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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

WHEELOCK COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Dissertation

AN ASSESSMENT OF JAPANESE STUDENT INTERCULTURAL INTERACTION DURING SHORT-TERM STUDY ABROAD IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my daughter, wife, and mother; many students over the years who helped me to learn about this topic, and one of my mentors in Japan, Professor Takao Suzuki.

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I want to thank my initial and current advisors, Drs. Philip M. Tate and Hardin L.K. Coleman; my second and third readers, Drs. Stephan Ellenwood and Eleonora Villegas-Reimers; my informal advisor and *sempai,* Dr. Bruce Rindler; Boston University Professor Ellie Friedland; SASIQ lead designer Dr. Dan Dewey; colleagues and friends at IEL and Joshidai; my research assistants, Saki Umeki and Tamaki Segawa Konstantinakos, and my proofreaders and fellow members of Dr. Coleman's research group, Tanya Songtachalert and Elizabeth Anne Barcay.

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the developmental value of Japanese student intercultural interaction during short-term study abroad in the United States. It utilized a modified version of the Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire for data collection and an approach to analysis framed by Bronfenbrenner and his colleagues' bioecological theory of human development. Past research framed by the bioecological theory has identified sojourner personal characteristics as the most significant factors influencing the amount and quality of intercultural interaction that students experience during study abroad; this study, which included participants of two different programs, found characteristics of context and time to be equally if not more significant. Implications are presented as practical recommendations for programs, participants, policymakers, and other stakeholders in intercultural development during study abroad.

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GLOSSARY

Acculturation: "the dual process and cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (Berry, 2006, p. 13).

Adaptation: "to make fit (as for a new use) often by modification" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). In regard to people in transition, Schlossberg (1981) defines adaptation as "a process during which an individual moves from being totally preoccupied with the transition to integrating the transition into his or her life" (p. 7).

Adjustment: "to adapt or conform oneself (as to new conditions)" and "to achieve mental and behavioral balance between one's own needs and the demands of others" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). French, Rodgers, and Cobb (1974) define adjustment as a restorative process in which the "person-environment fit" is reestablished following psychological disequilibrium caused by changes in the environment.

Assessment: "the action or an instance of making a judgment about something" such as its "importance, size, or value" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). In educational terms, Driscoll and Wood (2007) and Palomba and Banta (2011) define assessment as an organized or systematic process by which evidence of student learning is collected, reviewed, and evaluated.

Cohort: a small group of learners who complete a program of study together (Lawrence, 2002).

Cross-cultural adaptation: Anderson (1994) defines cross-cultural adaptation as "a commonplace process of learning to live with change and difference—a changed environment and different people, different norms, different standards, and different customs" (p. 299). She describes the process "cyclical, continuous, and interactive" and involving adjustment, learning, stranger-host relationships, and personal development (p. 303).

Culture: Increased research on cultural differences in human behavior over the past 30 years has led to a reconceptualization of the term. Culture was traditionally viewed as a static entity that influenced behavior independently of its situational context (Hofstede, 1980, 1991). The contemporary, more dynamic understanding of culture is that its effects on behavior are subject to situational and contextual factors. This understanding recognizes acknowledges characteristics that distinguish different representatives of the same culture and the situational factors that bring such distinctions into view.

Discrimination: The behavioral manifestation of prejudice, involving actions taken toward individuals based on their membership in a particular group (Fiske, 1998).

Ethnic group: "A segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have a common origin and to share segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients" (Yinger, 1976, p. 200). Levin (2008) explains that the terms "ethnicity", "caste", and "race" are close counterparts. "Ethnicity" is typically used where there are distinctions in geographic heritage among peoples who have otherwise been

identified as a single “race”, whereas “caste” is primarily used in relation to subordinated groups within a society who lack obvious morphological differences from the majority. The boundaries of these terms constantly shift, such that some groups viewed as different ethnicities, castes, or races in a particular time or place may later, or elsewhere, be viewed as the same ethnicity, caste, or race without any change in the group’s actual membership.

*Global human resource (*gurōbaru jinzai): a term in the Japanese language that refers to a person who is globally proficient in cultural, linguistic and economic matters. This term emerged in the Japanese business world in the 1990s, and the development of global human resources has since grown into a national goal in Japan.

Intercultural: a type of communication or other interaction among people of different cultures (Bennett, 2012).

Intercultural competence: This term has been subjected to various interpretations and terminology. In particular, all of the dominant models of intercultural competence in research today were conceived from a Western cultural perspective, which portray it as a discretely defined set of “knowledge, skills, and attitudes” (Deardorff, 2006, p. 33) possessed by individuals (e.g., Bennett, 1993; Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015; Deardorff & Arasaratnam-Smith, 2017; OECD, 2018; UNESCO, 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2017). A growing body of research in Asia and Africa, however, emphasizes more relational dimensions of the concept (e.g., Dalib et al., 2014; Miyahara, 2004; Xiao & Chen, 2009; Yum, 2012). Deardorff (2006) and Deardorff and

Arasaratnam-Smith (2017) have called for a critical review of the term owing to global variation in the way it is conceptualized and defined.

Intercultural experience: the experience of interactions in intercultural situations (Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2013, p. 1).

International student: An individual who holds a student visa (F1 or J1) and is authorized to engage in educational activities in the U.S., including both degree and non-degree programs.

Psychosocial development: a series of stages during which individuals "qualitatively change their thinking, feeling, behaving, valuing, and relating to others and oneself" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 2).

Prejudice:

1**:** injury or damage resulting from some judgment or action of another in disregard of one's rights, especially one's legal rights or claims
2:
A. (1) a preconceived judgment or opinion
(2) an adverse opinion or leaning formed without just grounds or before sufficient knowledge
B. an instance of such judgment or opinion
C. an irrational attitude of hostility directed against an individual, a group, a race, or their supposed characteristics

Quinton (2019) explains that prejudice is a complex phenomenon involving "individually held views that are shaped by the social context, as well as both cognitive and affective components" (Quinton, 2019, pp. 156–157).

Race: Levin (2008) explains that, from the viewpoint of critical race theory, this term does not signify a "biological, physiological, or genetic categorization," rather, that "racial distinctions must be recognized as social constructions, the dynamic inventions of societies that vary from place to place and time to time" (Levin, 2008, p. 2). Haney López (2006) defines race as "the historically contingent social systems of meaning that attach to elements of morphology and ancestry" (Haney López, 2006, p. 10).

Self: Markus & Kitayama (2010) describe the self as "the 'me' at the center of experience—a continually developing sense of awareness and agency that guides action and takes shape as the individual, both brain and body, becomes attuned to the various environments it inhabits. Selves are thus psychological realities that are both biologically and socioculturally rooted. Selves develop as individuals attune themselves to contexts that provide different solutions to the universal questions of 'Who or what am I?', 'What should I be doing?', and 'How do I relate to others?'" (Markus & Kitayama, 2010, p. 421).

Short-term study abroad: As Spencer and Tuma (2002) describe, "first considered as year-long, and then as a semester, [short-term study abroad programs] are now considered one- to eight-week programs (less than a term), usually faculty-directed and sponsored by a home institution or a consortium" (Spencer & Tuma, 2002, p. xv).

Sojourner: a person who stays as a temporary resident (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). This is a term often used in reference to individuals who study abroad (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut, & Klute, 2012).

Study abroad: Kinginger (2009) defines study abroad as "a temporary sojourn of pre-defined duration, undertaken for educational purposes." Lewin (2009) highlights other terms that have been used to convey the same or similar meaning, such as education abroad, international education, global studies, and global education. At the time of this writing, however, study abroad remains the term most commonly used in reference to overseas education programs.

Transition: Schlossberg, Waters, & Goodman (1995) define "transition" as "any event, or non-event that results in changed relationships, routines, assumptions, and roles" (Schlossberg, Waters, & Goodman, 1995, p. 27).

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) established in 1945 to promote international collaboration in education, science, and culture.

Visa: "an endorsement made on a passport by the proper authorities denoting that it has been examined and that the bearer may proceed" (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

One of the most pernicious threats to Japan's future economic and social stability is the ongoing decline in its birthrate, which began in the late 1940s and has caused dire labor shortages in recent decades. Japan's population recently fell into decline as well, shrinking from 128 million in 2010 to 125 million in 2021 (World Bank, 2021). Efforts to increase the birthrate have been unsuccessful, and the population has been projected to reach just 88 million by 2065 (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2017).

In 2013, the Japanese government launched the Japan Revitalization Strategy, a novel approach to addressing workforce shortages that involves supporting small and medium-sized enterprises to shift some operations and markets overseas. Central to this strategy is a commitment to cultivating "global human resources" (*gurōbaru jinzai*), or employees with the ability and desire to work in international contexts, and study abroad is identified as one key means of developing them. Also in 2013, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) committed to doubling study abroad participation totals by 2020, raising the number of participating university students from 60,000 to 120,000 and the number of high school students from 30,000 to 60,000. The business sector contributed an estimated 20 billion yen ($180 million USD) to that effort. It is hoped that the surge in participation would set in motion a virtuous cycle by which participants enthusiastically promote the experience to their peers, their

peers participate, and a self-sustaining "culture of study abroad" (MEXT, 2015a) spreads across the younger generations.

In 2018, MEXT issued a 400-page report on the impact of study abroad in Japan based on government data on over 70,000 students who had completed their sojourns between 2013 and 2017 (MEXT 2018), and the results were mixed. Participation had increased from 60,000 to 105,000 students, but satisfaction had concurrently decreased by 16.1%. Students who feel less than satisfied by their own experience are unlikely to describe it to their peers with enthusiasm, so this downward trend in satisfaction clearly undermines Japan's effort to foster a new culture of study abroad. Curiously, however, the topic of peer-based promotion is not even addressed in the MEXT report. The only mention of it appears in a section entitled "Summary and Suggestions," where the authors offer that a more reliable understanding of satisfaction could be obtained if participants were asked whether they recommended study abroad to their peers (p. 69). I contacted lead researcher Masataka Murasawa to ask why that question had not been included in the MEXT research itself. He explained having requested it, along with other items, to increase the reliability of the report's findings, but that his requests had been dismissed by overseeing officials. Murasawa wrote:

> Thank you so much for your mentioning about our report. You have a good point. In the survey of 2018, as pointed out in the report, I asked JASSO [Japan Student Services Organization] and MEXT to add new items to make it more reliable. However, JASSO and MEXT dismissed my request with various unfounded reasons. Initially, JASSO and MEXT have no intention of advancing EBPM

> (evidence based policy making) in a true sense. They even complain that expert opinion is “difficult” “make it a little easier”.....
>
> So that, my comments in the report is a modest resistance, as a researcher, against JASSO and MEXT. (M. Murasawa, personal communication, April 20, 2019)

Murasawa’s response reveals an important gap in the research because fostering a new and sustainable culture of study abroad in Japan requires an explicit understanding of the kinds of experiences that Japanese students find satisfying and those that motivate them to promote study abroad to their peers.

The MEXT (2018) report includes excerpts of structured interviews with 53 former study-abroad students from 16 universities, and two of the interview questions asked participants to describe experiences they had found most satisfying and those they believed had contributed the most to their personal development. Responses to those questions referenced intercultural interaction more than any other type of experience, a finding that aligns with other studies on Japanese sojourner satisfaction (e.g., Koyanagi, 2018; Ottoson et al., 2018; Sato & Hodge, 2009, 2015; Taylor, 2008; Toyokawa & Toyokawa, 2002; Ujitani, 2012) and sojourner satisfaction in general. The term *sojourn* derives from the Anglo-French verb *sojorn*, which means “to stay or dwell for a time.” It denotes a temporary, residential stay in a place reached by a journey; a period of separation from one’s normal environment and immersion in a new one (Harper, n.d.). Students who embark on study abroad look forward to interacting in the new environment in ways that will broaden their minds and enhance their futures (Barratt & Huba, 1994; Beech, 2016; Brown, 2009; Crow, 2002; Dewey, Brown, & Eggett, 2012;

Dewey, Belnap, & Hilstrom, 2012; Hudson & Inkson, 2006; Isabelli-Garcia, 2006; Rapley, 2017; Waters & Brooks, 2011). Students who feel connected within the host community during their sojourn similarly report higher levels of contentment and satisfaction than those who do not (Bochner et al., 2011; Bochner et al., 1985; Hendrickson et al., 2011, Kudo & Simkin, 2003; Ying, 2002).

Intercultural interaction is also naturally essential to the development of intercultural competence. Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, for example, describes how increased interpersonal contact with people of different backgrounds can foster empathy and the capacity for effective cooperation. Lin and Bransford (2010) similarly found that exposing undergraduates to the daily lives of people in other cultures increased their ability to manage intercultural conflict, whereas providing only general background information tended to leave stereotypes intact or even more deeply entrenched. Within the field of second language acquisition, Schumann's (1978) acculturation model, which posits that adjusting to a new culture entails reducing the social distance between oneself and members of the host community, and Swain's (1985) concept of *street learners*, or second-language learners who negotiate meaning with native speakers in real-life contexts, both underscore the importance of ongoing, unmediated interaction to the development of intercultural awareness and skills. That type of interaction is also prerequisite to Deardorff's (2006) pyramid and process models of intercultural competence. These understandings from the social sciences are further supported by findings in cultural neuroscience, where culturally patterned neural pathways related to self-representation, cognition, emotion, and motivation have been identified in the brains

of bilingual, bicultural individuals (Kitayama & Park, 2010; Kitayama & Uskul, 2011; Narvaez & Witherington, 2018; Ng et al., 2010; Zhu et al., 2007; Zhu & Han, 2008; see Rolbin & della Chiesa, 2010 for more). Because ongoing intercultural interaction undergirds both sojourner satisfaction and intercultural competence, the two outcomes of study abroad upon which the Japan Revitalization Strategy (2013) principally relies, it was selected as the focus of this research.

Reflecting two global trends, nearly 60% of Japanese study-abroad students today choose programs of three months or less, and the United States is their most popular destination (JAOS, 2018; see Institute of International Education, 2020 for more). Short-term programs will likely continue to dominate the study-abroad market in Japan for the foreseeable future owing to three conditions within Japanese society that are unlikely to change, namely family concerns related to cost, language barriers that hinder participation in overseas academic courses or internships, and incongruity between Japanese and overseas university calendars and credit policies (Bradford, 2015; Burgess et al., 2010; Burgess, 2014; Chapple, 2014; Yoshida, 2017). In view of this trend, Shimmi and Ota (2018) have called for increased research on the impact and value of short-term study abroad. The present study was accordingly focused on two different short-term programs in the U.S. to explore variations in context: a coeducational program based at a large, urban university and the satellite campus of a Japanese women's university, which is located in a suburban setting.

Past research on intercultural interaction during short-term study abroad has tended to focus more on outcomes than processes (e.g., Dwyer, 2004; Jackson, 2009;

Mapp, 2012 Perry et al. 2012; Strange & Gibson, 2017), and this is particularly true of studies involving Japanese students (e.g., Edwards, 2009; Ingulsrud et al., 2002; Koyanagi, 2018; Ottoson et al., 2018; Sato & Hodge, 2015; Ujitani, 2012, 2015, 2017; Yashima, 2010). Toyokawa and Toyokawa (2002) have highlighted this gap in the research and recommended studies that focus on "the content and process" of Japanese sojourner intercultural interaction, specifically "what types of activities these students engage in with whom and where" (p. 375). They additionally recommend research on the importance that Japanese study-abroad students ascribe to intercultural interaction and the contexts within which such interaction occurs.

To address these areas, data was collected using a modified version of the Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ). The SASIQ is a mixed-methods survey instrument that measures social networks along five dimensions and obtains qualitative data about sojourner interaction with network members. Those data were analyzed through the lens of the Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) model, the core construct of the bioecological theory of human development. The bioecological theory identifies *proximal processes*—interactions that are ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time—as "the primary engines of effective development" (Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994, p. 572). "Effective development" is described as the development of *competence*, or a set of capabilities associated with maintaining control and integration of one's behavior across a range of unfamiliar and complex situations (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, p. 1002).

If proximal processes represent the primary engines of competence in general, then those that study-abroad students experience with members of their intercultural networks should perhaps be regarded as the primary engines of intercultural competence during study abroad. Based on that premise, the following research questions were addressed:

1. How do Japanese students on short-term, cohort-based programs in the United States form intercultural social networks?
2. What are the dimensions and compositions of those networks?
3. To what extent do proximal processes occur during intercultural interaction, and how do the elements of the PPCT model relate to their occurrence?
4. How does the occurrence of proximal processes relate to enthusiasm for promoting study abroad?

Two hypotheses were proposed:

1. Intercultural interaction during short-term programs is mostly characterized by an absence of proximal processes owing to multiple inhibitory characteristics related to context and time. In general, only the most highly motivated and resourceful students can overcome those barriers.
2. The occurrence of proximal processes during intercultural interaction positively relates to sojourner enthusiasm for promoting study abroad.

Quantitative analysis involved mapping individual sojourner networks in five dimensions: *size* (total number of network members), *durability* (frequency and amount of time spent with each network member), *intensity* (closeness to each network member)

density (interconnectedness of network members), and *dispersion* (number of groups within the network). Those findings are summarized in tables. Several participant networks are additionally presented as sociograms to illustrate typical, outlier, and otherwise notable cases. Qualitative analysis utilized a deductive coding strategy in which elements and sub-elements of the PPCT model were established as provisional themes and categories. Proximal processes were assessed by identifying evidence of interaction that had been ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time. Elements and sub-elements of the PPCT model associated with the occurrence or absence of proximal processes were identified, and patterns of interplay among them were examined. Statements that could not be coded within the PPCT model were coded using an inductive process to gain broad insight from the whole of the data.

Past research on study-abroad students framed by the PPCT model has identified sojourner personal characteristics as the most significant factors influencing the amount of intercultural interaction that study-abroad students experience (Jessup-Anger & Aragones, 2013; Elliot et al, 2016; Taylor & Ali, 2017). The present study, which compared participants of two different programs, found characteristics of context and time to be equally if not more significant to both the quantity and quality of sojourner intercultural interaction.

Participants who had not demonstrably experienced proximal processes actually reported higher overall enthusiasm for promoting study abroad than participants who had, an unexpected and counterintuitive finding. Qualitative analysis, however, found that none of those participants had ranked interaction within the host community as a priority

for their sojourn, and also that their enthusiasm for promoting study abroad was rooted in aspects of the experience other than intercultural interaction, such as it having simply been fun and/or meaningful as an introspective journey. Notwithstanding the personal value that can be gained from such approaches to study abroad, it seems important to Japan's effort to produce global human resources that the most enthusiastic voices promoting study abroad within youth peer networks be those of students who themselves experienced proximal processes with people they encountered in the host community during their own sojourns. The findings of the present study support a series of recommendations for sending and host programs, students, policymakers, and other stakeholders in the developmental value of short-term study abroad.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

A joint effort by Japanese government, business, and higher education aims to foster a culture of study abroad that will help drive the development of a globally competent future workforce. A heavily funded campaign that began in 2013 nearly doubled study-abroad participation totals by 2018, but satisfaction in study abroad fell by 16.1% during that period. This research combined a modified version of the Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ) and an approach to analysis framed by the bioecological theory of human development to examine the developmental value of Japanese student intercultural interaction during study abroad, viewing it as a key lever for increasing both students' intercultural competence and their enthusiasm for promoting study abroad to others.

This chapter begins with a description of the bioecological theory, including a summary of guidelines for its operationalization and examples of how it has been utilized to frame research on student development and during study abroad in particular. It then reviews research on intercultural interaction during short-term study abroad and methods of measuring that interaction, including the instrument selected for the present study, the Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ). This chapter concludes with a summary of social network theory, the theory that undergirds the SASIQ's design.

The Bioecological Theory of Human Development

Bronfenbrenner and his colleagues' bioecological theory provides a framework for research on human development based on the concept of *proximal processes*—interactions that are ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time—which Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) describe as "the primary engines of effective development" (p. 572). An earlier version of the theory, known as ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; 1977), prompted an expansion of developmental psychology to account for environmental influences on child development. It has since been applied to research on human development throughout the lifespan and across a wide range of cultures and contexts (Jeronimus et al., 2014).

Ecological systems theory originally posited human development as a process embedded within two concentric layers, or "enduring environments" (Bronfenbrenner, 1974). The upper layer contained the people, activities, and settings directly experienced by the developing individual, and the surrounding layer included the institutional contexts, social systems, and broader geographical settings that collectively shaped possibilities within the upper layer. Bronfenbrenner (1977) later expanded the theory into an arrangement of four nested systems, namely the *microsystem*, *mesosystem, exosystem*, and *macrosystem* (described later in this section). In the 1990s, he and his colleagues expanded the theory again and renamed it the bioecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1993, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). This mature version reconceptualizes ecological systems as the element of *Context* within the *Process-Person-Context-*

Time (PPCT) model, the bioecological theory's core construct. Below are descriptions of each element of the model and its respective sub-elements.

Process

Proximal processes are reciprocal, ongoing, and progressively complex interactions that occur between a developing individual and at least one other person, object, or symbol within their immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). To illustrate the value of proximal processes to human development, Bronfenbrenner and Morris describe a longitudinal study showing a strong correlation between reciprocal mother-child interaction during the child's infancy and the child's performance on language and intelligence tests taken several years later (Tulkin & Covitz, 1975). Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) describe proximal processes as developmentally generative[1] in nature because they build the following skills and capacities:

(a) Differentiated perception and response;

(b) Directing and controlling one's own behavior;

(c) Coping successfully under stress;

(d) Acquiring knowledge and skill;

[1] Xia et al. (2020) cite examples of reciprocal, ongoing, and progressively complex *negative* interactions that occur in situations of humiliation, bullying, and obsessive online gaming to illustrate that not all proximal processes are developmentally generative in nature. This critique is relevant to the present study, as maintaining close ties with co-national peers for the duration of a sojourn has been found to hinder interaction within the host community—a case of one set of proximal processes preventing another, preferred set from occurring. Notably, however, Ujitani (2012) and Ottoson et al. (2018), reviewed later in this chapter, found that Japanese students simultaneously had thriving relationships with both co-national and host-national peers during study-abroad programs in South Korea and Thailand.

(e) Establishing and maintaining mutually rewarding relationships;

(f) Modifying and constructing one's own physical, social, and symbolic environment. (p. 569)

Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) explain that proximal processes are "empirically assessable mechanisms" (p. 568) owing to their interdependent relationship with other elements of the PPCT model.

Person

Bronfenbrenner (1993) originally identified four types of *developmentally instigative characteristics*, or personal attributes most likely to influence human development. *Personal stimulus characteristics* are the immediately observable attributes of the developing individual, such as their approximate age, physical appearance, position in society, and apparent demeanor, which can lead people in their immediate surroundings to form initial expectations that influence first encounters. This characteristic derives from the concept of "social stimulus value" embedded in Allport's (1973) definition of personality (p. 41). The second characteristic, *selective responsivity*, refers to the individual's responses to external stimuli that either support or hinder ongoing interaction such as social opportunities or perceived discrimination. The third characteristic, *structuring proclivities*, represent the individual's predispositions and behaviors related to pursuing increasingly complex interaction. The fourth characteristic, *directive beliefs*, represent the individual's sense of agency in relation to the settings where interaction occurs. This concept of developmentally instigative characteristics continues to frame research on human development, including recent studies on campus

peer culture (Renn & Reason, 2021) and intercultural interaction during study abroad (Jessup-Anger & Aragones, 2013, reviewed later in this chapter).

In the PPCT model, Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) reconceptualize personal characteristics as consisting of three types, described as follows.

Demand characteristics

These are the immediately observable attributes of the developing individual (approximate age, physical appearance, etc.) that Bronfenbrenner (1993) originally identified as *personal stimulus characteristics.* In his later writings, Bronfenbrenner described demand characteristics as *passive* in nature because they can cause the individual to change an environment "simply by being in it" (Tudge et al., 2009, p. 201).

Resource characteristics

These characteristics include the individual's mental, emotional, social, and material resources such as their intelligence, skills, family support, friends, past experiences, and educational opportunities. Bronfenbrenner later described resource characteristics as *active* in nature because they must be deployed to bring about changes to the individual's environment (Tudge et al., 2009).

Force characteristics

These characteristics consist of two contrasting types of dispositions. *Developmentally generative dispositions* support proximal processes to occur and include "curiosity, tendency to initiate and engage in activity alone or with others, responsiveness to initiatives by others, and readiness to defer immediate

gratification to pursue long-term goals" (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, p. 1009; 2006, p. 810). By contrast, *developmentally disruptive dispositions* inhibit proximal processes and include tendencies such as impulsiveness and distractibility. Bronfenbrenner later described force characteristics as *most active* because they embody a strong desire or drive on the part of the individual to change their environment (Tudge et al., 2009).

Personal characteristics of not only the developing individual under consideration but also the people with whom that individual interacts influence, and are influenced by, proximal processes. As Riggins-Caspers et al. (2003) explain, research on proximal processes "requires consideration of characteristics of all persons relevant to the specific process of interest" (p. 206). Bronfenbrenner (1993) further argues that the impact of personal characteristics on proximal processes should be measured in just two ways, positive or negative. He writes, "the attributes of the person most likely to shape the course of development, for better or for worse, are those that induce or inhibit dynamic dispositions toward the immediate environment" (p. 11).

Context

This element consists of the four nested systems that constitute Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory, described as follows.

Microsystem

Bronfenbrenner (1993) describes microsystems as the immediate settings within which the individual interacts with other people, objects, or symbols, including

characteristics of those settings that either support or hinder proximal processes. He writes:

> A microsystem is a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing persons in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical, social, and symbolic features that invite, permit, or inhibit engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interaction with, and activity in, the immediate environment. (p. 15).

Most individuals regularly interact within multiple interrelated microsystems such as their home, school, workplace, and peer groups.

Mesosystem

The mesosystem consists of relationships between two or more microsystems. Examples include relationships between a child's home and school and between an adult's home and workplace (Xia et al., 2020). Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) illustrate the impact of mesosystems using Steinberg et al.'s (1995) research on the role of environmental context in adolescent social development. Steinberg and his colleagues found that interaction between the parents and peer groups of adolescents formed mesosystems that shaped adolescent social opportunities. The authors write:

> [...] by fostering certain traits in their children, parents direct a child toward a particular peer group. Thus to the extent that parents can influence characteristics by which adolescents are associated by peers with a crowd, parents can "control" the type of peer group influences to which their child is exposed. (pp. 446–447)

Exosystem

This third layer consists of entities that the individual does not directly experience but which nevertheless influence development through interaction with at least one of the individual's microsystems. Bronfenbrenner (1993) writes:

> The exosystem comprises the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting in which the developing person lives" (p. 24).

Tudge et al. (2009) illustrate the impact of exosystems using the example of a child whose mother undergoes workplace stress, which makes her irritable when she returns home in the evenings. To the child, the mother's workplace represents an exosystem because, while not an immediate setting, it nevertheless influences interaction with the mother.

Macrosystem

Bronfenbrenner (1994) describes this most distal layer as the "overarching pattern" or "societal blueprint for a particular culture or subculture" (p. 1646). The macrosystem interacts with all the systems contained within it, both influencing and being influenced by them. Bronfenbrenner cautions that explorations of the macrosystem should go beyond vague understandings of culture and class and seek to identify "more specific social and psychological features […] that ultimately affect the particular conditions and processes occurring in the microsystem" (p. 1646). Tudge et al. (2009) also emphasize this point, stating that "for any particular value system to have any

influence on a developing person it has to be experienced within one or more of the microsystems in which that person is situated" (p. 201).

Time

Also called the *chronosystem*, this element of the PPCT model conceptualizes time in three nested layers, summarized as follows.

Microtime

Microtime refers to the duration and continuity of individual interactions. Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) explain that relatively stable, focused interactions tend to support proximal processes to occur and that sporadic, unpredictable, short-lived, and/or frequently interrupted interactions tend to produce developmentally disruptive outcomes (see Dennison et al., 2017 for more).

Mesotime

Mesotime refers to the regularity or consistency with which interactions occur over time. Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) emphasize that for proximal processes to occur, interactions should take place on a "fairly regular basis" (p. 317). The authors offer only general guidance on this point, refraining from making specific recommendations on how regular the interactions should be.

Macrotime

Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) describe macrotime as consisting of two related aspects: historical time, which they describe as "changing expectations and events in the larger society, both within and across generations" (p. 796), and the timing in the life of the developing individual (see Waugh & Guhn, 2014 for more). The authors cite

Elder's (1974) *Children of the Great Depression* to illustrate the meaning and impact of this concept. Elder's longitudinal research revealed substantial variation in the developmental trajectories of people who experienced the Great Depression at different stages of their lives. Xia et al. (2020) suggest that macrotime can be incorporated into research "simply by taking into account the prevailing social, economic, and political conditions in the macrosystem" that have a propensity to impact the proximal processes under consideration (p. 16). As an example, they note how evolving views on the relevance of mathematics to girls have changed the environment of mathematics classes in schools.

Operationalizing the PPCT Model

The PPCT model can appear dauntingly complex, with each of its elements incorporating multiple sub-elements of its own. Conceptual and theoretical confusion further arise from a failure among some researchers to articulate the version of the theory, and its respective elements, that they have chosen for their study (Tudge et al., 2009). Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) provide wide latitude in the choice of versions and elements that may be used, emphasizing only that "the specific components of Process, Person, Context, and Time included in a given investigation should be those that, from a theoretical perspective, are maximally relevant to the research question under investigation" (p. 1007). Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) explain that studies using the PPCT model should focus on the following phenomena:

(a) The stability and development of proximal processes over time;

(b) How proximal processes are influenced by characteristics of developing

individuals who participate in them and by the environments within which they occur;

(c) How proximal processes are implicated in the developmental outcomes under consideration. (p. 569)

Jaeger (2016) explains that "the sheer number of factors included in a research design [is] less important than demonstrating the interactions and/or synergies of those factors" (p. 169). Xia et al. (2020) advise that research using the PPCT model should include, at a minimum, variation within the *Person* and *Context* elements to enable assessment of the influence of those elements on proximal processes. They add that only a single source of variation within each element is needed to satisfy the requirements of the model.

Because proximal processes increase in complexity over time, most research using the PPCT model is longitudinal in nature, with start and end dates determined by the anticipated length of time it takes for the developmental outcome/s under consideration to occur. In studies that rely on interviews or questionnaires, questions must be retrospective in nature and address how interactions developed over time (Xia et al., 2020). A theoretically appropriate discussion of limitations should also be provided as well as suggestions for future research (e.g., Riggins-Caspers et al., 2003).

Student-Development and Study-Abroad Research Framed by the PPCT Model

This section describes four studies that have utilized the PPCT model to examine student development, especially that which occurs during study abroad. The first of these is one that introduced the PPCT model to research on campus peer culture. The second

study examines interaction within the host community during short-term study abroad in Australia and New Zealand, and the third and fourth studies analyze international student adjustment in the United Kingdom.

Renn and Arnold (2003) introduced the PPCT model to higher education by developing an argument for its use in research on campus peer culture. For decades, outcomes research had observed peer influences on learning and development (e.g., Astin, 1968; Clark & Trow, 1966; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Horowitz, 1987; Kuh, 1990), but student-development research had not provided sufficient explanations for those influences (Kuh, 1995). The authors describe the bioecological theory as a framework designed to addresses that discrepancy. They write:

> An examination of the reciprocal interactions between students and their environments provides a lens for understanding individuals in multiple, layered, and interacting environments, only some of which they encounter directly. An ecology model allows for analysis of individual experience as well as the creation of peer groups and processes of peer cultures. The model does not sacrifice the examination of processes as it analyzes outcomes. In order to facilitate the development of college students, postsecondary educators need to understand the reciprocal interacting effects of various subenvironments, levels of environments, and students themselves. We also need to know which student characteristics relate to their degree and type of responsiveness to different environments. Above all, we need to specify the processes by which these interactions produce change in individuals. (p. 264)

The following sections summarize how Renn and Arnold relate each element of the PPCT model to campus peer culture.

Person and Process. The authors conflate these elements of the PPCT model, invoking Bronfenbrenner's (1993) axiom that "development is an evolving function of person-environment interaction" (p. 10). They apply Bronfenbrenner's (1993) original conceptualization of developmentally instigative characteristics to campus peer culture as follows.

Personal Stimulus Characteristics. As campus communities become increasingly diverse, immediately observable characteristics of students, such as their skin color, facial features, and the way they speak the dominant language, tend to elicit a variety of initial responses from peers, faculty, staff, and local residents.

***Selective Responsivity*.** Students explore and react to their surroundings in different ways. For example, some students become active across a wide range of contexts, others interact with just a few individuals, and still others spend most of their time on their own.

***Structuring proclivities*.** Students vary in the degree to which they pursue increasingly complex interaction.

Directive beliefs. Students also vary in the degree of personal agency they bring to the settings where interaction occurs. For example, Arnold (1995) found that former high school valedictorians believed they understood the academic environment of college, and that sense of self-efficacy supported them to establish and maintain effective study habits (Arnold, 1995).

Context

Microsystem. Residence halls, classes, student organizations, part-time jobs, and athletic teams all represent examples of student microsystems. Each microsystem has its own characteristics that either promote or inhibit proximal processes, depending on how they relate to personal characteristics of the individual under consideration. As Bronfenbrenner (1989) explains, "there is always an interplay between the psychological characteristics of the person and of a specific environment; the one cannot be defined without reference to the other" (p. 225). Renn and Arnold stress the importance of this understanding to campus initiatives designed to impact student behavior and attitudes. They warn that, "unless interventions consider variability in individual experiences, they are bound to fail" (p. 270).

One aspect of campus peer culture that the authors highlight as particularly suited to research framed by the PPCT model is the process by which students join microsystems, including whether there are any tacit or explicit selection criteria. Even within informal microsystems such as social networks, they explain, "the criteria are generally unspoken but no less clearly enforced" (p. 271).

Mesosystem. Because student microsystems tend to be intertwined, the connections between and among them have a propensity to impact student development. The authors write, "the ease with which students can move from one peer microsystem to another within the mesosystem may influence the total number of different interactions a student experiences and therefore influence his or her developmental possibilities" (p. 271).

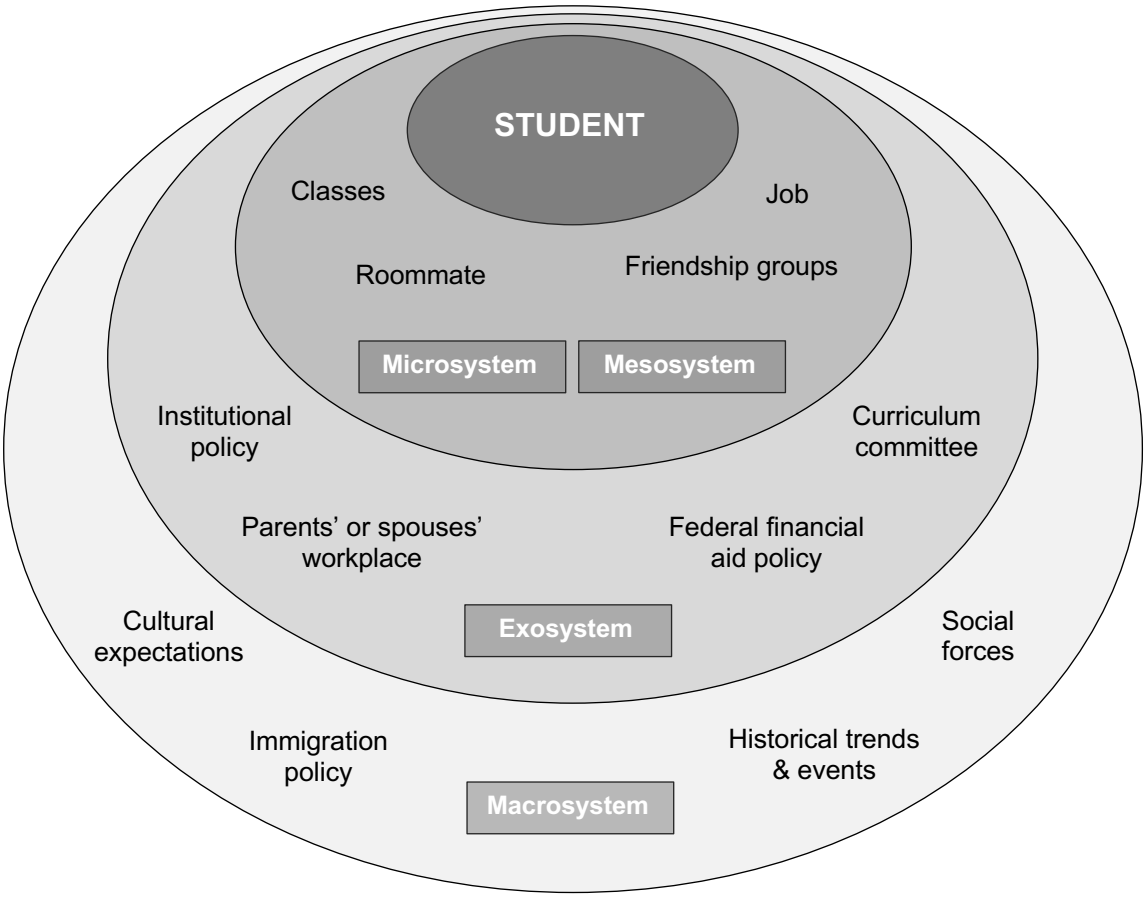
Exosystem. Examples of student exosystems include parent workplaces in the case of dependents and the federal government in cases of international students and students receiving federal financial aid. These entities can influence interaction within student microsystems without being directly present in them.

Macrosystem. The authors illustrate macrosystem influences by noting the cultural and social forces that shape enrollment demographics. They explain, "who attends college and on what terms might seem to be an individual or at least family-based decision, but the conditions that govern college choice-making are located in the macrosystem and only made manifest locally" (p. 272).

The authors provide a visual diagram of a typical college student environment through the lens of ecological systems, reproduced in Figure 1.

Figure 1

A Typical Postsecondary Student Environment (Renn & Arnold, 2003)



Time

College represents a milestone in an individual's life and a time of preparation for adulthood. The associated expectations, opportunities, and constraints are both unique to each student and shaped by dynamic social and cultural forces.

To demonstrate the relevance of the PPCT model to research on campus peer culture, the authors apply it to extant studies on the racial identity of mixed-race students (Renn, 2000), talent development of high-school valedictorians (Arnold, 1995),

persistence among Mexican-American immigrant students (Attinasi, 1989), and social integration of first-year students at a small, liberal arts college (Scott, 2000). They emphasize the suitability of the model as a framework for research on today's increasingly diverse campuses as follows:

> In inviting contextualized explorations of interactions among and between people and environments, human ecology provides the theoretical underpinning necessary for a wider, more complex view of peer culture. Ultimately, such an approach may be the best way to inform research and practice as we seek to understand and influence the college experience of an increasingly heterogeneous student population. (p. 287)

Jessup-Anger and Aragones (2013) utilized a constructivist design framed by Bronfenbrenner's (1993) ecological systems theory to examine personal characteristics of 28 undergraduates from the U.S. who completed a short-term, cohort-based program in New Zealand and Australia. The authors explain that the relatively uniform design of cohort-based, short-term programs provides a contrastive backdrop for research on sojourner personal characteristics.

The lead author traveled with the cohort and conducted observations plus two sets of semi-structured interviews with nine participants lasting 45–75 minutes each. During the interviews, many participants essentially categorized themselves using terms such as "loner" or "mediator". The authors assigned similar codes to other participants through an inductive process. Personal characteristics were found to have the strongest influence on the amount of intercultural interaction participants experienced. The authors

recommend that host programs provide structured opportunities for interaction within the host community to ensure that such interaction occurs for all students, not just those who have the will and wherewithal to experience it on their own. They write:

> Unless students were inclined to explore host country interactions by virtue of their developmentally instigative characteristics […], they reported very few, illustrating the need for facilitators to be mindful about ensuring that all students have meaningful opportunities to interact with people in the host countries. (p. 33)

The authors recommend providing opportunities for both formal and informal interaction as well as facilitators who can assist students in setting expectations and reflecting on their experiences. They additionally call for continued research on opportunities for supporting students enrolled in short-term, cohort-based study abroad programs to experience meaningful interaction within the host community.

Taylor and Ali (2017) utilized Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory to frame research on environmental factors influencing international student adjustment to life and study in the United Kingdom. In explaining their rationale for selecting ecological systems theory, the authors note a dearth of research on the challenges associated with the ecological transition that newly matriculated international students undergo. The authors conducted retrospective, individual timeline interviews with five students from Bangladesh, South Korea, Nepal, Bulgaria, and India who were in their third year of a four-year degree program. Three participants were female and two were male, and all of them were either 20 or 21 years old. Each participant was individually introduced to the aims of the research and the method of timeline interviews and then

given a sheet of paper to produce their own timeline. Participants were asked to highlight their most significant experiences of "living and learning in a foreign country over the three-year period, starting from when they moved from their host-country up until the present time (so a linear timeline) including any positive and negative influences they may have experienced" (p. 6). The timelines were then utilized as the basis for the interviews. No questions were prepared for the interviews because this method requires allowing participants to speak freely about their experiences, but participants were encouraged to elaborate on the experiences they had described in their timelines.

Data were analyzed using thematic analysis following a systematic methodology designed by Braun and Clarke (2006), summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

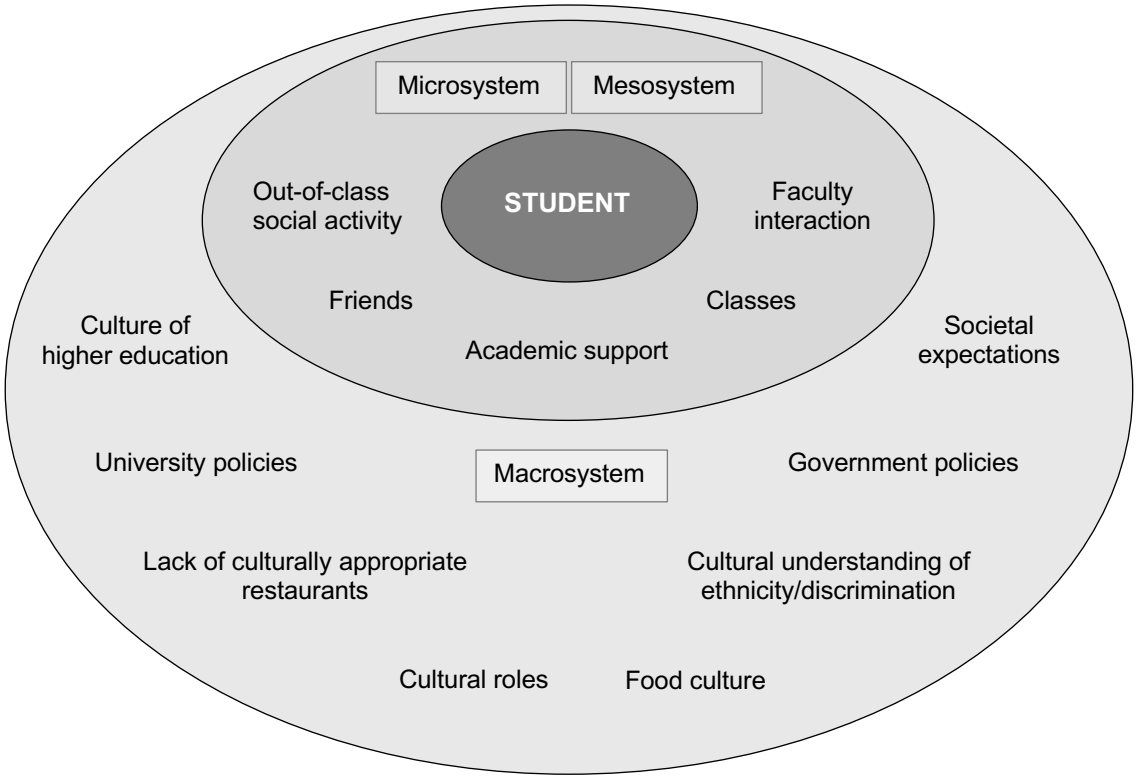
Stages of thematic analysis (Taylor & Ali, 2017)

Phase		Description of the Process
1	Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas
2	Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code
3	Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
4	Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis
5	Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme
6	Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis

Interview transcripts were first read multiple times to identify initial codes. The authors used a single transcript for each participant to ensure consistency in coding. Once the initial coding was completed, the authors utilized a deductive process in which statements were coded to ecological systems. For example, statements about losing contact with friends in the home country were assigned microsystem codes, and difficulties with language and culture were assigned macrosystem codes. This approach enabled a mapping of a new international student environment from the perspective of ecological systems, reproduced in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Environment of newly matriculated international students (Taylor & Ali, 2017)



A classification of themes emerged from this analysis, presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Classification of themes (Taylor & Ali, 2017)

a. Importance of Social Relationships	**a[1]. Importance of Speaking English**	**a[2]. Differences in Education**	**a. Influences Beyond the University**
(b) Barriers to developing social relationships	(c) Academic achievement	(c) Relationship with tutor and classmates	(b) Lack of culturally appropriate food
(b) Social relationships & academic achievement	(b) Off-campus discrimination	(c) Academic achievement	(b) Knowledge of transport
(b) Social relationships & psychological wellbeing	(c) Relationship with tutor and classmates	(b) Differences in teaching methods, expectations & values	(c) Off campus discrimination
(c) Importance of making friends with English students	(b) Difficulty taking part in leisure activities		

Notes: a. The 4 superordinate themes are indicated by a. (a1 and a2 illustrates the connection between two of the superordinate themes); (b) Sub-themes unique to one superordinate theme are indicated by (b); (c) Sub-themes shared between superordinate themes are indicated by (c).

The most salient theme that emerged from this analysis was *importance of social relationships*. The first months of the sojourn represented the most critical period for establishing a supportive social network, and relationships with host nationals were identified as most effective at facilitating the transition to college. The authors explain:

> […] the earlier the student starts to develop new social relationships, the smoother their adjustment to the new environment becomes, particularly if they develop relationships with individuals from the host-country. This encourages them to learn more about the culture, area and language, which helps them participate

effectively in both their social and academic environment. (p. 15)

Another theme was *barriers to developing social relationships*, which participants mainly described as encounters with prejudice and discrimination. Participants emphasized language difficulties, and even just speaking with a foreign accent,[2] as having elicited stereotyping behaviors from within the host community, including discourtesy, unwillingness to speak, and aggressive hostility. The South Korean participant described her Asian ethnicity as having represented an additional barrier to building social relationships, expressed in statements such as the following:

- I also didn't like it in my first few weeks because sometimes people think all Asian people are Chinese, but I think I understand other Western people cannot distinguish Asian people and which country they come from, 'cause I think at the time this was very rude because I am not Chinese. (p. 19)
- […] my classmates think I'm timid and I am Asian and I can't speak English. (p. 21)

The South Korean participant's perception of prejudice aligns with Poyrazli et al.'s (2004) findings on social support and demographic correlates of acculturative stress among 141 international students at four universities in the U.S. Poyralzi and her colleagues found that international students originating from Asian countries reported a higher degree of acculturative stress than students from any other world region, which the authors broadly attributed to cultural distance. For decades, studies have documented

[2] See Spencer-Rodgers (2001) and Sawir et al. (2012) on the socially isolating impact of linguistic accents.

how Japanese and other Asian international students have experienced greater difficulty with adjustment and social interaction on U.S. campuses than their European counterparts (e.g., Abe, Talbot, & Geelhoed, 1998; Kinoshita & Bowman, 1998; Schram & Lauver, 1988; Sheehan & Pearson, 1995; Surdam & Collins, 1984; Trice & Elliott, 1993; Yang et al., 1994). Statements by the South Korean participant in Taylor and Ali's study illustrate how not only cultural distance but also the demand characteristic of simply being East Asian in physical appearance can hinder the development of social relationships within the host community and exacerbate acculturative stress.

Taylor and Ali describe prejudice and discrimination in ecological systems terms as manifestations within student microsystems of attitudes and ideologies that prevail within the macrosystem. They argue that this example of a clear link between proximal and distal influences illustrates the need for holistic research on international student experiences. As a way of mitigating acculturative stress among Japanese and Asian international students on U.S. campuses, they recommend a buddy system in which students are paired with domestic students who serve as local liaisons. They note that such a system can be particularly helpful to students who struggle to build relationships within the host community on their own. This recommendation aligns with several studies that have found pairing an effective means of supporting acculturation and intercultural skill development during study abroad (e.g., Pritchard & Skinner, 2002; Smith and Khawaja, 2011; and Ujitani, 2012, reviewed later in this chapter).

Elliot et al. (2016) examined the chronosystem in their qualitative study of international student adjustment to life and study in the U.K. To explore lived

experiences, the authors utilized a two-tiered methodology based on the visual methods and metaphors approach (Karm & Remmik 2013; Reavey 2011). Each participant was given a disposable camera with 24 exposures and instructed to take photographs that reflected their educational experiences over a period of two weeks. Participants then took a selected subset of photographs to hour-long interviews and referred to them as they reported on their experiences. This approach deepened participant reflections by triggering and strengthening their recollection of past events and supporting a sense of co-ownership in the research. In addition, the photographs enabled a form of triangulation with interview narratives, which strengthened the validity of this study's findings.

For data analysis, the authors used the Interpretative Phenomenological Approach (IPA) (Reid et al., 2005; Smith & Osborn 2008), which involves two stages of inductive analysis. Smith and Osborn (2008) paraphrase this approach as follows: "the participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world" (p. 53). This approach revealed evidence of "disruption at all levels" (p. 2214) and of students responding by placing themselves somewhere on the continuum between clinging to their original ecosystem and opening themselves to the new one. The authors identify personal characteristics as the element of the PPCT model most strongly associated with successful transition and highlight the capacity for "critical analysis of the extent to which […] familiar old contexts are a tool or a hindrance when resolving unfamiliar problems in the new setting" (p. 2215). This emphasis on the ability to selectively adapt old ways of thinking to the new context is echoed in Molinsky's (2013) concept of *global dexterity*, or the ability to adapt one's

behavior to another culture "without losing yourself in the process." It also aligns with Zull's (2002) neurobiological perspective on teaching (described later in this chapter) as a process of supporting learners to build connections between old and new neural networks.

The studies described in this section have illustrated how the PPCT model has been utilized as a theoretical framework for research on student development in general and that during study abroad in particular. The following section describes three types of social networks that have become a common vernacular within contemporary study abroad research. The chapter then proceeds with a review of relevant studies on intercultural interaction during short-term study abroad.

Types of Sojourner Social Networks

Bochner et al.'s (1977) study of international student friendship patterns at the University of Hawaii identified three types of social networks that have become a common vernacular in study abroad research. Each type of network is described below.

Co-National Networks

These networks consist of connections with people of the same national background. Co-national friends share a similar cultural frame of reference (Woolf, 2007) and can provide emotional support that attenuates confusion and stress arising from cultural differences (Kim, 2001), heightens self-esteem (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998), and reinforces cultural identity (Maundeni, 2001). The downside of these relationships is that ongoing reaffirmation and expression of cultural identity during study abroad can hinder intercultural interaction and adjustment to the host community (Church, 1982; Kim,

2001; Pruitt, 1978; Ward & Searle, 1991). Kim (2001) posits that close ties with co-national peers are helpful in the short term but detrimental if they remain in place for the duration of the sojourn. Notably, however, as will be discussed later in this chapter, Ottoson et al. (2018) found that Japanese students on a cohort-based, short-term study abroad program in Thailand deepened relationships with one another even as they built close friendships within the host community.

Host-National Networks

Host nationals are residents of the host country, and relationships with them tend to be the most valuable and appealing to study abroad students. Numerous studies have shown how interaction with host nationals facilitates sojourner adjustment (e.g., Brecht et al., 1993; Brecht & Robinson, 1993; Church, 1982; Collentine, 2004; Freed, 1990, 1993; Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Hayes & Lin, 1994; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Hendrickson et al., 2010; Isabelli-García, 2003; Kaplan, 1989; Kim, 2001; Lennon, 1990; Liskin-Gasparro & Urdaneta, 1995; Maudeni, 2001; Milleret, 1990; 1977; Polanyi, 1995; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004; Sellitz & Cook, 1962; Surdam & Collins, 1984; Swain, 1985). Several studies have specifically addressed the role of host-national relationships in sociolinguistic and sociocultural learning and development (e.g., Lafford, 1995; Lapkin et al., 1995; Lin & Bransford, 2010; Marriott, 1995; Regan, 1995; Siegal, 1995). Interacting with host nationals enables insight into behaviors observed within the host community that are difficult to understand from the viewpoint of the sojourner's home culture (Hendrickson et al., 2010; Kim, 2001). Church (1982) suggests that the most important variables influencing sojourner adjustment may be the number, variety, and depth of

social interactions experienced with host nationals. Maudeni's (2001) study of African students in a Scottish city supports this view by demonstrating how the absence of social interaction with host nationals can hinder adjustment.

Despite the high value and appeal of these relationships, pursuing them can be a frustrating and mostly fruitless endeavor, which can leave emotional scars. This is especially true for second-language learners (e.g., Gao et al., 1991; Yamazaki et al., 1997) from culturally distant societies (Kim, 1994; Leong & Ward, 2000) participating in short-term programs (Block, 2009; DeLoach et al., 2019; Woolf, 2007). The constraints of language, cultural distance, and time, and the interplay among them, have been found to hinder efforts to interact within the host community and lead to a variety of negative psychosocial adjustment outcomes ranging from avoidance coping to anxiety and depression (Chen et al., 2015; Lee et al., 2004; Ward et al., 2005; Poyrazli et al., 2004; Wong & Wong, 2006; Yan & Berliner, 2013). As will be discussed later in this chapter, Sato and Hodge (2009, 2015) have found that Japanese and other East Asian students on U.S. campuses represent one type of international student for whom trying to build relationships within the host community can hold such emotional risk (Sato & Hodge, 2009, 2015).

Multi-National Networks

These networks consist of connections with people from other countries such as fellow study abroad students. They tend to be recreational in nature, but as Bochner et al. (1985) have articulated, the shared experience of being "strangers in a strange land" can create a sense of commonality that motivates multi-national peers to navigate the sojourn together. Multi-national relationships also support language development for second language learners because communication typically occurs in the target language, and international students tend to find it less intimidating to speak with fellow sojourners than with host nationals (Wang et al., 2017; Yeh & Inose, 2003). These relationships represent opportunities for attentive, ongoing intercultural interaction that builds linguistic and intercultural skills and global awareness.

This section has described a set of terms for conceptualizing and describing social interaction during study abroad. The following section reviews research on short-term study abroad: how it came to dominate the global study abroad market, and research on intercultural learning and development outcomes of these brief sojourns.

Intercultural Development During Short-Term Study Abroad

Until the late 20th century, the typical duration of study abroad was a full academic year (Sakurai, 2019). Common parlance for these experiences included terms such as "junior year abroad (JYA)" and the mildly esoteric "foreign study" (Vande Berg, 2004; Sakurai, 2019). Study abroad mainly attracted a small, privileged audience of mostly female undergraduates who majored in humanities such as foreign languages and art history (Vande Berg, 2004). The JYA model was found to support dramatic gains in

linguistic and intercultural skill development (e.g., Dwyer, 2004; Vande Berg et al., 2009).

In the 1990s, study abroad underwent a paradigm shift, broadening and diversifying in response to a growing global market and a widening range of student needs and interests. Short-term programs have since become the main drivers of the study abroad industry (Tarrant & Lyons, 2012). The shift toward shorter programs has occurred for three main reasons. First, the market has expanded to accommodate students who cannot afford the cost of full-year programs (Walters et al., 2016). As Vande Berg (2004) puts it, "study abroad is being democratized" (p. xiii). Second, many degree programs maintain strict requirements and credit transfer policies that leave students only the summer months to spend in another country (Donnelly-Smith, 2009). Third, today's undergraduates tend to juggle multiple commitments in addition to their academic studies, such as jobs, internships, and extracurricular activities, which further constrain the length of time they can spend overseas (Rausch, 2019).

As short-term programs have proliferated, quality has not kept pace with quantity. Many short-term programs have been found to lag behind general standards of pedagogical accountability (e.g., Donnelly-Smith, 2009; Ferrari & Fine, 2016; Guyer, 2011; Lakkala et al., 2018; Landon et al., 2017; Tarrant & Lyons, 2012). They have also been criticized for taking a "one size fits all" approach that invites little input from students (Engle & Engle, 2003; Gadykunst, 1979; Medina-López-Portillo, 2004; Tarrant et al., 2014) and actually hinders interaction within the host community (Campbell, 2016; Deardorff, 2015; Diao et al., 2011; Iino, 2006; Koyanagi, 2018; Magnan & Back, 2007;

McKeown, 2009; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). Short-term programs also have a natural tendency to attract a certain number of students who prefer to view the sojourn as a vacation and an easy way to earn credits, which exacerbates their image as an experience closer to tourism than serious learning and development (Davies, 2006; Engle & Engle, 2003; Koernig, 2007; Koyanagi, 2018; Rahikainen & Hakkarainen, 2013).

Much research on short-term study abroad itself has also been found to lack solid theoretical grounding and/or methodology (e.g., Bolen 2007; Campbell, 2016; Gray et al., 2002; Hoffa & DePaul 2010; Streitwieser & Light 2016; Woolf 2007). For example, Forsey et al. (2012) note the likelihood of social desirability bias in sojourner self-reporting, a widely used method of data collection in research on short-term study abroad (see also Jordan, 2001; Vande Berg et al., 2012). Forsey and his colleagues found that Australian students who reported their minds having been broadened by short-term study abroad struggled in interviews to explain what they meant by that statement. The authors explain, "although they were articulate, thoughtful, young people, most interviewees offered quite trivial, superficial answers when asked what they actually learned about themselves, other cultures, and their own culture" (p. 136).

Dwyer's (2004) study of nearly 4,000 students enrolled in study abroad programs ranging from six weeks to a full academic year produced counterintuitive findings that generated renewed interest in the learning and developmental possibilities of short-term study abroad. The author examined longitudinal correlations between specific program features—duration, housing, language training, academic instruction, and internships—and a variety of student outcomes. Students of summer programs surpassed those of full-

semester programs on several metrics related to intercultural learning and development such as using a foreign language, living with host-nationals, becoming more interested in other cultures, changing one's undergraduate major, and revisiting the host country. Dwyer draws from these findings the following conclusions:

> […] well-planned, intensive summer programs of at least 6 weeks duration can have a significant impact on student growth across a variety of important outcomes. While it requires very careful educational planning, expert implementation, and significant resources to achieve these outcomes in a shorter-term length, the results of this study should encourage study abroad educators and should reinforce the value of short-term programming of at least 6 weeks duration. Whether these results would hold for the increasingly popular 1–5 week programs is unknown. (p. 161)

Dwyer's study prompted a dramatic increase in research on learning and developmental outcomes of short-term study abroad. One theme that emerged from the new literature is the importance of host programs providing not only opportunities to interact within the host community (Behrnd & Porzelt, 2012; Deardorff, 2011; Hunter, 2008; Pedersen, 2010; Vande Berg et al., 2012; Woolf, 2007) but also what Vande Berg et al. (2009) describe as a "secondary intervention" (p. 32)—a mentor, or mentors, who support students in reflecting on their experiences and in building concepts and skills that can facilitate their adjustment. Such mentors may be faculty, staff, students, or others (Baba & Hosoda, 2014; Sivakumaran et al., 2013; Sullivan & Kashubeck-West, 2015; Victoria University, 2005). Pedersen (2010) found that students of programs where such

"intercultural pedagogy" (p. 76) was provided achieved greater gains in intercultural competence than those who did not (see Woolf, 2007 and Hunter, 2008 for more).

Jackson (2009) provides one example of research on a program that incorporates this recommended combination of opportunities for ongoing interaction and guided reflection. Jackson conducted an ethnographic case study of university students from Hong Kong who completed a five-week study abroad program in England. The sojourn represented the centerpiece of a curriculum in cross-cultural studies that included fourteen weeks of pre-departure coursework in ethnographic research, intercultural communication, and English literature plus a post-return, 30-page reflective writing assignment. During the sojourn, each participant stayed with a host family and took special courses in literary and cultural studies. Participants also joined local cultural excursions and were given free time to explore on their own. As a capstone project, they conducted ethnographic research on a cultural activity of their choosing. Most participants chose to conduct their ethnographies on activities they had already joined with host-family members such as a lace-making group, a local pub, and a youth group. Once each week and on the last day of the program, participants joined debriefing sessions with the researcher and a local cultural studies specialist, where they were encouraged to raise questions about their experiences.

Data collection consisted of interviews, field notes, a reflective journal, a diary, and the Intercultural Development Inventory, a survey based on Bennett's (1986, 1993, 2004, 2013) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). Bennett (2014) describes the premise of the DMIS as follows: "as one's perceptual organization of

cultural difference becomes more complex, one's experience of culture becomes more sophisticated and the potential for exercising competence in intercultural relations increases." The DMIS consists of six stages that progress from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. The ethnocentric stages are *denial of difference*, *defense of difference*, and *minimization of difference*, and the ethnorelative stages are *acceptance of difference*, *adaptation of difference*, and *integration of difference*.

Jackson found that participants who had reached an ethnorelative stage during the sojourn gained greater awareness of differences between the home and host cultures. Those participants also became more engaged in debriefing sessions, their ethnographies incorporated more substantive data and more comparative and analytic elements, and their relationships with host-family members became closer. One limitation of this study is that it does not clarify whether the observed gains in intercultural sensitivity were achieved before or after participants developed close relationships with host nationals, or if the process was more simultaneous or cyclical in nature. The following statement by the author suggests that ongoing interaction within the host community plus guided critical reflection may have represented the engine driving the development of intercultural communicative competence. Jackson writes, "in this study, I learned that students become more cognizant of gaps in their intercultural communicative competence *as they engage* [italics added] in experiential learning (e.g., purposeful intercultural contact) and guided critical reflection" (p. 67). Had this study been framed by the PPCT model, it would have examined how interaction with host nationals developed over time and the interplay of personal, contextual, and time-related factors that influenced, and

were influenced by, that interaction. Through such analysis, the respective relationships of intercultural interaction, reflective activities, and gains in intercultural sensitivity to one another would have been clarified.

Mapp (2012) observed significant intercultural development during study abroad sojourns of just 9–14 days in duration. Participants were 87 undergraduates at a small college in Pennsylvania who joined a variety of faculty-led, cohort-based programs between 2005 and 2009. Available program types included service learning, social work, history, culture, and/or politics in Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ireland, Thailand, or Vietnam. As the author explains, the interaction students experienced within the host community varied greatly by program type:

> The service learning trips to Vietnam consisted almost solely of volunteer work in orphanages and centers for street children. The other social work trips had an afternoon or two of service learning and otherwise focused on the historical and cultural aspects of the country. The political science trips focused solely on the historical and cultural aspects of the country. (p. 730)

Before and after the sojourn, participants completed the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI) (Kelley & Meyers, 1995), a survey consisting of 50 Likert-type scale items that measure cross-cultural adaptability across four subscales: *emotional resilience*, *flexibility and openness*, *perceptual acuity*, and *personal autonomy*. Significant development was found within all four subscales, especially that of *emotional resilience*. Example statements reflecting each subscale are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

CCAI subscales and example statements (Mapp, 2012)

Dimension	Item
Emotional resilience	*I feel confident in my ability to cope with life, no matter where I am.*
Flexibility & openness	*When I meet people who are different from me, I am interested in learning more about them.*
Perceptual acuity	*In talking with people from other cultures, I pay attention to body language.*
Personal autonomy	*I feel free to maintain my personal values, even among those who do not share them.*

The author conducted a repeated measure ANOVA (analysis of variance test to analyze the differences among group means) to determine whether four covariates—trip duration, whether the country was English-speaking, the number of countries previously visited, and the longest amount of time previously spent in another country—had any impact on the findings. No significant relationships were found. Mapp concludes that it is possible for a wide range of students in a variety of contexts to undergo significant intercultural development during study abroad programs as brief as nine days in duration.

This study has some notable limitations. First, in addition to the inherent limitations of self-reported data, the second CCAI having been administered immediately following the end of the sojourn makes it unclear whether the reported changes were lasting. Another limitation is the lack of accounting for contextual factors such as program type, cohort size, residential environment, the role of faculty leaders, and cultural characteristics of the host country. For example, volunteering in an orphanage likely provides a much stronger context for developing emotional resilience than studying

political science, but findings are not differentiated by program type. This study shows that it is possible for significant intercultural development to occur during short-term study abroad, but it does not address the specific contexts and processes that enable such development to occur.

Perry et al. (2012) combined Dewey's (1933, 1938) concept of *educative experiences* and Mezirow's (1991) transformative learning theory into a framework for assessing transformative learning outcomes of short-term study abroad. Dewey (1938) describes educative experiences as encounters that generate interest, create dilemmas that spark new curiosity, and fuel demand for new information. He argues that the very purpose of formal schooling should be to support critical contemplation of the larger questions that arise from educative experiences (p. 25). Mezirow (1991) describes transformative learning as a process that begins with a "disorienting dilemma," a disruption in communication that promotes reflection and can lead to heightened self-awareness and competence in one's roles and relationships. This construct resembles Swain's (1985) concept of "communicative breakdown" in SLA and Archer's (1991) concept of "culture bumps" in intercultural communication. Lange (2004) describes disorienting dilemmas as "pedagogical entry points" (p. 183) because they represent problems in which students are personally invested. Perry et al. (2012) argue that framing short-term study abroad within the concepts of educative experiences and transformative learning can reveal pedagogies that strengthen its impact on intercultural learning and development.

Strange and Gibson (2017) examined transformative learning outcomes of 216

university students in the southeastern U.S. who completed study abroad programs ranging from one week to one semester in duration. The authors distributed a retrospective, mixed-methods questionnaire that was divided into three sections. The first section consisted of the Learning Activities Survey, an instrument developed by King (1998) and operationalized by Brock (2010) for measuring transformative learning. The second section included a series of fixed-choice and open-ended questions related to experiential learning and program type, and the third section obtained demographic information such as gender, age, and class standing. Descriptive statistics were generated for fixed-choice items using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Analysis of transformative learning experiences in relation to program length was conducted using ANOVA. Program lengths were divided into four categories: short (0–18 days), medium (19–35 days), long (36–49 days), and extra-long (50+ days). Thematic analysis was conducted on the open-ended data. Transformative learning was found to occur to a much higher degree in programs of at least 19 days in duration, and relatively little difference was found among programs ranging from 19 to 50+ days. These results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

One-way ANOVA difference in transformative learning by program length (Strange & Gibson, 2017)

Program Length	N	Mean	SD
Short (0–18 days)	19	4.29	3.24
Medium (19–35 days)	45	7.09	3.12
Long (36–49 days)	36	7.26	2.78
Extra-Long (50+ days)	25	7.92	3.19

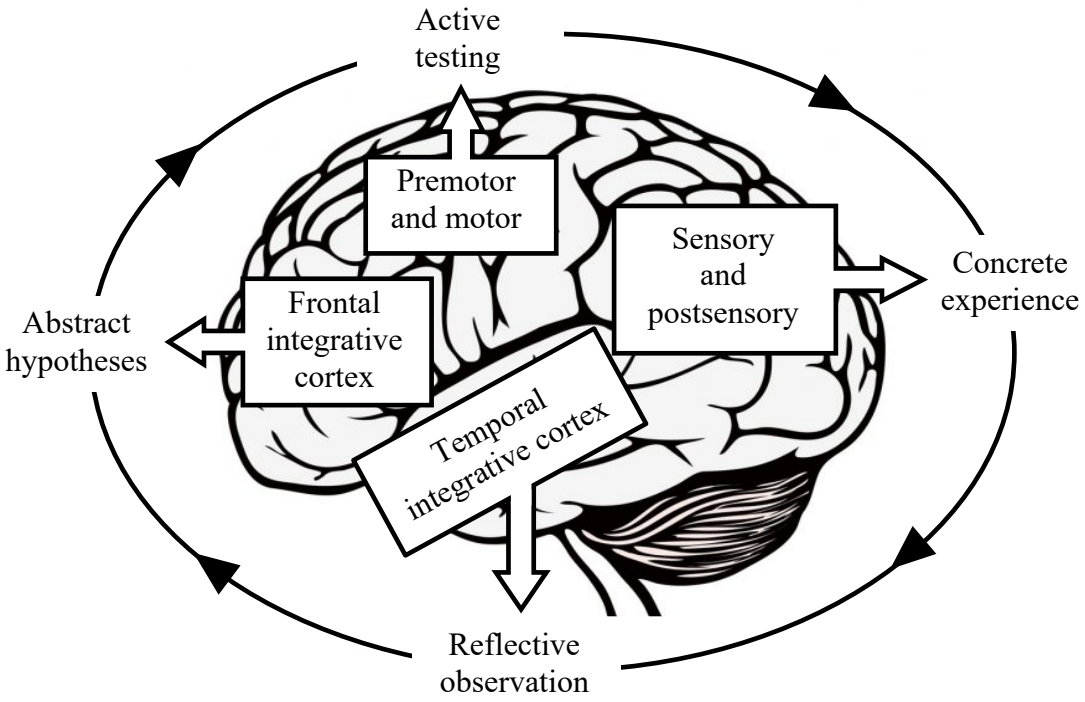
No significant differences by program type were detected, but participants' open-ended responses suggested that reflective activities had been key to the process by which transformative learning had occurred. The authors explain:

> Students indicated that they were not only being given the opportunity for active learning, but also the ability to reflect on their experiences through essays and in-depth, student-led class discussions, ultimately showing that a relationship may exist between experiential learning components and the achievement of a perspective transformation. (p. 97)

One limitation of this study is that it does not report on the full experiential learning cycle as presented by Kolb and Kolb (2005). Following *concrete experience*, *reflective observation*, and the formation of *abstract hypotheses*, the individual is expected to return to the concrete experience, test their hypotheses, and see what happens. Zull (2002) explains that this cycle mirrors the basic process of learning as it is understood to occur in the brain, shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3

The experiential learning cycle and regions of the cerebral cortex (Zull, 2002)



Zull presents simple diagrams such as the one above to demonstrate how common understandings in neurobiology can be applied to the practice of teaching and learning. As mentioned earlier, he portrays teaching as "the art of changing the brain," a process by which teachers support learners to build connections between old and new neural networks. In the case of study abroad, the old networks are the ones students bring from their home countries, and new ones are those that begin to form in the host country. As Elliot et al. (2016), reviewed earlier in this chapter, have similarly suggested, supporting sojourners in their assessment of the extent to which their old ways of thinking support or hinder resolution of new and unfamiliar problems in the new environment appears to

represent a key element of facilitating intercultural development during study abroad. When this process is cyclical in nature, with students repeatedly returning to the field to test their new hypotheses, intercultural competence develops.

This section has reviewed several studies on intercultural learning and development during short-term study abroad. Much research in this area suffers from theoretical and methodological shortcomings, and much less attention has been paid to processes than outcomes. Two key understandings that can be drawn from this literature are that personal characteristics tend to exert a strong influence the amount and quality of intercultural interaction during study abroad, and the combination of opportunities for ongoing interaction plus guided reflection appear to represent elements of a formula for supporting students to experience developmentally significant intercultural interaction during short-term sojourns. The following section continues this review of research with a focus on Japanese students.

Japanese Student Intercultural Interaction During Short-Term Study Abroad

This section reviews seven studies that address Japanese student intercultural interaction during short-term study abroad. The first of these illustrates exosystem-level influences by describing the impact of pre-departure and post-return activities that took place on participants' home campus in Japan. The next three studies were conducted in mostly Asian or otherwise collectivistic cultural contexts, where the relatively small cultural distance appears to have mitigated the constraints of language and time, enabling significant, ongoing intercultural interaction to occur. The final three studies were conducted in the U.S. where, as previously noted, international students originating from

Asian countries have reported higher levels of acculturative stress than students from other world regions (Poyrazli et al., 2004; see Briley et al., 2014; Leong, 2015; Quinton, 2019; Samuel, 2004; Sato & Hodge, 2009, 2015; Spurling, 2006; Toyokawa et al., 1998 for more). The first two of these studies examine self-reports by Japanese and other East Asian students who experienced academic and social isolation at universities in the U.S. The third study describes how engagement in extracurricular activities enabled Japanese students on a ten-month program at a university in the U.S. to build social networks with host-national peers, which improved their scores across a range of metrics related to student adjustment.

Ingulsrud et al. (2002) present a holistic model for assessing sojourner cross-cultural awareness, which involves analyzing pre-departure and post-return portfolios using a quantitative instrument that identifies critical cross-cultural thinking in student-generated text. The study in which this model was implemented took place at Kyushu Lutheran College in Kumamoto, where short-term study abroad was required of all students as part of a core curriculum in global and intercultural studies. 176 students participated in the study over a period of three years. Students chose from a variety of four-to-eight-week programs in English-language training, academic study, community service, and/or internships located in Asia, Australia, Central America, Europe, North America, and South America. In advance of their sojourn, students produced portfolios to document their expectations of how the experience would impact them. Pre-departure portfolios consisted of the following items:

- Final paper in the course, *Cross-Cultural Communication I;*

- Statement on the rationale for choosing a particular overseas program;
- Audio- or video-recording of spoken English;
- Sample of written English.

During their sojourn, students were instructed to maintain an observation journal. After returning to Japan, they produced a second portfolio on how the sojourn had impacted them, which included the following items:

- Overseas observation journal
- Annotated final paper and rationale statement from the pre-departure portfolio, indicating statements reaffirmed and those from which the student's views had shifted;
- Reflective report;
- Any additional item/s the student wished to submit.

Students were additionally invited to request an interview if they wished to elaborate in person on anything they had included in their portfolios.

To analyze the portfolios, the authors utilized a critical text analysis informed by transformational learning theory. They created an operational definition of "cross-cultural awareness" that describes the concept in two sequential stages, namely *recognition of cultural differences* followed by *reflection about those differences*. They defined *recognition* as the observation of phenomena in the new environment (e.g., "school buses are yellow," "diverse cultures exist side by side," and "I studied hard but found my English to be inadequate") and *reflection* as the act of relating those observations to the student's own life and/or culture (p. 480). They then divided reflective statements into the

following types posited by Mezirow (1990) and Brookfield (2000) and removed simple reflections from the analysis:

Simple reflective statements:	Reflective but showing no evidence of personal impact
Deep reflective statements:	Reflective and showing evidence of personal impact
Critical reflective statements:	Linking the reflection to a wider cultural or societal context

This approach revealed examples of deep and critical reflection such as the following:

- The anxiety I suffered before going to Korea is rooted in prejudice.
- As one who plans to work with disabled people, it was edifying to see how people with disabilities are being integrated. (p. 480)

The authors found the portfolio assignment effective not only at documenting cross-cultural awareness but also at facilitating it. By providing an ongoing structure and incentive for students to visualize their sojourn, set expectations and goals, monitor their own progress, and reflect on impact following their return to campus, it served as "a vehicle to conceptualize awareness" (p. 489; see Jacobson et al., 1999 and Paulson et al., 1991, for more). The portfolios mostly consisted of academic components, which developed resource characteristics such as knowledge and understanding, conceptual thinking, critical thinking, and language skills. The assignment also likely enhanced initial motivation, a personal sojourner characteristic understood to influence the amount and quality of interaction within the host community (Badstübner & Ecke, 2009; Campbell, 1996; Ingulsrud et al., 2002; Isabelli, 2001; Isabelli-García, 2017; Jackson,

2009; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2002; Patron, 2007; Pellegrino-Aveni, 2005; Wolcott, 2013). How the portfolio assignment specifically influenced interaction within the host community could have been explored by asking participants to address the topic in their reflective report.

This study has a number of limitations. One is the potential for social desirability bias and contrived experiences inherent in graded student output (e.g., Back, 2013; Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). The authors do not discuss grading rubrics, but participants likely recognized deep and critical reflections as part of the formula for earning high grades. It is also likely, however, that students recognized the assignment as a way of authentically learning and growing from the sojourn. Another limitation concerns the lack of information about host programs. Presenting data by variables such as program location, duration, and type would have supported a differentiated view of the findings.

Ujitani (2012) assessed the impact on intercultural communication competence of a six-day sojourn that 10 students at Nagoya University of Foreign Studies completed in South Korea. Participants were paired and placed into mixed groups with 10 Korean students for the duration of the program, which was focused on volunteering and cultural exchange. The first day included ice-breaking activities and the formation of pairs and groups. Each group created a team name for themselves, and members shared their motivations, fears, and expectations about the days ahead. Volunteer work included providing hand massages at a local senior center, where participants had to rely on their Korean partners to communicate with residents. Participants also stayed overnight in their Korean partners' homes. Each group planned and completed a half-day excursion during

which they collaborated on tasks such as convincing strangers to take a jumping photo with them. After returning from these excursions, all of the groups reconvened to present to one another on what they had experienced. The Korean students additionally offered four lessons in Korean drumming and three lessons in K-pop dance. At the end of each day, participants and their Korean peers gathered to share reflections on the day's events with the support of trained facilitators. On final day, a celebration was held in which participants and their Korean peers performed traditional dances of their respective countries and taught each other traditional crafts and customs. Participants performed a *yosakoi* dance, which they had practiced for three months leading up to the sojourn, and they taught Japanese calligraphy, origami, and the way to put on a *yukata* (a traditional festive garment).

For data collection, Ujitani utilized a translated version of the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI) (Kelley & Meyers, 1995), which she administered at the beginning and end of the sojourn, along with pre- and post-questionnaires and a post-group interview. The pre-questionnaire obtained participant age, gender, and previous overseas experience and was administered along with the pre-CCAI during the flight to South Korea. The post-questionnaire asked participants to describe three changes they had noticed in themselves resulting from the sojourn and was administered with the post-CCAI on the flight back to Japan. The group interview, conducted one week later, asked participants to elaborate on their post-questionnaire responses. Questionnaire responses were translated into English, and the group interview was translated, transcribed, and analyzed using open coding and axial coding. Table 5 shows significant improvement in

CCAI scores across all four subscales, particularly those of *emotional resilience* and *flexibility/openness*.

Table 5

Summary of CCAI survey results (Ujitani, 2012)

	Pretest scores *M (SD)*	Posttest scores *M (SD)*	Differences *M (SD)*
Emotional resilience	68.1 (15.8)	77.1 (9.0)	8.1 (11.3)
Flexibility/openness	64.7 (11.3)	72.8 (11.3)	6.9 (10.8)
Perceptual acuity	43 (6.8)	46.4 (6.3)	2.6 (5.6)
Personal autonomy	25.3 (4.0)	28.5 (4.2)	2.3 (6.0)
Total score	201.2 (30.7)	225 (19.3)	19.9 (27.5)

Analysis of post-questionnaire responses produced findings that closely resembled the CCAI results. As shown in Table 6, *emotional resilience* and *flexibility/openness* represented nearly all of the instances in which personal changes were described.

Table 6

Ranking of categories on personal changes described in postquestionnaire (Ujitani, 2012)

Rank	Categories	Instances
1	Emotional resilience	18
2	Flexibility/openness	11
3	Perceptual acuity	2
4	Personal autonomy	1

Participants gained *emotional resilience* through two main types of activity, namely overcoming challenges and developing new interests. Ujitani notes the following examples:

> Kanako was afraid to communicate with Korean people due to her lack of confidence in speaking English. However, she made an effort to talk more and made many Korean friends. Asami first had difficulty playing the Korean drum and dancing to K-pop, but ended up being able to do these things. (p. 520)

Participants developed *flexibility/openness* by connecting with members of the host community and gaining new perspectives and interests as a result. Ujitani features the following example:

> When Yumi entered a room to give a hand massage, one female resident who noticed the Japanese name on her name tag asked, "Are you Japanese?" with cold eyes. In the follow-up interview, Yumi expressed how she felt at that time: "I felt I wasn't welcomed." Eventually, Yumi's Korean partner persuaded the resident to receive a massage from them. This shocking experience didn't discourage her but motivated her to learn more about the history of Korea and Japan. (pp. 520–521)

One participant underwent a significant change in *perceptual acuity* by becoming more comfortable with physical contact with others. Ujitani explains as follows:

> Tamiko was shocked at being hugged or touched on her arms by her Korean partner when they first met because Japanese people don't practice frequent touching even among close friends, but towards the end of her stay she got used to

it and started to practice it with her Korean friends. (p. 521)

Through the CCAI scores and her analysis of interview responses, Ujitani finds significant development in cross-cultural adaptability during this overseas sojourn of less than one week in duration. The author qualifies these findings by highlighting a number of limitations. One is that, because the group interview took place just one week after participants had returned to Japan, this study does not address long-term impact. Another is that the small number of participants and lack of a control group made it impossible to confirm whether the observed changes in cross-cultural adaptability derived from the specific activities of the program under consideration.

One limitation the author does not address is the likely influence of South Korea's geographical and cultural proximity to Japan. The two countries are located in the same time zone, and their cultures have influenced each other since the first wave of Yayoi migrants reached Japan's shores around c. 1,000 BCE (Farris, 1998, Fukase et al., 2012; Hanihara and Ishida 2009; Nakagome et al., 2015). Throughout early Japanese history, Koreans migrated to Japan in great numbers, integrated themselves into society, and played a role in the development of Japanese culture (Aston, 1896; Hoffman, 2006; McCullough, 1999; Samson, 1958; Yamamura & Hall, 1997). Hong and Jin (2021) have described how the overlapping histories and traditions of Japan, Korea, and also China undergird the recent, transnational conversion of East Asian pop culture. The overlap of traditional and modern cultures between Japan and Korea, not to mention the absence of let-lag, likely influenced the smoothness and speed by which participants underwent the

observed changes in cross-cultural adaptability.

Ujitani draws from her findings three recommendations for supporting cross-cultural adaptability during short-term sojourns. The first is to provide structured opportunities for ongoing interaction. The author describes the pairing arrangement with Korean peers as having been particularly effective in this regard because it encouraged participants to venture outside their comfort zones. As one participant reported, "I was more willing to have myself understood with words in a one-to-one situation" (p. 522). This finding aligns with studies by Pritchard and Skinner (2002) and Smith and Khawaja (2011) on pairing as an effective means of supporting sojourner acculturation and intercultural skill development.

Secondly, interaction needs to be "meaningful" (p. 522). Ujitani cites Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis in emphasizing the collaborative nature of meaningful interaction. Evidence of collaboration between participants and their Korean peers in Ujitani's study is found in activities such as providing hand massages to seniors, persuading strangers to take a jumping photo, and teaching and learning cultural activities together.

Lastly, Ujitani recommends the provision of ongoing opportunities for shared, critical reflection such as the facilitator-led sessions held at the end of each day in the program featured in this study. Ujitani notes the emphasis on *shared* reflection in prevailing models of intercultural training to underscore that participants in her study benefitted not only from reflecting on their own experiences but also from hearing and considering the reflections of others (see (Hamel et al., 2010 and Pedersen, 2010 for

more).

Ujitani's recommendations do not include pre-departure activities, but participants' having practiced a traditional group dance for three months leading up to the sojourn, and likely reviewed their calligraphy, origami, and yukata-wearing skills during that time as well, provided an ongoing context for visualizing the sojourn and strengthening their motivation, both as individuals and as a cohort. As previously mentioned, sojourner initial motivation has been found to influence the amount and quality of interaction within the host community, so it seems likely that these pre-departure activities also influenced the outcomes observed in this study.

Koyanagi (2018) describes how 29 Japanese university students "perceived and interpreted reality through interaction with their settings" (p. 109) during four-week study abroad programs in Canada (18 students) and Malaysia (11 students) that were organized by their home university. Participant English ability ranged from lower to upper intermediate, and none of the participants had ever experienced ongoing communication with non-Japanese people prior to the sojourn. The host programs were English-language study centers attached to universities. The programs simultaneously hosted study abroad students from several countries including Brazil, China, Mexico, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, and South Korea. Participants shared a dormitory and the campus cafeteria with domestic students and other study abroad students, and they studied English as a Foreign Language (EFL) with other study abroad students. No more than two Japanese students were enrolled in a single EFL class.

A two-stage, mixed-methods approach was used to identify learning and developmental outcomes and to investigate how those outcomes were obtained. The first stage involved a Likert scale-type survey administered soon after the sojourn had ended. The survey obtained participant views on how the sojourn had impacted their personal development, future perspectives, gained experience, communication skills, cultural identity, and intercultural competence. 74.4% of participants strongly agreed with the statement, "I gained a broader view" (p. 110), and 55% strongly agreed with "I gained important friendships." Other reported changes included becoming more proactive and learning to cooperate with people of other cultures.

Three months after the sojourn had ended, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 participants. The interviews were designed to capture the impact of study abroad by asking participants to describe their most positive and negative experiences. The analysis of interview transcripts was framed by cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT), a form of psychological treatment that typically involves efforts to change thinking patterns. Beck (2011) describes CBT as a two-stage process by which an individual's "core beliefs" about the self, others, and the world around them influence their "intermediate beliefs," which consist of rules, attitudes, and assumptions. Intermediate beliefs, in turn, shape people's cognitive appraisal of the various situations they encounter. Cognitive appraisals are also referred to as "automatic thoughts" because people tend to be less conscious of them than they are of the emotions those thoughts evoke. As Neenan and Dryden (2004) explain, "it is not events per se that determine our feelings but the meanings that we attach to these events" (p. 3). In utilizing CBT as her

theoretical framework, Koyanagi identifies five areas of impact, described as follows.

Utilization of English language. Participants reported gaining the motivation to use English even when they believed their skills were inadequate to speak correctly. One participant explained, "at the beginning, I hesitated to speak English. But after recognizing I need not worry about grammar, I just started to speak English" (p. 112). Koyanagi explains that daily opportunities to interact with co-national and multi-national others in casual settings enabled students to reconceptualize English as a tool for communication rather than simply an academic subject. She paraphrases, "English is somehow 'virtual' for the Japanese. Through [participants'] everyday experiences during study abroad, English became real for them" (p. 112).

Interpersonal communication skills. Participants were encouraged by the discovery of their status as international students being a factor that enhanced opportunities for interpersonal communication on campus. They felt welcomed by domestic and fellow international students alike, who were eager to chat with them about topics of mutual interest such as Japanese anime, impressions of the host country, and future goals. Several participants highlighted the dormitory and cafeteria as two immediate settings that had been particularly supportive of both initial encounters and the development of relationships with other students. Within these friendly, overlapping environments, participant attitudes toward intercultural communication grew more positive, motivation and efforts increased, and interpersonal communication skills improved. Koyanagi explains that ongoing, unmediated interaction with host-national and multi-national peers developed participants into "proactive interlocutors" (p. 113). One

participant described how this process began for her as follows:

> Before this, I had thought that strangers would feel annoyed if I talked to them. But on the first evening, one Malaysian student whom I did not know spoke to me at the cafeteria and I was very happy to be spoken to. So I understood that it was okay to talk to someone I didn't know. In Japan, we tend to hesitate and have a reserved attitude towards strangers. (p. 113)

Involvement in global society. Ongoing, informal interaction with other international students, and students from Muslim countries in particular, enabled participants to see beyond cultural stereotypes, gain a sense of commonality, and develop friendships. Moreover, participants came to feel connected not only to their new friends but also to the regions of the world that their friends represented. The author writes:

> In both Malaysia and Canada, many of the students' classmates were from Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia. Before studying abroad, the Japanese students had heavily negative images of Muslims, shaped largely by media portrayals. However, as they came to know Muslim students as friends, they came to recognize the prejudiced and stereotypical nature of such images and instead viewed Muslims as fellow human beings who shared many of the same feelings and attitudes. One student reported that talking with a Kurdish student was the most impressive event of his time abroad because meeting such people in Japan is nearly impossible. He said, "Whenever I hear news about the Middle East, I cannot let it go as I think of my friends living there. I have become very responsive to international affairs" (M11). Another student […] recalled, "The

> other day, I heard news about Tikrit and made contact with my friend who lives nearby, asking him, 'How is it?' My world became wider" (M6). Most of the students reported that they had remained in contact through e-mail and social media with students from other countries with whom they had become friends during the study-abroad programme. (p. 114)

Opening doors to greater possibilities. Interaction with other international students led several participants to a brighter outlook on their future careers. For example, one participant majoring in architecture described how communicating with two architecture majors from the Philippines had opened her mind to the possibility of working overseas. Another participant had kept to himself for the first week because of feeling depressed over his job-hunting situation in Japan, but in the second week he started playing table tennis in the dormitory lounge, and friendships that he formed through that activity led him to a more flexible and positive mindset about his future.

Attitudes towards living. Koyanagi describes changes in participant attitudes toward living in two dimensions. The first dimension is "activeness," embodied in terms such as *positive*, *affirmative*, *proactive*, *challenge*, and *leverage*. One student described friendships she had formed with goal-oriented students from Saudi Arabia and Mexico as having inspired her to become more goal oriented herself. Another participant similarly described noticing that all of the other international students he knew were more expressive than he was, and how that realization made him resolve to become more expressive so that he would succeed in communicating with people outside Japan in the future.

Koyanagi calls the second dimension "psychological toughness" (p. 115), and the examples she provides within this category are wide ranging. One participant in Malaysia, for example, reported becoming more at ease with daily adversities such as insects and cold showers. She explained, "I just needed to accept them; it could not be helped. This was a totally good outcome for me" (p. 115). Other participants described becoming less concerned about other people's thoughts, which they similarly viewed as a positive change in themselves. Example statements are presented as follows:

- "I had been watching out for people's feelings because I had been bullied before, but now I don't care about them so much."
- "My view became wider and I can now understand that it is not the end of the world even if some people dislike me. That is because I interacted with so many various people in Malaysia, including the students from this university." (p. 116)

Koyanagi's two-stage, mixed-methods approach was effective at identifying significant developmental outcomes of a study abroad program of just four weeks in duration. The survey captured self-reported data soon after the sojourn had ended, and the interviews, conducted three months later, revealed participants' lasting interpretations of the experience and its impact on their lives. Ongoing, unmediated interaction with domestic and fellow international students across multiple overlapping contexts appears to have been the main driver of the observed outcomes. Koyanagi explains that such interaction supported participants to develop the three requisite attitudes of intercultural competence according to Deardorff (2006), namely *respect*, *openness*, and *curiosity and discovery.*

One limitation of the survey Koyanagi utilized for data collection is that it is not a validated instrument, and some of the terms it uses, such as “active,” “flexible,” and “ability to deal with cultural differences” (p. 111), are not precisely defined. Using an established instrument, such as the Intercultural Development Inventory (Bennett, 2014) or the CCAI (Kelley & Meyers, 1995), would have helped in defining terms and simplifying comparison with other studies. In addition, while the semi-structured interviews gave participants wide latitude to describe their experiences, they did not obtain consistent information related to basic aspects of intercultural interaction such as the number of friends and acquaintances, frequency and length of time spent with each person, and perceived closeness to each person. Koyanagi acknowledges this limitation and calls for more focused research on the factors, conditions, and processes that support ongoing intercultural interaction to occur during short-term study abroad.

Ottoson et al. (2018) provide three analytical perspectives on self-reports by 24 students of Nanzan University (located in the city of Nagoya) on their most meaningful experiences during a four-week program in Thai language and culture studies hosted by a university in northeastern Thailand. The program included weekly language classes, guest lectures, local excursions, and overnight trips. Each participant was paired with a Thai undergraduate tutor for the duration of the program, who assisted with language study and collaborated on a fieldwork assignment.

The original plan for data collection had been for participants to maintain a daily reflective journal, which included focus questions to guide their reflections. However, in accompanying participants on the sojourn, the authors quickly realized that their plan for

daily, *in situ* documentation was a bad fit for their study. They explain:

> Specifically, we noticed that students were far busier than originally anticipated with Thai language classes, time spent with their Thai tutors both formally and informally, and their involvement in other program activities and excursions. Students were also focused on their fieldwork presentations, and practicing dance and other routines as part of the "sayonara" show that is given annually at the end of the program to express their gratitude. We further underestimated the time that students would regularly spend on their own autonomously arranged meetings, which often occurred during evenings when we had imagined they would be reflecting. (p. 198)

In realizing that the daily journaling assignment was interfering with meaningful experiences that participants were having, the authors eliminated it and devised a new approach to data collection—a single, open-ended report, which they asked students to complete during the return flight to Japan. Japanese-language versions of the following questions were distributed on separate sheets of paper:

1) What meaningful experiences did you have during Thai NAP?

2) What did you learn from these experiences?

Students were allowed to write in English or in Japanese, and they all chose to write in Japanese. Responses were translated and separately analyzed using conceptual, grounded theory, and holistic approaches. Each approach and its findings are summarized as follows.

Conceptual Approach. The authors utilized Bennett's (2014) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) as a top-down framework for assessing intercultural development. Significant development was observed at the stages of *minimization of difference* and *acceptance of difference*. Example statements are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Top DMIS categories with examples (Ottoson et al. 2018)

Minimization of difference
Wall of language can't prevent us from friend making.
(I learned) from the exchange with the Thai tutors that even if a country or language is different there is not a big barrier between us.
Before I went to Thailand, I was worried whether I could communicate or become close to the tutors, but when I actually went to Thailand and hung out with the Thai tutors, I felt that is possible to become close even if their country is different.
The world is a big place and there are many different things there, but friendship and (social) bonds are the same all over the world.
Acceptance of difference
You cannot take life in Japan for granted as each country has their own culture, so I felt that the world is a big, interesting, and fascinating place.
(I learned) Being able to become close with people from any country. Even if something is the same or different, everything is interesting. The way things are done in Japan are not the only way to do things.
Also, there were LGBT tutors. At first, I thought that was strange, but that is culture and the Thais thought that it was natural, so I became closer to them. There were no barriers, and because the Japanese students wanted to become closer to the Thai students, personally became more active, and could better become closer to them.

One limitation of the DMIS is that it does not assess depth of cultural knowledge. Deardorff (2006; 2015) identifies *deep cultural knowledge*, which she defines as "a holistic and contextual understanding of that culture, including its historical, political, and social contexts" (p. 132), as fundamental to intercultural competence. Several statements by participants in this study suggest only superficial knowledge of Thai culture, but the authors note that this finding reflects a limitation of the DMIS and not necessarily one of the participants themselves.

Grounded Theory Approach. A thematic analysis was conducted to gain a bottom-up view of participant experiences. Fourteen categories were created and grouped into four themes, presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Themes and categories produced by grounded theory (Ottoson et al., 2018)

Themes	Categories
A. Intercultural experience	1) Differences/comparison 2) Acceptance 3) Self-cultural awareness 4) Other
B. Relationships/Emotional contacts	1) Relationship with Thai students 2) Friendship 3) Team 4) Other
C. Communication	1) Willingness to communicate 2) Communication in general 3) Non-verbal communication 4) Other
D. Language	1) Language use 2) Joy of learning a language

Reflections were thematically coded, and the frequency of each theme was calculated. To operationalize the theme of *intercultural experience*, the authors adopted the Association of American Colleges and Universities' definition of the term, which describes it as "the experience of an *interaction* [italics added] with an individual or groups of people whose culture is different than your own" (AAC&U, 2013, p. 1). The emphasis on interaction in this definition resulted in several statements categorized under this theme also relating to the theme of *relationships/emotional connection* such as the following:

- "In Japan, if you raise your hand or do something actively, you would be looked down upon, but after I came to Thailand, Thai people accepted me to the point that I felt no hesitation to do something in front of everyone." (p. 206)

Within the theme of *relationships/emotional connection*, participants described how relationships with Thai tutors had progressed from cordial associations to trusting friendships. One participant reported, "every day the Thai tutors not just my own but all of them created a casual, home-like atmosphere, as we went on trips together, ate together and so on, so we became very close" (p. 212). Several participants described their tutors using Japanese terms such as *yūjō* (friendship), which conveys a much deeper relationship than the more commonly used *tomodachi* (friend), and *nakama*, which refers to friends who are as close as family members.

Holistic Approach

The holistic approach is also bottom-up in nature, but it does not disaggregate data as its purpose is to examine responses in their totality. This approach is particularly

useful to the analysis of processes that change over time as participants develop increased awareness and understanding. It begins with the researcher reading a text multiple times and highlighting significant parts. Codes are then produced, which tend to be broader than those produced in thematic analysis. Connections between and among topics are then explored to identify "both the common narrative and the fundamental crux of the shared experiences" (p. 210). The holistic approach revealed a sequence of five steps that characterized the flow of the sojourn for most participants, summarized as follows.

First step: The Japanese students first sought to create supportive social networks. For the first two weeks, participants spent most of their free time interacting among themselves. This finding is consistent with other studies that have found co-national relationships supportive during the initial transition to the new environment (e.g., Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998; Coleman, 2013; Kim, 2001; Maundeni, 2001).

Second step: The Japanese students created emotional connection through shared daily experiences. Participants deepened ties with one another over time, reflected in statements such as the following:

- "For one month, it was my first time to spend time with my Japanese friends so close, and there were good things and bad things, but together we found ways to solve our problems, so together we could grow together." (p. 212)

During the third week of the program, participants continued to develop relationships with one another, and by this time they were also developing close relationships with their tutors, a finding that contradicts Kim's (2001) hypothesis that co-

national networks are helpful in the short term but detrimental to interaction within the host community if they remain in place for the duration of the sojourn. Participants attributed the bonds they developed with their tutors to their tutors' willingness to meet for many hours outside of scheduled activities. In addition to supporting participants with their fieldwork, the tutors helped them to make connections within the community by introducing them to local residents and "just 'hanging out'" (p. 87) together. Tutor personal characteristics, therefore, played a significant role in the development of these host-national relationships. As Renn and Arnold (2003) and Riggins-Caspers et al. (2003) emphasize, personal characteristics not only of the developing individual under consideration but also the people with whom that individual interacts mutually influence and are influenced by proximal processes.

Third step: In sharing their daily lives, the Japanese students developed communication skills and meta-cognitive skills. The emotional bonds that participants formed with their tutors mitigated the constraints normally caused by language difficulties. The authors write, "the narrowing emotional distance between the Japanese and the Thai students came to represent the reduced language distance between them; as the emotional distance became shorter, the language distance was also seen to disappear." Example participant statements include, "friendship overcomes the barrier of language" and "we become so close to the Thai tutors that it didn't feel as though language was a barrier, as our friendship was strong and deep, I felt" (p. 212).

Fourth step: The Japanese students developed the confidence to step out of their comfort zone, becoming more emotionally open to experiences. In developing trusting

relationships with their tutors, participants became more willing to express themselves in front of others, as shown in statements such as the following:

- "Until now, there was a part of me that was closed, but that is not necessary anymore,
  and so I learned that I should be more active."
- "I could behave naturally and show my feelings in ways that I usually don't show to my Nanzan University friends [...]"
- "I behaved naturally and reached out to people .... In Japan, ... if you put up your hand
  or if you do something different, the people around you will look at you, but in
  Thailand, even if you do something in front of other people, you don't feel embarrassed
  because the Thai people are so welcoming."

Fifth step: The Japanese students began to question how they saw the world. The authors doubt that a major shift in worldview can occur during sojourns of only four weeks in duration, but they note the emergence of a critical global perspective in statements such as the following:

- "You cannot take for granted that the way things are done in Japan are the only way to do things."
- "You cannot assume that life in Japan is the best as each country has their own culture, so I felt that the world is a big, interesting, and fascinating place."

- "At first, I had various problems, but slowly I came to understand the meaning of 'culture'. I felt that only thinking about the world that oneself thought and saw is wrong, so I began to actively engage with the local Thai people. Then, without really thinking, somehow the wall that I imagined disappeared." (p. 215)

This study provides multiple perspectives on a month-long study abroad program during which proximal processes appear to have occurred during sojourner interaction with both co-national and host-national peers. Those proximal processes further appear to have represented the driving force behind the development of a foundation in critical global awareness and intercultural communication competence. The authors note that the shared collectivistic orientation of Japanese and Thai cultures may have played a part in the smooth and quick development of close relationships with host-national peers. They recommend that similar studies in other cultural contexts be conducted to investigate whether the observed outcomes are "unique to students with collectivistic cultural backgrounds compared to more individualistic cultures" (p. 208).

Sato and Hodge (2009) utilized an exploratory, multiple-case study approach to investigate international graduate student experiences of three men and three women from Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan enrolled at two universities in the Big Ten Conference in the U.S. The case study method is designed to support examination of complex social phenomena without causing changes to the environment (see Yin, 2003 for more). The authors utilized this method to investigate the conditions under which certain phenomena that occurred in graduate students' lives, such as social struggles, were likely or unlikely to occur. The mean age was 33 years with a range of 30–36 years,

and program durations ranged between one and six years.

Data collection consisted of a demographic survey and focused interviews. The survey obtained information about participant backgrounds and written descriptions of their graduate programs and experiences as students. The interviews averaged 60–90 minutes in length and focused on experiences as graduate students and contextual factors affecting those experiences. Interview questions were sent one week in advance of the interviews to provide participants time to contemplate the topics that would be covered.

The analysis produced four interrelated themes, namely *language differences*, *academic plight*, *mixed relationships*, and *emerging self-awareness*. Within the theme of *mixed relationships*, participants described language difficulties and their Asian ethnicity as the main barriers to building social relationships on campus. The authors explain:

> Social distance was commonplace between the Asian students and their White[3] cohorts, both American and international. […] In all six cases, the students believed that their level of language fluency (positioned as English-language learners) contributed to a hierarchical relationship with White cohorts, where, at least in the minds of the Asian students, they were perceived by some White peers as positioned below them. This resulted in their feeling as if they were outsiders in the graduate programs. (pp. 142–143)

The experience of being marginalized within a community on the basis of language and ethnicity was upsetting to participants, and it discouraged them from

[3] The terms "White" and Caucasian" are embedded in research literature but rarely defined. Bhopal and Donaldson (1998) caution that "such populations are heterogeneous, the labels nonspecific, and the comparisons misleading" (p. 1303).

continuing to try to socialize within their program cohorts. The authors explain, “in short, [participants] tended to alter their aspirations and accept their marginalized positioning” (p. 145; see Lin & Yi, 1997 and Spurling, 2006 for more). Over time, participants met other Asian students on campus who felt similarly marginalized and began to socialize with them. Those friendships quickly grew into “social-emotional anchors” (p. 145) by providing acceptance and approval, two supportive functions of interpersonal relationships that participants had been missing (see Will, 1985 for more).

The authors recommend several types of intervention to support better integration of Asian international students on U.S. university campuses, including cultural awareness training for faculty and staff, activities that encourage social interaction among students of different backgrounds, mentor–protégé pairings that connect Asian international students with faculty and/or student mentors, and better support for newly matriculated Asian international students to handle the opportunities and challenges of life and study in the U.S.

Sato and Hodge (2015) conducted a descriptive-qualitative study on academic and social experiences of eight Japanese students during a one-year exchange program at a university in the U.S. Data were collected using a demographic survey and two semi-structured interviews. In the interviews, a conversational approach was utilized to prompt critical reflection on the meaningfulness of sojourner experiences. The first interview was conducted near the beginning of the program to assess sojourner motivation and goals, and the second one was conducted near the end of the program. For data analysis, the constant comparative method (Merriam, 1998) was used. After confirming the accuracy

of interview transcripts, the authors independently analyzed the transcripts for units of meaning that revealed thematic categories. They then shared those findings with each other and identified and analyzed recurrent themes together. Four themes emerged, described as follows.

(a) Social distance contributes to academic struggles

In the first interviews, all eight participants expressed great expectations of improving their English-language and academic skills by building relationships with students and professors. In their second interviews, they expressed frustration over not having been prepared to handle the social and cultural distance they encountered on campus. Participants explained that they had been surprised to find other students avoiding them and otherwise acting in "socially distant and impolite ways" (p. 221). In the classroom, they were further frustrated to find that their many years of English study in Japan had not prepared them to handle academic study in the U.S. Five participants reached out to their professors to ask for extra help, but most of their professors refused to work with them and instead urged them to withdraw from their courses.

(b) Collectivism positioned against individualism

The authors explain that "all participants experienced a dilemma between individualism and collectivism" (p. 214). For example, five students attempted to become more independent by managing their affairs without the support of Japanese student groups, including setting out to build friendships with domestic students on campus. None of them were able to make friends with domestic

students, and they also ended up feeling shunned by Japanese student groups. One participant attributed her difficulty in socializing with domestic students to language difficulties as follows:

> "I realized that I do not have good American friends, and I believe that American friends cannot be my best friends, because of my language barriers. My purpose of study abroad is to learn English, but now I do not speak Japanese or English language. ...I feel isolation. I have days I did not talk to anyone on campus. I feel lonely." (p. 215)

Two participants attributed their social struggles to cultural distance. One of them reported, "I think that many American students are not interested in Japanese culture. They do not care about my culture. It is very difficult to find something in common" (p. 216). The other participant similarly reported that domestic students only cared about their own culture, and he, too, ended up feeling socially isolated. He explained, "when I do not belong to Japanese groups, I do not have anyone I can talk to on campus" (p. 216).

Three participants ended up socializing almost exclusively with other Japanese students. They explained that doing so had been comfortable and enjoyable, and that their network of co-national peers had supported them to handle various challenges of life on campus. In the end, however, turning themselves away from the host community decreased their satisfaction with their study abroad experience. One participant reported as follows:

> "When I came to this campus, I was well motivated to learn American culture and English language. I wanted to make American or international friends. However, I lost my confidence of making new friends when the time was passing by, because I was hesitant to talk to new friend. I knew that they did not understand words I was saying. Then, I started to hang out with several groups of Japanese students. I enjoyed and did not have to care about language barriers. There were many Japanese students who come here to enjoy American campus life. They were not motivated to learn English language or academic major related courses. My study time was distracted by Japanese students. At the same time, I was afraid of losing friendships from Japanese groups. I knew that I had to learn how to say "NO", but it was very difficult to do. While I was in Japanese student groups, it was fun and I enjoyed so much. I believe that I should become an independent student who can work hard for achieving my goals and objectives. I always thought that my academic and social experiences are similar with when I was in Japan. Just different location..... I do not think my study abroad experiences are valuable." (p. 215)

(c) Isolation in group discussion

Participants described being left out of classroom discussions, and during group work in particular. The authors write, "the exchange students asserted that there were only a few opportunities to interact with American classmates when they participated in group work because American classmates rarely showed

much interest in communicating or socializing with them" (p. 221).

(d) Professors' negativity

Participants expressed frustration over feeling that that their professors had designed and taught their courses with only native-speaking students in mind. For example, one participant reported as follows:

> "I still remember that in week 2, a professor gave weekly oral quizzes. I did not understand the questions he said. I struggled so much. I am not sure why he did not use any written quizzes. When his lecture began, I had to take notes. He wrote key words and definitions on blackboard. I could not read words he wrote. Then, I stopped by his office to see him during his office hours. He told me that "why are you taking my class? If you do not understand the content of lecture, why do you not withdraw from my course? He was very negative about me. He encouraged me to take other section of the same course. He was unwillingly to help me. He was not trying to meet individual needs of students." (p. 218)

The authors note that maintaining protective and caring relationships with students is a hallmark of traditional teaching in East Asian countries, where teachers and professors "sometimes fulfill the role of a parent, including guiding the intellectual, moral, and personal development of students" (p. 222; see Pratt et al. 1999 and Tam et al., 2009 for more). All participants reported perceiving a lack of interest on the part of their professors in interacting with them.

The authors offer several recommendations for addressing these challenges, the

first being that host campuses provide support for Japanese students to build social networks with host-national peers. They write:

> Academic units should encourage and help Japanese students develop and maintain attitudes of multicultural openness through relationship-building initiatives and opportunities for networking with peers of the host country, which might lessen the dangers of experiencing isolation, cultural conflicts, and academic and/or social dilemmas. (p. 223; see Yakuina et al., 2013 for more)

The authors additionally recommend that opportunities be provided for guided reflection on experiences within the host community. They argue that Japanese students "must be taught how to take initiative and how to reframe cross-cultural stressors as opportunities for personal and professional growth" (p. 223). They specifically suggest activities that familiarize Japanese students with the ways in which individualism and cultural diversity influence life on campus. They write:

> Japanese exchange students must develop openness to diverse cultural ways of life on the host college campus, which will enhance their understanding of America's cultural tilt toward individualism versus Japan's cultural tilt toward collectivism […]. Academic and social adjustment in terms of individualism and collectivism should be included as part of orientation programs. (p. 223)

The authors additionally suggest that Japanese sojourners be paired with domestic-student mentors—or even with other Japanese students who have spent a significant period of time at the host institution—to facilitate their adjustment to the campus community and local culture. Concerning classroom instruction, they recommend

that group work be structured in ways that ensure the participation of students of different backgrounds (see Leki, 2001 and Sato et al., 2011 for more).

Toyokawa and Toyokawa (2002) examined how engagement in extracurricular activities impacted academic involvement and general life satisfaction for 85 Japanese students during a 10-month study abroad program hosted by a large university in the western U.S. The program encouraged participation in extracurricular activities and offered a variety of options including cultural exchange, volunteering, student clubs, event planning, and serving on the student board. The authors collected data from a campus-wide survey on student adjustment that consisted of Likert-type scale items that related to academic and out-of-class experiences, relationships with friends, physical health, and mental health. Given the wide range of topics covered by the survey, those of interest to the authors were measured by relatively few items. This limitation notwithstanding, the survey provided an adequate source of data for the purpose of their study, which was "to explore the relation between the level of engagement in extracurricular activities of Japanese students studying in the United States and the students' academic involvement, psychological health, social support from friends, and active use of leisure time" (p. 366). The topics selected from the campus-wide survey and sample items for each are presented in Table 9.

Table 9

Topics and sample statements on student adjustment (Toyokawa & Toyokawa, 2002)

Topic area	Sample statement
Engagement in extracurricular activities	- "I have made an effort to become involved in various extracurricular activities" - "I have extracurricular activities that I have become particularly involved in."
Academic adjustment	- "I had courses that I especially became involved in." - "Courses helped me to clarify my future goals."
Psychological adjustment	- "I am lonely." - "I am stressed out." - "I feel depressed." - "In general, I am satisfied with my life here."
Social support	- "I have friends whom I can comfortably ask about things."
Active use of leisure time	- "Leisure time is a very important part of my life." - "I do not know what to do during my leisure time."
Extracurricular activity benefit	- "Extracurricular activities helped me clarify my future goals." - "Extracurricular activities helped me to learn how to organize events."

Participants who were more engaged in extracurricular activities scored higher across all of the selected topic areas. Citing Astin's (1984) involvement theory, the authors suggest that engagement in extracurricular activities during study abroad should perhaps be prioritized as highly as classroom instruction because of the opportunity they represent to build social networks with host-national peers. The authors write:

> For Japanese students, extracurricular activities may serve as a potential window for the exploration of various opportunities to socialize with members of the host country. Therefore, facilitating the engagement of Japanese students and other Asian international students in out-of-class activities may be as important as supporting their successful performance in the classroom. (p. 376)

While this study finds great value in the social aspect of engagement in extracurricular activities, it does not identify the specific activities participants joined nor the types of interaction they experienced. The authors note this limitation and call for more systematic and holistic research on Japanese sojourner intercultural interaction. They write:

> The present study did not examine either the nature of activities that the Japanese students engaged in or the companions with whom they engaged in the activities. Studies in international sojourners' social interactions would provide more useful information if the content and the process of international students' interactions, students' perceived importance of the interactions, and contexts in which effective social interactions occur are investigated (Brein & David, 1971; Church, 1982). Likewise, to facilitate Japanese students' adjustment, future research needs to identify what types of activities these students engage in with whom and where. (p. 375)

The present study is designed to address this gap in the literature by examining Japanese sojourner social networks through the lens of the contextualist and process-oriented PPCT model.

The following sections review data-collection techniques for measuring intercultural interaction during study abroad, including the survey selected for this study and the social network theory on which it is based.

Measuring Social Interaction During Study Abroad

Between 2000 and 2017, participation in study abroad worldwide surged from two million to over five million students, prompting a dramatic increase in research on its learning and developmental outcomes. Within SLA, significant benefits were discovered on the social side of the study abroad experience. For example, Isabelli (2001) found that students with higher motivation tended to form stronger social networks with host nationals, which in turn accelerated their language development. Such findings created a demand for techniques that measure sojourner interaction in the target language. Five such techniques are described as follows.

Language Contact Profile (LCP)

In 2004, Freed et al. produced the Language Contact Profile (LCP), a questionnaire designed as "a comprehensive self-report for quantifying language contact and use" in various types of language-study programs including study abroad (Dewey, 2017, p. 50). Most of the LCP's questions are focused on spoken interaction, but several questions also address reading, writing, and listening.

Studies using the LCP have not shown consistent correlation between language contact and language acquisition. For example, Díaz-Campos (2004) and Lafford (2004) found a positive correlation, but Segalowitz and Freed (2004), Freed et al. (2004), and Mendelson (2004) did not. Another criticism of the LCP points to its potential for

inaccuracy in estimating total language contact owing to its reliance on retrospective self-reporting (e.g., Briggs, 2014, 2015; Csizer & Kormos, 2009; Fernandez & Tapia, 2016). As Magnan and Back (2007) explain, "given that the LCP [is] a self-recall done at one time at the end of the program, the data might not reflect reality as much as a continuous logging of activity throughout the program would" (p. 56).

Language Logs

Many researchers in SLA seeking more precise data on target-language use have utilized language logs. For example, Ginsberg and Miller (2000) created "calendar diaries," which asked participants to write down everything they did, with whom, where they did it, and the language they used during each waking hour (outside of classroom time) for seven consecutive days, three times over the course of a four-month sojourn. Data from 85 students were aggregated and analyzed to identify activity patterns such as spending time in the residence hall, socializing with host-national peers, shopping, doing other errands, and so forth. This method proved useful for identifying such patterns, but it was time- and labor-intensive for both participants and researchers (Back, 2013; Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013). In particular, the open-ended nature of calendar diaries caused variable labeling of events by participants, which made categorizing and quantifying data difficult and time-consuming.

Ranta and Meckelborg (2013) designed a computerized form that achieves the benefits of language logs in a format more amenable to statistical analysis. Participants were asked to complete the form every 15-minutes of each waking hour for seven consecutive days, once each month over the course of a six-month sojourn. The fine-

grained view afforded by this method produced noteworthy results. Participants reported greater exposure to the target language in academic settings than in social ones, and that their exposure was more receptive (e.g., listening to lectures; watching movies or television) than interactive (producing language in communication with others).

Isabelli-García (2006) conducted a mixed-methods study that included language logs, oral proficiency interviews, monthly informal interviews, and social-network log sheets, which four undergraduates from a university in the U.S. completed near the beginning, middle, and end of a five-month sojourn in Argentina. The author found that participants who formed social networks within the host community remained active in those networks, became more accepting of cultural differences, developed greater linguistic skills and sociocultural competence, and reported higher levels of satisfaction than students who did not. In accord with Isabelli (2001), sojourner motivation and attitude were found to play key roles in the formation of social networks. The author writes, "the type of motivation the learners had in learning the target language, the attitude they maintained toward the host culture, and the strength of their social networks were all connected" (p. 254).

Social Media

While language logs and other *in situ* techniques are appealing for the detailed data they collect, they can also interfere with sojourner lived experiences (see Ottoson et al., 2018 for more). As a relatively non-invasive alternative, Back (2013) advocates for the use of social media posts as an authentic source of data that can be obtained with minimal interference. The author explains that this approach also helps in mitigating

observer's paradox (Labov, 1972), as it entails the researcher entering the sojourner's own, extant forum for reporting to friends and family.

Research has shown both positive and negative impacts on SLA of social media activity during study abroad. For example, Mitchell (2012) found that English-language learners successfully utilized Facebook as an environment for developing their reading and writing skills. The author explains that the online social media platform "gave participants a clear purpose for their language use and increased their output as well as input" (p. 484). Most studies, however, point to an inverse relationship between the amount of time spent on social media and that spent interacting within the host community. For example, Kinginger (2008) found that U.S. undergraduates who had remained active in their online social networks over the course of a semester-long study abroad program in France never immersed themselves in French society, which left them unsatisfied with their sojourn. The author describes the case of one student named Dierdre as follows:

> A typical weekday, for Deirdre, involved several hours of class time, after which she went immediately to the office of the study-abroad program and spent the rest of the day using the computers there to exchange e-mail and IMs [instant messages] with her friends and family at home. She claimed to devote as much time as possible to this activity, usually about 3 hours per day. As a result, she was able to maintain continual contact with her home social network and did not feel "really immersed in France." (p. 96)

Dierdre's experience aligns with Magnan and Lafford's (2011) review of research

on learning in second-language settings, which finds that continuous activity on social media during study abroad reduces the overall impact and value of the experience, especially for second-language learners. The authors write:

> "Students who remained connected with friends and family at home through e-mail [...] and Internet social networks such as Facebook demonstrated fewer linguistic gains and less satisfaction with their abroad experience than others who relied less on these virtual contacts." (p. 533)

Photovoice

Photovoice is a form of participatory action research rooted in autodriving (Heisley & Levy, 1991), reflexive photography (Douglas, 1998), and photo novella (LeClerc et al., 2002; Wang et al., 1996). Its original purpose was to support members of marginalized communities to initiate discussions with policymakers who hold power over them as a means of bringing about social change (Castleden et al., 2008). It is grounded in three theoretical traditions: Freire's (1972) theory of education for critical consciousness, which underscores the importance of engaging learners in a critical questioning of their social context; feminist theory, which has been utilized throughout the world in efforts to empower vulnerable populations and communities, and nontraditional approaches to documentary photography (Wang, 1999). One element of feminist methodology that guides photovoice research is the principle that research should be carried out *with* women instead of *on* them, in ways that allow them to present their own experience and perspectives (Weiler, 1988). In photovoice research, participants exercise significant control over the questions, design, and/or direction of the

study through the photographs they select and the ways they choose to describe them. One of the requirements of this method, along with other methods in community-based participatory research, is the establishment of trust and a shared commitment to the research among participants before data collection can begin (e.g., Baum et al., 2006; Castleden et al., 2008).

Social Network Surveys

Milroy and Margrain's (1980) study of a speech community in Belfast, Ireland provided early evidence of how social network theory could be applied to research on intercultural interaction during study abroad. As the authors explain, social network theory supports the examination of "individual (mainly informal) relationships between people, and so offers a set of procedures for looking at the vague but important notion of 'integration into the community'" (p. 47). Two instruments designed to measure social networks during study abroad are described as follows.

Social Networks Questionnaire (SNQ)

This questionnaire was created for research funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of the United Kingdom to investigate the underlying causes of varied student progress in SLA during study abroad (McManus et al., 2014; Mitchell et al., 2017). The project examined connections between social networks, social interaction, and language learning among university students during JYA programs in France, Mexico, and Spain. The SNQ is designed to obtain detailed information about all of the people with whom study abroad students regularly interact. It asks students to report at the end

of each month on each person they know within five contexts: *university*, *organized free time*, *general free time*, *home life*, and *virtual social activities*. Students complete a simple form for each person with whom they interacted that asks how they first met that person, how often they met, the nature of the interaction, and the language(s) they used. The SNQ is part of a suite of language tasks, questionnaires, and interviews designed to be administered six times over the course of a nine-month sojourn. The range and depth of information it collects about student social experiences is therefore limited. For example, it does not ask about the relative strength of relationships or whether students interacted with friends and acquaintances in more than one setting.

Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ)

This retrospective survey instrument, developed by Dewey et al. (2012) and Dewey et al. (2013a, 2013b), maps sojourner social networks by obtaining a variety of qualitative and quantitative information. It is largely based on the Montréal Index of Linguistic Integration (Segalowitz & Ryder, 2006), a self-report that measures social contact within native-speaker communities, and Burt (1984), a position paper that prompted the inclusion of social network data in the General Social Survey (GST; a nationwide sociological survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in the U.S.). Burt's paper inspired the addition of the question, "With whom do you talk about personal matters?" as a means of identifying respondents' "core discussion network" (Marsden, 1987; McPherson et al., 2006).

Quantitative items in the SASIQ measure social networks along five dimensions, summarized in Table 10.

Table 10

Dimensions of sojourner social networks measured by the SASIQ (Dewey et al., 2012)

Dimension	Description
Size	Total number of individuals in the network
Durability	Frequency with which network members interact (Scott, 2000)
Intensity	Strength of relationships within the network (Knoke & Yang, 2008; Scott, 2000)
Density	Amount of connections between network members
Dispersion	Total number of groups in the network

Qualitative items ask participants to describe how they first met each friend and acquaintance, why they think certain relationships grew more than others, host-program support, and efforts made on their own to interact within the host community. In a study of over 100 U.S. undergraduates who had studied in China, Egypt, France, Mexico, Russia, or Spain, data obtained by the SASIQ showed strong correlation between social network activity within the host community and linguistic gains (Baker-Smemoe et al., 2014). In another study involving over 200 U.S. undergraduates who had studied in Japan (Dewey, Brown & Egget, 2012), network dispersion was identified as a reliable predictor of gains in spoken proficiency. A third study involving U.S. undergraduates in Jordan and Morocco found that sojourners who had formed close relationships with host nationals achieved greater linguistic gains than those who did not (Dewey et al., 2013a).

The SASIQ is the most comprehensive instrument for examining sojourner intercultural interaction that I have been able to find, so I have selected it as my method

of data collection. In consultation with its lead designer, I have revised it for research framed by the PPCT model, described in detail in the following chapter. The final section of this chapter introduces the elements of social network theory that undergird the SASIQ's design.

Social Network Theory

The first use of the term, "social network" is widely attributed to John Dewey and James Hayden Tufts (1908/2008), who argued that every human being exists "in general relations to others [as] a member of a complex social network" (p. 312). Dewey and Tufts posit an ongoing conflict between the tendencies of an individual's "fixed character" and those linked to "the development of a larger self, a self which should take fuller account of social relations" (Dewey and Tufts, 1908/2008, p. 312). Embedded within this early concept of social networks is an understanding that interaction influences learning and development throughout the lifespan.

Social network theory supports research on the informal contexts within which people interact and the social capital they build (Dewey, 2017). Coleman (1988) conceptualizes social capital at the local level and divides it into three types: obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms. Putnam (1995) describes social capital as "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 67). Building social capital entails investing oneself in social networks or other informal groups, which requires modifying one's behavior in response to the norms of those groups. Out of this mutual investment grows trust

among members, which promotes information sharing, cooperation, and the creation of new value.

Social network analysis grew out of research on social groups that proliferated in the fields of anthropology, psychology, and mathematics in the 1930s. The most influential work of that time was Moreno and Jennings' *sociograms* (Moreno, 1932, 1943), graphical depictions of social links between and among individuals that utilize nodes to represent individuals and lines to show connections between them. Between the 1930s and the early 1970s, thirteen centers of social network research emerged in the U.S. and Europe (Freeman, 2011). None of them produced a widely accepted paradigm, but their efforts advanced knowledge and acceptance of the approach. For example, Carwright and Harray (1956) applied graph theory to social network analysis, which enabled more precise measurement of relationships within groups. Also in the 1950s, mathematicians began to test the idea that anyone in the world could be connected to any other person through a chain of acquaintances consisting of no more than five intermediaries. In 1967, the social psychologist Stanley Milgram devised a way to test the idea, and his research inspired the popular phrase, *six degrees of separation* (Milgram, 1967).

Granovetter's (1973; 1983) weak tie theory posits that weak relationships within a network can be more valuable than strong ones. Granovetter explains that closely connected people tend to have similar interests, perspectives, and values, which can make the information they obtain and share redundant. He writes, "individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be

confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends" (1983, p. 202). Weak ties also require less time and energy to maintain than strong ones, providing the individual more time to expand their network (Burt, 1995, 2000).

Pool (1980), citing Heider (1958), found that people facing unbalanced, insecure, or uncertain personal circumstances tend to focus on strong ties more than weak ones (see Krackhardt, 1992 for more). This finding led Granovetter (1983) to revise his weak-tie theory, positing that both types of relationship are valuable, albeit in different ways. He writes, "weak ties provide people with access to information and resources beyond those available in their own social circles; but strong ties have greater motivation to be of assistance and are typically more easily available" (p. 209).

Wasserman and Faust's (1994) summary of key concepts in social network analysis is presented in Table 11.

Table 11

Social network analysis: Key concepts (Wasserman & Faust, 1994)

Concept	Description
Actor	A discrete individual, corporate, or collective social unit. Examples include people in a group, departments within a corporation, public service agencies in a city, or nation-states in the world system.
Relational tie	The nature of the linkage between a pair of actors. Examples are wide-ranging and can include biological relationship (kinship or descent), personal evaluation (e.g., friendship, liking, or respect), behavioral interactions (e.g., talking, sending messages), formal associations, and even physical connections such as a road or bridge connecting two points.
Dyad	A pair of actors and the (possible) tie(s) between them. Dyads are often the basic units of statistical analysis in social-network research.
Triad	A subset of three actors and the (possible) ties(s) among them.
Subgroup	Any subset of actors and all of the relational ties among them.
Group	A finite set of actors who, for conceptual, theoretical, or empirical reasons, are treated as a finite set of individuals on which network measurements are made.
Relation	The collection of ties of a specific nature among members of a group. Examples include friendship among classmates, diplomatic ties among nations, etc.
Social network	A finite set of actors and their relation or relations.

Social networks are either *uniplex* or *multiplex* depending on the number of contexts within which interaction takes place. In uniplex networks, interaction is limited to a single context, and ties tend to be weak. In multiplex networks, interaction takes

place across multiple contexts, and ties tend to be close. Social networks are further conceptualized as a set of *order zones*, a concept that bears resemblance to the nested layers of ecological systems theory. The first order zone, also called the "interpersonal environment" (Rossi, 1966), includes people directly linked to the individual. The second order zone includes people who are not directly linked to the individual but to at least one person within the individual's first order zone. The third order zone includes people who are connected to members of the second order zone but not the first one (Milroy & Gordon, 2008).

Aoki (2007) and Hennart (2015) introduced concepts of *structural embeddedness* and *relational embeddedness* to social network theory, which are useful to the comparison of social networks across cultures. Structural embeddedness refers to network strength, or the capacity of members to uphold established norms and avoid opportunistic or otherwise destabilizing behavior. It is high in networks where ties are close, density is high, and consensus regarding values and norms is easily established and maintained (Aoki, 2007; Burt, 2000). Relational embeddedness refers to the strength of dyadic ties and incorporates Granovetter's (1973; 2017) concepts of strong ties as stable and functional and weak ties as being of more instrumental value.

With its grounding in social network theory, the SASIQ enables a baseline assessment of whether proximal processes occurred during interaction with each member of a sojourner's intercultural network and can further be utilized to examine the interplay of personal, contextual, and time-related influences on that interaction. Another benefit of the SASIQ is that the empirical data it obtains mitigates social desirability bias by either

affirming or contradicting the veracity of participant written statements. It also helps in mitigating cultural bias on the part of the researcher. All of the dominant models of intercultural competence in research today were conceived from a Western cultural perspective, which portray it as a defined set of "knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Deardorff, 2006, p. 33) possessed by individuals (e.g., Bennett, 1993; Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015; Deardorff & Arasaratnam-Smith, 2017; OECD, 2018; UNESCO, 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2017). A growing body of research in Asia and Africa, however, emphasizes more relational dimensions of the concept (e.g., Dalib et al., 2014; Miyahara, 2004; Xiao & Chen, 2009; Yum, 2012). Deardorff (2006) and Deardorff and Arasaratnam-Smith (2017) have called for a critical review of the term owing to global variation in the way it is conceptualized and defined. This research was not focused on analyzing intercultural competence but rather the relational processes that drive its development. In so doing, it incorporated Western and more relational concepts of intercultural competence while avoiding reliance on any specific definition of the term.

This chapter has reviewed the bioecological theory of human development, research on intercultural interaction during study abroad, and methods for measuring that interaction, including the SASIQ and the social network theory on which it is based. The following chapter describes the SASIQ in greater detail, including revisions that were made to optimize it for this study. It additionally describes how data obtained by the SASIQ were analyzed to measure sojourner networks, examine the occurrence or absence of interaction supporting proximal processes, and test a hypothesized relationship

between the occurrence of proximal processes and sojourner enthusiasm for promoting of study abroad.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

This study utilized the PPCT model to assess and identify opportunities for improving the developmental value of Japanese student intercultural interaction during short-term study abroad in the United States. It assessed whether and to what extent sojourner intercultural interaction had supported proximal processes to occur, examined any observed interplay of holistic factors associated with the occurrence or absence of proximal processes, and investigated a hypothesized relationship between the occurrence of proximal processes and sojourner enthusiasm for promoting study abroad. Two hypotheses were stipulated as follows:

1. Intercultural interaction during short-term programs is mostly characterized by an absence of proximal processes owing to inhibitory characteristics related to *Context* and *Time*. In general, only the most highly motivated and resourceful students can overcome those barriers.
2. The occurrence of proximal processes during intercultural interaction positively relates to sojourner enthusiasm for promoting study abroad.

Data Collection

Survey

The Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ) (see Appendix A) is a retrospective, mixed-methods survey instrument designed to measure the social networks of study abroad students. It is administered online via the Qualtrics© platform

(www.qualtrics.com). It asks participants to list the names (or pseudonyms) of 1–15 host-national or multi-national friends and acquaintances, and then it reproduces those names in a series of items that obtain data for measuring social networks along five dimensions: *size* (total number of network members), *durability* (frequency and amount of time spent with each person), *intensity* (perceived closeness to each person) *density* (interconnectedness among network members), and *dispersion* (total number of groups) (Dewey et al., 2013; Knoke & Yang, 2008; Scott, 2000). In addition to its network-mapping function, the SASIQ includes open-ended items that ask participants to reflect on first encounters with network members, why certain relationships grew more than others, host-program support, and efforts they made on their own to interact within the host community. The range of data it obtains supports a baseline assessment of whether interaction with each network member was ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time. The SASIQ further obtains data related to every element, and nearly every sub-element, of the PPCT model. In consultation with its lead designer (Dr. Dan Dewey, Associate Chair of Linguistics at Brigham Young University), the SASIQ was modified to enable a fuller analysis framed by the PPCT model. Items that were omitted from the original and those that were added to the SASIQ-Revised (SASIQ-R; see Appendix B) are presented as follows.

Omissions from SASIQ

The following items compare sojourner usage of their native-language versus the target-language, information that is not relevant to the purposes of the present study:

- *Please use the drop-down menus to indicate how often you spoke Arabic with each individual (Arabic Use), how often you spoke English with them (English Use), and how well they spoke English (English Proficiency).*
- *What percentage of that time did you spend doing activities in Arabic (reading, writing, speaking, listening to music, watching TV, etc.) and English, respectively?*
- *What were some obstacles that kept you from speaking Arabic with these people?"*

In removing these items, no impact was made to the network-mapping function of the original SASIQ.

New items in SASIQ-R

New items in seven topic areas—initial motivation, prior experience, network member nationality, satisfaction, influence of the presence of Japanese classmates, enthusiasm for promoting study abroad, and advice to future sojourners—were added to enable a fuller analysis of sojourner intercultural interaction framed by the PPCT model. The rationale for each and the associated item/s that were added are presented as follows.

Initial motivation. Many studies have identified this sojourner personal characteristic as having a particularly strong influence on the learning and developmental outcomes of study abroad (Badstübner & Ecke, 2009; Campbell, 1996; Isabelli, 2001; Isabelli-García, 2017; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2002; Patron, 2007; Pellegrino-Aveni, 2005; Wolcott, 2013). To measure it, the following items were added at the beginning of the SASIQ-R:

1. Motivation & Goals

- *At the beginning of the sojourn, how motivated were you to study and live overseas?*
    - □ *Highly motivated*
    - □ *Motivated*
    - □ *Somewhat motivated*
    - □ *Slightly motivated*
    - □ *Unmotivated*

- *Please elaborate on your answer.*

- *What were your original goals for study abroad? Please drag-and-drop the following options[4] to rank them. You may also add your own goals in the spaces provided.*
    - ◦ *Develop my English skills*
    - ◦ *Enhance my employability*
    - ◦ *Experience a new culture*
    - ◦ *Make new friends*
    - ◦ *Build self-awareness and self-reliance*
    - ◦ *My family/friends encouraged me to do it.*
    - ◦ *Other* _____
    - ◦ *Other* _____

Prior experience. Having lived or traveled abroad has also been observed to influence learning and developmental outcomes of study abroad (e.g., Cardon et al., 2011; Hackney et al., 2012). Given this study's focus on intercultural interaction, prior experience in that specific area was assessed by the following items.

2. Prior Experience

- *Prior to study abroad, had you ever experienced ongoing interaction with non-Japanese people?*
    - □ *Yes, a lot.*
    - □ *Yes, a little.*
    - □ *Yes, but very little.*

[4] The goals listed in this item were adapted from lists developed by Anderson et al. (2006); Chieffo and Griffiths (2004); Institute of International Education (2021); Lumkes et al (2012); and Mapp, 2012.

□ *No, not at all.*

- *Please describe one relationship you had with a non-Japanese person prior to study abroad.*

  (a) How old were you?
  □ *0–12 years old*
  □ *13–18 years old*
  □ *19+ years old*

  (b) How long did the relationship continue?
  □ *One week or less*
  □ *A few weeks*
  □ *A few months*
  □ *One year or longer*

  (c) Please describe the nature of your interaction with that person.

Nationality of network members. Obtaining this data was crucial to enabling analysis of participant networks from the viewpoints of macrosystems and macrotime. Within the item that asked participants to list the names (pseudonyms) of network members, an additional field was added for them to write in each network member's country of origin (if known), and the following instructions were provided:

3. Friends & Acquaintances
List pseudonyms (fake names) and nationalities of 1–15 non-Japanese people with whom you interacted during study abroad.

⇒ *Remember who is who, as you'll be asked about those relationships in upcoming questions!*
⇒ *If you think of other people later in the survey, you can return to this page and add them.*

Satisfaction. Participants were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction specifically in regard to the intercultural interaction they experienced. The following item was added to support a more contextualized interpretation of responses to other items,

such as those that measure enthusiasm for promoting study abroad, personal effort, program support, the presence of Japanese classmates, and advice to future sojourners:

8. Satisfaction

- *Use the slider to indicate how satisfied you feel about the intercultural interaction you experienced during study abroad.*

Highly unsatisfied			*Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied*					*Highly satisfied*	
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*

Presence of Japanese classmates. Participants in this study completed their sojourns within cohorts of classmates from their respective universities, so it was important to obtain their views on whether and how that arrangement had supported or hindered interaction within the host community. This topic was addressed as follows:

11. Co-National Relationships

- *Did you also interact with other Japanese people during study abroad?*
  - *Yes, frequently.*
  - *Yes, a little.*
  - *Yes, but rarely.*
  - *No, not at all.*

- *How did interaction with other Japanese impact your interaction within the host community?*
  - *Positively*
  - *Both positively and negatively*
  - *Negatively*
  - *Not at all*

- *Please explain your response.*

Enthusiasm for promoting study abroad. The following item was added to test the second hypothesis, namely that the occurrence of proximal processes is positively associated with a high level of enthusiasm for promoting study abroad:

12. Promoting study abroad

- *Since returning to Japan, how enthusiastically have you promoted study abroad to others?*

- *Very enthusiastically*
- *Moderately enthusiastically*
- *Mildly enthusiastically*
- *Unenthusiastically*
- *I haven't promoted study abroad at all.*

- *Please explain your response.*

Advice to future sojourners. This topic was addressed to gain insight into the ways in which participants advised their peers when they described study abroad to them. Responses were additionally expected to identify what participants viewed as the most valuable experience/s of their sojourn and the personal characteristics associated with achieving those experiences. The following item was added at the end of the SASIQ-R in an open-ended manner to encourage a wide range of responses as follows:

13. Closing Words
- *Please share your advice for future study abroad students.*

Table 12 lists all of the topics covered by the SASIQ-R, distinguishes between those that were included in the original SASIQ and those that were added, and shows where each topic was anticipated to intersect with elements and sub-elements of the PPCT model.

Table 12

Anticipated intersection of SASIQ-R items and PPCT-model elements and sub-elements

SASIQ-R Items

(Note: shading indicates items that were added for this study.)

PPCT Model		Motivation/goals	Prior experience	Listing friends	First encounters	Time together	Closeness	Network mapping	Japanese peers	Satisfaction	Program support	Your own effort	Promotion	Closing advice
PROCESS	Ongoing					X	X							
	Reciprocal				X		X	X		X		X		X
	Progressively complex				X	X	X	X		X				X
PERSON	Demand			X	X		X		X	X	X			X
	Resource		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X
	Force	X	X		X		X		X	X		X	X	X
CONTEXT	Microsystems			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
	Mesosystems							X		X	X			X
	Exosystems													
	Macrosystems	X					X		X	X				X
TIME	Microtime					X	X	X	X					
	Mesotime					X								
	Macrotime	X	X	X					X	X	X	X		X

One limitation of using a modified questionnaire is that it hinders comparison of some of its psychometric properties with previous studies that utilized the original one. In regard to reliability and validity of the original SASIQ, Dewey and his colleagues have conducted a variety of tests, but word-count limits have necessitated the exclusion of those sections from published papers. The following information was obtained from the

lead designer through personal communication:

> Reliability estimates of the original SASIQ have been between .71 and .85. in studies for test-retest and/or internal consistency. In regard to validity, correlations with self-reported L2 use have been calculated, and the various social networks correlate between .51 and .82 with amount of reported speaking time in the L2. The lower correlations represented mere number of hours speaking, which has led the authors to surmise that quantity of speaking time matters less than the quality of the interactions themselves. (D. Dewey, personal communication, December 7–8, 2020)

The theme of quality versus quantity that Dewey describes above appears in other research that has utilized the SASIQ for data collection. For example, Dewey (2017), citing Long's (1996) research on linguistic environments and Ortega's (2009) concept of the universal, individual, and social forces that influence SLA, emphasizes that both the amount and type of interaction sojourners experience within the host community can influence their motivation and attitudes toward the host culture—which, in turn, can impact language gains. Dewey writes:

> The closeness and nature of learners' relationships can also affect SLA as they contribute not only to L2 use but also to motivation to acquire the language, attitudes toward the host culture, and other variables that can affect SLA. (p. 5)

In bioecological perspective, the reverse of Dewey's statement also appears to be true—namely that sojourner personal characteristics (e.g., motivation to acquire the language; attitudes toward the host culture) have a propensity to influence the closeness

and nature of relationships that sojourners experience (Jessup-Anger & Aragones, 2013; Elliot et al, 2016; Taylor & Ali, 2017). This study repurposed the SASIQ as an instrument for the measurement of human development rather than second language acquisition, so direct comparisons to past studies that utilized the SASIQ for data collection were limited in scope.

Recruitment Process

Most research on Japanese student intercultural interaction during study abroad has been qualitative in nature and included 10–30 participants (e.g., Edwards, 2009; Ottoson et al., 2018; Sato & Hodge, 2009, 2015; Ujitani, 2012, 2015, 2017; Yashima, 2010). One exception is Koyanagi (2018), which was mixed-methods in design and involved 29 participants. Prior to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the plan for this study had been to recruit 50–75 former students of five different study-abroad programs to examine a wide variety of sojourners and contexts. As Xia et al. (2020) advise, research using the PPCT model should include, at a minimum, variation within the *Person* and *Context* elements to enable assessment of the influence of those elements on proximal processes. Two of the programs that had agreed to cooperate were forced to close because of the pandemic, and a third had to decline for pandemic-related reasons as well.

The two programs that did cooperate hosted students of three elite universities that were selected in 2012 for MEXT's *Go Global Japan* project, an initiative to strengthen and promote the global capabilities of Japan's top university students (JSPS, 2016). Both programs shared a number of similarities in design and operation. For

example, they both began with pre-departure orientations on the home campus and post-arrival orientations on the host campus. Orientations mostly consisted of sessions on rules and schedules, safety issues, cultural differences, history and culture of the host city, and advice on making the most of the study abroad experience. Classroom instruction was mainly focused on English as a Foreign Language (EFL), and both programs followed a general model of core instruction on weekday mornings, elective classes on two or three weekday afternoons, and optional excursions and other opportunities on selected afternoons and weekends. Many administrators and instructors had similar backgrounds and training, and some of them additionally had work experience at each program.

There also was significant variety between the programs, which enabled examination of environmental factors that have been advocated in the literature. For example, Gautam et al. (2016) recommend research on the impact of institutional size and setting on the challenges faced by international students. One of the programs was based at a large university an urban setting and the other on a quiet suburban campus. In addition, one of the programs was a U.S.-based institution and the other a satellite program of a Japanese university. Each program is briefly described as follows.

Institute for English Language (IEL)

This program is based at a large, urban university. It annually hosts hundreds of students from many different countries wishing to improve their English and understanding of U.S. culture and to gain competency at handling the demands of a U.S. university education. Programs range in duration from three weeks to a full academic year. The host university is located between two city centers of shopping, dining, and

entertainment. Multiple bus and subway lines also provide easy access to other parts of the city and surrounding areas. The university itself is a community of over 30,000 students offering numerous opportunities for participation in student organizations, sporting and cultural events, fitness and recreational activities, and so forth.

IEL annually hosts 20–40 students from two universities in Japan for the fall semester. Students are provided university housing along with the opportunity to share a room with an undergraduate. A weekly language table is also offered in one of the campus dining halls, where students can chat with other students on campus who are interested in Japan.

Joshidai USA

Joshidai USA (Joshidai) is the satellite campus of a prestigious women's university in Japan. It is located on a 40-acre campus, six miles from a large city. It provides study and intercultural exchange opportunities for students majoring in English. Campus facilities include a residence hall, which is divided into nine wings that can accommodate up to 300 students, a dining hall, a classroom building, a traditional tea house and garden, and administrative offices. Each wing of the residence hall houses at least two resident assistants, usually local graduate students or young professionals who serve as mentors and informal guides to American culture. The campus environment also includes native English-speaking instructors, administrators, and visitors. Daily shuttle service to a nearby train station is also provided.

Since its founding in 1988, Joshidai has served as a cultural bridge between Japan and the surrounding community, and many of its students participate in annual festivals

and other activities organized by local Japanese cultural societies, museums, and other organizations. It additionally offers two opportunities for ongoing interaction with members of the host community. The Joshidai Friendship Circle (JFC) is a network of about 50 local resident-volunteers who meet students for exchange and recreational activities over a period of four-to-five months. The program began in the 1990s, and some volunteers have participated for over 25 years (E. Naumann, personal communication, April 28, 2021). The College Connection Program (CCP) connects small groups of Joshidai students and undergraduates at nearby colleges for a semester-long exploration of cultural differences, especially those related to college life.

Formal requests for cooperation (see Appendix C) and a participant recruitment letter (see Appendix D) were sent to each program. The recruitment letter includes consent script in compliance with IRB requirements for conducting research with human subjects. Administrators of each program were asked to forward the recruitment letter to former students who participated in 2018 and 2019 once each week for a period of three weeks. As an incentive to participate, a ¥3,000 (approximately $30) gift card from the online retailer Amazon.co.jp was offered to all participants who fully completed the survey. Former students who completed the survey were also asked to encourage others in their cohort to participate.

Confidentiality and Informed Consent

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Boston University. All appropriate procedures for human participants research were followed for the protection and well-being of participants, as well as to respect their privacy. As an

incentive to participate, ¥3,000 (approximately $30) gift cards were offered. Identifying information (name and email address) was requested only for the purpose of sending gift cards. Students willing to forego their gift card were able to compete the SASIQ-R anonymously.

The SASIQ was originally designed for research in SLA and does not ask sensitive personal questions (see Appendix B). Written reflections related to cultural identity were nevertheless anticipated, and they could have side effects due to their potentially sensitive nature. However, any such side effects were determined likely to be positive in nature given the fundamental premise of experiential education, namely that experiences become educative when followed by reflection (see Dewey, 1916 and Kolb & Kolb, 2005 for more).

Only the data needed for this study was collected, and raw data was only be shared with research assistants and committee members. Data were collated using Excel© spreadsheets. Following research standards of the American Psychological Association, numbers were assigned to each survey, and the guide to names and numbers, plus all other data, were stored and encrypted on a password-protected hard drive, where they will be kept for a minimum period of seven years (Devereaux & Gottlieb, 2012). All copies of data will then be electronically erased and scrambled so as to be unrecoverable unless they are approved for retention.

An informed consent form for survey respondents, translated into Japanese, is presented in Appendix E. Participants were asked to complete it before beginning the questionnaire.

Researcher Descriptions

Lead Researcher

As a college student, I participated in a short-term study-abroad program that took me to Japan among other countries. After college, I spent three years in Kyushu, during which I taught English at public and private secondary schools and studied comparative education at Kyushu University. After returning to the U.S., I completed master's programs in Education and East Asian Studies at Harvard University, began the Japanese Language Program at Phillips Academy, served as Vice President of the National Council of Japanese Language Teachers, and joined a group of educators commissioned by the Clinton Administration to set national guidelines for foreign language, international student, and study abroad programs in the U.S. For my master's thesis in East Asian Studies, I spent 18 months as a quasi-member of two student 'circles' (*sākuru*) at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. After completing that project I spent several years teaching English and international studies at Tokyo-area universities. In 2010, I lead-authored a position paper in the journal, *Mind, Brain, and Education* on the relevance of cultural neuroscience to non-native language instruction (Rolbin, C. & della Chiesa, B. 2010, "We share the same biology..." Cultivating cross-cultural empathy and global ethics through multilingualism, *Mind, Brain and Education*, *4*(4), 196–207). My background in SLA supported my ability to modify and utilize the SASIQ for data collection, and my experience in working closely with a wide range of Japanese students in a variety of different contexts supported my interpretation of the responses.

Research Assistants

Saki Umeki is a graduate of Pine Manor College and a former student of both the Sakae Institute and Pine Manor College's English Language Institute. As a Pine Manor student, she completed a seminar that I led on integrating domestic and international students on campus. She also completed an independent research project on Japanese student intercultural interaction during study abroad that I supervised, during which she assisted in developing the SASIQ-R and preparing the request for institutional cooperation (Appendix C) and the recruitment letter (Appendix D). She further joined me in meetings and activities at three of the five programs originally proposed for this study.

Tamaki Segawa is my wife, a Japanese national, a former elementary school teacher in Japan, and Japanese women's health consultant. Over the past several years, we and our daughter have lived in student residence halls at two of the institutions that hosted three of the five programs originally proposed for this study. Tamaki has additionally befriended and served as an informal advisor to Japanese students at both institutions.

Ms. Umeki and Ms. Segawa contributed their teamwork and native cultural sensitivity to the coding process and interpretation of findings. They will be properly attributed, and Saki will receive an appropriate stipend.

Data Analysis

Stage 1: Mapping Sojourner Social Networks (Quantitative)

The original SASIQ was designed to measure the social networks of study abroad students along five dimensions: *size*, *durability*, *intensity*, *density*, and *dispersion*. Items

related to the SASIQ's network mapping function were unaltered in the SASIQ-R, and the same procedure that has been used in previous studies was followed in measuring each network dimension. Those findings are summarized in tables. In addition, the social networks of several respondents are presented as sociograms to illustrate typical, outlier, and poignant cases.

Stage 2: Assessing Proximal Processes (Qualitative Analysis)

The analysis of open-ended responses was deductive (theory driven) in nature and carried out in collaboration with my research assistants. Deductive approaches began with an organizing framework or "start list" of provisional codes based on established models and concepts (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 58; see Hsieh & Shannon, 2005 for more). Bradley et al. (2007) caution that researchers using deductive approaches should take care to avoid forcing their data into predetermined categories, but that when properly used, these approaches support "new inquiries to benefit from and build on previous insights in the field" (p. 1763). As they further explain, deductive approaches are used "for understanding potential causal links and confounding variables, for understanding the context within which a phenomenon occurs, and for providing a potential framework for guiding subsequent empirical research" (p. 1760). Strauss and Corbin (1998) also explain that deductive and inductive approaches are not mutually exclusive, so inductive approaches may be used for coding statements that do not fit any of the provisional codes.

One example of a deductive coding strategy is found in Hsieh and Shannon's (2005) study of the emotional journeys of terminally ill patients. The authors established

Kübler-Ross's five stages of grief, namely *denial*, *anger*, *bargaining*, *depression*, and *acceptance*, as provisional categories, and statements that appeared to fit any of them were labelled accordingly. Statements that did not fit any of the categories were coded through an inductive process. Another example is Dennison et al. (2017), which utilized the PPCT model to assess proximal processes in the interaction between incarcerated fathers and their children. In addition, Taylor and Ali (2017), reviewed earlier in this chapter, utilized a deductive approach framed by ecological systems theory in their research on international student adjustment to life and study in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, in calling for new research on the mental health challenges faced by Chinese international students in the U.S., Chen et al. (2015) highlight the bioecological theory as a useful means of "conceptually organizing the many factors that influence the mental health of these populations" (p. 880). Given the similarity of these examples to the aims of the present study, a deductive coding strategy was utilized in which the elements of the PPCT model were established as provisional themes and their sub-elements as provisional categories. Text that did not fit any of the provisional categories was coded with different labels following the inductive approach described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005).

Initial coding was carried out by my research assistants and then checked by me, a process that helped to mitigate my limitations as a non-native researcher. My reading skill in Japanese was sufficient to read and interpret participant responses, but my research assistants' initiating the coding process enabled me to observe and discuss with them where our interpretations differed. This approach increased the relevance of our

collective analysis. Team-based approaches are indeed recommended for the diversity of perspectives they bring to coding (Mays & Pope, 1995; Patton, 1999; Pope et al. 2000).

We cross-trained by independently coding two-to-three completed surveys and then meeting to compare our results, review discrepancies, and resolve differences through discussion and negotiated consensus (Bradley et al., 2007). We continued training until we reached 80 percent agreement, which Miles and Huberman (1994) have suggested as a reasonable standard for reliability.

Responses to open-ended items were first read several times, and all text related to intercultural interaction was highlighted. Wherever appropriate, highlighted text was coded to sub-elements of the PPCT model. Text that did not fit any of the provisional categories was inductively coded, and the labels that were produced were later reviewed to determine whether new categories could be created based on multiple incidents.

During the initial stage of coding, where disagreement or uncertainty about categories arose, I became the third rater of the relevant text. When I agreed with one of the other raters, that rater's selected category was used. When none of us agreed, the response was excluded from our analysis. This process ensured that any changes in coding were consistently applied across the data.

In previous studies using the SASIQ, participants have been found to restate ideas or information and to give numerous examples. In cases where redundant information was provided, responses were coded only once for that information.

After coding was finalized, my assistants and I again reviewed all the data, independently coding it to the provisional categories. We then met to compare our results

and discuss and resolve discrepancies. This process continued, as cross-training did, until inter-coder reliability reached 80 percent. We took care in adhering to formal rules and processes, and we will also strove to avoid what Morgan (1997) describes as a dampening of the insights that qualitative research is designed to produce by following overly mechanistic procedures.

Once coding was completed, proximal processes were assessed by evaluating whether interaction with each network member had been ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time. Elements of the PPCT model associated with the occurrence or absence of proximal processes were identified, and any observed interplay among them was examined. Categories identified through inductive coding were also examined at this stage to gain broad insight from the whole of data and identify any patterns that were not well represented by the PPCT model.

The aim of this study was to assess and identify opportunities for increasing the developmental value of Japanese student intercultural interaction during short-term study abroad. It thus aligns with the stated purpose of the bioecological theory, namely “to make further progress in discovering the processes and conditions that define the scope and limits of human development” (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 2005, p. 183).

Validity, Reliability, and Limitations

As described below, both validity and reliability represented limitations to this study.

Retrospective Self-Reports

This study relied on sojourner self-reports and did not gather information from other individuals who could potentially reduce confidence in the credence of their responses, such as peers, friends, advisors, administrators, and instructors. Moreover, obtaining information on interactions that participants experienced up to three years in the past depended on the strength of their memories and was susceptible to changes in their own narrative of what happened.

Self-reported data, however, has certain validity checks built into it as well. The voices of respondents, who represent primary stakeholders in this research, ensure that the findings are likely to be recognizable and meaningful in the context from which they originated. Another strength of self-reported data collection techniques is that they can give voice to individuals affected by an issue who may be unable to make the case for change themselves. The empirical items in the SASIQ-R additionally mitigated social desirability bias by either supporting or contradicting participant self-reports about their experience.

Qualitative Survey Responses

Qualitative responses may not generalize well to other contexts, given that they are shaped by each participant's own particular context and circumstances. This limitation was also somewhat mitigated by the empirical data obtained by the SASIQ-R,

which provides a baseline for comparison with students in other studies that have utilized the SASIQ for data collection.

Cultural Bias & Budding Researcher

My upbringing in the U.S. and limited research experience represent additional limitations to validity and reliability. I chose this topic, however, after having completed decades of professional practice in the fields of English-language, Japanese-language, and international education. During my doctoral program, I worked around the edges of this topic, conducting interviews and focus-group discussions at four of the five institutions I had first considered for this study. I additionally have significant experience in working at or collaborating with the two institutions that did cooperate. I am a former Senior Lecturer at IEL, and during my tenure there I taught members of earlier cohorts of the same universities represented in this study. During my doctoral program, I led photovoice workshops and conducted interviews and focus-group discussions with IEL students and additionally attended language tables and other exchange events described in this study. My association with Joshidai dates back to the late 1990s, when I served on the board of the regional Japanese-language teachers association. I have attended several exchange events on campus, and in 2019 and 2021, I led a series of exchange activities between Joshidai students and undergraduates at a nearby college and additionally conducted interviews and focus-group discussions with Joshidai students.

My cultural bias as a non-native researcher is mitigated by three characteristics of the present study. First, the empirical data on the dimensions and compositions of sojourner social networks obtained by the SASIQ-R leave little room for culturally biased

misinterpretation, and results can be compared with those of participants in other studies that have utilized the SASIQ for data collection. Secondly, the present study was not focused on intercultural competence per se, all the dominant definitions of which (e.g., Bennett, 1993; Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006), were conceived from a Western cultural perspective, but rather on the interactive processes that drive its development. Thirdly, coding to the clearly defined categories of the PPCT model limited the margins of possible cultural misinterpretation, and my validity and reliability as an interpreter were supported by input from my native Japanese research assistants, both of whom have previously worked with me on projects involving Japanese study-abroad students.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

At the proposal stage of this research, five study-abroad programs had indicated a willingness to cooperate, and a total of 50–75 participants had been proposed as the target sample. Three of the programs proved unable to cooperate because of fiscal and other issues related to COVID-19. Between the two programs that did cooperate, 29 usable responses were obtained; 15 from IEL and 14 from Joshidai. This total falls short of Orme's (1998) minimum guideline of 30 participants for quantitative investigational work and developing hypotheses, but it is at the upper end of the sample sizes of 10–30 participants that have been used in most research on Japanese sojourner adjustment and intercultural interaction (e.g., Edwards, 2009; Koyanagi, 2018; Ottoson et al., 2018; Sato & Hodge, 2009, 2015; Ujitani, 2012, 2015, 2017; Yashima, 2010). This chapter utilizes a combination of tables, figures, and individual participant case summaries to present the results of the original sample and the IEL and Joshidai groups respectively.

RQ1: How do Japanese students on short-term, cohort-based programs in the United States form intercultural networks?

To address this first research question, participants were asked to indicate where and how their first encounters with network members took place and to elaborate on the experience in writing. Table 13 shows the settings within which first encounters occurred, with percentages showing relative proportions of all reported first encounters.

Table 13

Settings where first encounters occurred

Setting	All	IEL	Joshidai
Extracurricular activities	34%	30%	41%
Classroom	24%	30%	14%
Residence hall	17%	19%	14%
Campus in general	13%	16%	11%
Off Campus	12%	5%	20%
Total	100%	100%	100%

For the IEL and Joshidai groups, first encounters took place in overlapping but different contexts. IEL participants met nearly 90% of their network members on campus, mostly in classrooms, dining halls, residence halls, extracurricular student organizations, and exchange events and activities. By contrast, Joshidai participants met two fifths (41%) of their network members through "extracurricular activities," which they described as a combination of one-off and ongoing exchange activities that had been organized by the program. One-off activities included field trips to nearby colleges and celebrations of Japanese holidays and other cultural events, both on campus and at schools and organizations within the surrounding community. Ongoing activities included one program that provided the opportunity to "hang out" with local undergraduates on their campuses, another that connected participants with "community volunteers" for ongoing recreational and exchange activities, and a third that offered the opportunity to assist in Japanese-language classes that Joshidai offered to the public. One-fifth (21%) of Joshidai participant first encounters took place off campus, which is four times the proportion of IEL first encounters that took place off campus (5%). These

first encounters took place mainly through participants' own efforts, such as by joining Meetup[5] and other groups in the city, volunteering at a nursing home or school, or *cold contacting* (approaching or being approached to strike up conversation with an unknown person without the assistance of an intermediary) in places such as a café, elevator, Uber ride, or train station.

Table 14 provides a breakdown of the different ways in which initial contact was made with network members: who approached whom, or if the encounter was arranged by a third party or some other means. Percentages in the table represent the proportion of all reported first encounters that began with each type of initial contact.

Table 14

Breakdown of the means by which initial contact was established with network members

Type of initial contact	All	IEL	Joshidai
Participant approached the other person	32%	42%	20%
Participant was approached by the other person	27%	35%	17%
Both participants were introduced by a third party	24%	17%	35%
Other	17%	6%	28%

The majority of IEL participant first encounters (77%) involved approaching or being approached by another person. By contrast, most Joshidai participant first encounters (63%) took place either through a third-party, which participants described as exchange events and activities organized by the program or "Other," which they mostly described as first meetings with faculty and staff who had been assigned to them.

[5] Meetup (https://www.meetup.com) is an online platform for groups that hold local in-person and virtual events.

RQ2: What are the dimensions and compositions of those networks?

Following procedures described in Dewey et al. (2013), Knoke and Yang (2008), and Scott (2000), networks were quantitatively measured in five dimensions — *size* (total number of network members), *durability* (frequency and amount of time spent with each person), *intensity* (closeness to each person) *density* (interconnectedness of network members), and *dispersion* (number of groups within the network). Table 15 summarizes results for the entire sample and respectively for IEL and Joshidai groups. Percentages in the table represent the proportion of all reported responses within each category.

Table 15

Quantitative dimensions of participant social networks

Dimension		All	IEL	Joshidai
Size		7.1	7.7	6.5
Durability	Hours per week *(for ongoing, regular interaction)*	27.2	44.5	10.3
	Average total hours *(for short-lived and/or sporadic interaction)*	29	23	37
Intensity	Ranking of closeness from 1–10	6	7	5
Density	Size of largest group	3.3	4.0	2.6
	Average size of groups	2.1	2.4	1.8
	Average size of largest 2 groups	2.5	2.7	2.1
Dispersion		3.3	3.2	3.4

The average size of networks across the sample was six-to-eight members, with IEL networks being slightly larger than Joshidai networks. In obtaining measurements of durability, the SASIQ-R offered participants the choice of reporting the amount of time

spent with each network member in one of two ways: *hours per week* for interaction that had been ongoing and consistent and *total hours* for interaction that had been short-lived and/or sporadic in nature. IEL participants spent more than four times the number of hours per week with their network members (44.5 hours) than Joshidai participants did with theirs (10.3 hours). The size of this discrepancy is partly due to the measurement of network durability not being one of interaction time per se, but rather of the amount of time spent with network members. The durability figures that several IEL participants reported included hours spent together with network members in classrooms, residence halls, and extracurricular activities during which little if any interaction occurred, such as the sleeping hours in the room with one's roommate. Another finding was that Joshidai participants spent much more time engaged in short-lived and/or sporadic interaction with their network members than IEL participants did with theirs (37 vs. 23 total hours).

Table 16 lists the settings within which intercultural interaction occurred and the amount of time participants reported having spent within each one.

Table 16

Settings where intercultural interaction occurred and amount of time spent within each

Setting	Hours per week (for ongoing, fairly consistent interaction)		Average Total hours (for short-lived and/or sporadic interaction)	
	IEL	Joshidai	IEL	Joshidai
Classes	11.9	1.6	11	4
Residence halls	15.5	1.4	4	4
Extracurricular/ exchange activities	13.6	0	5	16
Host families	0	1.6	0	0
Other on-campus	1.7	1.8	0	4
Off-campus	1.8	3.5	3	9
Internships	0	0.4	0	0
Totals	44.5	10.3	23	37

To measure intensity, participants were asked to rank their closeness to each network member on a scale of 1–10, with 1–5 being designated as acquaintances and 6–10 as friends. Average intensity across the sample was 6.1, with IEL and Joshidai averages being 7 and 5 respectively. IEL networks were two-thirds (67%) larger than Joshidai networks, and dispersion between the two groups was nearly the same.

The vast majority of IEL network members (89%) were students compared to less than one-third (28%) for Joshidai participants, whose networks mostly consisted of adults. As Table 16 (above) shows, nearly all of the settings in which IEL participants interacted with network members were located on campus. IEL participants spent an average of less than two hours (1.8) per week with network members who were located off campus. By contrast, Joshidai participants spent nearly double that amount of time as

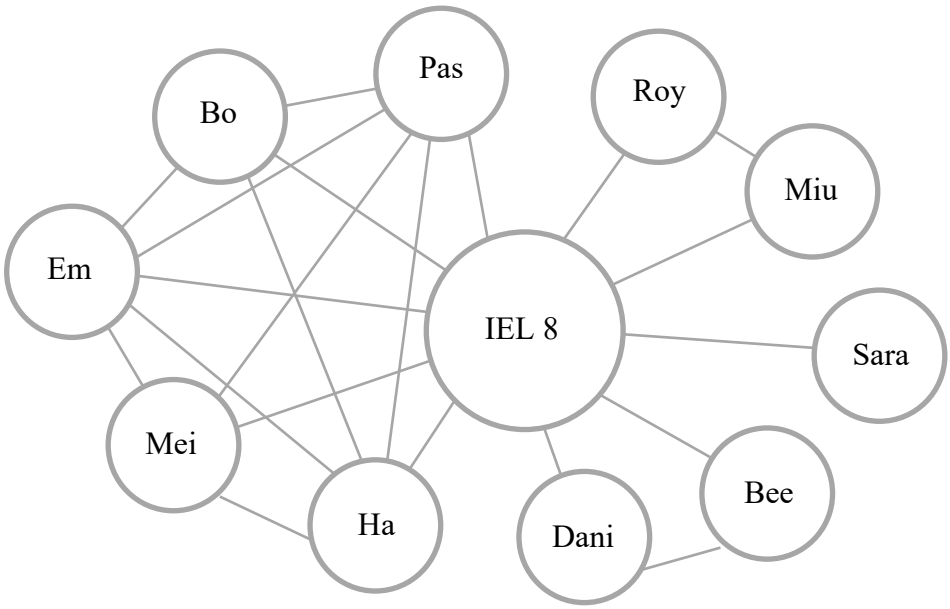
IEL participants with network members off-campus (3.5 hours per week). Additionally more than two-thirds of the short-lived and/or sporadic interaction that they experienced was with local residents owing to the planning and logistics challenges of making their way off-campus to meet those network members more regularly.

Figure 4 presents sociograms of selected IEL and Joshidai participant networks, which illustrate two key contrasts in the composition of the networks of the two groups. The first is a higher density of IEL networks owing to most settings having been on campus, and the second is a preponderance of international students in IEL networks and adult local residents in Joshidai networks.

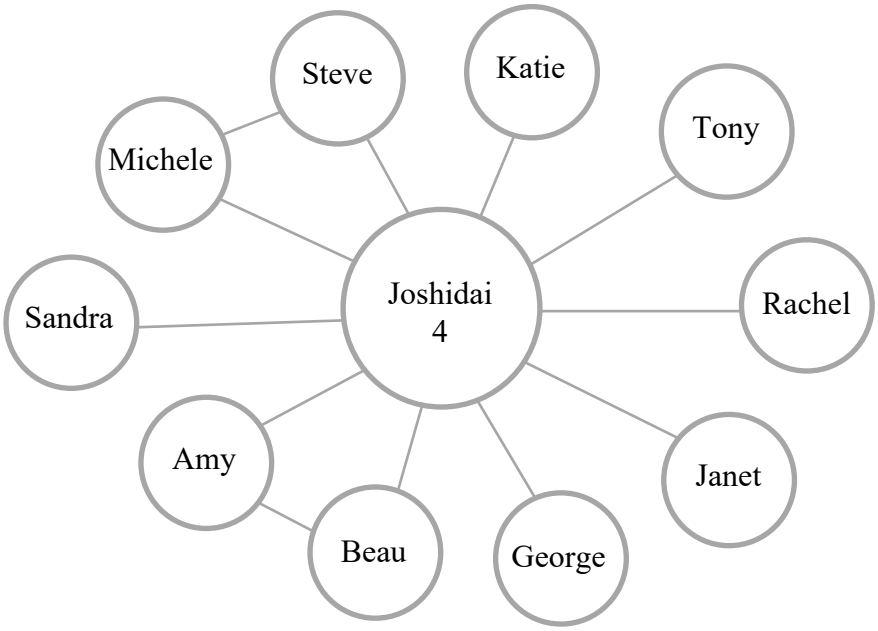
Figure 4

Sociograms showing sample IEL and Joshidai participant networks

a. IEL 8



b. Joshidai 4



Both of these networks and the participants who built them were similar in several ways. IEL 8 and Joshidai 4 were both young women at prestigious Japanese universities who had experienced little or no intercultural interaction prior to their sojourn, had been very highly motivated for study abroad, and had identified developing their English and experiencing another culture as their top goals. Both participants additionally acknowledged the efforts of their host programs to support intercultural interaction, but they mainly credited themselves for the networks they built. Both of their networks were 10 members in size, which is 30% and 50% larger than the respective averages of the IEL and Joshidai groups.

Other than size of these participants' two networks, their compositions and dimensions were very different. IEL 8's network was entirely composed of students, and all of them international students. Five were from China, and the other five were from Argentina, India, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, and Thailand. Five students were classmates, two were undergraduates whom IEL 8 had met at a language-exchange table on campus, two had belonged to a bible-study group she had joined, and one had been her roommate. All of the time IEL 8 spent with network members was on campus and totaled 47 hours per week, which is just above the IEL average of 44.5 hours per week.

By contrast, Joshidai 4's network included only one student, an undergraduate enrolled at a nearby college whom she had met through an exchange activity organized by the program. The rest of her network had consisted of three resident assistants, two visiting directors of a campus musical, one instructor, one community volunteer, one local resident she had met by assisting in a Japanese-language class that Joshidai had

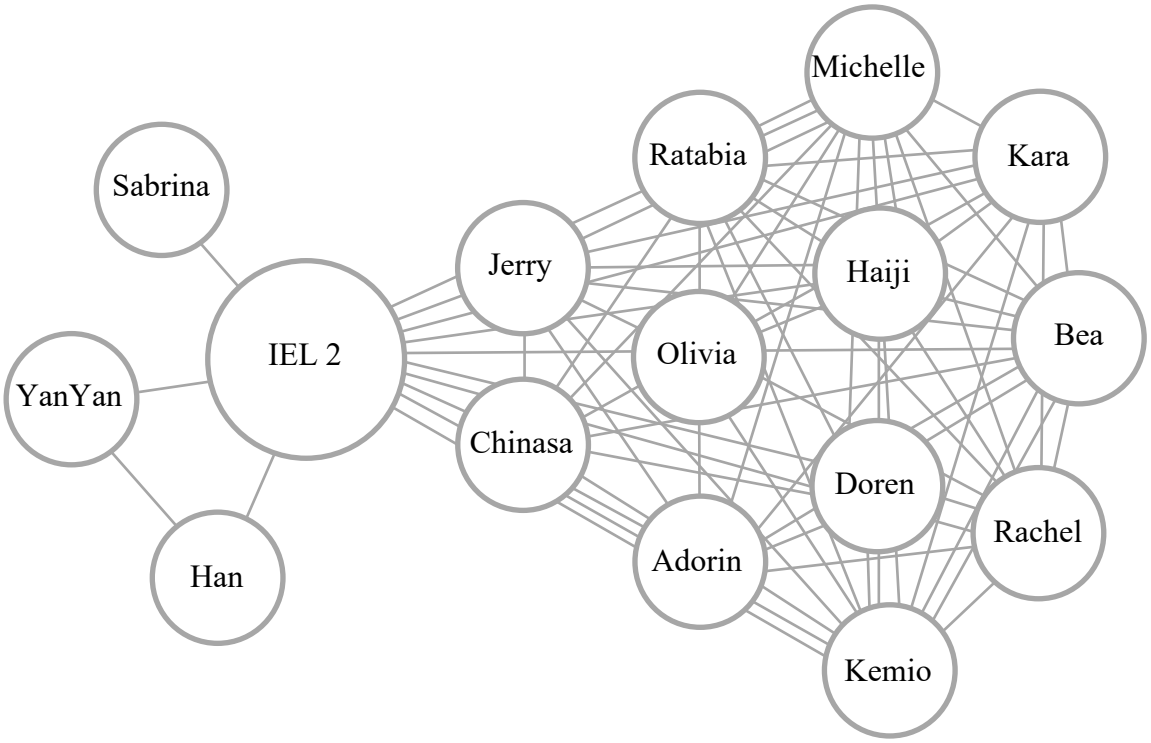
offered to the public, and one senior citizen who lived in a nursing home where she had volunteered. Six of her network members had no ties to any other network member. Maintaining so many isolated, off-campus relationships alongside Joshidai 4's classes and other campus commitments took a great deal of effort, and it limited the amount of time she was able to spend with her network members to nine hours per week, which is just under the Joshidai average of 10.3 hours per week.

The contrasts between these networks show how study-abroad students with relatively similar personal characteristics can have very different experiences with intercultural interaction depending on the context of their program. The following comparison of the largest and smallest IEL participant networks illustrates how, conversely, students of the same program can have completely different experiences depending on their personal characteristics.

IEL 2. Figure 5 presents a sociogram of IEL 2's network, the largest network examined in this study. IEL 2 had never experienced interaction with a non-Japanese person prior to study abroad, but she had been very highly motivated for her sojourn, and her top three goals had been to experience another culture, improve her English skills, and make new friends. The network she built consisted of one classmate, two students in her residence hall, and 12 members of a dance club that she had joined on campus.

Figure 5

Sociogram of IEL 2's network, the largest network examined in this study



As was the case with IEL 8 and Joshidai 4 (described above), IEL 2 acknowledged her program's efforts to support intercultural interaction but mainly credited herself for the network she built. She was particularly proud of having made her way into the dance club as its only Japanese member.

IEL 1, by contrast, had the smallest network of all IEL participants with just two members. Like IEL 2, she had been highly motivated for study abroad, and she also had the apparent advantage of more than one year of prior experience in interacting with people of other nationalities. Her goals for the sojourn, however, had been different: whereas IEL 2 had been focused on experiencing another culture and making new

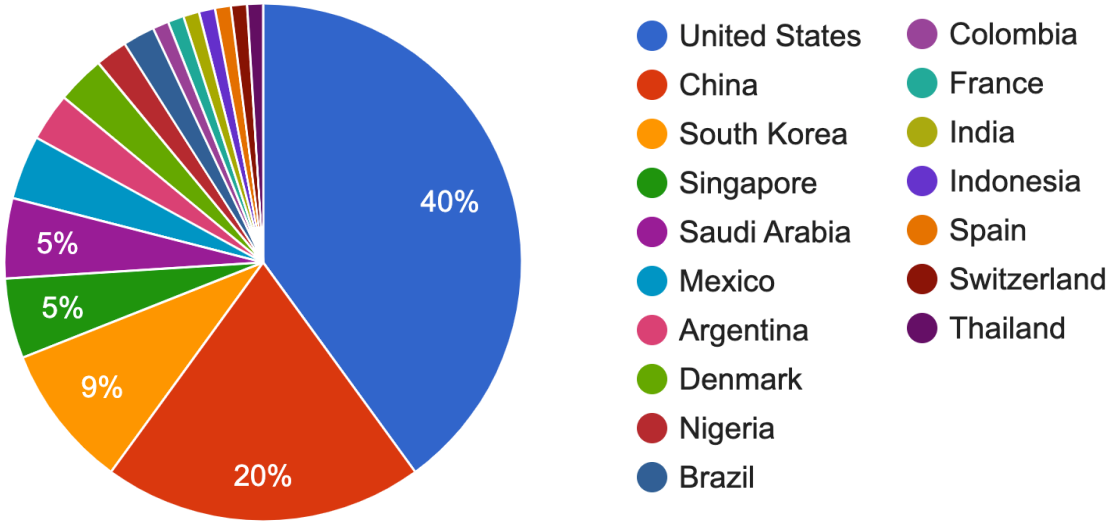
friends, IEL 1 had been mainly interested in improving her English and gaining an advantage in the job market. One of her network members had been her roommate, an undergraduate from the U.S. She had attempted to establish a friendly rapport with her roommate, but the effort had been unsuccessful, and the relationship had not developed beyond the level of an acquaintance. IEL 1 did not make any other efforts to interact within the host community and spent the rest of her free time with other members of her cohort. She explained having found it convenient to communicate in Japanese and fun to be with her friends from the home campus. She wrote, "I sometimes wondered if I should have been more involved with overseas students," but those observations did not prompt a change in behavior. The other person in her network was a Chinese student whom she had met through the introduction of one of her classmates. She and that student discovered that they had much in common, and they ended up spending about ten hours per week together. Her case is one of a student who made little effort on her own but nevertheless experienced developmentally generative intercultural interaction thanks to the rich social environment of a diverse university campus and a fortuitous third-party introduction. It also illustrates how close some students situated within environments full of opportunities can nevertheless get to experiencing no intercultural interaction of any developmental value owing to inhibitory personal characteristics.

One notable finding related to network composition across the original sample was the significant presence of multi-national network members, and those from East Asian and other non-Western countries in particular. Figure 6 breaks down the nationalities of IEL and Joshidai network members.

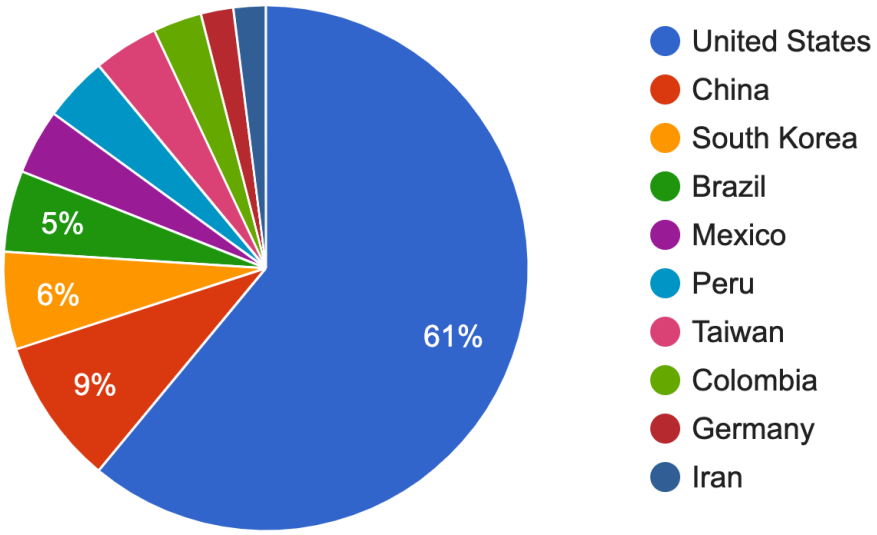
Figure 6

Nationalities of IEL and Joshidai network members

A. IEL



B. Joshidai



Three fourths (74%) of multi-national network members were from non-Western countries, and nearly one-fourth (25%) of all network members were from China, South Korea, or Taiwan.

Another finding related to network composition was that nearly half (46%) of the host nationals in participant networks were described as having a personal affinity for Japan. There was significant disparity between the two groups on this measurement, with two-thirds (67%) of host nationals in Joshidai networks described as having had such affinity compared to one-fourth (24%) of those in IEL networks. This disparity was attributed to the vast majority (80%) of host nationals in Joshidai networks having been connected to the program as faculty, staff, community volunteers, participants in sponsored exchange activities, or Japanese-language students.

RQ3: To what extent do proximal processes occur during interaction with network members, and how do the elements of the PPCT model relate to their occurrence?

Data were coded in three stages to filter for evidence of interaction that had been ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time. To begin with, network members with whom interaction had been short-lived and/or sporadic were removed from the analysis. Such interaction can be of great personal value, but it lacks an acceptable degree of regularity and consistency required to support proximal processes.

Table 17 shows the recalculated dimensions of participant networks including only those members with whom interaction had been ongoing on at least a weekly basis. In the table, average dimensions of original networks are reproduced in gray for reference purposes.

Table 17

Network dimensions of ongoing relationships (original dimensions shown in gray)

Network dimension		All	IEL	Joshidai
Size		5.5 (7.1)	6.5 (7.7)	4.5 (6.5)
Durability	Hours per week	27.2 (27.2)	44.5 (44.5)	10.3 (10.3)
Intensity	Ranking of closeness (1–10)	6.5 (6)	7 (7)	6 (5)
Density	Size of largest group	2.9 (3.3)	3.4 (4.0)	2.2 (2.6)
	Average size of groups	2.0 (2.1)	2.3 (2.4)	1.6 (1.8)
	Avg. size of largest 2 groups	2.3 (2.5)	2.5 (2.7)	1.8 (2.1)
Dispersion	Number of groups	2.8 (3.3)	3.0 (3.2)	2.5 (3.4)

This procedure reduced network size, density, and dispersion for nearly all participants, and it slightly increased the intensity of Joshidai participant networks. It also caused one participant, IEL 5, to be removed from the analysis. A summary of his case and the rationale for his removal are presented as follows.

IEL 5. This participant had almost never interacted with a non-Japanese person prior to study abroad. He had been highly motivated for his sojourn, and his top three goals had been to develop his English skills, make new friends, and experience cultural differences. During his semester-long sojourn, he built a network of five people with whom he sporadically interacted for a total of 55 hours. Two members were classmates from Argentina and China, one was an undergraduate from France who had approached him to strike up conversation on campus, and two were undergraduates from the U.S. whom he had met at an exchange event organized by the university Japanese language program. IEL 5 was proud of having established his network, but he lamented not having had enough time to develop the relationships within it, particularly those with his

classmates. The structure of the class they had together, he explained, had not allowed sufficient time for them to interact and get to know one another, and they had never met outside the classroom. As a result, those relationships did not progress beyond the level of an acquaintance. IEL 5's interactions with his other network members, the French student and two U.S. undergraduates, were too sporadic and seldom to support proximal processes. IEL 5 experienced intercultural interaction that was personally meaningful but not developmentally generative from the viewpoint of the PPCT model.

The second stage of analysis involved coding data for interaction that had been reciprocal and progressively complex over time. This stage initially analyzed whether acquaintances as a group should be categorically removed from the analysis. Participants had ranked each network member on a scale of 1–10 in terms of closeness, with 1–5 designated as acquaintances and 6–10 as friends. They were then asked to choose three friends and three acquaintances and to explain why their relationships with the friends had developed so well and those with the acquaintances had not. Responses were deductively coded using elements and sub-elements of the PPCT model as provisional categories and codes to determine whether acquaintances should be ruled out for ongoing and progressively complex interaction over time. As shown in Table 18, all of the inhibitory factors participants described were coded to developmentally disruptive characteristics across the PPCT model.

Table 18

PPCT-model view of factors described as having inhibited friendship with acquaintances

Category	All	IEL	Joshidai
Person	14%	9%	24%
Demand	*(10%)*	*(9%)*	*(15%)*
Resource	*(1%)*	*(0%)*	*(3%)*
Force	*(3%)*	*(0%)*	*(6%)*
Context	39%	50%	15%
Microsystem	*(21%)*	*(26%)*	*(3%)*
Mesosystem	*(3%)*	*(4%)*	*(0%)*
Exosystem	*(14%)*	*(20%)*	*(9%)*
Macrosystem	*(1%)*	*(0%)*	*(3%)*
Time	47%	41%	61%
Microtime	*(23%)*	*(28%)*	*(15%)*
Mesotime	*(24%)*	*(13%)*	*(46%)*
Macrotime	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*
Totals	100%	100%	100%

Because every reason that participants described for their relationships with acquaintances not having developed into friendship was coded to one or more inhibitory conditions identified within the PPCT model, it was determined that interaction with acquaintances as a group did not support proximal processes.

One notable finding of this analysis was that factors related to time and context constituted 86% of the reported reasons participants reported for relationships with acquaintances not having developed into friendships. Personal factors accounted for only 14% of all inhibitory factors that participants described. Social desirability and/or self-serving bias might account for some degree of this disparity, but at face value these results suggest that participants believed their relationships with the vast majority of

acquaintances would have grown into friendships but for inhibitory factors related to the other elements of the PPCT model.

Table 18 (above) also shows that the most salient inhibitory factors differed between IEL and Joshidai participants. Over half (54%) of the reasons IEL participants reported were coded to microsystems and microtime. Participants described EFL classes that had not supported classmates to get to know one another, residential arrangements in which the roommate had rarely been present and/or had projected a distant demeanor when they were there, and extracurricular activities that had been too large or otherwise unconducive to focused interpersonal interaction. By contrast, nearly half (46%) of the inhibitory factors that Joshidai participants described were coded to mesotime. Nearly all Joshidai participant acquaintances (96%) were local residents, and participants described the logistical challenges of regularly going off campus to meet them as the main reason for friendship not having developed. Among Joshidai participants as well, microtime conditions accounted for 15% of the reasons they described for friendship not developing with acquaintances. Many acquaintances had been local residents whom participants had met through opportunities for ongoing exchange provided by the program, and the design of those opportunities, in which pairs and small groups of students met with local residents at the same time, had hindered focused interpersonal interaction. The main inhibitory factor for Joshidai participants, however, was mesotime, constituting nearly half (46%) of the reasons participants described for relationships with network members not rising above the level of an acquaintance. Only the most highly motivated participants made their way off-campus regularly enough to maintain the ongoing interaction required

for proximal processes to occur.

Personal characteristics comprised about one-fifth (22%) of all the inhibitory factors reported across the sample. Two-thirds (68%) of those statements were coded for a lack of a sense fit with the other person. Notably less than 10% of statements related to language difficulties or perceived prejudice or discrimination.

Table 19 shows recalculated dimensions of participant networks that include only ongoing relationships with network members whom participants had ranked as friends. For reference purposes, figures showing original network dimensions are presented in gray.

Table 19

Network dimensions including only friends with whom interaction had been ongoing

Network dimension		All	IEL	Joshidai
Size		3.6 (7.1)	4.6 (7.7)	2.6 (6.5)
Durability	Hours per week	21.8 (27.2)	36.3 (44.5)	5.4 (10.3)
Intensity	Ranking of 1–10	7 (6)	7 (7)	6 (6)
Density	Size of largest group	2.2 (3.3)	2.8 (4.0)	1.5 (2.6)
	Avg. size of groups	1.6 (2.1)	2.1 (2.4)	1.1 (1.8)
	Avg. size of largest 2 groups	1.7 (2.5)	2.2 (2.7)	1.2 (2.1)
Dispersion	Number of groups	2.0 (3.3)	2.3 (3.2)	1.6 (3.4)

The average sizes of these networks were 3–4 members for the entire group, 4–5 members for IEL participants, and 2–3 members for Joshidai participants. IEL participants spent about seven times the number of hours per week with members of their networks than Joshidai participants did with theirs (36.3 versus 5.4 hours), albeit again

without any distinction made between time spent interacting and that just being in the same setting together. One participant was removed from the analysis owing to her not having had a single network member whom she had ranked as a friend and with whom interaction had occurred on a regular basis. A summary of her case and the rationale for her removal are presented as follows.

Joshidai 8. This participant began her sojourn feeling motivated but also ambivalent about it. Living in another country had been a dream of hers, but the timing of her sojourn had overlapped with other activities she had wanted to join in Japan, such as Coming of Age Day (a national holiday with celebrations and parties to celebrate and encourage people who reach the age of 20 by April 1st). Prior to her sojourn, she had interacted with only two non-Japanese people, and both interactions occurred during her elementary school years; she had been friends with a Japanese-Brazilian classmate and once attended the birthday party of a Filipino child. Her goals for the sojourn had been to experience another culture, learn English, and develop self-awareness and self-reliance. During the sojourn she had refrained from interacting within the host community on her own but had joined exchange events organized by the program. Through such events she had met two community volunteers and then met each of them again, a number of times, including at their homes. Despite meeting on a fairly regular basis and within settings that would seem conducive to focused interpersonal interaction, Joshidai 8 explained that such close interaction had been hindered by meetings almost always having taken place in the company or one or more of her classmates. She additionally reported inhibitory factors specific to each relationship. With one community volunteer, she explained,

interaction had been restrained because she herself, the community volunteer, and her classmate had all been quiet people. With the other community volunteer, the first encounter had taken place at a Thanksgiving event, which had been late in her program, and there had not been enough time to develop a relationship. Her case shows how a student who had not been highly motivated for study abroad, who did not consider interacting within the host community a priority, and who was not provided opportunities for focused and ongoing intercultural interaction ended up a sojourn of no measurable value from the viewpoint of proximal processes.

The final stage in the assessment of proximal processes was qualitative in nature and focused on two objectives: the first was to assess whether interaction with one or more of participants' remaining network members had demonstrably supported proximal processes to occur. The second was to identify salient characteristics of those interactions across the PPCT model and to analyze any observed interplay among them. To begin with, written descriptions of how and why participants thought certain relationships had developed into friendships were deductively coded to the PPCT model. All but three participants provided descriptions that were coded for ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex interaction over time. One concise example is seen in the following statement by an IEL participant about how interaction with her roommate progressed: "While spending a lot of time together in the same room, our conversations became more frequent, and we found common interests and a lot of topics to discuss. Then by going out for meals together, our friendship deepened" (IEL 6). By contrast, the following statement by a Joshidai participant does not evince conditions supporting

proximal processes: “He took me to various places, and he also taught me a lot of things” (Joshidai 2). The statement refers to a local resident whom the participant had met in a Japanese-language class that Joshidai offered to the public. It conjures images of interaction that was likely reciprocal and progressively complex over time, but it does not make those conditions explicit. Because this study was interested in identifying clear examples of interaction that had supported proximal processes, the three participants whose descriptions of interaction did not evince the required conditions—one from IEL and two from Joshidai—were removed from the analysis. It should be noted that the absence of such evidence does not in itself confirm that these participants did not experience interaction supporting proximal processes, as it might rather reflect a limitation of the questionnaire in obtaining that information.

The remaining participants—those whose interaction with at least one network member had demonstrably supported proximal processes—were labeled the “proximal processes group”. Their responses to all items across the questionnaire were deductively coded to elements and sub-elements of the PPCT model, and any observed patterns of interplay between and among salient characteristics were holistically analyzed. Those results are presented under the headings of the PPCT model as follows.

Person. The questionnaire investigated two pre-departure sojourner personal characteristics: initial motivation and prior experience in intercultural interaction. As Table 20 shows, almost no significant difference in these characteristics was observed between the original sample and the proximal processes group.

Table 20

Proximal processes group: initial motivation and prior experience in intercultural interaction (original sample percentages shown in gray)

		All	IEL	Joshidai
Initial motivation	Very high	74% (72%)	69% (72%)	80% (71%)
	Rather High	17% (21%)	23% (20%)	10% (23%)
	Somewhat high	9% (7%)	8% (7%)	10% (6%)
Prior experience in intercultural interaction	1 year or more	40% (41%)	46% (47%)	30% (36%)
	Several months	13% (14%)	15% (13%)	10% (14%)
	Several weeks	21% (17%)	15% (13%)	30% (21%)
	1 week or less	26% (28%)	23% (27%)	30% (29%)

Initial motivation was high and prior experience highly varied for participants of both programs, and in both the original sample and proximal processes group. One observed discrepancy was that nearly half (46%) of IEL participants had one year or more of prior experience compared to less than one-third (30%) of Joshidai participants. Another was a slight increase in the proportion of Joshidai students with very high initial motivation for study abroad (80% vs. 71%).

Another item of the questionnaire asked participants to rank and describe the effort they had put into developing their intercultural networks. As Table 21 shows, no significant difference was observed among IEL participants, but the proportion of Joshidai participants who reported having made a strong effort increased by one third.

Table 21

Effort to interact with network members: original sample vs. proximal processes groups

Degree of effort	IEL		Joshidai	
	Original sample	Proximal processes group	Original sample	Proximal processes group
Strong effort	31%	33%	46%	66%
Mild effort	69%	66%	46%	33%
Slight effort	0%	0%	8%	0%

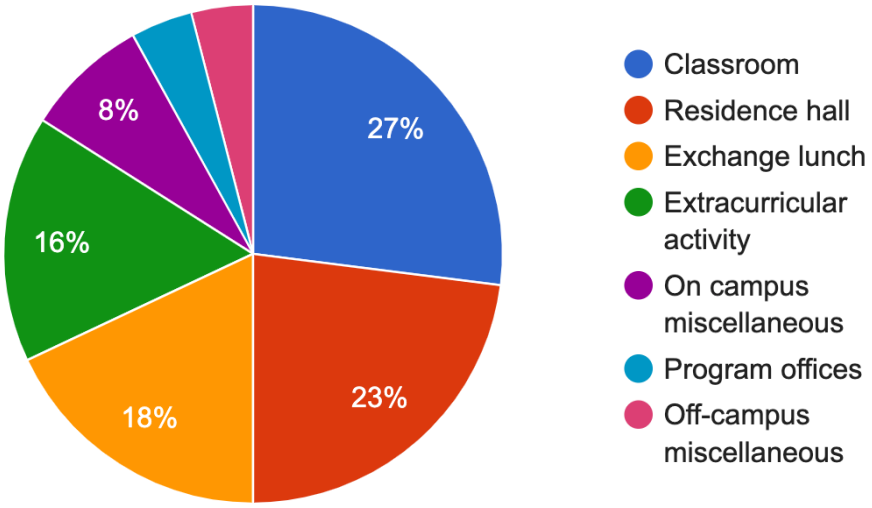
Another notable finding of this analysis was that Joshidai participants attributed over half (58%) of the friendships in their networks, and IEL participants about one-third (34%) of theirs, to resource and/or force characteristics of the *other* person. The somewhat higher percentage among Joshidai participants is due to the significant presence of people in their networks who were associated with the program, all of whom had been outgoing and friendly, interested in Japan, and proactive in building relationships with them.

Context. Figure 7 provides a comparative view of the immediate settings within which IEL and Joshidai members of the proximal processes group interacted with the members of their respective networks.

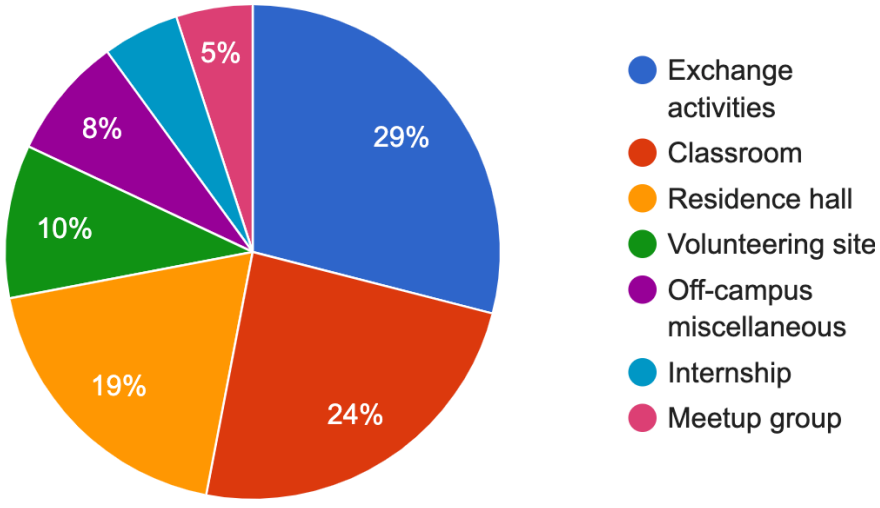
Figure 7

Settings in which proximal processes group members experienced intercultural interaction

A. IEL



B. Joshidai group



Over 90% of the settings in which IEL participants interacted with network members, and 60% of those in which Joshidai participants interacted with theirs, were located on campus. Overlapping, campus-based microsystems supported the formation of

rich mesosystems. Some Joshidai participant off-campus microsystems were connected to the campus program and therefore present within their mesosystems as well. For participants of both programs, however, microsystems located off-campus were mostly isolated from other microsystems.

Within the exosystem, influences were evident in the form of institutional curriculum, residential life, off-campus opportunities, and other policies and programs. Case summaries of two participants are presented below to illustrate how such indirect influences enabled intercultural interaction supporting proximal processes to occur for participants with demonstrably inhibitory personal characteristics.

IEL 5. This participant explained that he had undertaken study abroad at the suggestion of others and initially been more anxious than enthusiastic, worried about becoming severely homesick during the long period away from friends and family. Prior to study abroad, the only time he had ever interacted with a person of a different nationality had been in the context of an elementary school English class. His goals had been to study English and enhance his career prospects; experiencing a new culture and making new friends had been low priorities. During the sojourn he refrained from making contact with anyone within the host community on his own. In one of his English classes, however, he found himself repeatedly involved in pair and group work three Chinese classmates, and over time friendship developed with each of them. He credited the amount of time spent together in class as the main contributing factor and additionally described a sense of personal fit with two of them. With one in particular he attributed friendship to a relational dynamic that he and that student had achieved between

themselves without mentioning any specific characteristic of either person; he explained, "we created an atmosphere that made it easy for us to converse with each other."

IEL 5's experience of interaction supporting proximal processes within the classroom setting was somewhat rare within the IEL group, where classmates represented a larger portion of acquaintances (43%) than friends (27%). The main reasons members of the proximal processes group explained for relationships with classmates not having developed into friendships were that interaction had not been frequent and focused enough in the classroom, and it had not occurred in other settings.

Joshidai 7. This participant had also been initially anxious about her sojourn. Her only prior experience in interacting with a non-Japanese person had been in junior high school, when she had occasionally spoken with an exchange student who was staying in the home of one of her classmates. During the sojourn she felt uncomfortable speaking with strangers and did not approach anyone within the host community on her own. She ended up with only one person in her network, a woman and local resident whom she had met through an exchange activity organized by the program. She felt that the woman must be a decent person owing to her being associated with the program, which enabled her to feel at ease when they interacted. She initially felt unsure of what to talk about, but because the woman had expressed an interest in Japan, she had tried talking about Japan a lot. The two women ended up meeting each other for about two hours each week over a period of several weeks, and the relationship grew close enough for Joshidai 7 to share stories about her personal and family life. The cases of Joshidai 7 and IEL 5 above both therefore illustrate how influences of program design in the exosystem can make

proximal processes during intercultural interaction possible for students who may lack personal characteristics associated with building relationships within the host community on one's own.

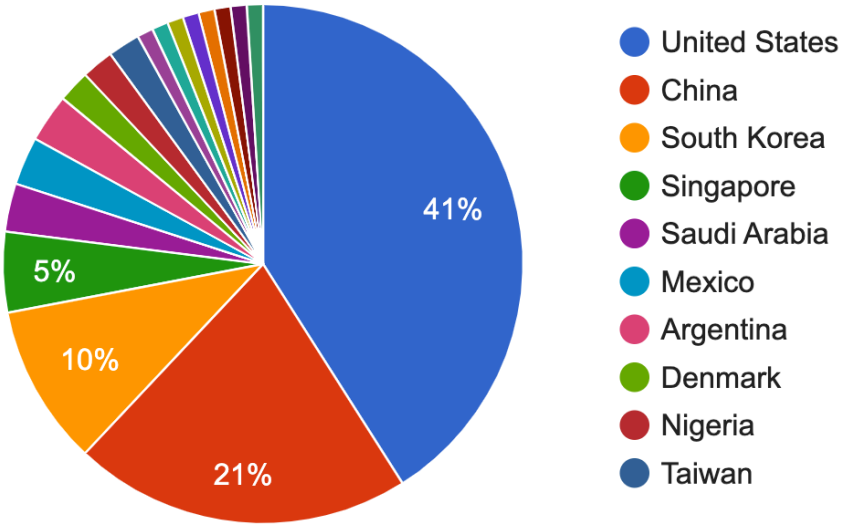
Within the macrosystem, notable influences were again observed in the majority presence of network members who were either multi-national peers from fellow East Asian or otherwise non-Western countries or host-nationals with a personal affinity for Japan. Figure 8 compares the nationalities of network members of the original sample and those of the proximal processes group within each program.

Figure 8

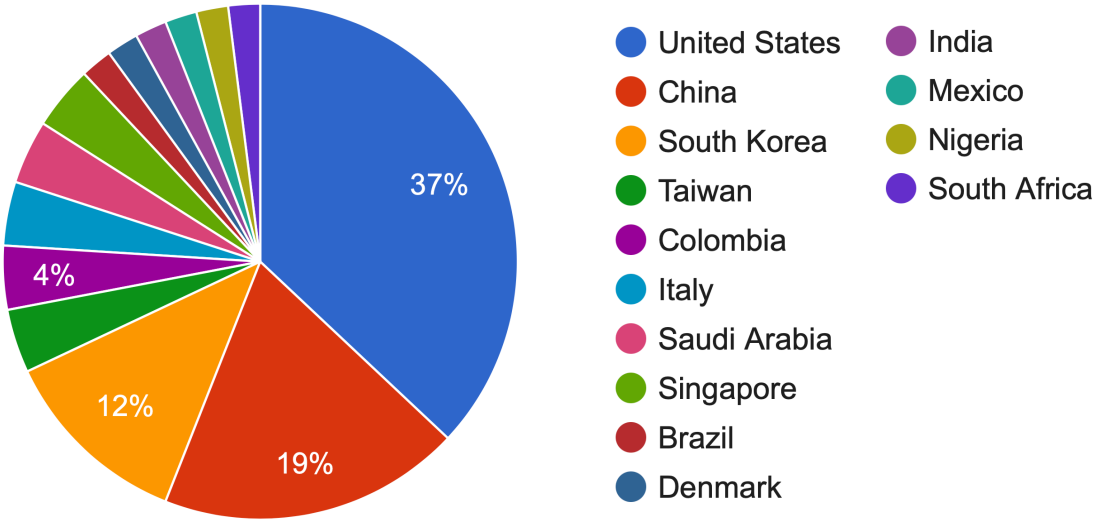
Network-member nationalities: Original sample and proximal processes groups

A. IEL

1) Original group

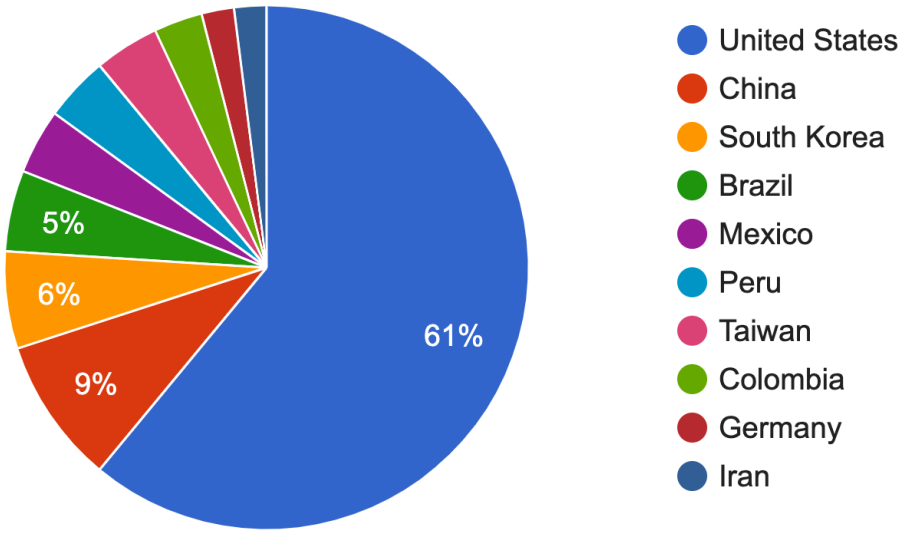


2) Proximal processes group

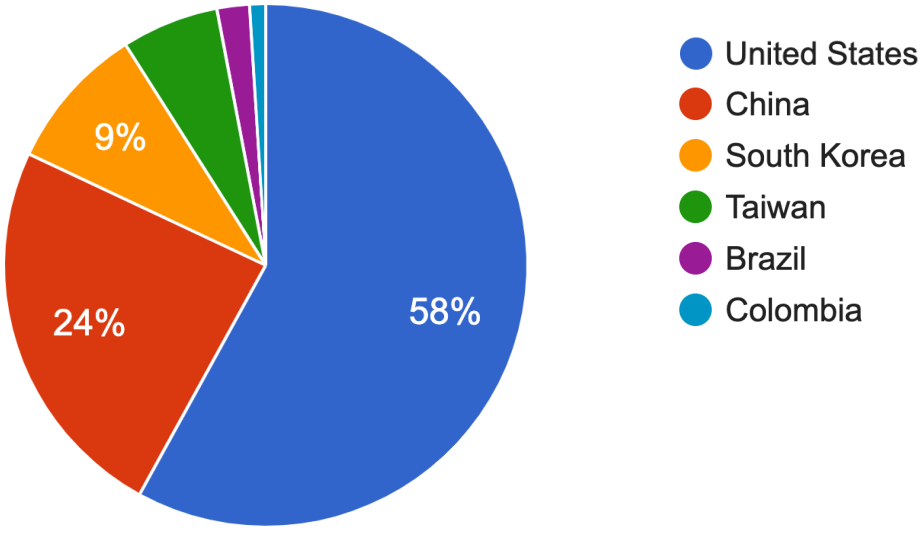


B. Joshidai

1) Original group



2) Proximal processes group



As with the original sample, people originating from non-Western countries again constituted the vast majority of multi-national network members. Among IEL participants, no significant differences were observed between the original sample and

proximal processes groups. For Joshidai participants, however, the proportion of network members from China, South Korea, and Taiwan doubled, rising from 19% to 39%, which raised the average of network members from those countries to more than one-third (37%) of all network members within the proximal processes group.

More than two-thirds of the local residents in proximal processes member networks (69%) were described as having a personal affinity for Japan, which was considerably higher than the relative proportion of the original sample (46%). Among IEL participants that figure doubled, rising from 24% to 50%, and among Joshidai participants it climbed from 67% to 88%.

Time. Regarding microtime characteristics, as Table 21 earlier showed, the amount of time IEL participants spent with network members (36.3 hours per week) was about seven times greater than that Joshidai participants spent with theirs (5.4 hours per week). Again while many of those hours involved little if any interpersonal interaction as previously noted, IEL participants nevertheless identified the sheer amount of time spent with network members as the most significant factor influencing more than one-third (36%) of their relationships to grow into friendships. Joshidai participants did not identify time as factor having supported any of their friendships to grow, although several described faculty, staff, and resident assistants on campus as close friends who had always looked out for and been available to them, which suggests that the microtime characteristics of most interaction on campus had been supportive of proximal processes. Regarding interaction with community volunteers, as previously noted, several Joshidai participants described poor microtime characteristics owing to the presence of one or

more of their classmates, which had hindered focused interpersonal interaction.

Mesotime characteristics across the sample were supportive of proximal processes in cases of on-campus interaction and inhibitory in cases of off-campus interaction. The commitment, planning, and time required to maintain regular, in-person interaction with people off campus proved too challenging for most participants.

From the viewpoint of macrotime, the large proportion of network members from fellow East Asian countries reflected global trends in the study-abroad industry in which China, India, and South Korea represented the top-three countries of origin among international students in the U.S. at the time of data collection (IIE, 2021a). In the 2000s and 2010s, the rise of international students from China and South Korea coincided with a decline in study-abroad participation among Japanese students (MEXT, 2015b). Nationwide consternation over these opposing trends led to the coining of a new term in the Japanese language, *uchimuki shikō*, or "inward-oriented tendency," which denotes a psychological aversion to extended overseas experience said to be unique to Japanese young people (Burgess, 2010; Burgess, 2015; Nikkei BPnet, 2011; Sanno Institute of Management, 2010). In 2012 the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Japan's largest newspaper, ran a front-page story that illustrates the rivalrous orientation of Japanese youth toward students in East Asian countries that prevailed within Japanese society, which read, "In a Japan that is showing signs of being pushed aside by China and Korea's focus on the economic sphere, it is said that the youngsters who have to shoulder the burden of the next generation are inward-oriented" (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 2012, p. 1). This image of Japanese youth also shaped educational policy, as seen in the Go Global Japan project, an

initiative launched by MEXT in 2012 to aid 42 leading universities in strengthening and promoting the global capabilities of Japan's top university students (JSPS, 2016). The expressed aim of the project is to counter inward-oriented tendencies of Japanese youth:

> […] to help overcome a tendency among Japan's younger generations to be "inward looking" and to foster people with wide global perspectives who can tackle challenges and excel within the international arena, ultimately improving Japan's global competitiveness and strengthening its ties with other nations.

Ongoing research into the 2004–2011 decline in study-abroad participation in Japan has identified its main causes as having been contextual factors rather than personal characteristics of students. For example, in 2010 the British Council found that the majority high school and university students in Japan were interested in studying abroad, and that their interest had grown since 2005 (British Council, 2010). In addition, Bradford (2015) explains that Japanese student attitudes toward study abroad during the decline in participation had compared favorably to those of students in the U.K. and U.S., where participation had increased during the same period (see Burgess et al. 2010; Chapple, 2014; MEXT, 2012; and Yoshida, 2017 for more). Inhibitory contextual factors had included concerns related to personal safety (mainly resulting from the global SARS outbreak of 2003), cost, language barriers that hindered participation in academic courses or internships, incongruity between Japanese and overseas university calendars and credit policies, and the lack of a clear advantage of overseas experience in the hiring practices of Japanese companies (Bradford, 2015; Burgess et al., 2010; Burgess, 2014; Chapple, 2014; Rausch, 2019; Yoshida, 2017). From the viewpoint of macrotime, therefore,

participants in this study grew up at a time when their generation was characterized as a threat to Japan's future owing to a unique psychological aversion to overseas experience, especially in view of their counterparts in fellow East Asian countries gaining that experience in record numbers. No influence of this rivalrous orientation was observed in participant interaction with fellow sojourners and others from China, South Korea, and Taiwan. Several participants conversely described the cultural proximity they discovered with network members from those countries as having been a factor influencing friendship to develop between them. One IEL participant, for example, wrote of a Korean student he had befriended, "Perhaps because our cultures are similar, our values were also in line."

RQ4: How does the occurrence of proximal processes relate to sojourner enthusiasm for promoting study abroad?

Participant statements regarding their enthusiasm for promoting study abroad and their advice to future sojourners were compared to assessments of proximal. As Table 22 shows, experiencing interaction supporting proximal processes was not positively associated with enthusiasm for promoting study abroad; the association was conversely somewhat negative.

Table 22

Enthusiasm for promoting study abroad: Proximal vs. no-proximal processes groups

Level of enthusiasm	Original sample		IEL		Joshidai	
	Proximal processes group	No-proximal processes group	Proximal processes group	No-proximal processes group	Proximal processes group	No-proximal processes group
High	29%	67%	14%	40%	50%	50%
Moderate	48%	33%	64%	40%	13%	50%
Low	10%	0%	7%	20%	13%	0%
None	14%	0%	14%	0%	25%	0%

The overall higher enthusiasm among no-proximal processes group members was an unexpected and counterintuitive finding, but analysis of participant responses across the questionnaire placed these results into clearer context. To begin with, none of the participants in the no-proximal processes group listed building relationships within the host community as one of their top-three goals for the sojourn. They also described their enthusiasm for promoting study abroad in either brief and ambiguous terms such as "Because it was fun" and "Because it was a good experience" or in a way that portrayed the experience as a personal journey without reference to interaction within the host community, such as "Because studying abroad represents an opportunity to broaden your horizons and reconsider yourself."

Within the proximal processes group, some participants described their enthusiasm in similarly vague terms, but many others specifically traced their enthusiasm, or the lack thereof, to the amount and quality of interaction they experienced within the host community. Example statements at every level of enthusiasm are

presented within brief case summaries of the participants who made them as follows.

No enthusiasm

IEL 3. This participant explained that he did not promote study abroad because he believed students should decide to do it based on their own will and that alone. He had followed the recommendation of others and felt that his lack of personal investment had hindered him from making more of the experience. The only intercultural interaction he had experienced prior to study abroad had consisted of online conversations with a fellow gaming enthusiast about the *Pokémon* Japanese media franchise. He reported not having had well-defined goals for the sojourn but that improving his English and enhancing his employability had been higher priorities than making new friends or experiencing another culture. During the sojourn he built a network of seven members, two with whom interaction had demonstrably supported proximal processes. One of those members was a local resident who was a friend of IEL 3's mother, and the other was a friend of that person. IEL 3 met with both women for about five hours each week, and their relationships developed at what he described as "a feverish pace." He credited his mother's introduction with having made those relationships possible. The rest of his network included five local residents whom he had met gaming competitions that he had joined in the city. Interaction with them had been sporadic, totaling only 20 hours over the course of his three-month sojourn, so it did not have the regularity and consistency needed to support proximal processes. Beyond those relationships, IEL 3 did not participate in any exchange opportunities offered by the program and spent the rest of his free time with other members of his cohort. He explained, "Of course it's easier to talk

with Japanese people, so I ended up hanging out with them." In the end, he regretted not having made more of an effort to interact within the host community. His message to future sojourners was, "If you're only doing it because it was recommended, then it's better not to go. You should only go if you have a goal that you yourself want to achieve."

Low enthusiasm

IEL 12. This participant was highly satisfied with his intercultural experience, and he explained that the only reason for his low enthusiasm was that study abroad worldwide had been indefinitely halted by the COVID-19 pandemic. His case is presented, however, because it illustrates how the support of a mentor or advisor to reflect on culture bumps and other dilemmas that occur during intercultural interaction can change a sojourner's developmental trajectory. IEL 12 had lived with his parents in the U.S. for over one year during his childhood, but he nevertheless began his sojourn feeling anxious over whether he would be able to handle living away from his parents for the first time. During the sojourn, he built a network of five members. Two were fellow study-abroad students from Denmark and Italy who had been his roommates for the first and second halves of the program. The third was the undergraduate roommate of a Japanese friend who had lived in his residence hall, the fourth was a classmate from Colombia, and the fifth was an undergraduate from the U.S. whom he had met at an exchange event organized by the Japanese language program on campus. His interaction with every network member was observed to support proximal processes. His closest friends were his roommates, and he attributed the success of those relationships to the

advice and support he received from his program coordinator. His first roommate had been older than him and rarely in the room at the same time, and he had projected a distant demeanor when he was there, all of which had made it difficult for IEL 12 to establish a friendly rapport with him. IEL 12 consulted his program coordinator, who suggested he try inviting his roommate for a meal in one of the campus dining halls. He did that, his roommate accepted, the interaction went much better than it had in their room, they started having meals on a regular basis, and a close friendship developed. IEL 12's second roommate was also older than him, but this time IEL 12 was able to apply the knowledge and skills he had gained from experiences with his first roommate in quickly developing another close friendship. He and his second roommate interacted in multiple settings, as his roommate invited him to join his circle of friends for leisure activities in the city such as bowling and going to restaurants. His program coordinator further encouraged him to join an exchange event on campus for Japanese students and students studying Japanese, where he met another student who also became a friend and with whom interaction supported proximal processes.

Joshidai 7. This participant was the previously described member of the proximal processes group whose only network member was a female community volunteer whom she had met through the program (see p. 138). Aside from her interaction with that community volunteer, she had spent the rest of her free time with other members of her cohort. Looking back, she wished she had made an effort to build other relationships, and she explained that her lack of enthusiasm for promoting study abroad was rooted in the notion that her example was not a good one to follow. Her advice to future sojourners

was, “I only interacted with Japanese people, so I would encourage you to take positive action in making friends with people of different cultures.”

Moderate enthusiasm

As shown in Table 27 above, nearly half (48%) of the participants in the proximal processes group reported moderate enthusiasm for promoting study abroad. Participants of the two institutions differed on this metric, with most IEL participants (64%) and only a small minority of Joshidai participants (13%) reporting moderate enthusiasm. The cause of this difference was investigated but not found. A larger sample size and/or other methods of data collection would be required to validate this difference and investigate its possible causes.

Two participants described their moderate enthusiasm as rooted in the personal development they underwent during the sojourn. They did not specifically mention intercultural interaction, but as described below, however, both of them built large networks and first-ever international friendships, which likely undergirded those developmental outcomes.

IEL 14. IEL 14 explained that her experiences had changed her personal values, and that she promoted study abroad because she believed it would do the same for others. She described herself as a fundamentally shy person who was not good at doing anything in public, and her only prior experience with intercultural interaction had consisted of speaking with an international student at an exchange party hosted by her university in Japan and then exchanging emails with that person. Study abroad had been a dream of hers since junior high school, and her goals had been to experience another culture,

improve her English skills, and develop self-awareness and self-reliance. During the sojourn she built a network of 12 members, all of whom had been students on campus. She had not reached out to any of them on her own but been responsive when approached or introduced. She ranked seven of her network members as acquaintances and five as friends, and interaction with all of her friends demonstrably supported proximal processes. Her friends included three students from South Korea, one from Italy, and one from Brazil. She spent 51 hours her week with her friends, including 21 hours per week with her Brazilian roommate. These first-ever close friendships with people of other countries likely influenced the acquisition of the new values that IEL 14 identified as the source of her enthusiasm for promoting study abroad.

IEL 6. This participant had also grown-up dreaming of studying abroad, and her only prior experience in intercultural interaction had taken place during junior high school, in the context of an after-school English conversation class. Her top goals for the sojourn had been to experience another culture, develop her English skills, and make new friends. She built a large network of 10 members including two roommates, one classmate, four students who she met at an exchange activity on campus, a friend of one of the students she had met at that exchange activity, a friend of one of her classmates from Japan, and a local resident whom she had met through a website for connecting with free conversation partners in the local area. Her closest relationships were with four students including her Chinese roommate and three other students from China, Singapore, and Taiwan. She spent about 30 hours per week with her roommate and seven hours per week with the other students. In describing her enthusiasm for promoting study

abroad, she emphasized wanting to convey to others that the sojourn was not simply about improving one's language skills but also learning to function within a new linguistic and cultural environment. Her advice to future sojourners was as follows:

> Studying abroad feels like a long time and yet it ends in a blink of an eye, so I think it's better to live positively and actively rather than spending your time in the way you normally do. You may often feel depressed because you can't speak, but there are many things you can learn just by facing daily challenges, going to the library, etc. If you try something new, once each day, I think the period of study abroad will be a wonderful time in your life. I also recommend keeping a diary and looking over it every day! More than anything else, I hope you will enjoy studying abroad!

The process IEL 6 recommends, of trying to achieve something new within the host community each day, illustrates the possibility that sojourners could interact in ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex ways within the host community—and not necessarily with specific individuals. Simply becoming functional in a new linguistic and cultural environment indeed entails its own set of competencies that require time to develop. In IEL 6's case, however, developing those competencies had been closely intertwined with the development of her first-ever international friendships. She often explored the host environment in the company of one or more of her friends and fellow sojourners from East and Southeast Asia, and the experiences they navigated together, in turn, provided a supportive context for their friendships to develop.

Among participants in the proximal processes group who reported moderate

enthusiasm for promoting study abroad were five whose responses explicitly linked their enthusiasm to their experience with intercultural interaction. Three of those cases below are exemplars of this process.

Joshidai 10. This participant was highly satisfied with the intercultural interaction she experienced, but she reported only moderate enthusiasm for promoting study abroad because she had been frustrated by the cohort-based nature of her program. She wrote, "Almost all of my university friends participated in this study abroad program, so it felt like tourism." She also lamented what she perceived as program support had been lacking: "The prepared opportunities [for intercultural interaction] weren't enough, and I couldn't be satisfied unless I actively went out and met people on my own". Her network had consisted of two resident assistants in her dormitory, a woman she had met through a Meetup group in the city, and a friend of a friend. Proximal processes were demonstrably supported to occur only with her resident assistants, although she was proud of having joined the Meetup group on her own and established a relationship with one of its members. Her advice to future sojourners was to make their way off campus and interact within the host community as much as possible.

IEL 13. This participant's enthusiasm was also tempered by what she described as her program having been focused on academic instruction to a degree that had hindered her efforts to build relationships within the host community. She had been highly motivated for the sojourn, and her singular goal had been to build the linguistic skills and cultural awareness needed to thrive in international contexts. She wrote:

> In order to play an active role as a member of society, I wanted to expand my field of activity from Japan to overseas countries. Based on that, I wanted to study abroad so that I could improve my language skills and broaden my horizons.

During her sojourn, IEL 13 built a network of eight students including six classmates from Brazil, China, India, and South Korea and two host-national undergraduates whom she had met at an exchange event hosted by the Japanese Students Association. She and those undergraduates had made a strong and sustained effort to meet after classes and on weekends, spending about 15 hours per week together. Her relationships with them were the only ones that she ranked as friendships and within which interaction had demonstrably supported proximal processes to occur. The context of classroom instruction had not supported interaction with her classmates to develop beyond the level of an acquaintance, and she had not met those students in other settings. She thought the program had offered an insufficient number of exchange activities and opined that some such activities should be made mandatory. She additionally noted that the amount of assigned homework had left her little time to develop the relationships she had managed to establish. Her moderate level of enthusiasm for promoting study abroad was grounded in having experienced enough interaction within the host community to confirm its value to the achievement of her original goals. She wrote, “I could feel that getting to know people of other countries would be advantageous for job hunting and would greatly expand my range of choices.” Her advice to future sojourners was to expect obstacles in the effort to build relationships within the host community and to remain positive and persistent. She wrote, “I think there are a lot of pains, but the day

when you return to Japan will definitely come, so let's take positive action so as not to waste the opportunity."

IEL 9. This participant's enthusiasm for promoting study abroad was based in an appreciation of the "meaningful times" he had spent with other students on campus, and it, too was tempered by a perceived lack of program support. IEL 9 had found the language exchange table helpful in making initial contact with undergraduates but felt that more support in that area could have been provided. He had also found it distracting to be in the U.S. with his classmates from Japan, and in response he had broken away from both his program and his peers to pursue a more immersive experience. He built a network of six members, all of whom he ranked as close friends and with whom interaction had demonstrably supported proximal processes. Five members were undergraduates who belonged to extracurricular running and outing clubs he had joined, and one was a student from South Korea whom he had met at a language exchange table in one of the campus dining halls. He spent ten hours per week in club meetings plus an additional ten hours per week with each of two members whom he described as having shared both similar values and also the same free periods during the week. His advice to future sojourners was, "Challenge yourself in joining different programs, make great friends, and leave lots of memories."

High enthusiasm

Below are the cases of three participants who explicitly linked their high enthusiasm for promoting study abroad to their experience of building relationships within the host community.

Joshidai 13. This participant began her sojourn having completed a brief homestay in Australia during her high school years. Her goal for this sojourn was to develop her English communication skills, mainly through interaction with local residents. She wrote, “This was my first long-term study abroad program, so I thought I could learn full-fledged, living local English and was very much looking forward to developing my proficiency.” She built a large and diverse network of 12 members from the U.S., China, Brazil, Peru, and Vietnam. Five members were Joshidai faculty and staff, and the other seven included four students and three adults whom she had met at exchange events and on field trips led by the program. She ranked all but one of her network members as acquaintances. The one member she ranked as a friend was a Chinese student at a nearby university whom she had met at an exchange event hosted by the university’s Japan Club. In explaining why she thought that relationship had developed more than others, Joshidai 13 described a sense of personal fit that had mitigated differences in cultural values that had emerged in the course of getting to know each other. She wrote, “Even though we were from different countries that had different national values, the things we were interested in and cared about were similar, so it felt like we were on the same wavelength.”

Joshidai 13’s other relationships were hindered from developing into friendships for two main reasons. In the case of faculty and staff, the professional nature of the relationship plus age differences had represented the main inhibitory factors. In the case of network members located off campus, either first encounters had not left Joshidai 13 with a strong sense of fit and/or she had not made her way off campus often enough to

develop the relationship. Simply establishing an intercultural network had represented an achievement to her, but in retrospect she regretted not having made a greater effort to continue meeting with network members in person rather than resorting to online interaction. She wrote:

> Normally, I wasn't very good at striking up conversations with people I didn't know, so it was hard for me, but I managed the courage to interact even in my poor English, and then I tried to connect with them on SNS. However, looking back now, I wish I had focused on actually meeting and talking, rather than just communicating online. I regret that I should have been brave enough to overcome my shyness to improve my communication and speaking skills.

Those regrets notwithstanding, Joshidai 13 reported high enthusiasm for promoting study abroad because she believed this second sojourn had enabled her to establish a foundation in the intercultural awareness and skills she had hoped to acquire. She wrote:

> I was able to learn about different cultures, ways of thinking, and differences in life that I could not feel in Japan, and I became able to think about things from a wider perspective. Also, since there is no loss in learning English, I feel that by learning local, living English I was able to understand the sensibilities, intuitions, and nuances of native English speakers a little more than before. So I thought that was very good. Also, I think it's good that I was able to make a connection to others in the world because now my friends and I can talk about each other's countries, and we might visit each other in the future if we have the opportunity.

Joshidai 4. This participant' network was presented earlier as a sociogram in Figure 4b (see p. 118). Joshidai 4 began her sojourn having almost never experienced intercultural interaction, but she nevertheless built a network of 10 members, the third largest of the Joshidai group. Interaction with four network members had demonstrably supported proximal processes to occur, and Joshidai 4 spent a total of 7.5 hours per week with those members. Like other Joshidai participants, she had been frustrated by the limitations of living and studying on a campus exclusively dedicated to herself and her classmates, but that frustration had motivated her to seize the opportunities the program had provided to establish connections within the host community. She wrote:

> For safety reasons I couldn't talk to strangers, so it seemed like I was a little short of opportunities to interact with foreigners who had nothing to do with the school. It was stressful because I had so many opportunities to interact with the people in the dormitory all day long. There was nothing to create a private space with room sharing, so it was hard for people who did not get along well with their roommates. I went to grab the opportunities that the school gave me. By going out and staying away from the dormitory, I devised ways to increase the amount of time I could feel myself in a different culture.

After returning to the main campus in Japan, Joshidai 4 utilized her role as the leader of an extracurricular student organization to promote study abroad to her junior members. She not only encouraged them but also advised them with specific suggestions on opportunities for engaging in the community, which they apparently followed. She wrote:

> I belonged to the English-Speaking Society and became its director, and I told junior members about my experiences. I gave them advice to make them feel interested in study abroad and intercultural exchange, and they actually followed through and did some of the interesting activities I had suggested.

Joshidai 4 thus promoted study abroad not simply with enthusiasm but also a sense of conviction, embracing it as an element of her role as a student leader. She was proud that other club members had followed her advice in seeking out the opportunities she had recommended to them. She therefore not only promoted study abroad to others but additionally represented an exosystem influence during their sojourns, supporting them to experience proximal process as well.

IEL 2. This participant had the largest network in the sample (portrayed earlier as a sociogram on page 120). She had never interacted with a non-Japanese person prior to her sojourn. Her goals had been to experience a new culture, improve her English, and make new friends. During the sojourn she built a network of fifteen members that included 12 members of an undergraduate dance club she had joined. Her other network members included one classmate and two students in her residence hall, one being the roommate of a Japanese friend of hers, and the other a resident whom she had met in the residence hall elevator. She explained that when she promoted study abroad to her friends, she encouraged them to break away from their cohort and strive to build connections within the host community. She wrote, “It’s a once-in-a-lifetime experience, so it’s better to get out and challenge yourself. I think it’s not good to huddle together with other Japanese.”

Mixed methods analysis therefore produced a nuanced answer to this final research question. While proximal processes group members reported lower overall enthusiasm for promoting study abroad, several of those participants distributed across every level of enthusiasm emphasized the value of building relationships within the host community, and in some cases providing specific advice on how to do that. The same trend was not observed among no-proximal processes group members, all of whom promoted the experience without making any reference to intercultural interaction.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Study abroad is expected to play a key role in the development of global human resources in Japan, but participation in study abroad alone does not guarantee the development of any of the associated competencies. Simple and short-lived interaction within the host community may trigger positive changes in sojourner confidence and motivation, but building competence at anything, according to the bioecological theory, requires interaction that is ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time. That type of interaction within the host community represents the primary engine by which intercultural competence develops during study abroad. Achieving it is a challenge for many students, especially those on short-term, cohort-based sojourns. This research utilized the PPCT model to assess whether and to what extent Japanese students enrolled in two different short-term study-abroad programs in the United States experienced proximal processes with members of their intercultural networks. This chapter will summarize key findings, limitations and strengths of the study, and implications it creates for future research.

Key Findings

RQ1: How do participants form intercultural networks?

Participants formed intercultural networks through a combination of factors mostly related to the context of their program, characteristics of time, their own force characteristics, and the force and resource characteristics of the people they encountered. Over 90% of IEL and 80% of Joshidai participant first encounters took place on

participants' respective campuses, although for Joshidai participants, half of those encounters (41% of the total) were with local residents who were visitors to the campus. The main settings within which interaction occurred for participants of both programs were classrooms, residence halls, dining halls, and extracurricular activities, although most network members in those settings at IEL were students, and most at Joshidai were faculty and staff. Extracurricular activities at IEL mostly consisted of student organizations and exchange events and activities with students studying the Japanese language. At Joshidai, they were mostly exchange opportunities with local residents organized by the program. An additional fifth (20%) of Joshidai participant network members were local residents whom participants encountered off campus and on their own, such as by joining Meetup groups, volunteering, or cold contacting in public places such as a café, Uber ride, or train station. Japanese language classes that Joshidai offered to the public represented one campus-based setting for ongoing interaction with local residents, but all other settings where Joshidai participants interacted with local residents were located off campus.

RQ2: What are the dimensions and compositions of those networks?

The average size of networks across the sample was seven members, with IEL networks having been slightly larger than Joshidai networks. Participants spent averages of 27 hours per week within ongoing relationships and less than 20 hours total within short-lived and/or sporadic relationships. IEL participants spent more than four times the number of hours per week with their network members (44.5) than Joshidai participants did with theirs (10.3). The size of this discrepancy is partly due to IEL participants

having included in their reporting the many hours they had spent with network members in classrooms, residence halls, and extracurricular activities during which little if any interpersonal interaction actually occurred (e.g., sleeping hours in the room with a roommate). Nevertheless, IEL participants attributed time as the key factor having supported many of their relationships to develop and ranked most of their network members as friends, and Joshidai participants noted the lack of time as an inhibitory factor and ranked most of their network members as acquaintances. Density of IEL networks was also higher, with the average size of groups within participant networks being 2.4 members compared with 1.8 for Joshidai participants. Dispersion, or the number of groups within one's network, was nearly the same between IEL and Joshidai participants at 3.2 and 3.4 respectively.

The vast majority of IEL network members (89%) were students compared to less than one-third (28%) for Joshidai participants, whose networks mostly consisted of adults. Nearly all of the settings in which IEL participants experienced intercultural interaction were located on campus, and Joshidai participants spent nearly double the amount of time interacting with network members off-campus (3.5 hours per week versus 1.8 for IEL participants). More than two-thirds of Joshidai participant network members with whom interaction had been short-lived and/or sporadic were local residents owing to the planning and logistical challenges of going off-campus regularly enough to meet more often.

Another notable finding was that nearly half of participant networks across the original sample were composed of multi-national network members, and those from East

Asian and other non-Western countries in particular. Three fourths (74%) of multi-national network members were from non-Western countries, and one-fourth (25%) of all network members were from China, South Korea, or Taiwan. Another notable finding was that nearly half (46%) of the host nationals in participant networks were described as having a personal affinity for Japan.

RQ3: To what extent do proximal processes occur during interaction with network members, and how do the elements of the PPCT model relate to their occurrence?

Procedures that filtered the data for interaction that had been demonstrably ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time reduced network dimensions across the sample. For IEL participants, network size decreased from 7.7 to 4.6 members, and time spent together from 44.5 to 36.3 hours per week. Two IEL participants were removed from the analysis owing to their having experienced no interaction that had demonstrably supported proximal processes, and one participant's network was reduced to just one member. Most remaining network members had ties to at least one other member. For Joshidai participants, the same procedures reduced network size from 6.5 to 2.6 members and time spent together from 10.3 to 5.4 hours per week. Two participants were removed the analysis, and the networks of five others were reduced to a single member. Most remaining Joshidai network members had no ties to any other member.

Once members of the "proximal processes group" (participants who had demonstrably experienced ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex interaction with at least one network member) had been identified, their descriptions of interaction with those network members were deductively coded to elements of the PPCT model

with the aim of identifying opportunities for supporting developmentally generative intercultural interaction for future sojourners. Below is a brief summary of those findings.

Person

Previous research on short-term study-abroad framed by the PPCT model has identified personal sojourner characteristics as the most significant factor influencing the amount of interaction within the host community (Jessup-Anger & Aragones, 2013; Elliot et al, 2016; Taylor & Ali, 2017). This study, which compared participants from two different programs, found that factors related to context and time can be equally if not more significant—not only to network durability (the amount of time spent with network members) but also size, density, intensity, and dispersion. Pre-departure personal characteristics related to educational background, past experience with intercultural interaction, and motivation for study abroad were similar across the sample, but aspects of context and time that had been developmentally instigative for IEL participants and inhibitory for Joshidai participants caused dramatic differences in the amount and quality of time spent with members of their respective networks. One theme that emerged from statements by participants of both programs was that the host program had been helpful in enabling initial encounters but not sufficiently supportive of relationships to develop. Participants with larger and deeper networks almost uniformly credited themselves with having developed their networks on their own. This finding shows how sojourner personal characteristics might appear to be the most salient factor influencing interaction within the host community in studies focused on participants of a single program. As Xia et al. (2020) explain, assessing the influence of contextual factors on proximal processes

requires incorporating some variation of context into the sample.

Another theme that emerged was that of attributing the development of friendship to the personal characteristics of the network member and/or the "atmosphere" between the participant and the network member. This finding was consistent with a growing body of research in Asia and Africa that emphasizes more relational dimensions of the concept of intercultural competence (e.g., Dalib et al., 2014; Miyahara, 2004; Xiao & Chen, 2009; Yum, 2012).

Context

The vast majority of participant microsystems being located on campus supported significant overlap among them, which created relatively rich mesosystems. Most network members who were located off-campus had no ties to other members, which, coupled with the challenges related to scheduling meetings and making one's way off campus, made it hard for participants to maintain ongoing, in-person interaction with them. Exosystem influences were evident in the form of curricular, residence life, and other program and institutional policies that shaped the majority of settings in which participants interacted with network members. Macrosystem influences were observed in the majority presence of network members who were either local residents with a personal affinity for Japan or fellow sojourners and others from other East Asian countries.

Time

Concerning microtime, some classes, roommate situations, extracurricular club meetings, and ongoing exchange opportunities supported relatively focused interpersonal

interaction, and others did not. Macrotime influences were observed again in the significant presence of network members from China and South Korea because China, India, and South Korea currently represent the top-three countries of origin among international students in the U.S. (IIE, 2021a).

Mesotime characteristics were similar between the two programs in that they were developmentally instigative of on-campus interaction and inhibitory of off-campus interaction. This impacted Joshidai participants much more than IEL participants because 40% of their network members were located off-campus compared to less than 10% for IEL participants. It is mainly for this reason that IEL participants spent about seven times the number of hours per week with their network members than Joshidai participants spent with theirs (36.3 vs. 5.4). Again it should be noted that many of those hours involved little if any interpersonal interaction, as in the case of sleeping time in the same room as one's roommate, but IEL participants nevertheless identified the sheer amount of time spent with network members as the main factor having supported 36% of their relationships to grow into friendships.

RQ4: How does the occurrence of proximal processes relate to sojourner enthusiasm for promoting study abroad?

Participants in the no-proximal processes group reported higher enthusiasm for promoting study abroad than those in the proximal processes group, an unexpected and counterintuitive finding. However, none of those participants had made building relationships within the host community a priority of their sojourn, so the lack of those experiences did not disappoint them. Moreover, they uniformly described their

enthusiasm for promoting study abroad in brief and ambiguous terms, such as “because it was fun” and “because it was a good experience,” or in a way that portrayed the sojourn as a personal, introspective journey without making reference to interaction within the host community, such as “because studying abroad represents an opportunity to broaden your horizons and reconsider yourself.” Within the proximal processes group, some participants described their enthusiasm in similarly vague terms, but many others explicitly traced their enthusiasm, or lack thereof, to the amount and quality of interaction they had experienced within the host community.

Limitations and Strengths

This study’s findings should be interpreted with caution, bearing in mind a number of limitations. To begin with, participants self-selected into this study, which makes the findings susceptible to volunteer bias. Second, recruitment entailed administrators at IEL and Joshidai forwarding a recruitment letter to their former students, and any of those administrators might have created an exclusion bias by encouraging certain former students to participate and/or excluded others. Third, a snowball effect occurred, as some participants were recruited by peers who had already completed the questionnaire. Those participants’ responses may have been influenced by interaction with their peers about the questionnaire. Fourth, the sample included participants from 2018 and 2019, and it is possible that certain characteristics of the programs and/or cohorts that were specific to each of those years (or the semesters within them) influenced participant responses. Fifth, because participants were asked to report on interactions that had occurred up to three years in the past, their responses may have

been influenced by the strength of their memories and changes in their narrative of what happened. Sixth, it is possible that some degree of social desirability bias and/or self-serving bias may have influenced participant responses. For example, participants having attributed only about one-fifth (22%) of the factors that hindered friendship from developing with their acquaintances to personal characteristics could be interpreted as an example of such biases. It should be noted, however, that self-serving bias has been found to be less apparent among people of collectivistic cultures than those of individualistic cultures (Mezulis, Abramson, Hyde, & Hankin, 2004). A related attributional tendency of members of collectivistic cultures is that of focusing more on the situational context than on the individuals involved (Ji, Peng, & Nisbett, 2000; Lewis, Goto, & Kong, 2008; Maddux & Yuki, 2006). Seventh, participant self-reports naturally represent just one view; this study did not gather information from other individuals who could potentially reduce confidence in the credence of participant responses such as peers, friends, advisors, administrators, and instructors. Eighth, the SASIQ-R failed to capture reliable, precise data in two areas. For one, it did not distinguish between time spent interacting and that spent simply in the same setting and not necessarily interacting, such as the sleeping hours in the case of roommates and lecture time in the case of classmates. Also, in some cases, it was unclear whether the absence of statements evincing proximal processes was due to proximal processes not having occurred or rather a failure of the questionnaire to obtain that data. Finally, my own upbringing in the U.S. and limited research experience represent additional limitations to validity and reliability. There was no way to accurately determine the extent to which any of these limitations

influenced the findings. Given the subjectivity and non-probability-based nature of unit selection, and also in view of the relatively small sample size of 29 participants, the data collected for this study should not be viewed as representative of all Japanese study-abroad students or even all IEL and Joshidai students.

These limitations notwithstanding, this study had a number of strengths, particularly in its methodology, which bolster the validity and reliability of the findings. To begin with, self-reported data, while susceptible to certain biases and other limitations, has important validity checks built into it as well. The voices of respondents, who represent the primary stakeholders in this research, make the findings likely to be recognizable and meaningful in the context from which they originated. Another strength of self-reported data-collection techniques is that they can give voice to individuals affected by an issue who may be unable to make the case for change by themselves. Given the exploratory nature of this study, the likely self-selection of participants who had strong feelings or opinions about the topic may have helped in delineating issues and directions for future research.

The empirical data obtained by the SASIQ-R helped mitigate social desirability and other participant biases by either affirming or contradicting the veracity of participant written self-reports. It additionally helped to mitigate my own inexperience as a rookie researcher and potential cultural bias as a Westerner. As previously described, all the dominant models of intercultural competence in research today were conceived from a Western cultural perspective, which portray it as a set of "knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Deardorff, 2006, p. 33) possessed by individuals (e.g., Bennett, 1993; Byram,

1997; Deardorff, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015; Deardorff & Arasaratnam-Smith, 2017; OECD, 2018; UNESCO, 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2017). The SASIQ and the bioecological model are focused on interaction, not individual skills or competencies. As such, while they are both Western in origin, they align with the more relational concepts of intercultural competence articulated in a growing body of research in Asia and Africa (e.g., Dalib et al., 2014; Miyahara, 2004; Xiao & Chen, 2009; Yum, 2012).

The approach to analysis, which entailed deductively mapping participant responses to the PPCT model, provided a clear structure for assessing proximal processes and identifying the personal, contextual, and time-related characteristics of sojourner interaction that supported or inhibited them from occurring. The coding of responses and interpretation of the results were additionally strengthened by the participation of my two native Japanese-speaking research assistants, both of whom have previously assisted me on related projects involving students at IEL and Joshidai. I myself chose this topic after having completed decades of related professional practice. During my doctoral program, I additionally worked around the edges of the topic, conducting interviews and focus-group discussions with students at IEL and Joshidai, leading photovoice workshops at IEL, and leading a semester-long collaboration between Joshidai and a nearby college.

Implications

The findings of this research support use of the PPCT model as a means of improving the developmental value of intercultural interaction during study abroad. Every sojourner has their own personal characteristics, and every host program its own context and circumstances, each of which can be mapped onto the PPCT model and evaluated in terms of whether it supports or inhibits proximal processes. A holistic examination of the interplay among those characteristics can then be undertaken, which can lead to new approaches that improve intercultural competence outcomes for students. PPCT model-based assessments can also provide stakeholders within the more distal layers of sojourner ecosystems with perspectives on ways they can leverage their respective positions to support those outcomes as well.

While some of the implications of this study may be specific to the participants and programs that were examined, most appear relevant to participants, programs, and other stakeholders in study abroad in general. Those implications are presented as a series of eight recommendations as follows.

1. Reimagine students and programs within a bioecological perspective.

Programs wishing to support developmentally generative intercultural interaction should start by reconceptualizing themselves as both exosystem-level orchestrators of, and microsystem-level participants in, the new ecological environment in which their students find themselves. Students preparing for their sojourns should similarly be supported to conceptualize themselves as being at the center of that new environment, and to understand that the developmental value of the intercultural interaction they

experience will be determined by an interplay of certain personal characteristics (both of themselves and the people they encounter) and certain characteristics related context and time. Gaining that perspective will provide them a basis to review their own personal characteristics and to consider modifying them for the sake of experiencing proximal processes during their sojourn. In addition, providing people who recurringly appear in student networks (e.g., instructors, staff, and host families) with a bioecological perspective might lead them to interact with future sojourners in ways that better support proximal processes to occur as well.

2. Nurture developmentally generative force characteristics.

As previously described, force characteristics consist of two contrasting types of dispositions. Developmentally generative force characterstics include curiosity, the tendency to initiate and engage in activity with others, and a readiness to defer immediate gratification to pursue long-term goals. Developmentally disruptive force characterstics include impulsiveness, distractibility, apathy, and withdrawal. In the present study, participants with large networks and close relationships almost uniformly credited themselves for having developed those relationships through their own efforts, in several cases having had to overcome significant hurdles related to context and/or time. Their persistence in the face of such obstacles typifies what Bronfenbrenner (1995, 2005) meant when he described force characteristics as the extent to which changes in a person's context are linked to their desire and drive to make those changes happen (see Tudge et al., 2009 for more). Sending and host institutions accordingly may wish to feature in their pre-departure and post-arrival orientation programs activities designed to

nurture developmentally generative force characteristics.

In the present study, several participants listed enhancing their employability high on their list of priorities for study abroad and conversely ranked the building of relationships within the host community low. During pre-departure and post-arrival orientation programs, clarifying the value of experiencing proximal processes with people of other cultures to succeeding in the more globally integrated Japan of the future might motivate such students to become more deliberate and persistent in pursuing it.

3. Cultivate networking skills.

In the present study, many of the first encounters that participants reported occurred in settings that were fleeting in nature, such as one-off exchange events, casual introductions by friends, and public places such as an elevator or Uber ride. Students on short-term programs need to make the most of the opportunities they encounter, and skills such as those taught for networking at conferences—e.g., striking up a conversation, delivering an elevator pitch, conversing in small groups, and following-up on initial encounters—would enable them to convert more of their first encounters into relationships that support proximal processes (see Samuels, 2017, for more).

Given the potential risks of unmediated interaction in a foreign country related to personal safety, students should also receive instruction and training in ways of handling situations in which they are approached and do not wish to establish a relationship.

4. Support the full experiential education cycle.

Several studies emphasize the importance of providing not just opportunities for students to connect with local residents, but also "secondary interventions" (Vande Berg

et al., 2009), usually in the form of a mentor (or mentors), who support reflection on interactive experiences within the host community and the building of concepts and skills that facilitate cultural adjustment (see Hunter, 2008 and Pedersen, 2010 for more). Such mentors may be faculty, staff, students, or others, and the settings may vary as well (Baba & Hosoda, 2014; Sivakumaran et al., 2013; Sullivan & Kashubeck-West, 2015; Vande Berg et al., 2009; Victoria University, 2005). The success of these interventions should be measured by how well they support the *reflective observation*- and *abstract hypotheses*-phases of the experiential education cycle (Kolb & Kolb, 2005). Japanese study-abroad students, many of whom have little or no prior experience in interacting with people of other cultures, cannot be expected to independently manage the culture bumps (Archer, 1991) and other disorienting dilemmas (Mezirow, 1991) that typically occur as the interaction they experience with intercultural network members becomes increasingly complex over time (see Elliot et al., 2016 for more).

The contrastive cases of IEL 12 (p. 142) and IEL 1 (p. 120), both of whom initially struggled to build relationships with their roommates, illustrate how secondary interventions can alter developmental trajectories. IEL 12 consulted with his program coordinator about difficulties he was having with his roommate, and that reflective space and the new approaches he developed as a result propelled him to success in that relationship and the forming of two other relationships on campus. By contrast, IEL 1 did not consult with anyone, the situation with her roommate did not improve, and she ended up turning away from the host community in general and spending most of her free time with other members of her cohort. As Engle and Engle (2003) explain, “when students

are protected abroad or, for some personal reason do not wish to focus on cultural difference, the desire for comfort dominates" (p. 232). By engaging students in reflection and hypotheses-making about the disorienting situations they experience with members of their intercultural networks, programs can help steer some of those relationships in a direction that supports proximal processes. Incorporating those two, oft-neglected phases of the experiential education cycle into study-abroad programs would, in turn, enable program administrators to gain a more precise understanding of the developmental value of the intercultural interaction their students experience and to provide targeted support where it is needed. Programs interested in supporting these phases as part of their academic instruction may wish to consider Perry et al.'s (2012) framework for assessing transformative learning outcomes of short-term study abroad as a potential reference or guide (see literature review).

5. Monitor and support microtime and mesotime characteristics.

Every program has its own strengths and weaknesses within the PPCT model, but the results of the present study suggest that microtime and mesotime characteristics warrant the attention of all programs because either of these sub-elements of time, if inhibitory, can by themselves prevent proximal processes from occurring. For example, more than half of the reasons IEL participants described for friendship not developing with the acquaintances in their networks were coded to microtime, such as classes that had not supported focused interaction among classmates and extracurricular activities that had included too many students or otherwise been unconducive to such interaction. A multitude of countries and cultures is represented within most IEL classes, and significant

increases in the proximal processes students experience could be supported if classes were deliberately designed with developmentally generative microtime characteristics. In addition, encouraging students to join extracurricular organizations and activities that feature such microtime conditions, and supporting them to make adjustments where needed to restore or maintain those conditions, would support proximal processes to occur outside of class as well. In regard to Joshidai participants, nearly half of the reasons they described for friendship not developing with the acquaintances in their networks were coded to mesotime. Almost all of their acquaintances (96%) were local residents located off-campus, and participants explained that the main obstacle to building relationships with them had been the logistical challenges of getting off-campus regularly enough to meet. Simplifying transportation logistics would be one obvious way to increase the amount of proximal processes that Joshidai students experience. An alternative or complementary approach would be to increase opportunities for proximal processes to occur on campus. For example, residency programs for visiting faculty and students designed to support interaction with developmentally generative microtime and mesotime characteristics could transform the Joshidai residential environment into one that supports a rich experience in intercultural development.

6. Cultivate campus-based mesosytems.

As Renn and Arnold (2003) explain, student microsystems tend to be intertwined, and the connections between and among them have a propensity to impact student development. In the present study, nearly three fourths (73%) of the microsystems in which participants interacted were located on campus. Classes, residential settings, dining

halls, extracurricular activities, and exchange initiatives could be linked in strategic and creative ways to increase the developmental possibilities of campus life. In addition, program faculty and staff should be encouraged to recognize themselves not simply in their discrete roles, but also more broadly, as members of students' intercultural networks, and to accordingly interact with students in multiple modes and settings.

7. Factor in cultural distance.

One of the most notable findings of the present study was that of the relatively small cultural distance that participants experienced between themselves and their network members, who were either local residents with a personal affinity for Japan or people from East Asian or other non-Western countries. Only two participants reported experiencing prejudice, discrimination, or language difficulties with network members, which suggests that the host nationals in their networks were overall much friendlier toward them than those generally described over decades of research on Japanese student interaction and adjustment in the U.S. (e.g., Abe, Talbot, & Geelhoed, 1998; Kinoshita & Bowman, 1998; Poyrazli et al., 2004; Sato & Hodge, 2009, 2015; Sheehan & Pearson, 1995; Surdam & Collins, 1984; Trice & Elliott, 1993; Yang et al., 1994).

As previously noted, multi-national peers represent strong candidates for interaction supporting proximal processes owing to the shared experience of being "strangers in a strange land" (Bochner et al., 1985). Given that mesotime characteristics tend to be favorable in settings such as classrooms, dining halls, and residence halls, host institutions may wish to design programs that combine students from Japan with students from another country, and which engage them in interaction across a range of contexts

and settings. When Japanese students' network members are from fellow East Asian countries, the likelihood of proximal processes occurring increases owing to the relatively small cultural distance, and students can gain not just intercultural competence in general but that specific to some of the countries where Japan's small and medium-sized enterprises are likely to shift their operations and markets over the coming decades.

8. Foster the "right" culture of study abroad.

It was somewhat disconcerting to discover that participants who had not apparently experienced proximal processes reported higher enthusiasm for promoting study abroad than those who had. Moreover, when asked to describe their enthusiasm, those participants uniformly responded with either nondescript statements such as "because it was fun" and "because it was a good experience" or with portrayals of the sojourn as a personal and introspective journey, making no reference to intercultural interaction. By contrast, within the proximal processes group, there were participants at every level of enthusiasm who explicitly linked their enthusiasm, or the lack thereof, to their determination of whether they had interacted within the host community as much as they thought they should have. When those participants promoted study abroad, they encouraged their peers to expect challenges but to persist in pursuing relationships within the host community, and in some cases, they provided specific suggestions on how to do that. It would appear from these findings that there may be two cultures of study abroad growing in Japan: one that supports the intercultural competence goals of the Japan Revitalization Strategy (2013), and one that does not. Further research can focus on how sojourners portray study abroad when they promote it, and whether and to what extent

their portrayals influence the developmental value of the intercultural interaction that their peers experience during their own sojourns. In order for study abroad to fulfill its role in developing global human resources for Japan, it may be important that its most enthusiastic promoters be students who experienced proximal processes themselves during their own sojourns.

APPENDIX A

STUDY ABROAD SOCIAL INTERACTION QUESTIONNAIRE

(SASIQ; ORIGINAL VERSION)

This is the Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ). Versions of this questionnaire were used in the following papers. This version was used for research involving learners of Arabic studying in Jordan. The target language will need to be modified depending on the target and native languages of the learners.

If you desire to use this questionnaire or to modify it and use items contained here, you are welcome to contact the authors to gain access to a version that can be administered via Qualtrics, the survey tool used by the authors.

Dewey, D. P., Ring, S., Gardner, D., & Belnap, R. K. (2013). Social network formation and development during study abroad in the Middle East. *System: An International Journal of Educational Technology and Applied Linguistics, 41*, 269–282. DOI: 10.1016/j.system.2013.02.004

Dewey, D. P., Belnap, R. K., & Hilstrom, R. (2013). Social network development, language use, and language acquisition during study abroad: Arabic language learners' perspectives. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad, 21,* 84–110. Found at http://frontiersjournal.com/documents/Dewey-Belknap-Hillstrom-FRONTIERS2012-13.pdf

Dewey, D. P., Bown, J., & Eggett, D. (2012). Japanese language proficiency, social networking, and language use during study abroad: Learners' perspectives. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 68,* 111–137. Ring, S. A., Gardner, D., & Dewey, D. P. (2013). Social network development during study abroad in Japan. In K. Kondo-Brown, Y. Saito-Abbott, S. Satsutani, M. Tsutsui, & A. Wehmeyer (Eds.), *New perspectives on Japanese language learning*, *linguistics*, *and culture* (pp. 95–122). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, National Foreign Language Resource Center.

Your Name (First and Last):
Email address

In this questionnaire you will be asked about people you spoke with in Arabic and in English while participating in study abroad in Jordan. Please respond carefully to each of the items based on your recollections of your experience in Jordan. Your best recollections are acceptable.

---

1. In the boxes below, please write, from memory, the names of friends or acquaintances who you spoke Arabic with or native speakers of Arabic with whom you regularly spoke in English who fit the following description in all respects: You *at least occasionally* spoke Arabic to them. You know them well enough to have spent at least some time socializing with them. If you had more than twenty friends with whom you at least occasionally spoke Arabic, please simply list the fifteen with whom you spoke Arabic most regularly.
To help you think about people you could name, think about people you met at school, in the community, through internships, or people you lived with, as well as people you were introduced to through friends or others.

Person 1 _____

Person 2 (up to Person 20)

2. Please use the drop-down menus to indicate how often you spoke Arabic with each individual (Arabic Use), how often you spoke English with them (English Use), and how well they spoke English (English Proficiency).

Arabic Use
Very Often / Often / Sometimes / Rarely / Never

English Use
Very Often / Often / Sometimes / Rarely / Never

English Proficiency
Very Well / Somewhat Well / OK / Poorly / Not at All

3. Using the drop-down menu on the left, indicate the category that best describes how you met each person. In the text box on the right please elaborate on the details of your meeting. The boxes will fit more than it might appear. Please feel free to write as much as you need to.

How you met this person
- Host Family/Roommate
- Through the BYU Program
- Through Another Friend
- I Approached Them
- They Approached Me
- Other

Please elaborate how you met:

4. Please use the drop-down menus to answer each question.

	On average how many hours did you spend with this person per month?	What percentage of that time did you spend doing activities in Arabic? (reading, writing, speaking, listening to music, watching TV, etc.)	What percentage of that time did you spend doing activities in English. (speaking, reading, writing, listening to music, watching TV etc.)

5. For each of the people in your list, please indicate the level of your friendship, ranging from mere acquaintance to very close friend/confidant.

Note that in terms of communication, level of friendship ranges from engaging in occasional friendly exchanges (low on the scale) to sharing one's deepest feelings or asking for advice regarding personal challenges (high on the scale). Refer to the diagram below to help interpret the range.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Person 1								
Person 2								
Person 3								

6. Choose three people from your list above that you marked as being the closest of friends (highest score). Please tell why you think you were able to develop good friendships with these people? What allowed you to move up the scale from acquaintance to friend, etc.

_____

_____

_____

7. Choose three people from your list above that you marked as being lowest in terms of friendship level. Please tell why you think you were not able to develop stronger friendships with these people? Describe anything that may have inhibited friendships with these people.

_____

_____

_____

8. What were some obstacles that kept you from speaking Arabic with these people?

_____

_____

_____

9. What did your study abroad program do to help you make native speaking friends or acquaintances while in Jordan?

_____

_____

_____

10. What more could your study abroad program have done to help you make native speaking friends or acquaintances while in Jordan?

_____

_____

_____

11. What sorts of things did *you* do to make friends with native Arabic speakers?

_____

_____

_____

There are four parts to this question (A–D).

Part A.

For this item you will help us identify which people know each other and how they know each other by grouping together the people you listed according to where they should know each other from (and possibly where you got to know them). For example, if three of the people are host family members, you would group them together by dragging their names to the "Host Family" box. If four of the people worked at your internship site and knew each other as a result, you would group them together by dragging their names to

the "Group 1" box and then giving the box "Group 1" the label "Internship Site" in the blank below. Clubs, community organizations, etc. could also be used as group labels.

If people belong to more than one group, place them in their primary group (the group they are most tightly linked to).

After dragging people to their groups, please be sure to define each group in the text fields that follow (Part B) so we can understand how the people know each other. If you have more groups than there are boxes, please use the next question (Part C) to describe who these groups are and how they are made up (the people and the group names).

Host Family (Homestay)	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5
Person 1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Person 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Person 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Part B

Label for Group 1 _____

Label for Group 2 _____

Label for Group 3 _____

Label for Group 4 _____

Label for Group 5 _____

Part C

If there were more groups than six (Homestay plus five others), please list the groups and their members here.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Part D
If people belonged to more than one group, please list these people and their additional groups here. (Give each name with that person's additional group or groups.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B

STUDY ABROAD SOCIAL INTERACTION QUESTIONNAIRE – REVISED

(SASIQ-R)

Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ)

This survey asks about intercultural interaction during study abroad. It takes 30-40 minutes to complete. It fits on a phone, but writing sections are more comfortable on a computer.

In the writing sections, please feel free to explain as much as you want. The more you can help us to understand, the greater your contribution to advancing this aspect of study abroad.

Your name and email address are requested only for the purpose of sending you a ¥3,000 Rakuten gift card to thank you for your time. You may complete the survey anonymously if you are willing to forego the gift card. Your identifying information will not be used in the research and will be kept confidential.

☐ "By clicking here, I agree to participate in this research. I understand that the information I provide will be kept confidential, my participation is voluntary, and I may stop participating at any time."

(If you are willing to forego the gift card, feel free to leave this section blank:)
Family name:
First name:
Email address:

1. Motivation & Goals

How initially motivated were you to study abroad?

- Highly motivated
- Motivated
- Somewhat motivated
- Slightly motivated
- Not motivated

Please explain your answer.

What were your goals? Please drag and drop these options to rank them. Also, feel free to add your own, original goals in the spaces provided.

- Develop my English skills
- Enhance my employability
- Experience a new culture
- Make new friends
- Build self-awareness and self-reliance
- My family/friends encouraged me to do it.
- Other _____
- Other _____

2. Prior Experience

Prior to study abroad, did you ever experience ongoing interaction with non-Japanese people?

- Yes, a lot.
- Yes, a little.
- Yes, but very little.
- No, not at all.

If so, please describe one of those experiences: How old were you, what was the nature of the interaction, and how long did it continue? If not, please skip this question.

3. Friends & Acquaintances

List pseudonyms (fake names) and nationalities of 1–15 non-Japanese people with whom you interacted during study abroad.

⇒ Remember who is who, as you'll be asked about those relationships in upcoming questions!

⇒ If you think of other people later in the survey, you can return to this page and add them.

4. First Encounters

In the drop-down menu, indicate where you first met each person. Then in the text box, describe the encounter. For example, was it a gathering of some kind? Who approached whom, or were you introduced? And how did it go?

5. Time Spent Together

Please estimate the amount of time you spent with each person. If you met for a period of weeks, choose "Hours Per Week" in the first column. If you met irregularly or over a shorter period, choose "Total Hours". Then in the second column, enter the corresponding number of hours.

6. Closeness

Please rank how close you were to each person.

Choose three of your closest friends and explain why you think those relationships grew so well.

Choose three of your most distant acquaintances and explain why you think those relationships didn't grow so well.

7. Mapping Your Social Network

Create names for up to ten 'groups' in which you interacted with the people in your list (e.g., dorm, basketball club) and click on everyone who was connected to each group. Note: If you had isolated 1–1 relationships, please create 'groups' for just those individuals.

8. Co-National Relationships

Did you also interact with other Japanese during study abroad?

If you did, how do you think those interactions influenced your interactions with non-Japanese? If you didn't, please skip this question.

9. Satisfaction

Use the slider to indicate how satisfied you feel about your intercultural interaction during study abroad.

0=Highly unsatisfied 5=Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied 10=Highly satisfied

Please explain why you feel unsatisfied/neutral/satisfied by your intercultural experience.

10. Program Support

How helpful did you find your host program in supporting intercultural interaction?

- Very helpful

- Moderately helpful
- Somewhat helpful
- Slightly helpful
- Not helpful

Please explain your response.

11. Your Own Effort

How much effort did you make on your own to experience intercultural interaction?

- Very strong effort
- Strong effort
- Moderate effort
- Slight effort
- No effort

Please explain your response.

12. Promoting Study Abroad

Since returning to Japan, how enthusiastically have you promoted study abroad to others?

- Very enthusiastically
- Moderately enthusiastically
- Mildly enthusiastically
- Unenthusiastically
- I have not promoted study abroad to others.

Please explain your answer.

13. Closing Words

Please share your advice for future study-abroad students.

Thank you very much for participating in this research. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact the student principal investigator, Cyrus Segawa Konstantinakos, at cyraki@bu.edu.

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE REQUEST FOR INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION: JOSHIDAI

Dear _____,

I would like to request Joshidai 's cooperation in my dissertation research, which is focused on identifying opportunities for increasing the developmental value of Japanese student intercultural interaction during short-term study abroad. I am especially interested in Joshidai because of the care that apparently goes into supporting its students to interact within the host community. The Joshidai Friendship Circle and College Connection Program, for example, appear to represent examples of what the research literature recommends for supporting developmentally meaningful interaction to occur during short-term sojourns—structured opportunities for ongoing interaction plus guided, *in situ* reflection about those experiences.

My request is for Joshidai to forward my recruitment letter (attached) to a number of students from its 2018 cohort. I hope for about 15 respondents. The letter incudes a link to the Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire, a mixed-methods survey that asks students to identify (using pseudonyms) members of the host community they knew during their sojourn and to describe aspects of their interaction with each person. It was originally designed for research in second language acquisition and does not ask sensitive personal questions. Here are links to its English and Japanese versions (only the Japanese version would be sent to students).

My analysis will be framed by Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development, which identifies *proximal processes*—interactions that are ongoing, reciprocal, and progressively complex over time—as primary engines of human development. This theory is focused on the development of competence, so proximal processes that occur during study abroad may perhaps be understood to represent engines of global and intercultural competence.

Insights gathered by participants will be incorporated into a report, which will be read by my dissertation committee and other interested parties. Direct quotes from students may be used, but names and other identifying information will be kept anonymous. Joshidai would not be identified in the report.

In order to obtain data across a wide range of students and contexts, I also hope to recruit former students of four other programs in the Boston area: Boston University CELOP, English Language Institute at Pine Manor College, Kings Education Boston, and Sakae Institute.

Please find a support letter from my dissertation chair, Dean Emeritus Hardin Coleman, attached. If I may provide my full proposal or any other information, please let me know. Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Cyrus Segawa Konstantinakos

Boston University Wheelock College of
Education & Human Development
Be Prepared to Build a World of Good

Hardin L.K. Coleman, Ph.D.
Professor of Counseling Psychology and Applied Human Development
Dean Emeritus
2 Silber Way
Boston, MA 02215
T (617) 358-1366 F 617-353-7777
hardin@bu.edu

March 21, 2021

Dear Showa Boston Administrators,

This letter is to support Cyrus Segawa Konstantinakos's request for your cooperation in his dissertation research.

I am Cyrus's dissertation chair and first reader. His research plan is grounded in a leading theory of human development, and he will use an established questionnaire on sojourner intercultural interaction for data collection.

Cyrus also manages international student affairs at Pine Manor College, and he recently coordinated a number of activities with Showa students. Those experiences will enable him to apply a seasoned practitioner's insight to this research. Showa is also a cultural bridge to the Greater Boston community. Especially with the inclusion of former Showa Boston students, I believe his research will help to advance the fields of study abroad and intercultural human development.

To allay any concerns, let me confirm that Cyrus's research is not a program evaluation. It is a holistic study of how students of various personal characteristics experience intercultural interaction across a range of study-abroad contexts. His focus is on how students themselves respond to the challenges and opportunities they encounter.

If I may address any questions or concerns you may have, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Regards,

Dr. Hardin L.K. Coleman, Faculty Advisor
Professor of Counseling Psychology and Applied Human Development, Dean Emeritus
Profile: https://www.bu.edu/wheelock/profile/hardin-coleman/
Email: hardin@bu.edu

Inclusive, good-quality education is a foundation for dynamic and equitable societies.

- Archbishop Desmond Tutu

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT LETTER

Note: This letter will be presented in Japanese. The Japanese version follows the English translation.

Dear 2018 Student,

Your participation is requested in a Boston University research study that aims to advance understanding of Japanese student intercultural interaction during study abroad.

Participation entails completing the **Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ)**, an online survey that takes 30–40 minutes to complete. I am offering a **¥3,000 Amazon.co.jp gift card to every participant**. Your name and email address would be requested ONLY for the purpose of sending a gift card. If you are willing to forego the gift card, you may complete the survey anonymously.

The SASIQ asks students to list pseudonyms of people they knew during study abroad and to describe various aspects of the interaction with them—for example, the amount of time spent together, closeness, who knew one another among friends and acquaintances, etc. It does not ask sensitive personal questions. There are no direct benefits associated with completing the SASIQ, but your participation would hopefully benefit future study-abroad students.

All responses will be kept confidential. For purposes such as quality control or safety, study records may be reviewed by the following people:

- The Researcher and any member of the research team
- The Institutional Review Board at Boston University. The IRB reviews human research studies for the safety and protection of the people who take part in them.
- Federal and/or state agencies that oversee or review research
- Central University Offices

Completed questionnaires will be stored on a dedicated, encrypted hard drive, reported anonymously, and destroyed in seven years. Your private, identifiable information (name and email address) would neither be used in my study nor in future studies, nor would it be shared with other researchers. Your participation would be

voluntary, and you would be free to withdraw at any time. You would also be also free to skip any question for any reason.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me or my faculty advisor using the contact information below. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Boston University IRB at the contact information below.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Cyrus Segawa Konstantinakos, Student Principal Investigator
Ed.M (Teaching & Curriculum), A.M. (East Asian Studies), Harvard University
Ed.D Candidate, Boston University
Email: cyraki@bu.edu

Other Contact Information
Boston University Institutional Review Board (IRB)
Website: https://www.bu.edu/researchsupport/profile/institutional-review-board-irb/
Email: irb@bu.edu
Phone: 617-358-6115

Faculty Advisor
Dr. Hardin L.K. Coleman, Professor of Counseling Psychology and Applied Human Development, Dean Emeritus
Profile: https://www.bu.edu/wheelock/profile/hardin-coleman/
Email: hardin@bu.edu

付属書

２０１８年の生徒の皆様へ

留学中の日本人学生の異文化間交流について理解を深めることを目的としたボストン大学の調査研究への参加をお願いいたします。

参加するには、オンライン調査である **Study Abroad Social Interaction Questionnaire (SASIQ)**に回答する必要があります。回答完了までに４０分程度かかります。アンケートに回答してくださった方全員にアマゾンギフトカード３０００円分を差し上げます。あなたの個人情報（名前とメールアドレス）は、ギフトカードを渡す目的でのみ要求されます。 ギフトカード受取を希望しない場合、匿名で回答する事もできます。

SASIQ は、留学中に知った人を偽名を用いて挙げて、一人一人と過ごした時間、親密になった理由、友達や知人の中で誰が知っているかなどの質問を設けています。個人的なことを尋ねる事は無いので、ご安心ください。SASIQ の参加に直接的なメリットはありませんが、あなたの参加が将来の留学生に役立ちます。

すべての回答は機密保持されます。 下記の人物または団体は、品質管理や安全性などの目的で研究記録を確認する場合があります。
- 研究者および研究チームのメンバー
- ボストン大学の機関審査委員会（IRB）。

IRB は、研究に参加する人々の安全と保護のために人体実験研究を確認する団体です。
- 研究を監督する連邦および州の機関
- セントラル大学のオフィス

回答済みのアンケートは、暗号化された専用のハードドライブに保存され、匿名で報告され、7 年以内に破棄されます。あなたの個人情報（名前とメールアドレス）は、私の研究でも将来の研究でも使用されることはなく、他の研究者と共有されることもありません。 あなたの参加は任意であり、いつでも自由に撤退することができます。 また、理由を問わず、質問をスキップすることもできます。

ご質問やご不明な点がございましたら、下記の連絡先までご連絡ください。 研究参加者としての権利について質問や懸念がある場合は、以下の連絡先情報でボストン大学 IRB に連絡してください。
よろしくお願いいたします。

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APPENDIX E

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Note: This letter will be presented in Japanese. The Japanese version follows the English translation.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study, which will take place from June through August, 2021. This form details the purpose of this study, a description of the involvement required, and your rights as a participant.

The purpose of this study is to gain insight into the social networks of Japanese students during study abroad. The benefits of the research will be:

- A better understanding how Japanese students build and maintain social networks during student abroad.
- To identify factors that could help in improving the study-abroad social experience for future Japanese students and potentially for students of other countries as well.

The methods that will be used to meet this purpose include:

- Questionnaire

You are encouraged to ask questions or raise concerns at any time about the nature of the study or the methods I am using. Please feel free to contact me at the e-mail address or telephone number listed above.

Insights gathered by you and other participants will be incorporated into a research report, which will be read by my dissertation committee members and other interested parties. Direct quotes from you may be used in the report, but your name and other identifying information will be kept anonymous.

By signing this consent form I certify that I _____ agree to
(Print full name here)
the terms of this agreement.

_____ _____
(Signature) (Date)

付属書

2021 年 6 月から 8 月にかけて行われるこの調査への参加に同意していただきありがとうございます。このフォームには、この調査の目的、必要な関与の説明、および参加者としてのあなたの権利が詳しく記載されています。

この研究の目的は、留学中の日本人学生のソーシャルネットワークへの洞察を得ることです。 研究の利点は次のとおりです。

- 日本人学生が海外での学生の間にソーシャルネットワークを構築し維持する方法をよりよく理解する。
- 将来の日本人学生のために、そして潜在的に他の国の学生のために、留学社会体験を改善するのに役立つ可能性のある要因を特定すること。

この目的を満たすために使用される方法は次のとおりです。

- アンケート

研究の性質や私が使用している方法について質問や懸念がございましたら、上記のメールアドレスまたは電話番号までお気軽にご連絡ください。

あなたや他の参加者によって集められたデータは、私の論文委員会のメンバーや他の利害関係者が読む研究報告に使用されます。 レポートでは直接あなたからの引用が使用される場合がありますが、あなたの名前やその他の個人情報は匿名のままになります。

この同意書に署名することにより、私_____に同意することを証明します。

（お名前を記入してください）

_____ _____

（署名） （日付）

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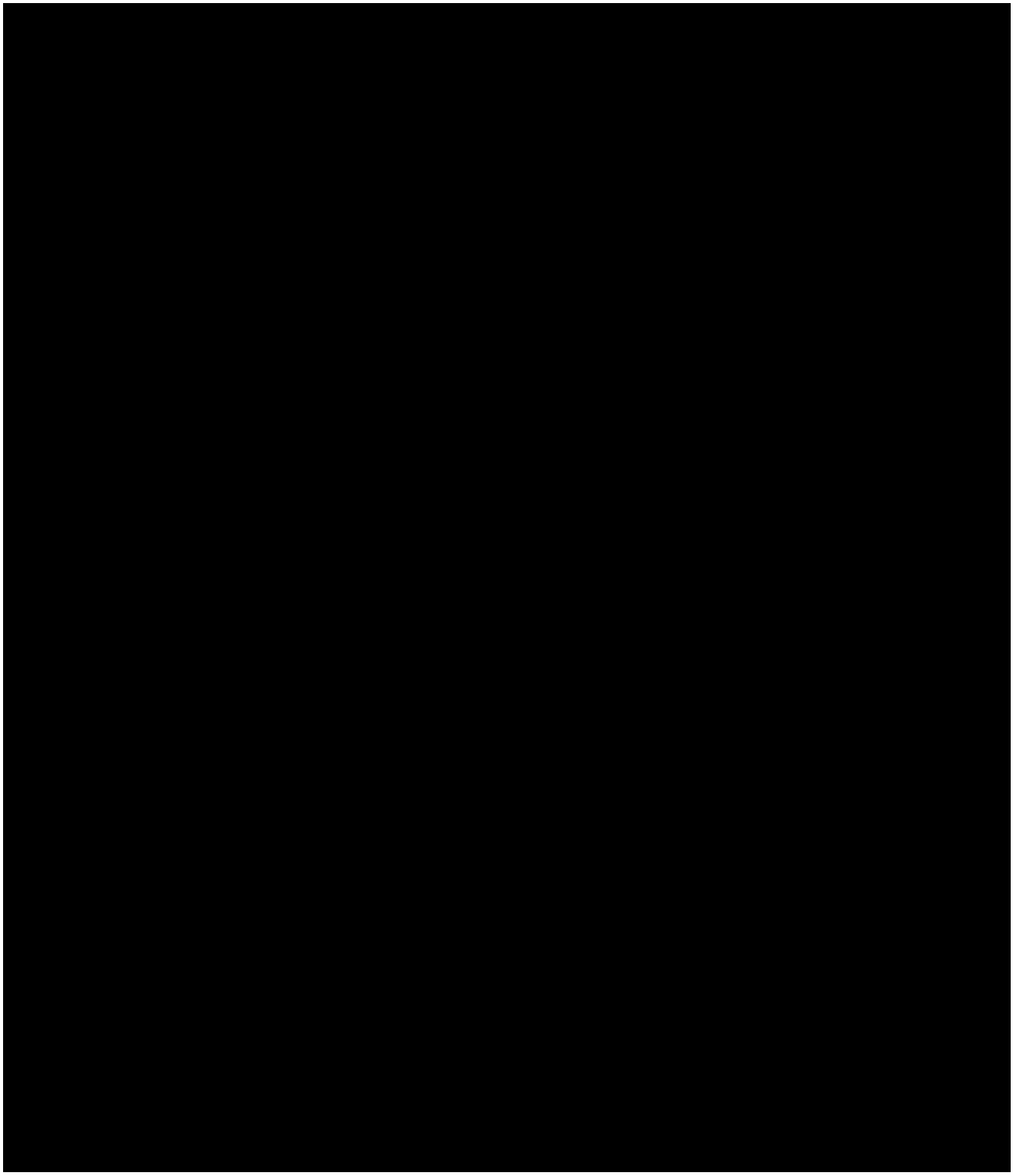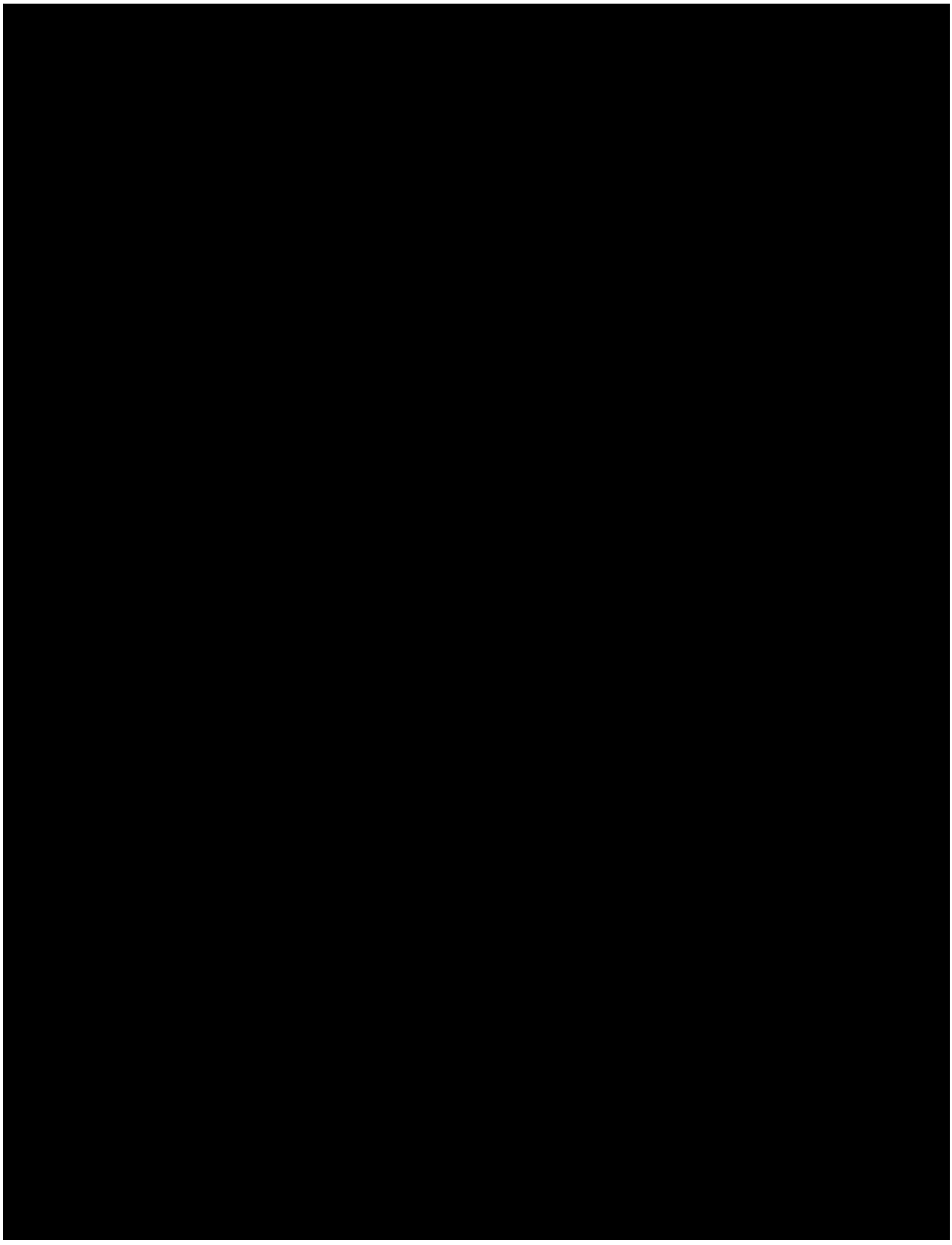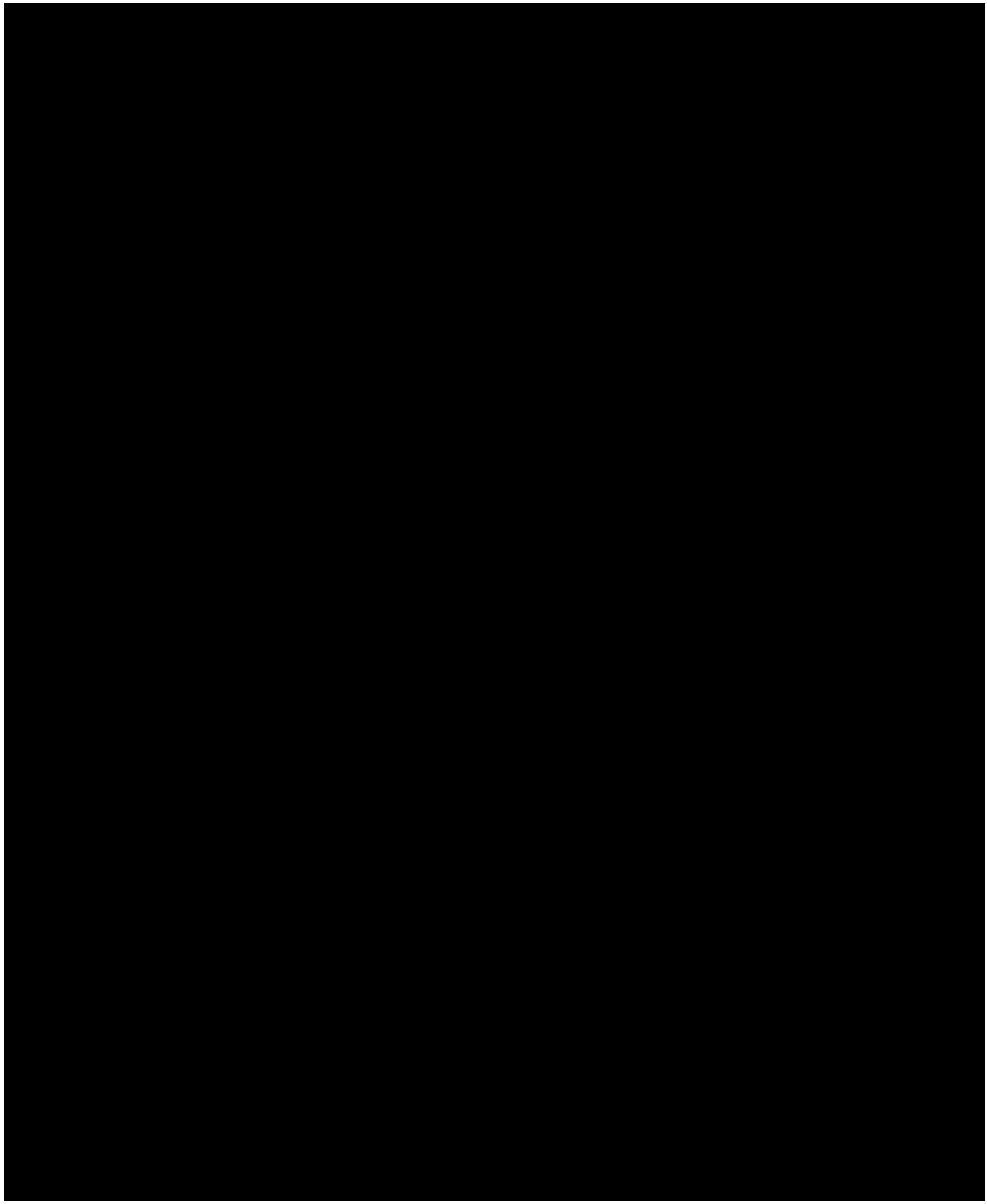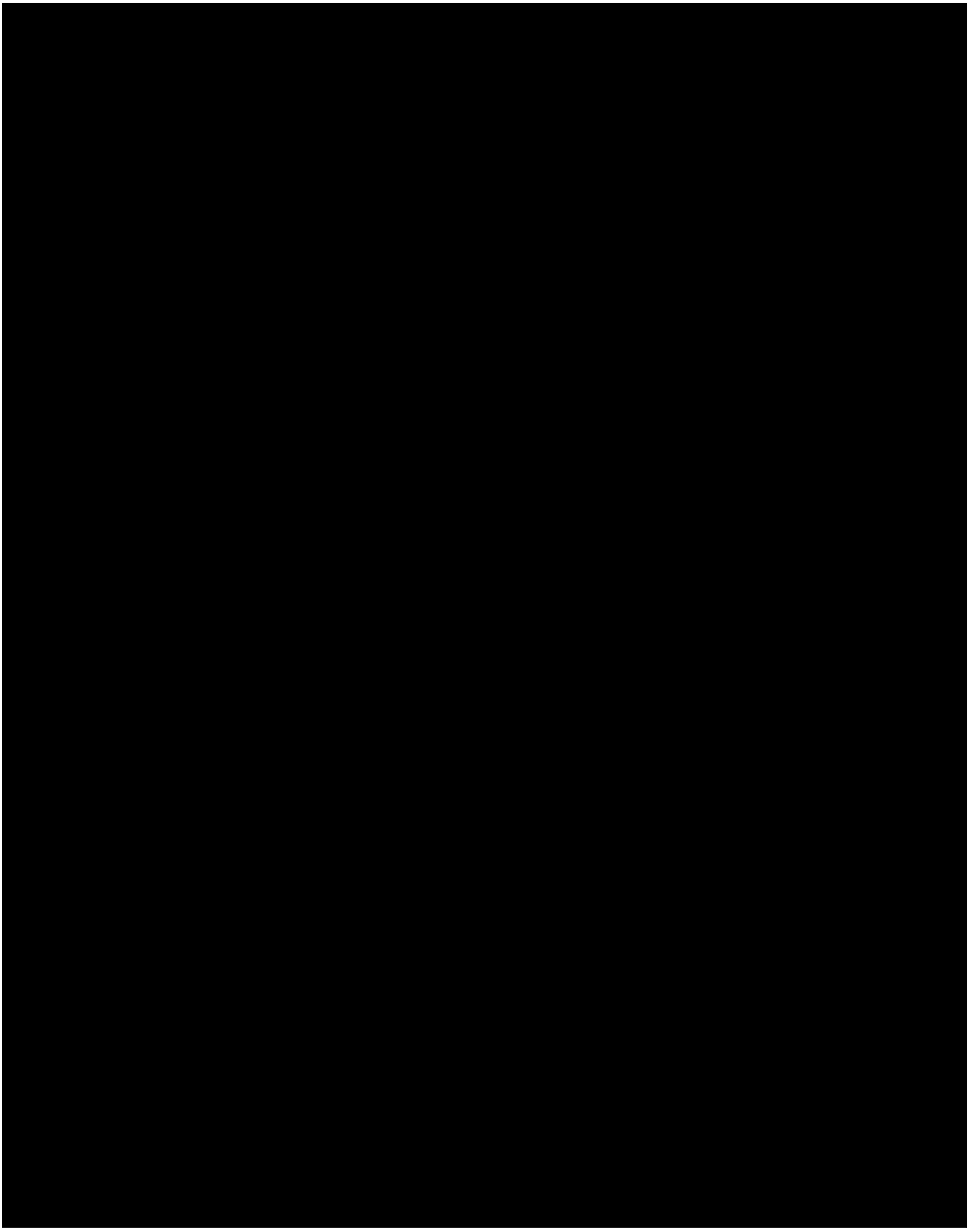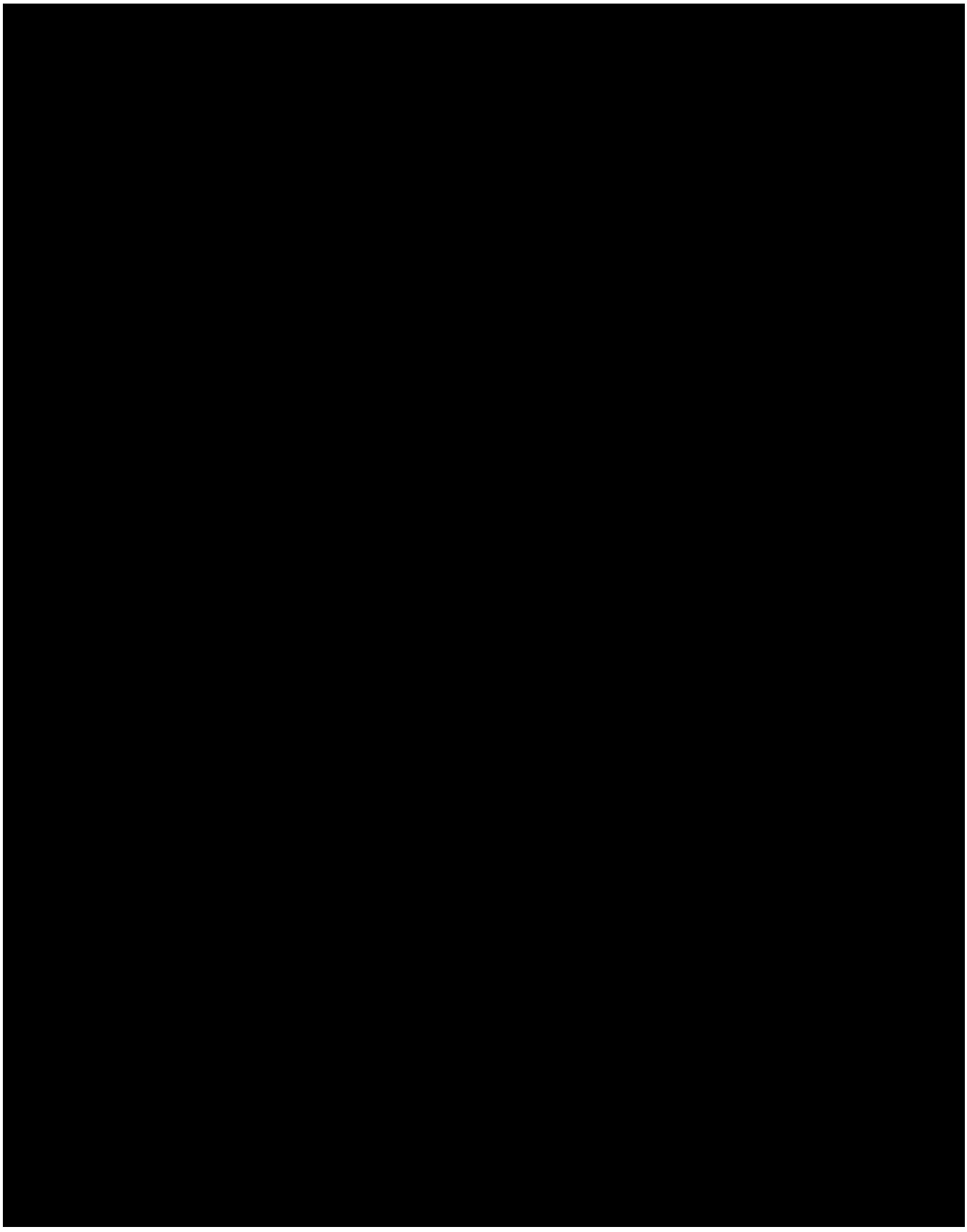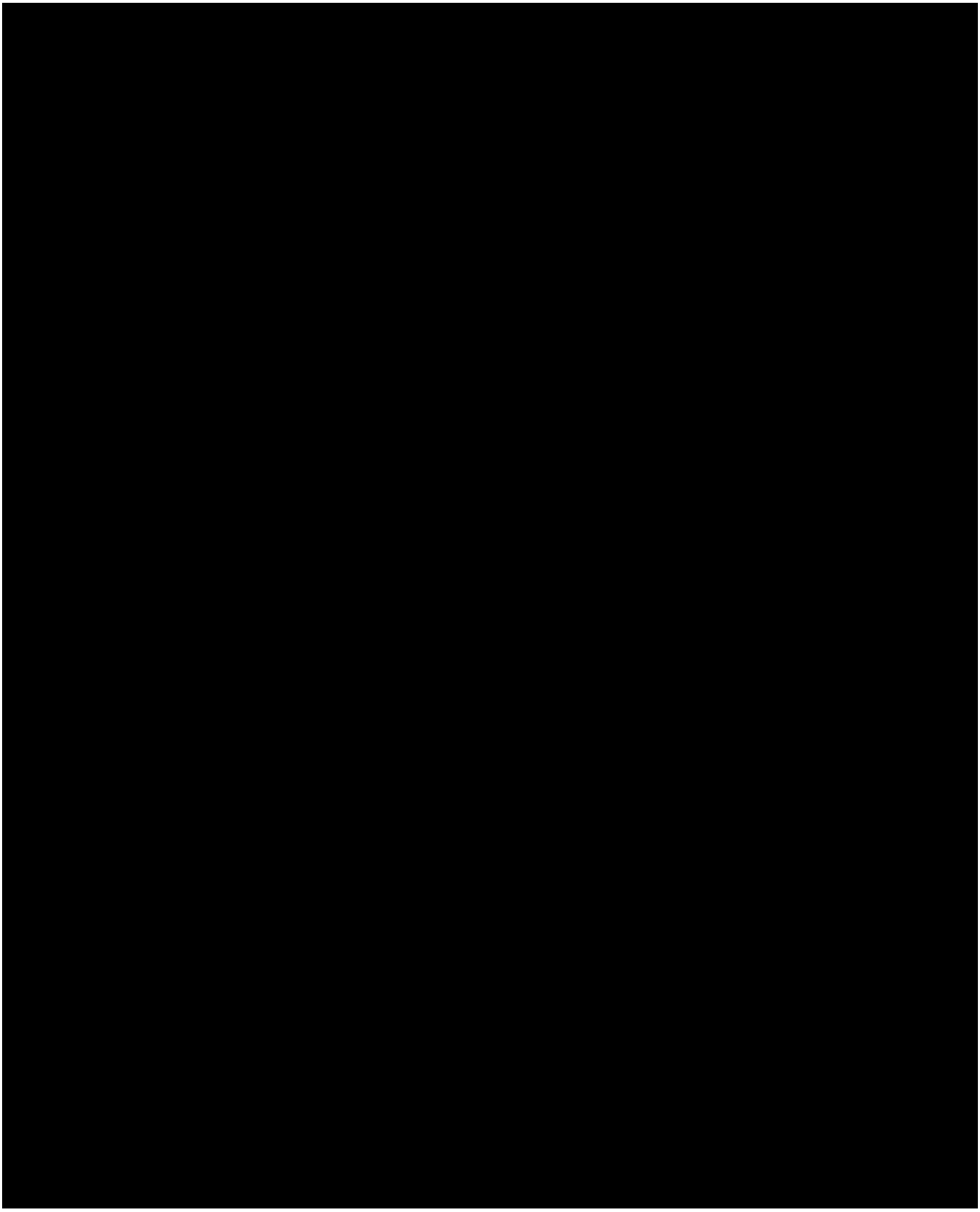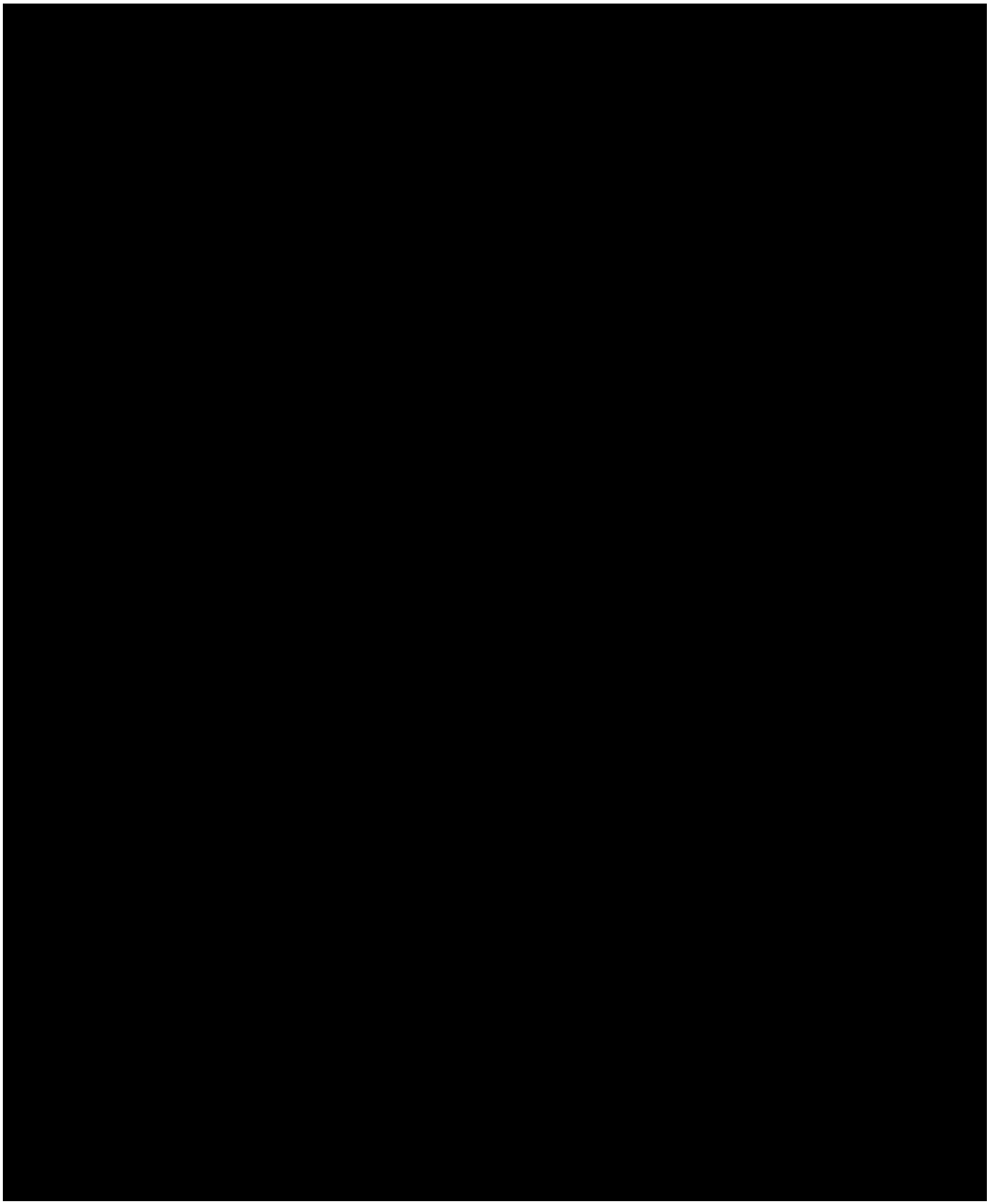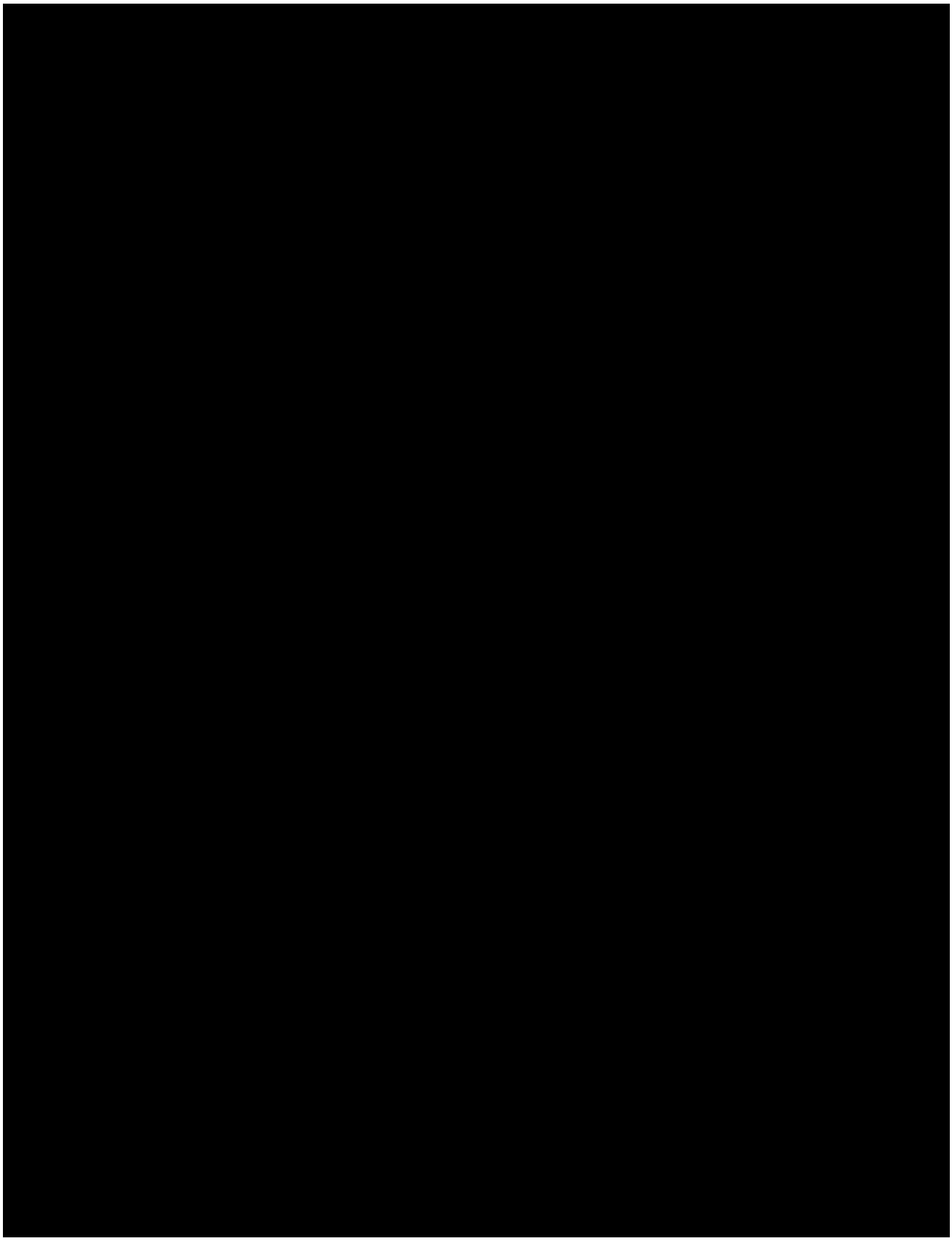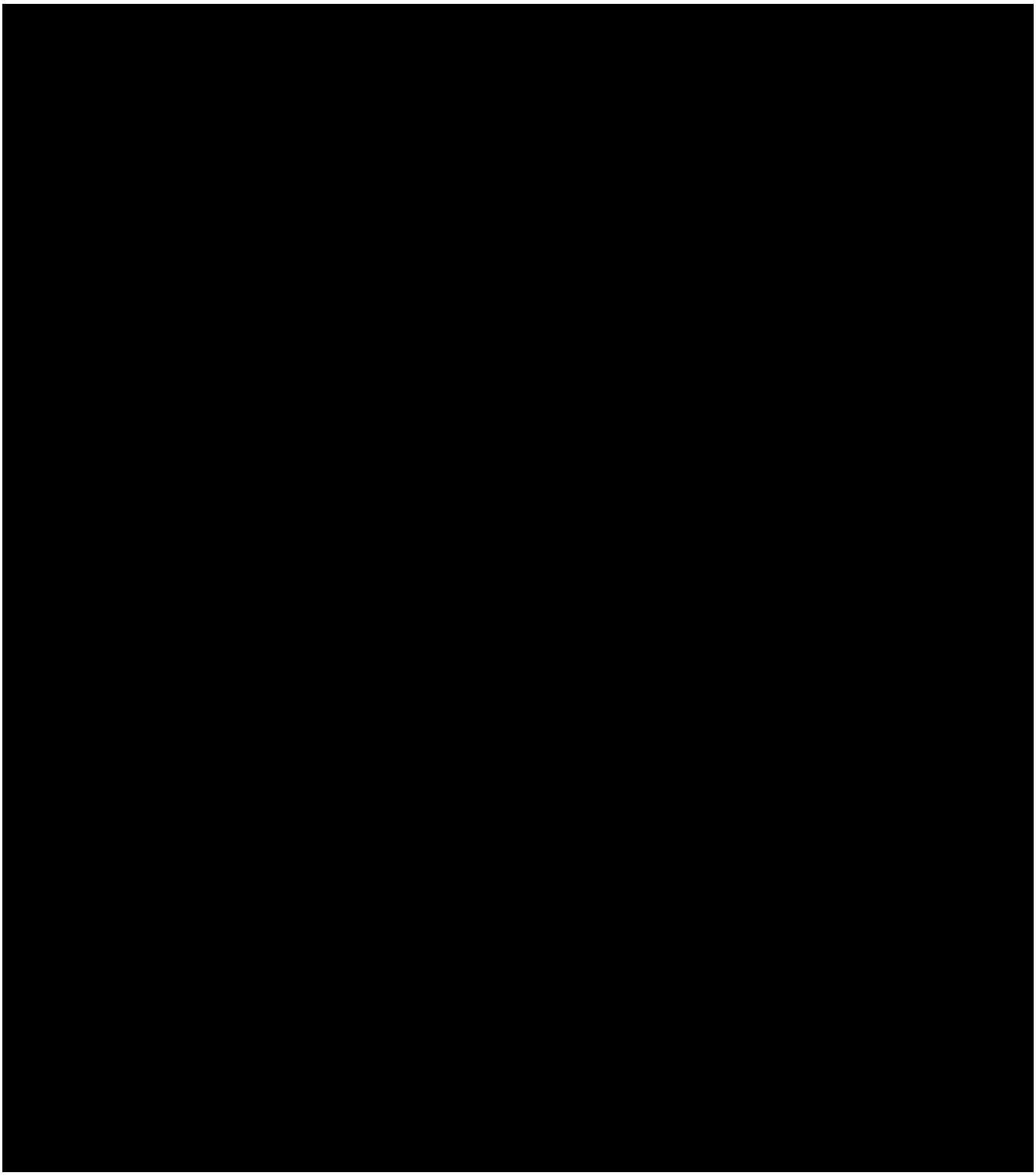
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