The guy looks at me, looks at her, then glances at his boss at the bar, and then says something to her that I didn't catch. But I heard the word 外国人 ([*gaikokujin*] foreigner; note this is the more polite form of the word). Oh no, I thought. I could feel my blood starting to heat up. This was one of *those* places? Confused, Hiroe goes over to the bar to ask the manager what the problem is.

Phil reported that he asked the guy in front of the bar what the problem was, and he said in Japanese that he couldn't charge foreigners. Phil interpreted this as discrimination and would have left if Hiroe were not performing there. He blogged about how uncomfortable he felt there during the whole time, especially when he saw Hiroe being friendly with the staff. Hiroe saw that Phil was still upset after the performance but did not understand why. It was not until the next day when Hiroe talked to one of Phil's non-Japanese friends that Phil learned about his misunderstanding:

> Apparently in my rage I hadn't understood everything that Hiroe had been trying to tell me about the situation. As it turns out, sometimes foreigners go into that live house just to drink at the bar. The staff feel bad because they can't speak much English and many of the tourists who come in can't speak any Japanese, so as a result they often don't charge foreigners the cover fee for the live show if they just come in to sit at the bar. I guess it's easier than trying to communicate the fact that they have to pay a fee because there's a band playing. So really they weren't being racist at all. As a matter of fact, they were probably trying to be nice. In my defense, I wish they had explained this to me themselves. But ultimately I was the asshole in this story.

Although Phil felt terrible after this incident, he learned that his interpretation of his experiences in Japan are not always reliable, and that he would not have come to this conclusion if he had gone to that bar without Hiroe. This experience demonstrates the

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value of Hiroe to Phil's adjustment to Japanese culture, helping him become more aware of his own misunderstandings of direct personal experience with Japanese people.

Hiroe's value as primary cultural informant goes beyond this. In several instances in the blog, Phil reports feeling included within her social circles. One example of this is meeting Hiroe's boss and her boss' son and then participating in the son's sports day at school. An entire blog post is dedicated to showing how Phil became a part of this school's sports day events and how he felt wholly included in the culture. In that post, he writes, "I feel like one can really learn a lot about Japanese culture by observing and participating in these kinds of things. Was an experience I won't soon forget."

Because of his relationship with Hiroe, Phil had the opportunity to see Japan through a native's point of view. He took this opportunity by traveling to different parts of Japan with her, such as the island of Kyushu and Yamaguchi Prefecture, the latter where he met Hiroe's family.

More importantly, Hiroe helped connect Phil's interest in music with Japanese culture as she was a professional pianist. Through her, he was able to appreciate the Japanese music scene, especially in that he went to many of her performances, where he gave her his support and showed enthusiasm for her music. His appreciation for her comes out in a blog post in this context:

> Talking to her everyday, being around her when I can, and going to some of her shows, I've seen how hard she works to improve and to get exposure. Gigs can be tough to get, so she plays piano at a club 6 nights a week, and additionally works at a cafe here and there...on top of doing shows, weddings, and whatever other work she can get. She's probably one of the hardest-working people I've met. But I suppose that's what it takes. Making it big as a musician is tough no matter where you live, but imagine living in a country roughly the size of California with a population about a third the size of that in the U.S.

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Posts like these demonstrate Phil's contributions to this relationship.

By the time of the interview, his relationship with Hiroe had ended, and he briefly mentioned another feature of Japanese national culture he had learned from this relationship, "One aspect that I had trouble with was placing one's work/professional life above personal life. I saw this with my girlfriend and with other Japanese I knew. It's not uncommon for people with children and families to work late and then go out drinking or to other social events. That's something I don't think I would easier [sic] be able to adjust to, if at all." Just as in his report of his most successful adjustment, he also ties his struggles in adjustment to his relationship with Hiroe. The working culture of Japan is one aspect that Phil wrote about later in his blog as his relationship was coming to an end. Although he benefited from learning how the working culture of Japan affected his adjustment to the host institution culture, he also learned how it negatively affected his relationship with his girlfriend.

Sophie's Fiancé

Sophie's relationship with her boyfriend, who was her fiancé at the time of the interview, which was just a few months before their wedding, marked key points in her adjustment process in South Korea. The most noticeable point was at the beginning of their relationship, marking the end of her independent honeymoon period of adjustment. The structure of her whole social world in Korea changed when their relationship began as she reported in the interview: "After I met my boyfriend, now fiancé, I spent less time clubbing with my co-workers and I quit dance lessons. I started studying Korean more seriously, about eight hours per week on top of work. As I had been to most of the tourist attractions in the city, I spent weekends more with friends or with my boyfriend's family

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than exploring the city." Her interview supports evidence in the blog that all these distinguishing characteristics of her honeymoon period, clubbing with co-workers and dance lessons, were no longer part of her life in Korea.

Both Phil's and Sophie's significant others played a key role in their respective host culture language development. Whereas Phil was already dedicated to improving his Japanese language skills when he met Hiroe, Sophie's relationship amplified the importance of learning Korean. In the interview, she states, "When I started dating him, I started taking my Korean language study much more seriously. I started taking language classes at a language school the month after we started dating. Spending time with his family and friends forced me to practice the language since they didn't speak any English. I am a little shy though, so if I were more outgoing, it would have been even more helpful."

Sophie's experiences of visiting her fiancé's extended family and renting and renovating a traditional Korean house seem to have expedited her learning about the national culture. Unlike the other participants, she was not in the situation of having co-teachers to help her learn about the national and host institution cultures. In this way, she was more isolated from native cultural informants during her honeymoon period than the others.

Although her Korean family and home-renovating experiences have helped Sophie learn directly about the national culture, her fiancé influenced her decision to stay in Korea to pursue a career in teaching English. In the same interview, she also mentioned how her relationship with her fiancé influenced her adjustment to teaching English in Korea. For example, she states, "When I came to Korea, I was interested in

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teaching English, but I did not expect to make a career out of it. Until I met my fiancé, I planned on spending just 1.5 years in Korea before coming back to the States to look for a job in my field of environmental science." In this quote, her relationship determined her dedication to teaching English, which may have influenced her to focus more on adjusting to the host institution and classroom cultures.

Sophie's case provides the most evidence of how influential a significant other, native to the host culture, can positively influence one's adjustment to the Host Culture Complex.

John's Wife

Like Sophie, John married a native to the host culture, but his blog data does not go into much detail about their relationship, especially in that the early stages occurred before he started writing the blog. However, there are some similarities between John's relationship with his spouse and Sophie's relationship with her fiancé in terms of adjusting to the professional-academic culture of the Host Culture Complex.

As mentioned in the previous section, Sophie's fiancé helped her decide to pursue a career in teaching English, which was best evidenced in earning her MA in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Although there is no evidence of John's wife helping him with making a similar decision, he explained in his interview her role in another type of professional development: "My wife was an English teacher before we met, and ten years ago we started a private language school together. We work together on the private language school classes and I occasionally ask her for help with paperwork written in Japanese at my university job." In this sense, John's wife helped

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him grow professionally from being an English language teacher to running an English language school.

It is important to note here that the only two participants who have married a native from the local culture have also managed to earn a graduate degree and plan to live in their respective countries indefinitely. In this sense, Sophie and John would no longer be considered sojourning ELTs but immigrant ELTs; however, they came to their respective countries as sojourning ELTs with the intention of returning home after a few years.

Unlike Sophie, John had been married for many years by the time of the interview. The majority of his time in Japan has been with his Japanese wife and family, and mainly because of this, he calls Japan his home, as he states in the interview: “This is my home, and also the place I have lived for longest in my life.”

Perhaps because he perceives Japan as his home, he feels well adjusted to the host cultural complex. When asked about what factors helped him feel better about living and working in Japan, he answered, “Learning the language, getting used to social norms, improving my job situation, [and] having a family.” John provided evidence, shown earlier, that his wife contributed directly to the latter of these two conditions. Evidence from Phil’s and Sophie’s interviews and blogs have shown that their significant others have contributed to the former of these two conditions, learning the language and getting used to social norms, but John did not provide any direct evidence of this. It is difficult to imagine that his wife did not help him in those areas.

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Luke's Girlfriend

Like Phil, Luke was in a self-described long-term relationship with his significant other. In his interview, Luke briefly mentions that the reason he was staying in Korea longer than he had originally planned was because of this relationship. It was unclear if this relationship ended or was near the end.

Unlike Phil, Sophie, and John, Luke did not discuss his girlfriend in the interview beyond what was mentioned in the previous paragraph. His blog did not provide much more information about his relationship except that she was a part of his social group that was a mix of Koreans and non-Koreans. Because of the limited information about Luke's relationship, it is unclear if it helped or hindered his adjustment process to living and teaching in Korea.

It is important to note here that the only two participants who developed a romantic relationship short of engagement or marriage eventually returned to their home country. Phil's blog made it clear that his relationship tapered off, but there is no evidence about the status of Luke's relationship near the end of his time in Korea.

Significant Others and Cultural Learning

Phil and Sophie have provided the most evidence of how their significant others were or became the primary cultural informants of the Host Culture Complex. In Phil's case, Hiroe replaced his Japanese colleagues as the primary cultural informant. For Sophie, she was the only participant who did not work with local co-teachers, so her significant other was her primary cultural informant throughout her time in Korea.

The seriousness of Sophie and John's relationships with their significant others seems to be connected with their professional development. Sophie's fiancé and John's

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wife have shown support and dedication towards their respective significant other to advance further in the field of teaching English. Sophie and John also exhibit the most determination of staying in their respective countries.

Single Case Findings

This section looks at two single case findings regarding the participants' adjustment to the national culture. The first single case finding shows how Dionne's faith has helped her adjust to living and teaching in South Korea. The second single case finding shows that John considers Japan his home, which can be interpreted as a type of end to his adjustment process.

Dionne's Faith

Faith is a factor that Dionne attributes to her successful adjustment to living and teaching English in South Korea. In her follow-up interview, she states, "Without God in my life, I believe that we would have had an entirely different interview if we even had one at all." One external feature of her faith is her involvement in or with the Christian community in the United States and South Korea. For the purposes of this section, I will be referring to God in a manner to respect Dionne's faith. Therefore, the word God will be capitalized and will refer to a sentient being. For Dionne, her relationship with God is another external factor. Many of the Christian faith would probably agree with this; however, those outside of such a religious perspective might argue that Dionne's relationship with God is an internal factor and synonymous with her faith. The position of this paper is to attempt to stay neutral in this argument and, at the same time, to respect

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the Dionne's beliefs and perspectives, so it may appear that this section takes the Judeo-Christian monotheistic viewpoint in the argument.

Before the interview took place, her blog made it very clear to her readers that she has strong Christian beliefs as she frequently blogs about her faith. Some of the titles alone, such as "Psalms 90 for daily/nightly protection," "My year long journey with God," and "My 40-day journey reading *The Purpose Driven Life*" are enough to demonstrate her beliefs. The contents of these demonstrate the magnitude of her faith. Below is an excerpt from her post, "My year long journey with God":

> This year I decided to study the word of God by listening to sermons, reading study guides, and activating God's word everyday [sic]. While writing in my journal today, a thought jumped into my mind "Share this with the world." So here I am blogging about Jesus.
>
> Yes, I love the Lord. Call me a Jesus Freak like the famous song or just call me a person with a purpose in life. Because "Without God, life has no purpose," or let me put it in the words of a well-known atheist," Unless you assume a God, the question of life's purpose is meaningless," Bertrand Russell.

These two paragraphs provide a brief but insightful glimpse into Dionne's faith and relationship with God.

This evidence is supported in her interview when she identifies herself as a Christian: "Mentally and spiritually, my culture would be Christianity. I'm very involved in my church here in Korea as well as back home, so I have a spiritual life." The connection between her faith and her adjustment to living and teaching English in Korea was made evident later in the interview:

> [My faith] has kept me humble and grounded and from the beginning…like with the experience of not having a partner. Instead of being angry and mad, I took it as an experience as what it was. That has also helped me find new friendships because one

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> of my coworkers who came to my hotel room the second day, one of the first questions she asked me was "Are you Christian?" And I was like, "Yes." And she said, "Oh! I was a praying for a Christian teacher." I was like, "Really?" you know? That's interesting. I feel that God has really helped me find family, find friends here, and adapting is so hard here period. So if you don't have a foundation, if you don't have the right relationships, just people to connect to, when you fall, you'll fall even harder because you don't have that safety net. My faith is a safety net, and it also helps me look at the bright side of things.

This quote is key in many ways. First, Dionne finds a connection between her faith and her adjustment to living and teaching in Korea. Second, she mentions that her faith keeps her calm when she thinks about not having a partner.

Dionne's Christian faith also provides her a sense of belonging within the national Korean culture and the host institution culture. Unlike Japan, South Korea has a large and fervent Christian population (Buswell & Lee, 2007), so she would not necessarily feel like an outsider. Also, she mentioned in the interview that she goes to church with the university staff. She said, "They have their own global, non-denominational service, so sometimes they invite me up." This is parallel to how Hiroe provided Phil with a sense of belonging within the national Japanese culture, specifically with its music scene.

Dionne's Christian faith makes her stand out from the other participants in this study, but her faith plays one of the more significant internal or external factors, depending on how one looks at it, to adjusting to the Host Culture Complex. Although faith is most likely a key factor for missionaries and their adjustment overseas, most of the literature reviewed for this study overlooked or did not include spirituality and religion.

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John's Home

John's perception of his host country, Japan, differs from the rest of the participants in that he sees it as his home. In 2010, three years before he was interviewed for this study, he wrote in his blog, "However, recently I have found myself appreciating my life here. I really do feel at home, and enjoy almost everything I do." The sentence appeared in a posting titled "I Love Japan," where he apologizes about previously blogging about what annoys him about living in Japan. Furthermore, he wrote, "However, recently I have found myself appreciating my life here." If there was such a thing as an end to an adjustment process, this post would be a good marker of that.

In his interviews, John echoes his claims about Japan being his home several times. In fact, the first question in the first interview asks him where he considers home, to which he replies the city where he is living in Japan. He adds that he has lived there longer than any other place in his life. In his second interview, he is asked how his interests in Japan and Japanese culture have changed over the years, to which he answered, "Now [Japan] is simply my home, where I am comfortable and settled." As a follow-up question to his third interview, he is asked why nothing about Japanese culture surprises him anymore, to which he seemed to paraphrase his blog posting, "I don't really think about it. This is my home, and also the place I have lived for longest in my life."

John has good reasons to have a different perspective on his host country than the other participants. Firstly, he has lived in Japan for over a decade. The longest any of the other participants lived in their respective host countries was three years. Secondly, he has been married for most of those years in Japan and he is raising a family. Most of his family life he has kept private from the interviews and the blog. The only glimpse I

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had of his family life was in his blog when he described his and his family's ordeals during the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami.

Because John has lived in Japan for over five years, he can be considered an immigrant more than a sojourner. The same literature that defines sojourners defines immigrants or migrants as people who voluntarily relocate for long-term resettlement (Ward et al. 2001). However, John's original intentions were not long-term resettlement, and he stated in the interviews that he could leave if economic or environmental conditions (radiation from the expired Fukushima nuclear reactor) worsen.

Adjusting to the Host Institution Culture

The host institution culture is the culture that distinguishes the three types of sojourning ELTs from each other. ALTs in this study worked in host institutions that are either the JET Program, EPIK, or GEPIK, the first two under the auspices of their respective national governments and the latter under the auspices of its provincial government. Higher education institutions are universities and colleges in Japan and South Korea. Private language schools vary from small schools to nationally and internationally established private language schools. Special private schools that help elementary and secondary students cram for examinations are called *juku* (塾) in Japan and *hagwon* (학원) in South Korea. English is among one of the many academic subjects taught in these schools, but some schools may specialize in English cramming. Sophie was the only participant with experience teaching in private institutions that were nationally established in South Korea, with a concentration in Seoul.

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The largest shared pattern across the multiple cases of this study concerning adjusting to the host institution showed that the co-teachers in the government-sponsored programs helped their respective sojourning ELTs. These findings were discussed in the first section of this chapter because the co-teachers also helped them adjust to the national and classroom cultures as well.

Adjusting to Private Language Schools

Sophie was the only participant who did not have a co-teacher to help her adjust to the three different private English language programs. In her first program, she taught young Korean learners at a program she claimed to have very little structure, as she stated in her interview: "I was merely given a book and asked to finish X number of classes per month." In her second program, she taught the same age group but with a lot more structure that she expected. Because of the structure, she was able to better determine how to conduct her lessons, which in turn resulted in positive feedback from her boss.

For the most part, she was on her own without a mentor to learn the rules and social norms of the host institution culture. Instead of receiving guidance from a colleague, she received various types of feedback from her boss and supervisors. This differs from the ALTs in this study who rarely, if ever, reported receiving any direct feedback from their principals or administrators from their respective programs.

There were a few instances in which Sophie is pulled aside by her first supervisor to inform her of a sudden change in work. The following is an excerpt from her blog in which she narrates her reaction to this type of interchange:

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> Then, today, my supervisor pulled me into a conference room on my 10 minute break. She basically explained to me that I would be moving to teach mornings as of the start of the new preschool session, whenever that starts. I thought to myself... well, this is ok.... this happened once before, but I was saved because a girl who used to work for the school came back and subbed until the position could be filled. I was only supposed to be temporary, until they could find a permanent person to fill that position. *Ok, I suppose I can do that* (as if they were offering me a choice). So, then I asked if I would go back to teaching afternoons once they hired someone to fill the IP (intensive preschool) position. *No, we don't want to be switching teachers for IP. You'll work there until your contract is up*.

She blogged this post following earlier posts about how gracious her supervisor was taking all the teachers out for a staff retreat. In her written interviews, she talked about how she respected her first two supervisors who were both Korean. When she started working at her third school, which was run by the same program as her second but had adult students rather than children, she was surprised to find that her supervisor was a British woman with a long career in English language teaching.

One similarity that Sophie had with Phil and John is the workplace associated drinking party that Phil informed his blog audience as *enkai*, but are more specifically *nomikai*. John did not identify drinking parties by name, but Sophie did when describing the Korean equivalent, *hoesik* (회식). Similar to Phil's blog posts on *enkai*, Sophie went into detail about *hoesik*, "For Koreans 회식 is a very important part of working life. Every so often, you should go out with your co-workers and your boss and have some food, drinks and fun to get to know each other or to celebrate important events." She wrote this after her first few experiences at her first job.

When she started her second job, the *hoesik* tradition differed greatly. She wrote an extensive blog post on the differences. The following is just one excerpt:

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> Here at the new school they don't make it easy to back out [of attending *hoesik*]. Everyone goes, and we even dragged a non-drinking Korean co-worker once, even though she begged not to come. We also skip the whole dinner thing and go straight to the bar. Not to say we don't eat of course. Korean [drinking establishments] usually require food is ordered with a drink. And we order copious amounts of fried chicken, sausage, *golbengi* [sic] and the like. Our director leads the drinking and the bosses walk around making sure everyone's glass is topped off. Of course, they don't pour drinks until your glass is empty, so it's not uncommon to hear "One Shot!" and be expected to finish half a glass of beer so they can pour you the next one.

Most of the blog post described the *hoesik* experience from her second job as an unpleasant one. Although she enjoyed her second job more than her first, she did not like this aspect of the social life that the job seemed to require.

Sophie did not describe much of her third job, the one she had during the interviews for this study, because the focus of her blog changed to be more professional and most of her life's focus was on completing her master's degree in TESOL.

Adjusting to Higher Education Institutions

Only John and Dionne had experience teaching in higher education institutions in their respective countries. Their experiences vary wildly as John spoke from having many years of experience behind him compared to Dionne who started teaching at her Korean university with only a year of English language teaching experience behind her. Additionally, Dionne was going through her first year teaching at the university during the time of the interview, so she was in the process of learning the host institution culture, whereas John was quite comfortable with his position.

John did not write or say much about his current position at the university. The most informative response was from the interview, in which he said, "I have almost

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complete autonomy at university, apart from choosing to co-operate with some colleagues in implementing a shared curriculum." John shared little information about his adjustment or interactions about teaching English at the university outside of his reports regarding professional development.

As opposed to John, Dionne spent a large portion of the interview talking about her adjustment to her new teaching position at the university in Korea. Many of the experiences she shared showed that she was still in the early stages of adjustment as her memories of being new to the school were still fresh. The following is a long excerpt from her first impressions of teaching at the university:

> The university [orientation] was one day. However, since I lived next door to the university, I went in there before…to attend personal training and only because you had to design your entire lesson plan from scratch given a book. But "a good teacher doesn't follow the book" is their motto, so you had to create everything. Actually at the orientation that we had, they were putting their schedules together and their lesson plans together and going through it figuring out what works, what doesn't work--"I've been a professor for 10 years, and I'm telling you that that doesn't work." And so it was very helpful because it was hands on and was between teachers who already knew what they were doing versus if you were going into EPIK, you're mixed with new teachers and old teachers, which is helpful because everyone has fresh ideas and new experiences. But for the same fact all you guys are new teachers and so we all have the same questions and it's not that big brother-big sister aspect that the university might have.

Much of her narratives about the university were about her peers, her supervisor, to who she felt a close connection, and the university president, who she respected deeply. Both her supervisor and the university president seemed to her to be bicultural as they were both bilingual. According to Dionne, the university president was a professor in the United States and her supervisor has been widely published. Although she did not interact much with the president, she implied that she spoke with her supervisor more

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than her peers out of respect for his wealth of knowledge on English language teaching and Korean culture. Because Dionne was still new to the university at the time of interview, she did not describe anything deeper regarding on her discussions with her supervisor.

Social Media

Social media was also helpful for some of the participants' and their peers' adjustment to their respective host institutions. Both Phil and John mentioned that the JET Program loosely maintained an online community to connect incoming ALTs with outgoing ALTs. They also mentioned that there were many online communities maintained and supported by former ALTs in the JET Program; however, they did not describe their participation in these communities. The only hint that Phil gave was when he blogged to his anonymous successor.

Dionne was the only participant who took the initiative to organize and lead an online community for her group (section 8) in EPIK on Facebook. In her interview, she mentioned that this group was still active after almost two years of being started and after many of her fellow ELTs, including herself, stopped teaching in EPIK. Dionne mentioned that this community helped her during the few times she felt lonely or isolated. She said, "There were maybe one or two times when I felt really lonely or isolated, and I remember I posted something on Facebook, and immediately people were on my Facebook, 'We're going out. We're coming to get you right now!' I know that feeling. So I know I wasn't allowed to hit rock bottom. So the moment I would say something, there would be that security net that would come in."

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Adjusting to the Classroom Culture

The classroom culture for assistant language teachers (ALT) in the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, such as for Phil and John, and in English Program in Korea (EPIK), such as for Dionne, and the Gyeonggi English Program in Korea (GEPIK), such as for Luke, is unique in that most ALTs work with or are subordinate to the local English language teacher in the classroom. Most ALTs are treated like visitors to the classroom who add something extra like cultural information and pronunciation practice to the local teacher's English language class. For higher education, in the cases of John and Dionne, most sojourning ELTs have their own classroom and some are free to design their own curriculum. In private language schools like in the case of Sophie, the classroom culture is usually based on the school's mission, purpose, or objectives. Usually large or chain private language schools like Berlitz will claim to use an English language teaching approach that is unique to their program.

As with the host culture institution, the largest shared pattern across the multiple cases of this study concerning adjusting to the classroom culture showed that the co-teachers in the government sponsored programs helped their respective sojourning ELTs. These findings were discussed in the first section of this chapter because the co-teachers also helped them adjust to the national and host institution cultures as well. However, Luke provided the most examples of how his co-teachers helped him adjust to his classroom cultures. In a few of his blog posts, he mentioned how his co-teachers would take him to observe other English language classrooms, sometimes being taught by

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another sojourning ELT. One example demonstrates the depth of his cultural learning from one of his co-teachers:

> Friday…a co-teacher of mine and I headed to another middle school for another demo lesson. After, we had lunch at a small pizza place. What struck me about this is how nice it is to talk with my colleagues out of the workplace. …It's hard to be a teacher in South Korea: The hours are long, and a Korean classroom is a high-efficiency energy drainer. Make no mistake—I'm not referring to me. My job is cake relative to the real teachers.

In later blog posts, Luke expressed his gratitude for the help he has received from his Korean co-teachers. In the interview, he talked about one of them specifically: "I look up to one my co-teachers because she really seems to care about what they learn. It's hard to put a finger on it, but with some teachers you can just see the passion they have for making the students learn the material." This quote demonstrates benefit that some sojourning ELTs have when working with local co-teachers. In Dionne's case, she had eighteen different co-teachers whose teaching styles she could "mimic." Sophie did not have this opportunity that Luke and Dionne expressed.

Although the most illuminating theme concerning adjustment to the classroom culture was covered in the section about co-teachers, additional themes are addressed here to emphasize how the classroom culture and the students within this culture can be impacted by the findings. These themes are more concern for the classroom culture after the first year, the transient nature of the teaching profession in Japan and Korea, the more independent nature of English language teachers in *hagwon* classrooms, and the more responsible nature of English language teachers in university classrooms.

For most participants, the narratives revealed that they were eventually concerned with adjusting to the classroom cultures, but only after the first year. The most obvious

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cases are Sophie and John, who advanced their careers in English language teaching by earning a master's degree in the field. The majority of John's blogs are dedicated to his professional development and better understanding of the classroom and student cultures. As for Sophie, in her blog post titled "Becoming a better teacher," she writes about her concerns for adjusting to the Korean English language classroom:

> There's still I have a lot to improve on, but I'd like to think I'm a fairly good teacher... for only teaching for 1.5 years and having no formal training as a teacher. But, obviously, I still have a long way to go. I still consider a class of 10 students too difficult to manage on an average day. I have no idea how teachers with 30 or 40 students handle the class without having an momentous, uncontrollable cacophony of small children all talking at once. I can barely be heard over 10 students, never mind 30. Anyway, I'll try some of the things mentioned in [an article about English teaching techniques] and see if they give me any better classroom results.

It is important here to remember that Sophie was the only participant in this study without the support of or feedback from any co-teachers. The other participants taught in government-sponsored programs that paired them up with co-teachers.

Phil and Luke remarked on the transient nature of the local teachers at the schools where they both taught. This surprised both of them as they had expected to learn more from some of these teachers whom were moved to another school at the end of the academic year. The JET, as well as the GEPIK, teachers themselves are also transient as Phil taught in the same schools for three years and John in the same school for two years before they both returned to the United States. In this sense, the classroom culture norm in government-sponsored English language teaching programs seems to be that students should not expect to see the same teacher in their school year after year. Furthermore, students should expect that there is a good chance at the beginning of the academic year

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that their teacher is new to the school and country. Additionally, the ALTs come and go from the JET program in the middle of the Japanese academic year. Adjusting to the classroom culture in this sense seems to be as crucial for the local English teachers and the students as it is for the sojourning ELTs. This is one way in which the classroom culture is unique from the rest of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994).

It is safe to assume that the private language program and university classroom cultures differ from each other and from the government-sponsored English language classrooms. Sophie's experiences have shown that her classroom culture was not shared with another teacher. She was on her own. In one school, she was bound to no structure except for using a given textbook. With her limited teaching experience at the time, this classroom culture was probably the most volatile with nobody in the room being an expert in English language pedagogy or classroom management.

John's and Dionne's experiences differ from Sophie's in that their host institutions assumed that they had greater teaching experience upon hiring. The university classroom cultures also differ from the K-12 classroom cultures because the most stressful part of Japanese and Korean education, the university entrance exams, are over. In this sense, the university classroom has more experienced teachers with more independent students. However, John's and Dionne's backgrounds demonstrate about a decade's difference in English language teaching experience.

This section also has shown that, although not as a high priority as the national and host institution cultures, most of the participants showed that they adjusted to the classroom culture. It also has shown that the co-teachers played an important role in this adjustment for Luke and Dionne. This study suggests that co-teachers may have an

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influential, mostly positive, role in helping sojourning ELTs adjust to the classroom culture, but not every English language teaching school or program pairs up sojourning ELTs with local teachers.

Adjusting to the Professional-Academic Culture

Professional-academic cultures are best known by most sojourning ELTs through professional teaching organizations at the national and international levels. Examples of national organizations are the Japan Association of Language Teachers (JALT), the Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET), the Korea Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (KOTESOL), and the Applied Linguistics Association of Korea (ALAK). Examples of international organizations are the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) International Association, the International Association of Teaching English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL), and Asia TEFL. There are smaller professional-academic cultures, such as the JET Program's various alumni programs throughout Japan and the world. The professional-academic cultures are also represented by the MA-TESOL programs that John, Sophie, and Dionne attended while teaching English in their respective countries. Most of this section highlights John's participation in various professional development organizations.

As mentioned earlier, John is probably the most successfully adjusted participant in this study. He has lived in Japan for about thirteen years and has a family and a self-defined comfortable English teaching position at a Japanese university, where he claims to be "spoiled." These features alone make him stand out among the other participants in this study. Additionally, his blog data differs considerably from the others in that the

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majority of his blog posts are about professional development. Most of his professional development posts are about attending and participating in professional English teaching conferences in Japan and East Asia, reviewing English language learning books, reviewing education technology, and reflecting on teaching and learning languages. Since he started blogging regularly about nine years after arriving to Japan, he has written 149 posts about professional development out of 198 total posts (75.3 percent). With about three-fourths of his blog dedicated to providing evidence of his professional development, it suggests that his identity as a professional English language teacher is important enough to share with the public. It also suggests that his professional development is important for him to continue his adjustment to the professional-academic culture in Japan and, to a lesser extent, East Asia. John has not attended conferences outside of East Asia.

Of all the participants in this study, John is the only one with an ample amount of evidence participating in the professional-academic part of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994). Dionne comes in a distant second as she had earned her master's degree in TESOL after this study's interviews concluded. In addition, she participated in professional development activities hosted by EPIK when she worked for them. Sophie also earned her master's degree in TESOL shortly before Dionne earned hers. Unlike Dionne, Sophie expressed intensions to attend professional English language teaching conferences. Dionne stated that her university provided the professional development she needed for her position in house.

Both Sophie and Dionne received their master's degrees from online programs offered from American universities. They did not write or say much about their

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experiences in their respective programs, except that they met some interesting fellow English language teachers. While both Sophie and Dionne were enrolled in their MA programs, their blogging patterns changed. Sophie blogged less often and the gap between posts grew as she approached graduation. Dionne roughly maintained the same frequency of blog posts, but she had fewer and fewer posts in which she wrote anything more than a sentence.

Similar to Dionne's experience with EPIK, Phil and Luke participated in professional development activities hosted by their respective host institutions: the JET Program and GEPIK. Neither of them expanded upon these experiences.

Adjusting to the Other Parts of the Host Culture Complex

This study has found shared patterns in the findings across four of the six components or parts of Holliday's Host Culture Complex model (1994) as shown in Figure 4.

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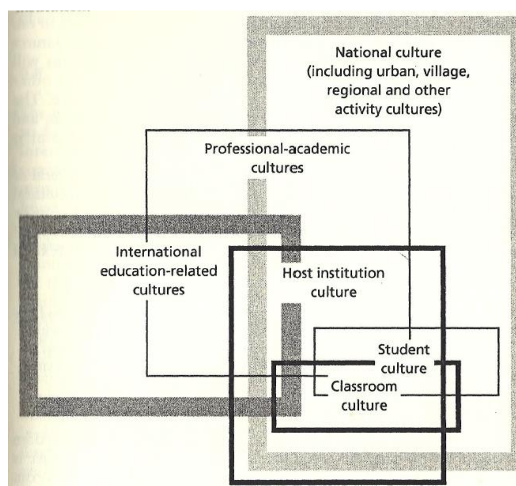
Figure 4 – Host Culture Complex



The four parts that were discussed were the national culture, the host institution culture, the classroom culture, and the professional-academic culture.

The two remaining components of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994) either produced no shared patterns across the multiple cases, or there was no blog or interview data on the specific part. Although all of the participants blogged and talked about their students, only John wrote extensively on how he adjusted his teaching to meet the needs of his individual students. This is tied to the main purpose of his blog, which is for him to share his professional growth and expertise. The other participants wrote about a few outstanding students in terms of academic performance and/or classroom behavior. An important factor for understanding the student culture is understanding the student culture outside of the context of the classroom, which only John wrote about.

This study has found no narratives from the participants about their adjustment to the international education-related culture with the exception of John, who reflects in a

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series of blog posts on the Japanese Ministry of Education's (MEXT) English language policies in his blog. However, John does not discuss how he has or can adjust to this culture. Instead he offers suggestions to change this culture if he "ruled the world," as he puts it in the respective post titles. These posts touch upon his suggestions for changing the JET Program, university English education, high school English education, junior high school English education, and elementary school English education in Japan. These blog posts reveal that John copes with, rather than adjusts to, working in the international education-related culture as every other teacher does in the education system in Japan.

In her interview, Sophie showed some awareness of the policies when she mentioned the overreliance on English test scores in Korea: "I think many Koreans see a good TOEIC score as being equal to speaking English well, so they focus on taking test prep classes, rather than actually practicing their English in a conversation class." Later, in the interview, she stated, "English is held in very high esteem in Korea; however, it is usually measured by the TOEIC, which is, in my opinion, a very inauthentic measure of testing language proficiency. …Koreans need to focus less on studying to [sic] a test and focusing more on using English a s form of communication." Dionne, in her interview, also mentions English test scores in the same manner but to a lesser extent. John, Sophie, and Dionne provide the same manner of adjusting to the international-education culture mainly by acknowledging what they perceive to be as the problem or part of the problem.

This study has found that the international education-related culture part of the Host Culture Complex is not directly applicable to the participants and to answering the research questions. Although the English language policies of their respective countries affect(ed) their jobs, most of the participants have not discussed this issue.

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Amendment to the Host Culture Complex

In this study, a group outside Holliday's Host Culture Complex (1994) had a large influence on the participants' adjustment to the complex, other foreigners in Japan or Korea. Although their foreignness may exclude them from the national culture, their experiences and observations living in Japan and Korea cannot be discounted from contributing to the participants' adjustment to the Host Culture Complex. Additionally, sojourning ELTs need to adjust to the immigrant, sojourning, and tourist cultures to wholly adjust to the Host Culture Complex.

Some of these foreigners were also sojourning ELTs and, therefore, a part of the professional-academic and host institution cultures. Because of this, I argue that this group should be added to the Host Culture Complex. As a result of this amendment, I propose a new revised host culture complex to demonstrate the spheres of influence in the adjustment process of sojourning ELTs.

Revised Host Culture Complex

The revised host culture complex, seen in Figure 5, based on a synthesis of Holliday's model (1994) and this study, has the same components as Holliday's model except for one subtraction and two additions. The student culture has been removed from this model for the primary reason of not being a part of this study. The student culture is an important part of the Host Culture Complex, but it is left out of this model because its placement is contested. Holliday places the student culture entirely within the national culture, which may be true for most students in Japan and Korea. However, there are

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most likely students who are not part of the national culture taking English language classes in Japan and Korea. One example of this is the context of an international university in Japan or Korea with many students who are not Japanese or Korean.

The two additions concern foreign visitors to the host culture. In addition to sojourners, who intend to stay in the host country for a few years, there are two other types of foreigners, tourists and immigrants. As the name suggests, tourists are in the country for less than a year mainly for traveling and sightseeing purposes (Ward et al. 2001). Immigrants are foreigners who have decided to stay in the country for a longer period of time. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, John was the only participant who can be considered an immigrant, but he arrived in Japan as a sojourner. This revised model shows that immigrants are more a part of the national culture, as in John's case, than the other two categories of foreign visitors.

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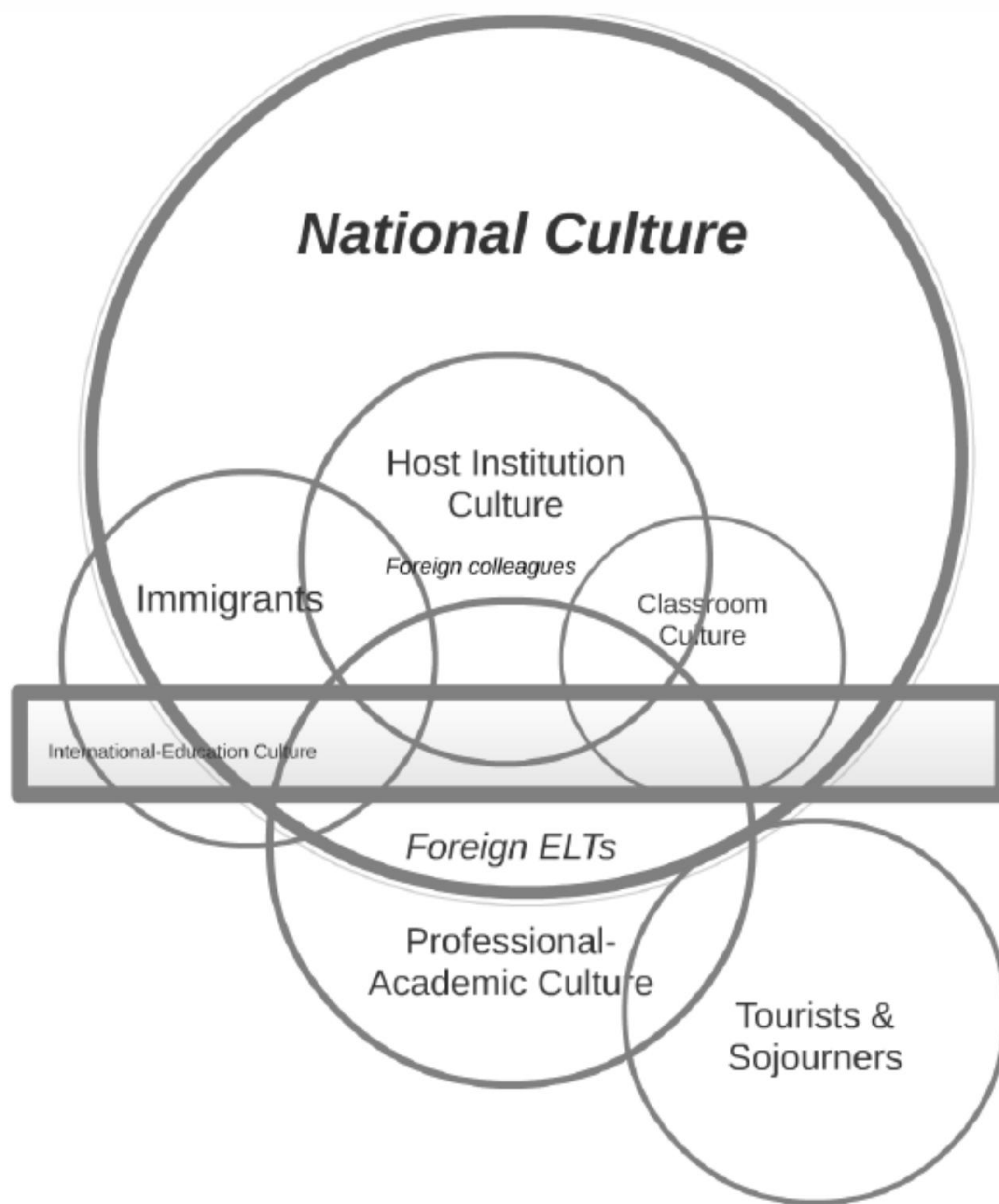
Figure 5 – Revised Host Culture Complex



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Taking a closer look at the immigrants of the revised host culture complex, they overlap with many other parts. Using the example of John, immigrants can be members of the host institution culture (John's university), the professional-academic culture (John's participation in conferences), and the national culture (John's family). Other immigrants may be hypothetically those in fields outside of English language teaching and foreign spouses of citizens of the host country.

Two groups of sojourning ELTs are also included within the parts of the revised host culture complex. The host institution culture includes foreign colleagues. Examples of this are the Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in the JET Program. The professional-academic culture includes other foreign ELTs, who could be immigrants like John or sojourners like Dionne. The professional-academic culture also distinguishes between foreign ELTs who operate fully in the national culture and those who live and/or work outside the national culture of one's host country. Examples of the former group are John's colleagues who he meets at professional teaching conferences in Japan. Examples of the latter group are guest speakers (tourists) at these conferences, including researchers and practitioners from other countries.

Taking a closer look at tourists and sojourners, they overlap less with many other parts when excluding the examples in the host institution (foreign colleagues) and professional-academic cultures (foreign ELTs). Some tourists and sojourners within the professional-academic culture are short-term guests to the host country who hypothetically visit for a conference or a semester while employed elsewhere. Some tourists and sojourners outside the professional-academic culture are migrant workers,

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such as Dionne's missionary friend, and soldiers, such as a Sophie's American friend stationed in Seoul, both discussed in the next section.

A quadrangle rather than a circle represents the international-education culture for two reasons. One is that all the participants did not discuss adjusting directly to this culture. Another is to emphasize how the language policies from this culture directly affect most of the parts of the revised host culture complex, but its cultural relationships may be more unidirectional.

This model also attempts to reduce the exclusivity of cultural membership. Although immigrants like John and sojourning ELTs like the other participants in this study are not legal citizens of the national culture, they all play a beneficial role to varying extents in the classroom, host institution, and national cultures. Through this perspective, one may better understand that immigrant and sojourning ELTs are members of, rather than outsiders to, the Host Culture Complex.

Adjusting to Other Foreigners

All of the participants established some type of relationship with other foreigners in their respective countries. Most of these relationships were social; however, John's relationships, according to his blog, were more professional. His case is unique in that he claims he does not belong to any social groups. When he mentioned other foreigners by name in his blog, they were always professional contacts from his visits to teaching conferences or bloggers who write about English language teaching and learning.

This section looks at four patterns regarding the foreign friends of the participants. The first highlights Luke's unique situation with his foreign friends. The

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second looks at online interactions with foreigners in Japan and Korea through social media. The third looks at other sojourning or migrant ELTs, whereas the fourth looks at other foreign friends of the participants who were not sojourning ELTs. From this point onward in the chapter, the reported findings relate to the new revised host culture complex rather than Holliday's Host Culture Complex (1994).

Luke's Foreign Friends

All of the participants have had foreign friends, but Luke's social life with his foreign friends differs from the rest because it appears that it did not diminish throughout his time in South Korea. His relationship with some of his foreign friends is also unique from the others in that he developed ties with many of them before or upon his arrival in South Korea through social media and blogs.

It is important to report on his alma mater, a large university in the Midwest, which plays a role in connecting their graduates. In the interview he mentioned a part of this process: "Although my university sent about 17 to 20 fellow recent grads along, we all met at the airport in Chicago the night before, then flew together the next day. We departed at the Korean airport." Later in the interview, he went into more detail:

> No, we (graduates from the same large Midwestern university) only met the night before we flew out. However, we all kept in contact for the most part. Many of us became good friends even to this day. I would say there were maybe two or three main friend groups that formed within that larger group. We all helped each other a lot during the first year--we had a Facebook group where we would share things to do, ask questions or just talk. Everyone taught in different schools in terms of elementary, middle and high school. Some were good schools like mine, while other were not so good with little support from colleagues or even hostility in one case. The schools were all public schools within the Gyeonggi-do province, but none of us taught in Seoul proper. Some went to

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> large school; some went to smaller ones. That was all for the first year. About half came back for a second. Everyone stayed at the same school except one who went to Seoul to work at an afterschool program.

Although it does not appear his university had a direct hand in keeping his fellow graduates together, this social network of sojourning ELTs from his alma mater seemed to play a crucial role in supporting each other through their adjustments to the Host Culture Complex.

Luke, along with several of his colleagues from his alma mater, blogged about their first-year experiences living and teaching English in South Korea and eventually published a book combining the content of their blogs. Because of this, Luke's experiences in Korea seemed more like a project than a life experience compared to the other participants of this study. The other participants did not have the experience of coming to their respective countries with many of their colleagues with the same purpose of teaching English in public schools in the same region. I posit that this experience created a social bubble that was sometimes exclusive, excluding outsiders but keeping themselves from individual experiences in Korea.

Phil's and Luke's experiences were similar in many ways as pointed out earlier, but their biggest difference was that Luke's social life with a group of foreign friends with similar backgrounds played a larger role in his adjustment to living and teaching English in his respective country. Compared to Luke's blog and interviews, Phil did not indicate having as many colleagues to turn to, and so his adjustment process was more of his own than shared. In this sense, Luke was part of a team or cohort of sojourning ELTs with backgrounds shared in his home state. Phil, on the other hand, was part of the JET Program that had a more diverse and independent group of sojourning ELTs.

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I posit that Luke's adjustment process was both helped and hindered by his tighter social group of foreign friends. His adjustment process was helped in the sense that he had colleagues from his home state that could understand what he was going through at the time since they all arrived at the same time. However, his adjustment process was hindered because he was not completely immersed into the national culture as his social group of foreign friends prevented this outside of the host institution culture.

Compared to the other participants in this study, Luke's life in Korea seemed to draw a cultural division between work and play. At work, he was the only foreigner in his school all day. None of the other participants had to experience staying at one school all day as the only foreigner. In contrast, much of Luke's social life outside of the school, as reported in his blog, consisted mainly of foreigners or non-Koreans. This pattern was shared during the honeymoon period for most of the participants; however, Luke continued this pattern of socializing with mainly non-Koreans throughout his time in Korea.

When analyzing Luke's relationships with Koreans and non-Koreans, he had the clearest division of social roles, in which he socialized with Koreans mainly in the context of teaching English and with non-Koreans mainly in the context of free time. The biggest exception to this pattern would be his Korean girlfriend, whom, as mentioned earlier, Luke did not discuss much in neither his blog or interviews. His desire to keep his romantic relationship private is, but there is also limited evidence of individual work-free social life with other Koreans. In the blog, his work-free social life with other Koreans is always mentioned with a group of foreigners.

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In the interview, he briefly discusses his relationship with Korean friends: “I have some Korean friends, both young and older. I'm happy with my social life with Korean people, but there is always room for improvement. Yes, I have found it easier. Now, I don't have to worry about making some major cultural taboo when meeting new Korean people.” This quote shows that Luke is only somewhat satisfied with his adjustment process to the national culture. He knew enough then to avoid creating major cultural faux pas, but he admits there is room for improvement. The ambiguity of this quote shows that he was at neither extreme of the adjustment spectrum.

Compared to the other participants, Luke’s interview and blog data did not reveal enough epiphanies or aha moments when learning about the national culture. However, in contrast, he had more opportunities than the others in terms of learning the host institution and classroom cultures. Before learning about his reasons for leaving the country, I was ready to posit that his little evidence of adjusting to the national culture may indicate that he could have failed to adjust to Korean culture, therefore causing his departure. However, this was not the case.

Social Media

John’s blog data shows that even the most socially isolated can maintain some degree of relationship with other foreigners in Japan or Korea through social media. The mere fact that the participants were bloggers to varying degrees shows they have all joined some type of online community. The best example of a well-established online community of foreigners in Japan comes from Phil, when he describes a group known as J-Bloggers, with J standing for Japan.

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There is little evidence in Phil's blog that he met many of his J-blogger colleagues in person, but there is a lot of evidence that he has communicated extensively with some members of this group. In fact, a few J-bloggers wrote a few posts on his blog, and he also posted on other blogs. Many of his references to J-bloggers are about how they have helped him better understand Japanese culture. Although some of these J-bloggers share their ELT experiences, all of Phil's references to this group were solely about the national culture.

Sophie is the other participant who showed more evidence of online rather than face-to-face relationships with fellow bloggers. She wrote of being inspired by another blogger who was providing helpful advice and suggestions to those who believed that teaching English in Korea was a bad experience. She also wrote of how a fellow blogger helped promote her to the point where she was invited to be a guest on a Korean radio program.

Luke, Dionne, and John had more face-to-face contact with their online acquaintances. Luke used social media in two stages, first in learning about teaching English in Korea before he left the United States and, second, in sharing his experiences with his colleagues from his home state and university that traveled with him to Korea to teach English. Dionne used social media mainly to organize offline meetings with her friends. And John used social media to share his conference presentations and to promote his colleagues who also shared their presentations.

To conclude, social media, in various ways, helped connect the participants with other foreigners, who directly or indirectly helped them adjust to the Host Culture Complex.

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Other Sojourning or Migrant ELTs

The participants who taught in the government-sponsored English language programs not only had the benefit of working with co-teachers, some of who helped them with their adjustment process, but they also had the benefit of having organized groups of fellow sojourning ELTs.

Phil and Dionne provide good examples of how their respective host institutions' orientations helped some ELTs get together. In Phil's case, his predecessor from the JET Program was still in Japan. He was able to help Phil adjust during his first few weeks, and he also introduced him to his own social group. In Dionne's case, she was the leader of EPIK group 8, which she helped coordinate through Facebook. They spent a lot of time together during their orientation and then maintained contact on Facebook. This is evidence of how the host institution participated in enabling socializing during the early transition (honeymoon) period.

When she became a teacher at the local university, Dionne befriended many of the foreign teachers there. Because she has been there for less than a year, she admits to not knowing any of them very well because they "had their good boy and good girl face[s] on" to keep their jobs. She believes that in two years, she will get to know them better.

Many of Luke's colleagues from his home state and university were also teaching in GEPIK, the provincial government-sponsored English language program near Seoul. Although he did not mention any special orientation programs, he kept close to this group of foreigners throughout his time in Korea.

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Foreigners outside the ELT Profession

All three of the participants in Korea had non-Korean friends that helped them adjust to living in Korea. In her blog, Sophie mentioned that one of her best foreign friends, a US soldier stationed in Seoul, had always been a "part" of Korea for her. In Luke's blog, he wrote about joining a network of foreigners in his city where he lived. On most Thursdays, they met up with Koreans, who were practicing their English, and went out to eat. From this group, he formed what he called strong friendships. Luke's and Sophie's groups of foreign friends differed in that Sophie eventually decreased her socializing time with foreign friends to spend more time with her fiancé and her graduate studies, thus following similarly the pattern of John, who is the least social of the participants.

As for the other participant in Korea, Dionne had befriended English language teachers in other programs, one in an English village and another as missionary. In the interview she described how both of these friends have helped her learn about their respective English language programs.

These last two sections have shown that relationships with other foreigners have helped these sojourning ELTs adjust. Even though they are not Japanese or Korean, they are, as Sophie put it, part of their experience abroad. Many of these relationships provide the participants opportunities to share their adjustment with others who have also gone through a similar process even though some of them were not teaching English in their respective countries.

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Leaving Japan and Korea

Before coming to the conclusion in this chapter, it is important to discuss one more type of end to the adjustment process concerning two sojourning ELTs in this study. Both Phil and Luke provided rationales for leaving their respective countries. This section explores the extent to which this departure could be interpreted as a failure to adjust to the Host Culture Complex. During the time of the interviews, Phil had already left Japan and Luke reported that he intended to leave Korea when he finished his yearly contract. Because of this, Phil is the only participant to have an endpoint to his adjustment process in Japan.

It can be argued that there is no end to the adjustment process if one chooses not to leave the host country, like in the case of John. The cases of Phil and John provide a nice contrast of the two possible end points of adjusting to the Japanese Host Culture Complex. Phil's adjustment process hypothetically ended when he left Japan, and John's adjustment process hypothetically ended when he came to the realization that Japan was his home, living with a family and teaching English at a university where he felt "spoiled."

The purpose of this section is not to argue the arbitrary cut points of the adjustment process, but to interpret the departure or plan for departure as a success or failure to adjust. It is likely that the reason for departure is neither a success nor a failure. Phil's and Luke's narratives should shed light onto these interpretations.

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Phil's Departure

According to his blog, Phil departed Japan twice. The first time took place a little over a year before the interview and the second time took place just a few months before the interview. The reason for Phil's first departure was that he had completed his third annual contract with the JET Program. The end of his contract first became evident when he wrote seven blog posts specifically for his successor over the last six months. His first departure from Japan became most evident in a post titled "Here I am," in which he reports being back in the United States. The post itself does not indicate that he left Japan permanently although he alluded to completing his contract with the JET Program.

Phil's blog continued to be about his experiences in Japan even though he was not there. Blog data collection ended once it became clear that, when he returned to Japan, he was not there as a sojourning ELT. In the interview, when asked why he decided to leave Japan, he answered, "Being an ALT isn't a career path, and I decided that I didn't want to be a teacher over the long term. I had some personal reasons, too, perhaps, but mainly I wanted to return to the U.S. to find a more permanent job." In this quote, it appears that his reasons for leaving had little to do with his adjustment to living in Japan. He came to the end of his contract and wanted to pursue a career other than teaching. After all, as indicated earlier, he did not come to Japan to pursue a career in teaching. His main purpose was to further his Japanese studies and to find work in Japan, not necessarily a teaching job. Earlier in the interview, he mentioned, "If I could work in Japan in another capacity, for example for an American company or as a translator, I think I may like to live there again." In this regard, it was in Phil's best interests to adjust to the national culture and not necessarily the classroom or host institution cultures, the

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latter of which served as a means to an end, as John mentioned when he joined the JET Program.

Luke's Planned Departure

Near the end of the interview, which occurred at the end of his second year-long contract with GEPIK, Luke mentioned feeling a burned out from teaching English at his middle school:

> I feel burnt out and somewhat frustrated with it. This year I had bigger classes of forty, with the students all being in their homerooms. This means they are very comfortable with each other, so keeping them focused on the lesson rather than talking amongst themselves requires much more energy. However, as I type this, I'm in my final week of teaching so I feel ok about everything. The light at the end of the tunnel, I suppose.

At first, I interpreted this as fatigue at the end of a yearlong teaching contract and I assumed that he would remain in Korea because he briefly mentioned staying for one more year earlier in the interview. Because I was uncertain of this interpretation, I asked Luke if his current feeling had altered his decision to stay for another year.

> Yes, it has definitely impacted this plan. My plan is to go home for a few months and see if my feeling of being burnt out really does stem from the job. I will see how I feel about coming back when I am home. If the idea of teaching another year does not seem impossible to me, I will come back. If I wasn't feeling a little tired of the job, I would most likely have just continued with another school right away and not go home for a few months.

Luke's answer helped show that he had put a lot of thought into this decision. It also shows that he places his major struggles with adjusting to the Host Culture Complex

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within the classroom and the host institution cultures, specifically in that he was open to the idea of teaching at another school at one point.

A quick follow-up interview with Luke five months after the first interviews confirmed that Luke did as he had planned. He stated that, shortly after the last interview, he left his job and Korea, and his blog reflects this as he has not posted anything since he left South Korea. However, he stated that he plans to return to South Korea later in 2014. He did not specify if he was going back to the same school or the same program, GEPIK.

Leaving the Host Culture Complex

Both Phil and Luke have left their respective host countries for roughly the same reason: their teaching contract was up. Phil taught in the JET Program for three years whereas Luke taught for GEPIK for two years. These two participants were also similar in that they intended to return to their respective countries after a short break.

One major difference between these two participants is that Phil did not intend to teach English in Japan upon his return. His blog and interview data supported this sentiment as he was more interested in learning the Japanese language and culture. Even though Luke was also interested in learning the Korean language and culture, he wrote more extensively about his growth and development as an English language teacher at his middle school.

In terms of adjustment, Luke was the only participant who admitted that he may not be able to adjust to the demands of the host institution culture. This is the clearest

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answer to the third secondary research question as Luke attributed the demands of his school and classroom to be his difficulties in adjusting to the Host Culture Complex.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has shown many similarities among and differences between the adjustment process of five sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea in the Host Culture Complex. All of them arrived to their respective country with English language teaching as a means to an end, which differed among the participants from experiencing life in Japan to using South Korea as a springboard to travel the world. Four of the five participants found their local co-teachers to be cultural informants for the classroom, host institution, and national cultures. The relationships they built with their co-teachers helped some of them better understand the host culture. During their adjustment to the host culture, many of them found significant others, some of who were pivotal in making the decision to stay longer in the host country. Three of the five sojourning ELTs pursued their MA in TESOL while they were teaching in their respective countries. This may signify their decision to stay longer in the ELT profession. Two of these three participants with graduate degrees are also two that have married their significant others, thus signifying a longer commitment to teaching English in their respective host countries.

A few themes emerged from single case analysis that answered the research questions concerning internal and external factors that the participants attribute to their successes and difficulties in adjusting to the Host Culture Complex. Dionne attributes her Christian faith and her involvement in the Christian community in Korea to her

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successes in adjusting to the Host Culture Complex. John demonstrates that his commitment to professional development may have a reciprocal relationship with his adjustment to teaching English in Japan. Luke's social group, composed mostly of people from his home state and university, has shown to attribute both to his success and difficulties in adjusting to living in Korea. Phil's departure and Luke's planned departure from their respective host countries demonstrates that leaving one's job may and may not be interpreted as a failure to adjust to all or parts of the Host Culture Complex.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Major patterns have emerged from the multiple case study of sojourning English language teachers (ELTs) and their adjustment process in Japan and South Korea. The patterns are discussed in this chapter in a way to answer all the research questions of this study. As the secondary research questions support the primary research question, which is "In what ways do sojourning ELTs adjust and fail to adjust to the Host Culture Complex?" the secondary questions are answered first and the answer to the primary question serves as the conclusion to this section of the chapter.

Shared Variations of Adjustment

The first secondary question asked, "What variations of adjustment, if any, do the sojourning ELTs share?" This study has shown that the sojourning ELTs shared many variations, which were organized around the new revised host culture complex model. The blog and interview data has shown that most variations of adjustment that the participants shared were in the national and host institution cultures. There were fewer shared narratives about adjusting to the classroom and professional-academic cultures. And there were no shared narratives about adjusting to the international education-related cultures.

In the participants' narratives about adjusting to the Japanese and Korean national cultures, four of them described how their co-teachers and significant others have helped

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them socialize and navigate through the cultural norms of the respective countries. Phil, John, and Luke showed similar variations of depending on their co-teachers as their primary cultural informants first, before transitioning to finding their girlfriends (Phil and Luke) and wife (John) to be their primary cultural informant. Although Sophie did not work with any co-teachers, she showed a pattern of transitioning by independently navigating through Korean culture, before finding her fiancée who helped her better understand the culture.

One of the two variations of adjustment that all participants shared in relation to the national culture was that they all perceived teaching the English language as a means to an end, which was living abroad and experiencing a different culture. In this sense, the national culture was more important for them than any of the other cultures of the Host Culture Complex. The second variation of adjustment that all participants shared in relation to the national culture was that their first few months had different social patterns compared to the rest of their time. Part of this can be explained by trying to find the appropriate social group or individual to develop a routine with. Another part can be explained by a new found sense of independence as many of them arrived to Japan and Korea straight from college or from their first job out of college.

As for shared variations of adjustment to the host institution cultures, four of the five participants also showed that their relationships with their co-teachers were important for learning how to teach, behave, and act according to the schools' rules and social norms. In contrast, this study has shown that adjusting to private language schools and to higher education programs involves more independence and responsibility as the systems did not have co-teachers to learn from and work with. Many of the variations of

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adjustment to the host institution cultures can be extended to the classroom cultures, where the participants were in the classroom either with or without a co-teacher.

As for adjusting to the professional-academic cultures, three of the five participants pursued their master's degrees in TESOL in their second or third year of teaching English in Japan or Korea. This shows a change in mindset from their first few months of socializing and perceiving English language teaching as a means to an end towards a mindset towards professional growth and identifying more as an English language teacher. John and Sophie in particular have shown this growth in either participating or intending to participate in professional teaching organizations.

Taking a broader look at the adjustment process of the participants over time, John and Sophie have taken the fastest approach from socializing and enjoying the newness of being abroad to developing themselves professionally as English language teachers. Phil and Luke both have left their respective countries with Luke considering to return to Korea, but neither of them were seriously considering more professional development like John and Sophie. Dionne's adjustment process lies in the middle of these four as she just earned her MA in TESOL and just started university job at the end of the data collection process.

Describing Adjustment

The second secondary research question asks, "How do sojourning ELTs describe their adjustments to the Host Culture Complex?" All participants described their adjustments through their blogs and through their interviews. Because of their preferred blogging and/or writing style or themes, they focused on different elements of their

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adjustment. Most of Phil's blog described his adjustments to the national culture, writing about his experiences outside the host institution and classroom cultures. In contrast, John's blog described his adjustments to the professional-academic cultures, writing about his presentations or the presentations he attended at various professional teaching conferences. Luke's blog posts were the most detailed about adjustment to his host institution culture as he painted a very vivid and detailed portrait of teaching English at his middle school. Sophie's posts reflected the change in her adjustment as described in the previous section as she transformed from an independent explorer of Seoul, South Korea to an English language teacher pursuing her master's degree in TESOL. Dionne's blogs posts, which were fewer compared to the other participants, described her experiences with her students or friends in Korea. However, the dominant theme of her blog described her faith and how it influenced her adjustments to the Host Culture Complex.

In the interviews, John's and Sophie's narratives were the most consistent with their blogs. Phil described his adjustments to the host culture and classroom culture in more detailed, but he emphasized that he was not committed to teaching English as a career. The timing of Luke's interviews colored his descriptions as he was feeling burned out from his job. Therefore, Luke's interview narratives showed struggles in his adjustment whereas his blog postings, all of which preceded the interviews, showed more successes. Dionne stressed how her faith enabled her adjustment process in Korea to be stable and positive throughout most of her time there.

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External and Internal Factors

The third secondary questions asks, "What external factors and internal or personal factors, if any, do sojourning ELTs attribute to their adjustment to the Host Culture Complex?" The findings highlight almost entirely external factors as depicted in the new revised host culture complex. All of the participants attributed the help from friends, family, online communities, and colleagues from work to their adjustment. Many of the people who have helped them overlap in terms of descriptors. For example, Sophie's fiancée can be considered a friend and family. Dionne befriended some of her colleagues from work. Many of the online communities were designed for sojourning ELTs in a particular host institution, such as the JET Program. Social networks like Facebook are online communities where it is possible for friends, family, and colleagues from work all to meet. Luke mentioned that he found blogs and online communities that helped him decide to teach English in Korea. The important role of social media and online communities cannot be overlooked, especially in a study that looks at the adjustment process of sojourners.

In terms of internal or personal factors, the participants did not attribute much of these to their adjustment. Although satisfied with his adjustment process, John stated that his introversion helped navigate his path towards an emphasis on professional development and a private family life in Japan. Outside of these two domains, he does not have nor does he want a social life, which some may perceive as a failure to adjust.

Dionne attributes her faith to her self-described stable and positive adjustment to living and teaching in Korea. I consider this an internal factor in this regard because faith

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is something that she has. The faith is hers. It can also be considered an external factor because she perceives God and the Christian community as helping with her adjustment process. In this sense, it is a matter of perspective depending on the religious beliefs of the reader.

Ways of Adjusting and Failing to Adjust

The answers to the secondary questions have, for the most part, answered the primary question, which is "In what ways do sojourning ELTs adjust and fail to adjust to the Host Culture Complex?" Succinctly, the participants in this study have adjusted and failed to adjust through the relationships they have encountered and developed in the new revised host culture complex, which includes tourists, other sojourners, and migrants to the host country. The relationships with co-teachers, significant others, fellow sojourning ELTs, other foreigners, and online communities have helped the five sojourning ELTs of this study adjust by teaching them more about the host culture. In this sense, it is important to rethink the terms adjustment and cultural learning to determine how to better use these terms when referring to the experiences of sojourning ELTs.

Cultural Learning and Adjustment

The experiences of the participants provide evidence supporting cultural learning through relationships with various people in different parts of the Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994). As defined previously in Chapter 2, "Cultural learning is the process whereby sojourners acquire culturally relevant social knowledge and skills in order to survive and thrive in their new society" (Ward et al. 2001, p. 51).

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The strongest pattern has revealed the relationship between sojourning ELTs and their co-teachers to be the most helpful for the sojourners' cultural learning. However, these relationships were only found in government-sponsored English language programs, such as the JET Program in Japan and EPIK in South Korea. Another strong pattern revealed that the participants' relationships with their significant others marked a shift in their adjustment patterns in one or more parts of the Host Culture Complex.

Social psychologists who are interested in investigating cultural learning can approach their study by looking at one or more of the following phenomena: the social interaction between sojourner and host nationals, the social psychology of a particular cross-cultural encounter, the differences in how people communicate, the social relations in multicultural societies, and cross-cultural transition and social difficulty (Ward et al. 2001, p. 51). Although the first three are of interest in this present study, it is the latter phenomenon, more popularly known as culture shock theory, which was seen as most important by the primary investigator at the onset of this study. The data has revealed a strong relationship between the first phenomena, the social interaction between the sojourner and host nationals, and the latter phenomenon, cross-cultural transition and social difficulty. In this sense, I suggest that the adjustment process of sojourners should be rethought in terms of their cultural learning.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant in its contribution to understanding the variations of the sojourning English language teacher's experience. Researching this population has potential to improve the transition process for prospective English language teachers

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(ELTs) who wish to live and teach abroad, to benefit second language teacher education programs, and to enhance professional learning networks for sojourning English language teachers.

For prospective ELTs who wish to live and teach abroad, this study shows that one of the greatest benefits to working in a government-sponsored English teaching program, such as the JET Program in Japan and EPIK in South Korea, is the important role of the local co-teacher, who may explicitly or implicitly help the sojourning ELT adjust to the classroom culture, the host institution culture, and the national culture. The local co-teacher is in the best position to help the sojourning ELT identify praxis, which Johnson (2006) describes as occurring when pedagogical theories fit the teaching contexts. Sojourning ELTs in other English language teaching programs may find themselves at a disadvantage without a local co-teacher who may expedite their process of praxis development.

This study also helps prospective ELTs who wish to live and teach abroad learn that socialization within and beyond the host institution is important for adjusting to and learning about the Host Culture Complex. Most of the participants' most social periods were during their first few months. The connections many of them made during this period were helpful in feeling comfortable with living and teaching abroad. Secondly, this study has shown that the social life of the five ELTs in Japan and South Korea played a significant role in their satisfaction of living and teaching. Furthermore, strong relationships seemed to keep them in the Host Culture Complex longer than some of them had planned. Therefore, strong relationships seem to be the key to living and teaching in Japan and South Korea.

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For second language teacher education programs, this study helps expand the sociocultural knowledge base of TESOL teacher education. For example, this study addresses Dogancay-Aktuna's concern (2006) that second language teacher education (SLTE) programs have given insufficient attention to the sociocultural variables language teachers face. The multiple case studies provide direct evidence of how the local teaching and living contexts have affected their self-identified successes and difficulties abroad. Secondly, this study helps provide evidence of a type of reflective teaching, called culturally responsive teaching, in which pre-service and in-service teachers question their cultural identity and sensitivity. In a sense, this study is answering the calls of Johnson (2006) and Smolcic (2011) for the inclusion of culturally responsive teaching in SLTE by providing these multiple cases as models.

Many studies (Barnes & Lock, 2010; Chen & Cheng, 2010; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Gingerich, 2004; Rao, 2010; Shi, 2009; Slethaug, 2007) before this one have addressed the importance of developing sociocultural knowledge before and during teaching English abroad. Several of these studies (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Gingerich, 2004; Shi, 2009) suggested practical implications for second language teacher education programs to help develop this type of pedagogical knowledge. This study reiterates the findings from all these other studies that have shown that sociocultural knowledge helps in the adjustment process of sojourning ELTs.

Lastly, this study is also significant in that it provides evidence of the important role of social media for sojourning ELTs. The blogs and social networks of these participants have kept each of them respectively connected to their home and to other

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sojourning ELTs. These types of social media have shown to be essential resources for their cultural learning and adjustment to the host cultural complex.

Implications of the Study

Implications for Sojourning ELTs

As this is a qualitative study, it makes no claims that the findings are generalizable to the population of sojourning English language teachers. It also makes no claims that the findings are generalizable to sojourning English language teachers specifically in Japan and South Korea. The findings are unique to each participant; however, shared patterns may be transferred to sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea.

The first implication is that sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea value certain relationships with people within and adjacent to the Host Culture Complex to enhance their cultural learning, which is a phenomenon that runs parallel to their adjustment. Cultural learning occurs when someone, like a local co-teacher or a significant other from the host culture, confirms and/or refutes a sojourning ELT's assumption about a certain feature of the Host Culture Complex. This demonstrates how relationships with people from the host culture are essential in establishing and building the sojourning ELT sociocultural knowledge base. As this sociocultural knowledge base grows through the confirmation or refutation of their assumptions their feelings of successful adjustment increases.

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Related to the first implication is the second implication, which is that sojourning ELTs express a need to socialize with members of the Host Culture Complex during the early transition period, which is roughly the first few months after arriving in the host country. Sojourning ELTs experiment with socializing with different sets of people, such as local co-teachers, fellow sojourning ELTs in their English language program, administrators from their schools, other people from their country of origin who may or may not be ELTs, and members of special interest groups or classes. It is implied that the purpose of this socialization is for coping and for setting up a new lifestyle that is routinized around the people the sojourner becomes better acquainted with. It is furthermore implied that the most beneficial relationships, in terms of cultural learning and adjustment, are with local co-teachers during the early transition phase.

A third implication for sojourning ELTs is that successfully adjusting to living in Japan and South Korea overrides the importance of successfully teaching English in Japan and South Korea. Even if a sojourning ELT is unhappy with the current teaching situation, he or she will likely continue to live and teach in Japan and South Korea. Furthermore, this implies that Japanese and South Korean English language programs generally, but not always nor specifically, provide sojourning ELTs with a relatively comfortable lifestyle.

In addition to findings of shared patterns across the cases, the unique single case findings also provide implications about the variability of factors that help sojourning ELTs adjust to their life and work in Japan and South Korea. Dionne's case implies that South Korea provides Christian ELTs with a lifestyle that may be compatible to the Christian lifestyle they had in their home countries. John's case implies that Japan

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provides ELTs plenty of opportunities for professional growth and development. Luke's case implies that one can be well-connected with colleagues and acquaintances, both online and face-to-face, from one's home state or region.

Implications for Professional Development

One of the more illuminating implications is that blogs and social networks, such as Facebook and Twitter, are valuable tools for learning about sojourning ELTs. Not only did the primary investigator of this study find and select participants through social media, but the participants themselves had learned about teaching in Japan and South Korea the same way. As an unintended finding of this study, social media has shown to help sojourning ELTs in areas where textbooks, second language teacher education programs, and professional teaching organizations have traditionally helped. Most of the participants asked questions of their friends, followers, and groups on social media about the host culture or of other sojourning ELTs about teaching English.

Second language teacher education (SLTE) programs may find instructional value in engaging in social media groups or conversations designed for or by sojourning ELTs. One benefit is that they may provide authentic narratives concerning the sociocultural variables language teachers face when teaching abroad, thus addresses one of Karen E. Johnson's challenges for SLTE programs to expand the sociocultural knowledge base of their students.

Some sojourning ELT blogs may also provide evidence of the praxis between pedagogical theories and the teaching contexts overseas. In a traditional SLTE classroom, it may be difficult for pre-service ELTs to imagine the teaching contexts

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outside their own countries. Social media, and blogs in particular, provide a variety of these teaching contexts. As this study has shown, one blog may provide a narrative of an experienced sojourning ELT overtly discussing praxis whereas another blog may show a newcomer dealing with the challenges of adjusting to the Host Culture Complex. Since the advent of blogs and social media, the number and variety of sojourning ELTs' narratives online continues to grow.

In addition to providing examples of the local teaching contexts, some sojourning ELT blogs also provide examples of reflective practice, which helps illustrate the process of developing a professional and cultural identity. As the blogs in this study have shown, professional identity develops as the blogger discusses the successes and challenges of teaching English. Cultural identity develops as the blogger discusses the successes and challenges of adjusting to the Host Cultural Complex. Because some bloggers engage their followers and friends with their reflections, they provide SLTE programs and their students an opportunity to inquire about the development of their professional and cultural processes.

The interactive nature of social media provides SLTE programs the opportunity to connect and engage with current sojourning ELTs, some of whom may be alumni. Social media provides SLTE programs an opportunity to create and grow online communities of research and practice. Pre-service teachers can engage in-service teachers in a variety of manners, formally or informally, publicly or privately, curiously or critically, intensively or superficially, depending on the communication preferences or styles of the members involved. The degree to which to incorporate social media, particularly those of sojourning ELTs, into a SLTE program seems boundless at this time.

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Teaching English for Glocalized Communication

Through the lens of "othering," the TESOL-NCATE (National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education) standards can be perceived as what Holliday calls the "culturally problematic other" (2005, p. 19), which can be interpreted as the cultures of foreign students are the cause of many problems in the classroom, and it is the role of the native speaker to make them like assimilate to the host country's culture. Lin, Wang, Akamatsu, and Riazi (2002) have called for reform in TESOL to destabilize the native speaker and non-native speaker dichotomy, giving much attention to the concept of "othering," which raises the awareness of differences between people and groups of people. One way that the authors view "othering" is that it creates a hierarchy of English speakers and second language teachers with native speakers at the top. They propose that the TESOL profession be reconfigured as TEGCOM, Teaching English for Glocalized Communication, with three central research goals, all of which this paper strives to meet: 1) "a deeper understanding of diverse local pedagogical practices and beliefs in their socialcultural situatedness; 2) a deeper understanding of issues of agency, identity, ownership, appropriation, resistance, and English language learning, teaching, and use in diverse sociocultural contexts; and 3) a deeper understanding of various cross-cultural encounters in diverse sociocultural settings" (p. 218).

Recommendations for Further Research

This project was intended to be a descriptive study exploring the adjustment process or cultural learning of sojourning English language teachers in Japan and South

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Korea. It was limited to only five participants with hundreds of pages of blog data and many hours of interview data. The study was also limited in its analysis using one theory, cultural learning tied to the Host Culture Complex model (Holliday, 1994), out of many intercultural competence theories. This section makes recommendations based on the limited number of participants followed by the limitations enforced in the analysis. The section ends by addressing the intersections of multiple disciplines in this study by making recommendations for second language education, communication studies, and acculturation psychology.

Limitations on Participants

There are at least 38,000 sojourning English language teachers (ELTs) in Japan and South Korea. This study does not claim that its five participants are representative of the tens of thousands of sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea nor does it claim that the findings are generalizable. However some patterns may be transferrable, and one way to discover if they are transferrable is by investigating these same patterns in other sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea.

Future studies should investigate these patterns qualitatively or quantitatively with the other sojourning ELTs. Future qualitative studies could more directly target the variations in adjustment found in this study with other sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea to wholly or partially refute or support this study's conclusions. To quantitatively measure cultural learning in sojourning ELTs, the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (Ward & Kennedy, 1999), which was a longitudinal survey used on international

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students, could be implemented on sojourning ELTs to determine how the patterns related to those found in this current study.

Future studies should investigate the adjustment patterns of sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea who do not come from the United States or England. Four of the five participants of this study were American and the other had English citizenship. One suggestion is to investigate sojourning ELTs from other countries where English is the official or dominant language, such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Another suggestion is to investigate sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea from other countries where citizens may be labeled as non-native speakers, such as from Germany, India, and Egypt.

Future studies should also investigate the adjustment patterns of sojourning ELTs who blog, use other social media, and do not use social media publicly. Investigating blog data is a relatively new phenomenon in this line of research. The primary investigator was not able to find studies that have used this approach before. It is very likely that other (non-blogging) sojourning ELTs had different, contrasting experiences to the participants in this study. This study does not claim or refute that blogging sojourning ELTs' experiences are exclusively different from other sojourning ELTs' experience. However, there is no ground on which to assume similarities and differences across sojourning ELTs categorized by their usage of social media and online communities.

Future studies should also investigate the adjustment patterns of sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea who are not perceived as white or claim to be white. Issues of race and ethnicity in the field of English language teaching did not arise from this study

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as it did in Chen and Cheng's (2009) study of ELTs from South Africa in Taiwan. One suggestion is to specifically target non-white sojourning ELTs to determine if the shared patterns of the participants in this study can be transferred to them. One blogging ELT in Japan, Baye McNeil (http://www.locoinyokohama.com/), comes to mind as he makes his racial background a key point of his adjustment process.

Future studies should investigate the adjustment patterns of sojourning ELTs in other countries and contexts. Although this study suggests that the patterns may be transferrable to sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea, they may or may not be less likely transferrable to sojourning ELTs in other countries.

Lastly, future studies should investigate the similarities and differences of sojourning ELTs and new ELTs in any context. How much of the adjustment process is unique to being a sojourner? How much of the adjustment process is an effect of being a new teacher? Although the national culture is the same, the rest of the Host Culture Complex could be applied to new ELTs anywhere.

Limitations Enforced in Analysis

This current study was limited in time in that it was not designed for a longitudinal analysis of the five participants. The blog data provided evidence of three of the five participants' adjustment from their time of arrival through the time of the interviews. This study found that the first few months after arrival were the most important for coping and socializing in the Host Culture Complex. One recommendation is for a future study to schedule its data collection during this time of early transition. In

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this sense, the investigation is phenomenological and it is recommended that the study follow the research methods and procedures of phenomenological study.

Another restriction of this study's design is that it did not collect data concerning reverse culture shock, although it is regarded as part of the adjustment process (Ting-Toomey, 1999). One of the participants of this study claimed to be going through reverse culture shock and resocialization in the United States during the time of the interviews as he returned to the United States from Japan. This may or may not have influenced the quality of his interview answers. One recommendation is to collect data from the other participants if and when they decide to leave and return to their home country for an extended period of time.

In relation to the previous recommendation, three of the participants are still in their host country. Using the findings of this study, a longitudinal study on those three participants is recommended as they would show different stages of adjustment as they have been in their respective countries for different lengths of time.

Gender is another factor that was not considered in the design of this study. Sophie and Dionne were the only female participants in this study. One research question that could have been included is, "In what ways does gender affect the adjustment process of sojourning ELTs?" A background in gender studies in addition to much of the literature in this study may provide additional insights and suggestions for sojourning ELTs of both genders.

Gender is just one aspect of identity that future studies on sojourning ELTs could investigate. Chapter 2 discussed how identity of sojourning ELTs was previously researched (Chen & Cheng, 2010; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnston, 1999; Johnston et al.

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2005; Kiernan, 2010; Stewart & Miyahara, 2011) through the frameworks of narrative identity, cultural identity, professional identity, and sociocultural identity. It was suggested that the juxtaposition of two or more of these classifications may help better understand teacher identity as a whole. Later in Chapter 2, the concept of identity change was highlighted as it discussed identity as a process and not a product, specifically for those going through culture shock. Future studies should look more in depth at the variations of teacher identity as a process. Perhaps Anderson's classifications of culture shockers (1994) may help provide an appropriate framework that can be applied to the identity change of sojourning ELTs.

Although the restrictions of time played an important role in the design of this current study, the choice of the Host Cultural Complex model (Holliday, 1994) also restricted the study. The Development Intercultural Competence Model (Bennett, 1986) and the Intercultural Maturity Model (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005) are two models that also could have been used to investigate the development of the sojourning ELT's intercultural competence, which can be a signifier for successful adjustment to the target culture. For studies that incorporate Bennett's model (1986), the Intercultural Development Inventory has been used to measure intercultural sensitivity (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003). One recommendation is to measure the intercultural sensitivity of the current participants or other sojourning ELTs to seek a relationship, if any, between intercultural sensitivity and the adjustment process. The purpose of the untested Intercultural Maturity Model (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005) is to assess the intercultural competence of college students. Another recommendation is to identify if

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and when these traits identified in this model emerge in the current participants or other sojourning ELTs.

The interview data from this study covered many areas of adjustment related to the Host Culture Complex over various stages of adjustment, and a few of them were lacking in detailed descriptions to include in the conclusion. One area of insufficient data was the participants' thoughts on the English language policies of their respective host countries and the effect of these policies on the classroom and host institution cultures. This is a part of the international-education culture of the Host Culture Complex. One recommendation is to better investigate the depth and breadth of sojourning ELTs' understandings of these English language policies. If participants have little to no understanding or desire to know the English language policies of their host country, it may help inform the ELT profession to understand why.

The Revised Host Culture Complex

The data analysis of this study revealed a need for Holliday's Host Culture Complex model (1994) to be revised. This section makes several recommendations on how future researchers could use this model as shown in Figure 6. The most urgent recommendation is to further explore the effect or effects of individuals within the newer components, other foreigners in the target culture, on the adjustment process or cultural learning of sojourning ELTs.

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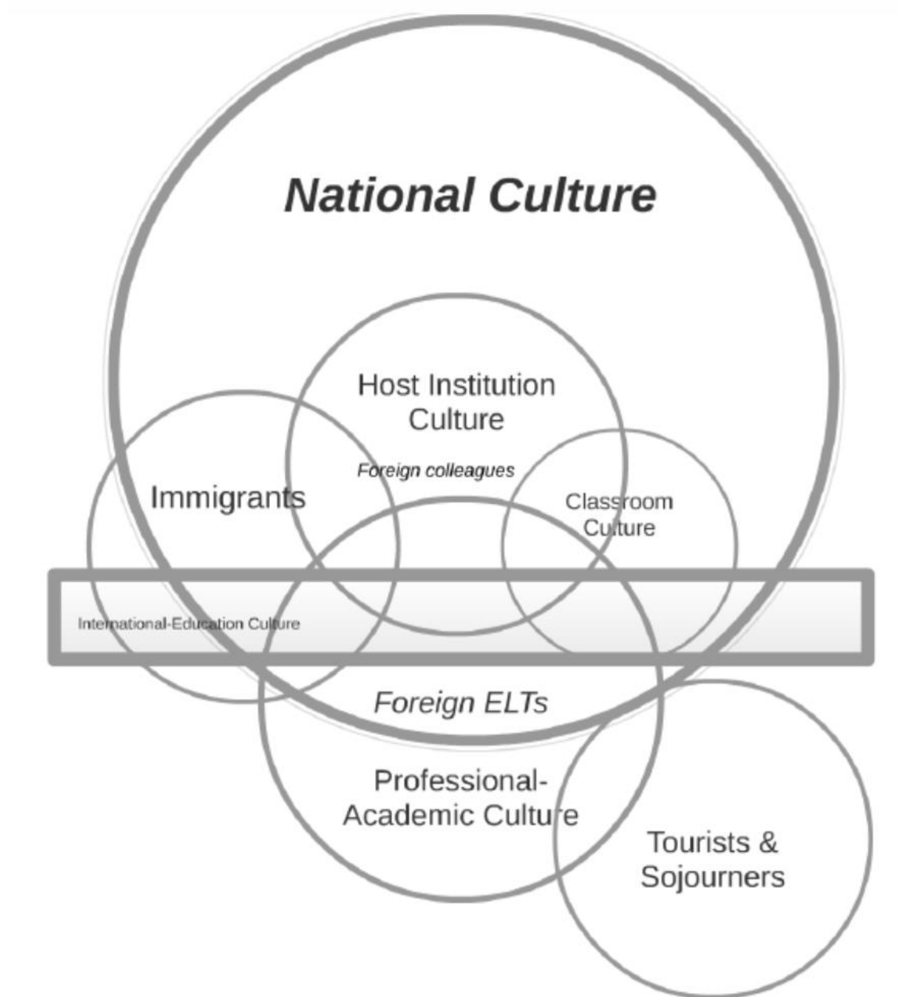
Figure 6 – The Revised Host Culture Complex



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This study has also shown a greater number of findings concerning the adjustment process to the national and host institution cultures. Future studies should be designed for equal or greater emphasis on the other components of the complex. The international-education culture in particular showed little to no findings across the multiple cases. Future studies should investigate this phenomenon further. For example, a future study could inquiry how and when a sojourning ELT becomes aware of the international-education culture, such as the host society's views on English language education and on education in general.

Future studies should also attempt to use the revised host culture complex in quantitative research. For the most part, the size of the circles in Figure 6 are arbitrary. Quantitative methods should be used to determine the size of this model's circles in relation to any number of factors, including each component's contribution to the sojourner's cultural learning and the amount of attention sojourning ELTs give each component.

Recommendations for Other Disciplines

Second Language Education Studies

To align this study closer to second language teacher education, future studies should further explore the relationships within the host institution and the classroom as sojourning ELTs adjust to their new environments. The most important relationship that

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this study identified across the multiple cases was between co-teachers, the local Japanese or Korean teachers and their assistant language teachers in the government-sponsored programs, JET, EPIK, and GEPIK. One suggestion is to investigate how sojourning ELTs' relationships with their co-teachers expand their teacher knowledge base as specified by Schulman (1987) and Freeman and Johnson (1998).

Future studies should also look more specifically at the sojourning ELTs' adjustment within the classroom, particularly answering questions such as "How does one's cultural learning help inform pedagogical decisions in the English language classroom?" Questions such as this one may help inform second language teacher education programs of pedagogy that may or may not be effective for general or specific contexts in Japan, South Korea, and other parts of the world.

Communication Studies

The principle investigator of this study does not claim to be an expert in communication studies. However, several concepts that were explored in this study may benefit from future research conducted by someone with expertise in communication studies. Furthermore, the researcher believes that the field of communication studies would benefit by examining the target population.

The online communities of sojourning ELTs represent one area explored in this study that may benefit from communication studies research. Most of the participants in this study participated to some degree in online communities of sojourning ELTs. One suggestion is to investigate a netnography in which the researcher immerses him or herself into the online community of sojourning ELTs (Kozinets, 2010). The relationship

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between the sojourning ELTs and the information and communication technology (ICT) tools used to establish, maintain, and change the communities may be worth investigating under the emerging field of online community research.

Most of the blogs examined in this study provided hundreds of pages per participant to be analyzed. With this much data, most of it had to be ignored if it did not directly relate to the research questions. One recommendation is to conduct a single case study on one of the participants of this study or another sojourning ELT with a blog and use discourse analysis to focus on the language and communication styles of the blogger and how they relate to their intended or unintended audiences.

Acculturation Psychology

The term "sojourner" emerged from sojourner studies in the field of acculturation psychology. Two populations of sojourners dominate acculturation or culture shock research: international students and expatriate workers (Bochner, 2006; Ting-Toomey, 1999; Ward et al. 2001). Bochner (2006) lists other populations that are gaining attention, such as international civil servants and military personnel, but does not include a category for educators. This study demonstrates that English language teachers or language teachers in general are worthy of investigation given that there may be at least 38,000 sojourning ELTs in Japan and South Korea alone (JET, 2012; Lee, 2010, 2012; Richards, 2009). Future sojourner studies in acculturation psychology should pay more attention to this population of sojourners.

Additionally, this study provides more evidence for a call from acculturation psychology (Berry, 2006; Ward et al. 2001) to investigate the importance of the initial

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transition (or honeymoon) period, most widely known through the U-curve hypothesis and its variants (Lysgaard, 1955; Ting-Toomey, 1999). This study supports the idea that this transition period is the most psychologically powerful period across multiple cases.

This final section on recommendations for future studies demonstrates the multidisciplinary nature of this research project. The final overall recommendation is that findings of this study should not be limited to one particular as it benefits multiple fields.

Final Thoughts

This study has described the variations in adjustment of five sojourning English language teachers in Japan and South Korea through the lens of an investigator who also had been a sojourning ELT in both countries a decade earlier. Back then, it was difficult for prospective sojourning ELTs to learn about the living and teaching contexts abroad. With the advent of social media, it has become easier for pre-service and in-service teachers to learn about them. This study suggests that individuals, who are interested in teaching English abroad, and the second language teacher education programs, who may have these individuals in their classes, engage in social media and online communities of English language teachers to learn more about the local living and teaching contexts. This study has provided a template for those who are more interested about the adjustment process, especially the early transition period, and the network of support sojourning ELTs grow as they continue to adjust to the host culture.

As this study has shown, teaching abroad can be an isolating and lonely experience at times. One reason some sojourning ELTs turn to social media is to connect

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with friends, family, and other teachers who share or have shared similar experiences. Sojourning ELTs who use social media may emotionally and professionally benefit by sharing their experiences, successes, and challenges with prospective teachers and second language teacher programs. Interactions on social media between sojourning ELTs, who can describe the local teaching contexts, and second language teacher education programs, who provide the pedagogical theories, are where praxis occurs. Karen E. Johnson called for such praxis in an article she wrote at the advent of social media in 2006:

> [A]lthough teachers do, in fact, engage in the sort of theorizing captured in the construct of praxis, whether as part of officially sanctioned professional development programs or through self-initiated professional activities, a critical challenge for L2 teacher education is to create public spaces that make visible how L2 teachers make sense of and use the disciplinary knowledge that has informed and will continue to inform L2 teacher education (Johnson, 2006)

The public spaces have been created, not by L2 teacher education programs, but by the teachers. The challenge is now for the programs to engage in these public spaces.

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APPENDIX A

INVITATION TO PARTICPATE

English Language Teaching Abroad Research Study

Hi. My name is Jeremy D. Slagoski and I am a PhD Candidate from the Department of Foreign Language & ESL Education at the University of Iowa. I am conducting a research study on the adjustment process of people, like yourself, who have gone abroad to teach English. I am sending this invitation to you based on your blog postings about living and teaching English in Japan and South Korea.

Citizens of Japan or South Korea are not eligible to participate. Also, persons who came to Japan and South Korea with close family and/or friends already living in the respective countries are also not eligible to participate.

The study will involve submitting your resume or CV to me and being interviewed for up to 3 hours online via web conferencing in either one, two, or three sessions within a 3-month period.

If you would like more information about the study or if you are interested in participating, please contact me at jeremy-slagoski@uiowa.edu.

Thank you for your time and consideration. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Jeremy Slagoski

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APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

I am writing to invite you to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to understand the adjustment process of becoming an English language teacher in Japan or South Korea. This includes adjusting to the students, to the school, and to the living conditions overseas. More specifically, I am interested in what factors contribute to your struggles and successes in teaching English in Japan or South Korea for the purpose of improving the education and professional development of English language teachers who teach abroad.

I am inviting you to be in this study because you are writing or have written a blog about your adjustment process coming to Japan or South Korea for the official, primary, or initial purpose of teaching the English language. Approximately 15 people will take part in this study at the University of Iowa.

If you agree to participate, I would like you to give me permission to use any or all of your blog writing as data. In addition, I would like a copy of your CV or resume to personalize interview questions based on your education, teaching, and cultural experiences. You will then be asked to answer interview questions by either an online survey (if you prefer written responses) or via web conferencing (if you prefer an actual interview process). The total time commitment for these interviews will be about three hours, which can be split into one, two, or three sessions at roughly one hour each. In these interviews, I will ask about factors that led to your decision to teach English in Japan or South Korea, about your adjustments to living and working in Japan or South Korea, and about your attitudes and beliefs about living and teaching English in Japan or South Korea. If you participate in the interviews via web conferencing, I will make an audio recording of each session in order to transcribe your experiences, attitudes, thoughts, and opinions of living and working in Japan and South Korea into text. Only I will have access to these audio recordings and they will be destroyed after they have been transcribed. You may still be in this study without agreeing to the audio recording of your interviews. If you do not wish to be audio recorded, you may answer the interview questions through the online survey.

We will keep the information you provide confidential, however federal regulatory agencies and the University of Iowa Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies) may inspect and copy records pertaining to this research. Pseudonyms will be used to mask your identity and your local contexts. If I write a report about this study I will do so in such a way that you cannot be identified.

If you complete the interview questions online, you will be asked to provide information over the Internet. It is possible that your responses could be viewed by persons who have access to the computers hosting the web site or by unauthorized persons who gain access to the web site computers. We will use a secure web site and computers to collect the

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study information and we will not collect any information in the on-line questions or through the web site that would identify you.

You will not benefit personally from being in this study. However we hope that others may benefit in the future from what we learn as a result of this study.

You will not have any costs for being in this research study.

You will not be paid for being in this research study.

Taking part in this research study is completely voluntary. You are free to deny me permission to use any or all postings of your blog for my study. You are also free to not send me your CV or resume or answer any questions in the interviews that you would prefer not to answer. If you decide not to be in this study, or if you stop participating at any time, you won't be penalized or lose any benefits for which you otherwise qualify.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact: Jeremy Slagoski at 1-319-512-0129 or 1-319-333-8538, Dr. Lia Plakans at 1-319-335-5565, or Dr. Leslie Schrier at 1-319-335-5048. If you have questions about the rights of research subjects, please contact the Human Subjects Office, 105 Hardin Library for the Health Sciences, 600 Newton Rd, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242-1098, (319) 335-6564, or e-mail irb@uiowa.edu. To offer input about your experiences as a research subject or to speak to someone other than the research staff, call the Human Subjects Office at the number above.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Jeremy D. Slagoski
PhD Candidate of Foreign Language & ESL Education

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APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Internal factors

Home cultures

What is home for you? How would you describe your feelings towards home?

Before coming to Japan or Korea, what culture(s) did you identify with? For example, national identity, community identity, ethnic or racial.

How culturally diverse would you describe your experiences at home?

Teaching experience (based on document analysis of participants' CVs)

Before arriving, how well prepared did you feel to teach English in Japan or Korea? How accurate was this assumption?

In general, how relevant do you think teaching experience in your home country is to teaching in Japan or Korea? Could you explain why?

English language teacher training

(based on document analysis of participants' CVs)

In what ways did your training prepare you to teach in Japan or Korea?

In what ways did your training fail to prepare you to teach in Japan or Korea?

How could have your training program better prepared you to teach in Japan or Korea?

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Intercultural communication training

Did you have any formal training about Japanese or Korean language or culture before arriving here?

Did your program provide you with any language or cultural training? If yes, could you describe that training? How has that training impacted your work and life in Japan or Korea?

Length of stay in Japan or Korea

How long have you lived in Japan or Korea?

Were you teaching English throughout this length of time?

How long do you expect to continue teaching English in Japan or Korea? Why?

Under what conditions would you extend your time teaching English in Japan or Korea?

Under what conditions would you reduce your expected time teaching English in Japan or Korea?

Have you considered another line of work (other than English teaching) to stay in Japan or Korea? Why or why not?

Adjustment

Prior to departure

Why did you decide to teach English in Japan or Korea? What played a larger factor in your decision: to live in Japan or Korea or to teach English in another country?

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When did you come to this decision? How much time passed between your decision making and getting to Japan or Korea? What kind of support did you have for this decision?

Besides teaching English, what plans did you have for your experience in Japan or Korea?

Can you describe your emotions on the days (or months) leading up to your departure to Japan or Korea?

Did you go to Japan or Korea with any family or friends? How long did they stay with you?

Upon arrival

Can you describe your emotions on the first few days upon your arrival to Japan or Korea?

What were your first impressions of the country? Of your accommodations? Of your city, region, or community? Of your school? Of your colleagues? Of your students?

How do you feel about your first impressions now?

During the first month

(or two if participants have been in country for 6+ months)

How would you describe your first month in terms of emotional impact? For example or conversely, was it stable or constantly changing? How so?

What contributed to these emotional changes (if any) the most?

How would you describe your social life during the first month?

Besides teaching English, how did you spend your time?

On an average work day, how much time did you spend teaching and preparing lessons? This includes thinking about teaching and preparing lessons.

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How often did you contact your friends and family back home? In what ways did this help you?

Now

Comparing your first month(s) to now, how much time do you spend teaching and preparing lessons? Why has (not) this changed?

Comparing your first month(s) to now, how do you spend your free time? Why has (not) this changed?

Comparing your first month(s) to now, how often do you contact your family and friends back home? Why has (not) this changed?

How important is it for you to keep up to date with current events in your home city, state, or country? Why?

If you could draw a line representing your emotional state from when you arrived to now, how would you draw it? Trending upwards, downwards, like a roller coaster with many peaks and valleys? Please keep this in mind as we'll get back to it later.

External factors: Success or difficulties

The participant's classes

How do you feel about teaching English now?

How has this changed since you arrived to Japan or Korea?

How would you evaluate yourself as an English teacher in your school? Would your students agree or disagree? How so?

Can you briefly describe one of your classes to me?

As a teacher, how would you define a successful day of class?

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How often do you have these successful kinds of days? Why?

What difficulties have you encountered in the classroom that may have prevented a day from being successful?

I'll give you a few minutes to think the next question. If you cannot answer it now, you can email me your answer. Can you recall any struggle or difficulty you had in the classroom that you were eventually able to overcome? If so, describe that to me.

How important is it for you to adjust to your classes?

Japanese or Korean students

What are your thoughts on Japanese or Korean students?

What have you learned about Japanese or Korean students that you didn't know before you arrived?

How are you able to relate to your students? Or how are your students able to relate to you?

In what ways do you or your students overcome stereotypes of each other?

How important is it for you to adjust to Japanese or Korean students?

Fellow ELTs

Can you tell me about your coworkers? How many do you work with? Where are they from?

How many of your coworkers do you socialize with regularly?

How would you compare yourself with your coworkers in terms of teaching effectiveness in your school? Why?

Is there a coworker who you look up to in terms of being a good teacher? Can you tell me about him/her?

Is there a coworker who you think doesn't do a good job? Can you tell me about him/her?

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What does it take to be a good teacher in your school? What do you mean?

In what ways do you think these descriptions of good teaching can be applied outside of your school?

Have you met English teachers from other programs? Can you tell me about them?

How important is it for you to adjust to your coworkers or other English language teachers?

The school, its staff and administrators

Can you briefly tell me about your school?

How would you evaluate your school as a teacher? As a student?

How do you get along with your boss? Why do you believe your relationship is like this?

How do you get along with the staff and administrators of your school? Why is this?

How do you think your supervisor, staff, or administrators value you at your school? How fair do you think these judgments are?

How important is it for you to adjust to your school, its staff, and administrators?

Recruiters or academic support from home

Who, if anyone, helped you in the application process to get here? Do you continue to get support from them? Can you describe your current relationship with them?

Would you recommend to people from your home this route to teach English Japan or Korea? Why or why not?

In what ways are you in contact with your previous teacher training program (if you had one)?

If you wanted to learn more about teaching English in Japan or Korea, who would you ask or where would you seek resources? Why?

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Professional organizations (JALT or KOTESOL)

Are you familiar with any professional organizations of English teachers in Japan or Korea? Can you tell me about them?

What are your feelings about joining one of these professional organizations? Do you find any value in membership?

If you are a member, why did you decide to join? Do you feel that you made the right decision to join? Why or why not? How have they helped you develop professionally?

How about international organizations like TESOL or IATEFL?

Are there certain English language programs in Japan or Korea that you would like to work in? Why or why not?

Are there certain English language programs in Japan or Korea that you would never want to work in? Why or why not?

What are your thoughts and feelings about the status of English and English language education in Japan or Korea? *If you need time to think about this, I can email this question to you for a later response.*

How important is it for you to adjust to JALT, KOTESOL, TESOL, or IATEFL?

Japanese or Korean language, culture and people

How would you assess your Japanese or Korean language ability now? Why do you think it's at this level? How do you feel about this?

How has your understanding of Japanese or Korean culture changed since your arrived here?

What aspects of the culture did you learn the most about? Surprised you the most? Are you most curious about?

What aspects of the culture do you find most difficult to get adjusted to? Do you think you will ever get used to them? Why or why not?

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Have you noticed any influence of the culture on English language education in Japan or Korea? If so, what are your thoughts?

How would you evaluate your social life with Japanese or Korean people? Have you found it easier or more difficult to form relationships with Japanese or Koreans? How so?

What cultural barriers, if any, do you believe make it difficult to form friendships with some Japanese or Koreans?

Have you formed any strong friendships with Japanese or Korean people? Can you tell me about this?

How is living in Japan or Korea similar to living in your home country? How do you feel about these similarities?

How is living in Japan or Korea different from living in your home country? What do you like most about these differences? What do you like least about these differences?

How important is it for you to adjust to Japanese or Korean culture and people?

How important is it for you to adjust your lifestyle?

Reflection

Repeated from earlier: If you could draw a line representing your emotional state from when you arrived to now, how would you draw it? Trending upwards, downwards, like a roller coaster with many peaks and valleys?

If trending upwards, what factors do you think helped you feel better about living and working in Japan or Korea?

If trending downwards, what factors do you think contributed to you feeling worse about living and working in Japan or Korea?

If wavering, what do you believe contributed to certain peaks throughout your time in Japan or Korea?

If wavering, what do you believe contributed to certain valleys throughout your time in Japan or Korea?

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At this point, how well adjusted do you believe you are to living and working in Japan or Korea?

Are you satisfied with this level of adjustment? Why or why not?

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APPENDIX D

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA COLLECTION TIMETABLE

Dates	Stage	Recruitment Results
May 15-25, 2013	First stage of recruitment	1 accepted, 1 rejected, 4 did not reply
May 25-June 17, 2013	Begin data collection for 1 participant	
June 18-25, 2013	Second stage of recruitment	2 accepted, 2 rejected, 7 did not reply
June 25-July 7, 2013	Data collection for 3 participants underway	
July 8, 2013	Reminders sent to bloggers who did not respond to recruitment	1 accepted, 10 did not reply
July 11-19, 2013	Third stage of recruitment	1 accepted, 4 did not reply
July 19-22, 2013	Data collection for 5 participants underway	
July 23, 2013	Last stage of recruitment	1 accepted, 4 did not reply
July 24-September 17, 2013	Data collection for 6 participants concluding	
September 18, 2013	Removal of 6th participant from study	

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APPENDIX E

CODING THEMES REPORT

Introduction

I have collected blog and interview data from 5 participants. The first stage of analysis was to set aside each participant's blog posts that did not address the project's research questions. This reduced the total number of pages of blog posts to code to 658 pages from what would have been easily over 1500 pages.

The second stage of analysis was to code and look for themes in the interview data. I chose the interview data first because most of the same questions were asked to all participants. This would make it easier to find common themes across cases. I initially identified 11 major themes that all 5 participants shared in their interviews.

The third stage of analysis was to code and look for the same themes that were found in the interview data as well as new themes that emerge from the blog data. All 11 themes from the interview data were found, but only 7 of them were across all cases and had more than a few examples. At least 20 more themes emerged from the interview data, but most of them were not across cases. 4 themes emerged across all participants from the blog data, and they are also present in the interview data. Below I will list themes in order of prevalence, describe them, and provide one interview example and one blog example.

#1: Dedication to learning the local language (either Japanese or Korean)

This theme is the most apparent in both interview and blog data. There are many examples in which the participants share how their language skills helped them adjust to

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the Host Culture Complex. Some express it more directly than others. I can also track their language learning skills and confidence over an extended period of time (2+ years) through their blog data. You will see this theme interwoven with some of the other themes.

Interview Example

"I'm very humble. I still think [my Korean language ability is] low. People say it's high; I don't think so. I just take classes, I take different classes, I can read, I can understand—I can go to a movie and completely walk out with full understanding and no subtitles. I just feel like—I don't know, maybe it's just a complex… Someone else would say that I'm halfway there. And if I we're to say that, I would say I'm not even halfway yet."

Blog Example

"December is time for the winter sitting of the JLPT, the Japanese Language Proficiency Test, or 日本語能力試験. Many of you are quite familiar with it, I'm sure, but for those who aren't, it's basically *the* test you take to prove your Japanese ability level. There was also a business Japanese test, but I heard somewhere that it's being discontinued...

Anyhoo, I'm taking the N2 in early December. I'm not uber confident, but if I hit the books for the next couple months I think I have a shot. After all, I've come a long way since passing the old 3 (by the skin of my teeth). I mean a *long, long* way. Anyway, enough about me."

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#2: Intimate relationships mark a shift in the adjustment process

This seems like common sense to me, but now I have some evidence for this common sense. The examples below indicate the only participants who will or have married someone from the host country. Two other participants had steady girlfriends from the host country with one of them tying it to his feelings of adjustment to the Host Culture Complex. The remaining fifth participant was not in a relationship during the time of the interview, but she mentions dating in her blog.

Interview Example

One participant, who is married to a Japanese woman and had children, responded to, "Have you formed any strong relationships with any Japanese people?" with the answer, "Just my family." Throughout the interview, this participant mentions that his family is basically is his social life in Japan nowadays. For example, "[My social life] has become greatly reduced. During my first year or two I would go out frequently with other teachers, now I rarely see friends." Also, "I spend most of my time at work or with my family. I occasionally spend time with friends but am fairly withdrawn socially."

Blog Example

"Those of my readers who are also friends with me on facebook will already know, but I am engaged and getting married this coming September. We're having the wedding here in Korea and we'll have a traditional Korean wedding. We've already gone hanbok shopping (posts to come later) and we're still debating what to do about photography. Several people from home will be coming into town, including my mom and my best friend from college."

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#3: Owing some accomplishments or positive situations to luck

I'm interested in this theme because my research questions look for internal and external factors that contribute to the participants' adjustments. I'd like to understand what proportion of their accomplishments or positive situations are tied to what the participants perceive as luck or chance.

Interview Example

"I counted myself lucky that I was living in a city--some others that I came with (the group from my university) were placed very far away from Seoul in very small towns. So I remember feeling relieved when I looked around and there were plenty of shops/restaurants/etc. near my apartment."

Blog Example

"I was lucky enough to be able to attend this year's JALT Vocabulary SIG Symposium on Saturday in Fukuoka. It was the first time for me to attend the event, and I found it useful enough to put it on my list to attend next year."

#4: Blogs and other social media as helpful resources for learning about living in Japan or Korea

I anticipated that this would be a theme, but not as strong of a theme as I had found. Many participants mention fellow bloggers they follow. Some participants also mention how blogs or other social media helped prepare them for their experiences in

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Japan or Korea. This is a major change to teaching English abroad compared to 10 years ago.

Additionally, this theme is tied to theme #10. Please see that theme for my rationale.

Interview Example

"I had a friend from college that went to Korea one year before me. We would Skype once a month or so and also talk on Facebook about her experience--she as a very valuable and important source of information regarding Korea."

Blog Example

"A few weeks ago, I got an email from Lauren, the author of the blog Miller Memories. She is a teacher in Taiwan and she was looking for some ex-pats in other countries to interview about life as an ESL teacher."

#5: Classroom management made adjustment difficult

This is also common sense and is not unique to sojourning ELTs. I'm unsure of how much to explore this theme. Only one participant strongly indicated that classroom management was a huge factor in his decision to leave. I'm interested in that factor and the extent to which the participants feel that classroom management in Japan or Korea is different from their home countries. I may not have enough data from all the participants regarding the latter.

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Interview Example

"When teaching children, I found disciplinary issues to be the biggest problem. With adults there are rarely problems, but sometimes some older students who are at a very low level can disrupt the class by speaking Korean or not being able to understand the point of an exercise."

Blog Example

"In one fell turn from the whiteboard, I can half the class descend into madness–throwing projectiles, punching each other, setting up international crime syndicates–and the other half catatonic with only lunch on the brain. So, grabbing hold of the monster's reigns and never letting go is crucial. Distract the beast before it turns on itself and the teacher."

#6: Connection to one's home country helped stabilize adjustment

This theme originally emerged referring to communications with friends and family in one's home country, but I found a second interpretation to be equally strong, which is a connection to American goods and services in Japan and Korea. There was only one participant not from the United States, but he provided little to no data concerning these theme. A subset of the second interpretation is celebrating Thanksgiving, which some of the participants blogged about, and an example is below.

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Interview Example

"But for family, [I would call] maybe 5 or 6 times a week. I mean we talked a lot. We weren't ostracized from one another. We were really close. And either I would call them or they would call me." – one participant talking about her first few weeks in Korea

Blog Example

One participant writing about one of her Thanksgiving experiences in Korea, "Top left here is homemade sweet potato pie. I've never had it before, but it tasted quite similar to pumpkin pie to me. I was impressed. Top right is the PUMPKIN PIE!! Our friend picked it up at Costco, evidently for 6,000 won?!?! Is that possible? Too cheap and too yummy!! Bottom left is a cake from a hotel where one of our guests works. Those strange fruit on top are figs. I never knew what a fig looked like before... And lastly was a cheese cake. While it was good, it didn't quite live up to our expectations. It was kind of more closely related to the Korean cheesecake family rather than the American cheesecake family. Both good, but quite different."

#7: Positive self-assessment as an English Language Teacher

This theme can be linked to my research question concerning internal factors contributing to adjustment. I have found more evidence for positive self-assessment than self-criticism. Interestingly, the participant who had the most self-criticism seems to be the most established and comfortable in his life teaching English abroad.

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Interview Example

One participant talking about one of the schools where she taught, "I think I was very good at what I did. I always got good reviews from my boss who observed me. I am very compliant, in that, if the school tells me one way to conduct my class, I have no problem doing that. Many teachers did not like the strict structure of the classes, however, I found the structure to be very helpful and I tried my best to follow it."

Blog Example

"This is fairly basic stuff. Give the students choice, make them responsible for their learning, give them more autonomy, etc. The thing is, I clearly wasn't doing it as much as I could have. My students today showed me that they are mature and responsible enough to make these kinds of choices for themselves, and by allowing them to make that choice I maybe managed to convey to them how much I respect and like them. I think I ended up learning the bigger lesson. It was a great end to a very long day of teaching."

The first 7 themes were among the top 11 initially found in the interviews. The next 4 were in codes that found in equal or greater number in the blog data than the most of the themes above.

#8 Reporting on the school culture

I feel like I need to break this theme down a bit as some participants describe and narrate at length different aspects of their school's culture. However, others rarely make any mention of their school culture in the same depth. Perhaps I need to look at their tone as an indication of their attitude towards the school. My impression so far is positive but sometimes distant. I might explore the concept of otherness here.

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Interview Example

"My main school was a public, 'mid level' school of about 1200 students.It had a history of over 100 years and boasted traditional archery and naginata clubs (among more universally popular ones like rugby, soccer, and baseball). My visit school was a public, part-time school, intended for adults who had not attained a high school diploma and students who, for various reasons, were unable to attend full time schools. I encountered a wide range of students there - some very good at English and very bright, and some very...unmotivated."

Blog Example

One participant wrote an hour by hour account of a day at his school. Here is the introduction to that blog post: "Today, I will keep a record every hour or so of the day. I hope it's a day full of excitement (for you) and kids giving me candy (for me). But if the past is any indication, it will be boring with the kids only giving me germs."

#9 Feeling included as part of the host culture complex
outside of being an ELT

This theme helps me to understand their roles in Japan or Korea outside of being an ELT. I believe this will be a useful theme to uncover issues in their adjustment. The blog data shows how feeling included changes over time. I believe there is much in the research literature to tie to this one. I just need to dig deeper in the data as these examples seem surface without context.

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Interview Example

"I made a lot of friends through mutual friends. My predecessor was in a band, and I would often go to his shows and hang out with him and be introduced to more people. His bandmate was Japanese and I became friends with him, too. It seemed like that circle was very inclusive and ever-expanding - I'd go to parties of theirs and meet new people almost every time."

Blog Example

"This past week I had the incredible honor of being a featured artist in a widely-known and recognized Korean TV talent showcase called 전국노래자랑 meaning 'National Singing Contest.' The taping was held in Gimcheon city over the course of three days." The participant dedicated the rest of the blog post to this experience.

#10 Giving advice to an imagined community of potential ELTs in Japan or Korea

When analyzing the blog data, I was interested when the narrative addressed the second-person "you," who was most often a potential ELT in Japan or Korea. I say potential because it seems that this imaginary person is either interested in teaching in Japan or Korea or is newer to Japan and Korea than the blogger. I also like this theme because the bloggers can provide a glimpse into their adjustment when providing advice.

This is tied to theme #4 because it is directly about the blog audience. I have not asked the participants to what extent they knew their blog audience. So I am unsure if they were writing to someone specifically in these posts. I may need to do some follow-up questions regarding this.

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Interview Example

This is not in the interviews because I was their audience, unlike in a blog where they are not sure of who their audience might be.

Blog Example

One participant writes to whoever replaces him after he completes his contract as an assistant language teacher for the JET Program. He did not learn who this person was until months after this posting,

- "Don't be afraid to admit your mistakes and make the necessary corrections. Who do you respect more – someone who thinks they're always right, or someone who is humble enough to admit when they're wrong?
- "If you do use the handicapped bathroom, try to avoid hitting the big green button. Let's just say that if you do, an alarm will sound and people will come running to see if you're ok. Can be quite embarrassing. Not that I'd know.
- "Study Japanese. Not only does being able to read and communicate make life easier, but it's also a confidence boost. And it will help you with your job."

Because there is no interview data concerning this theme, here is a second blog example from another participant.

"I was inspired to write this entry because of a [blog] post written by Chris in South Korea. He received an e-mail from someone thinking of going to South Korea and wondering if Korea is as bad as it sounds. I've met lots of people who aren't having the time of their life here and I want to give some suggestions on how to make the most of your time in Korea. If you're feeling a little down, or if you're looking to come to Korea and do it right, please read this!" She then writes her top 10 list of suggestions with at least a paragraph dedicated to each one.

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#11 Reporting on other sojourning ELTs

This theme is either addressing specific sojourning ELTs as in the first example or sojourning ELTs in general as in the second example. I'm interested in this because it has caused me to wonder to what extent they feel like a member of an ELT community.

Interview Example

"Regularly, there's one couple [I hang out with]. They're married. And I hang out with them pretty regularly. There is one girl who is not single but she's not married, and I hang out with her. We go out to Costco and stuff. And we go to the movies."

Blog Example

"I'm not sure that we EFL teachers are actually teachers. After all, we are in charge of helping learners become proficient in a language. I see this as a skill to be practiced rather than a set of knowledge to be taught. I have always compared language learning to sports, and described what learners should be doing in terms of practice and training. The sports analogy seems to work very well."

Unique themes

All the themes above are emerging themes for cross-case analysis. However, there are some themes that strongly emerged for one but not so in others. I am wondering to what extent I should report on these themes. They seem to account for individual differences in the adjustment process. Below is a table of the participants (using pseudonyms) and their single-case themes.

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Table 10 – Unique themes found in data analysis

Phil	Sophie	John	Luke	Dionne
Hobby – music	Staff/administration	Professional Development	Korean ELTs	Faith
3/11	Accommodations	*Eikaiwa*	Non-Korean friends	Non-Korean friends
Racism	Visa hassles	3/11	American identity	

Note: 3/11 refers to the 2011 Tohoku earthquake & tsunami

Additional Themes Emerging from the Blogs

Also, in their blogs, four of the five participants described many external factors that contributed to their difficulties adjusting to the Host Culture Complex. There are so many factors that none of them emerge as one dominant theme, however this directly answers one of my research questions. I'm also very intrigued by the one participant who doesn't describe any external factors in her blog and tries to avoid mentioning them in her interview.

Similarly, in their blogs, four of the five participants share their insights about Japanese or Korean society, which demonstrates some of their adjustment process, especially tied to the research literature. One participant provided no insights in his blog and cautiously described Japanese culture in the interview. Because many of these insights are different no one theme emerged.

Two of the five participants often wrote about the local (Japanese or Korean) English language teachers at their school. This is an important part of the Host Culture Complex and they somewhat aided in the adjustment process of their participants. Two of the remaining three participants also blogged a little about them but not enough for a cross-case theme to emerge.

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Finally, identity seemed like it would be a bigger theme, but it was only a strong issue for one participant, a mild issue for three of the remaining four participants. This theme, already weak in occurrence, seemed to be evenly split between national identity and teacher identity.

Themes That Emerged from the Interview Data Not Dominant in the Blog Data

One major theme in the interviews was the hierarchical structure in Japanese and Korean societies, with special emphasis on age. The interview data revealed this to be a common theme among most of the participants, especially in Korea, as an external factor that contributed to their struggles with adjusting to the Host Culture Complex.

Another common theme was that one of the most difficult contributors to adjust to living and teaching in Japan or South Korea was the feeling of loneliness or isolation during the first few weeks. Many had left their social lives from university to find themselves alone, some for the first time, during the first few weeks or months abroad in many situations.

One final important theme was that all participants acknowledged that they received little, insufficient, or no cultural training during their new teacher orientation.

There was one more theme in the interviews concerning the participants purposefully avoiding overgeneralizations of their respective Host Culture Complex, but this may have been an effect of the interview. Their careful wording was not apparent in the blog data.

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