

A Qualitative Study on the Cultural Adaptation of Chinese Students Studying in Japan

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Abstract. The study explores the features of the cultural adaptation of Chinese students studying in Japan with qualitative methods and analyze in detail how the study participant acquired intercultural skills while adapting herself to Japanese culture through a case study. From the study, it can be seen that instead of fitting into a linear evolution model, the study participant's cultural adaptation is a dynamic process featuring the alternation between culture shock and integration. The study hence points out from the perspective of education the positive role that culture shock plays in cultural adaptation and reveals that multicultural experience should be built to improve one's comprehensive intercultural ability.

Keywords: cultural adaptation \cdot culture shock \cdot intercultural ability \cdot qualitative research

1 Introduction

Cultural adaptation is a process in which one learns and grows by acquiring new knowledge, embracing new values, and gaining intercultural abilities. To study how one's growth is achieved through cultural adaptation, the change in one's feelings and perceptions of things should be explored in detail. The quantitative studies featuring the cultural adaptation of Chinese students studying in foreign countries are hence of great educational significance. With Chinese young people who have experience studying and working in Japan being the subjects, the study explores the way an individual achieves growth in the process of cultural adaptation by studying the subjective changes that happen to the individual.

Then what will a visitor undergo when faced with huge cultural differences in a new cultural environment? Multiple scholars have put forward theoretical models featuring the process of cultural adaptation, among which the most representative is the "Ucurve" theory proposed by Lysgaard [1]. Lysgaard's theory features the three phases a visitor undergoes while adapting himself to a new culture. What comes first is the initial adaptation phase in which the new environment strikes the visitor as fresh and pleasant. What follows the phase are crisis and regained adaptation. Based on the "Ucurve" model, Oberg divided the process of cultural adaptation into four stages which include the honeymoon stage, the frustration and hostile stage, the adaptation stage, and adaptation [2]. When a visitor is first exposed to a new culture, he holds a positive attitude

towards the culture which comes largely from his curiosity about the new environment, but after living there for some time, the visitor gets negative feelings toward the culture which are caused by the cultural differences. After a period of adaptation, the visitor gets a better understanding of the culture and starts to accept it, hence becoming gradually adapted to the environment. Apart from this, some scholars have put forward theories including the "W-curve" model [3] and "the five stages of culture shock" [4], but the phases of which the models consist are basically the same as those in the "U-curve" model – the visitor's mood drops to the lowest point before recovering to the initial high point. Though some scholars have doubts about the theory, studies underpinned by the "U-curve" model abound in the academic world. Yet despite this, it's still unsure whether a satisfactory process of cultural adaptation is in line with the above-mentioned models. Many scholars have seen the process of cultural adaptation as a linear evolution process made up of distinct stages and neglected the repetitions and tortuousness in cultural adaptation [5]. The "two-dimensional acculturation model" put forward by J. W. Berry, however, reminds people that cultural adaptation is not only complicated but dynamic [6]. Moreover, cultural adaptation is an infinite game that is dynamic and non-linear and in which the two parties of the communication influence each other and integrate themselves into one another [7].

When cultural adaptation is explored as a learning process in which one grows and changes for the better, the study of cultural adaptation as a complicated dynamic process becomes the key issue. When one interacts with the outside world, how does his perception of things, his emotions, and his behavior change? How does one get rid of the agonizing culture shock? Where does his drive or motivation come from? What does one learn from the process? And how is the state of integration, a relatively satisfactory state of cultural adaptation, reached? The issue of cultural adaptation has attracted the attention of scholars in multiple fields including sociology, psychology, and pedagogy. Quantitative research featuring the study of the relationship between variables is widespread in the academic world and has been fruitful in the field of psychology. The quantitative methods that the psychologists applied, however, aren't applicable to studies featuring the change in one's mental state during the process of being exposed to a foreign culture and adapting oneself to it.

Qualitative methods prove better when cultural adaptation is explored as a complicated process. Qualitative methods can provide a more detailed understanding of cultural adaptation, help one study cultural adaptation as a process, and gives one insight into the rich and complicated features of cultural adaptation. In addition to this, studying the cultural adaptation of an individual can bring attention not only to one's relationship with the outside world but the process of one's growth. With the help of qualitative methods, the purpose of the study, which is to go deep into the process of cultural adaptation from the perspective of education and explore the educational significance of cultural adaptation, is achieved. The study of the process of learning completed in intercultural interactions in multi-cultural situations is of great educational significance.

2 Study Participants and Methodology

2.1 Study Participants

The study adopts purposeful sampling [8]. Several participants who met the requirements of the study were picked out and familiarized with issues including the research purpose, requirements for the study participants, and rights of the study participants. After gaining the consent of the participants, preliminary research was conducted through semi-structured interviews, and then the main study participant, who was the most representative and could provide the largest amount of relevant information, was picked out. The participants of the study should meet the following requirements. First, the study participants should be Chinese young people who have experience living in Japan for more than five years. Second, the study participants should have rich life experiences in Japan including studying, doing part-time jobs, and working. Third, the study participants should agree to participate voluntarily in the study after informed consent. The study participants should not only cooperate with the researcher in in-depth interviews and allow the interviews to be recorded but try their best to share with the researcher information relevant to the study. To protect the privacy of the study participants, the main participant of the study will be referred to as "S".

2.2 Collection of Research Material

The study adopts qualitative methods. The research material is collected through interviews and the study of the written documents found in the participant's daily life.

2.2.1 Interviews

Before the study, a friendly relationship between the researcher and the participant was established to gain the trust of the participant. The participant was then familiarized with issues concerning the study including the purpose, contents, methodology, and confidentiality principles. After gaining the consent of the participant, one-on-one interviews, which included four formal interviews and multiple informal ones, were carried out. The interviews featured the participant's experience of adapting herself to life in Japan as well as her feelings in the process, and the informal interviews were conducted to gather additional information and answer the participant's questions. When the participant was speaking, the researcher listened carefully while recording the interview. The orders of the questions and the ways to frame them were flexible to change. While listening, the researcher took down the participant's expressions, body language, emotions, and tones. The places where the interviews were conducted were familiar to the participant and could make the participant feel at ease. The length of an interview was between 45 to 90 min, and when an interview ended, the researcher double-checked the information with the help of the participant and studied the information in time.

2.2.2 Material Collected from the Participant's Daily Life

The collection of research material in this study centres on the participant's self-report, which is also called the participant's personal documentation. [9] The participant's self-report includes not only the participant's record of her life such as diaries, letters, and

postcards but the written recollections of the participant's adaptation to Japanese culture requested by the researcher. Other documents including the participant's name cards and medical records were also collected. These documents, by better reproducing the participant's daily life, enabled the researcher to have a deeper understanding of the participant's life in Japan, which in turn facilitated the research.

2.3 Studying the Material

The collection of research materials alternates with research materials in a qualitative study [10]. In this study, the research material was studied as soon as it was gathered, and the information would be double-checked if the researcher had doubts. If additional information was needed, the researcher would gather more material with the help of the study participant.

Content analysis is adopted to study the research material, and the analysis can be divided into five steps. First, the researcher listened repeatedly to the recording and then converted the recording to text to read it. During this process, the researcher tried to understand the participant's thoughts and feelings. Second, the researcher picked out from the material collected statements relevant to the research purpose and marked them. Third, the researcher encoded the information with the help of keywords and then sorted the encoded messages out and made a list of them. Fourth, the researcher classified the information according to the features of cultural adaptation and figured out the theme. Fifth, the researcher talked with the participant to make sure the information was accurate.

3 A Case Study of the Characteristics of Cultural Adaptation Process

The study found that while S was adapting herself to life in Japan, the change in her mental state wasn't in line with the typical pattern of cultural adaptation that consists of distinct phases. S received the blow of culture shock from the very beginning – she entered the frustration phase without experiencing the honeymoon. In addition to this, there wasn't a distinct phase of adaptation in the seven years she spent in Japan – she was trapped in an alternation between culture shock and cultural integration which was accompanied by a mix of feelings including curiosity, depression, joy, resistance, gratitude, anger, anticipation, and disappointment. The study also found that S would feel the frustration caused by her incompatibility with the world around her every time she faced new cultural situations, but when the frustration came, she would also try to be in harmony with the new environment. Hence instead of studying S's cultural adaptation using models which consist of different phases, the study explores the features of S's cultural adaptation based on the dynamic alternation between culture shock and cultural integration which S experienced in her life in Japan.

3.1 Conflict: Growth Amid Alienation from the Outside World and Inner Struggles

3.1.1 Alienation from the Outside World

From S's written recollections and other oral documents, it can be learned that when S first started to interact with the Japanese society which was dramatically different from where she lived in China, she got a feeling of alienation and experienced strong culture shock which can be felt distinctly in her description of her life in Japan. The culture shock and the sense of alienation S felt made a stark contrast with the comfort and sense of stability the familiar life in China brought her.

3.1.1.1 Finding an Apartment

"When I first arrived in Japan, the biggest challenge I faced was to find an apartment for rent. I'd never expected that it could be that difficult for foreigners to rent a room in Japan. One had to pay a lot for the agency fee, the deposit, and the tips for the owner and had to get a Japanese guarantor. I'd expected none of this before. When I finally found a room I liked, what made me quite upset was that the owner refused to lease it to me because I was a foreigner. The rental agent called the owner in my presence to ask whether he minded a foreigner living in his apartment, and the owner refused without hesitation. I was quite upset then and felt alienated from the Japanese. During the two weeks that I spent finding an apartment, I kept being rebuffed like this and ended up getting by in a dilapidated shack which had been vacant for a long time."

3.1.1.2 Working Part-Time

"One can hardly find an easy part-time job without being fluent in Japanese. Many international students start out as manual laborers such as dishwashers, firemen, and movers. My first part-time job was to serve as a staff in a convenience store. Apart from stacking the shelves on time, I had to help the customers get their checks. Though Chinese and Japanese people looked alike and had similar skin colors, the customers could easily learn from my name tag that I was a foreigner. Some customers would stare appraisingly at my name tag and look strangely at me. Hence I feel foreigners are ostracized in Japan."

3.1.1.3 Studying

"Having got used to the exam-focused education in China, I felt it would be enough as long as I could keep pace with the teacher in class. But I hadn't expected that students in Japan studied on their own – one had to decide all by himself what courses he would attend and what research he would do. The teacher didn't speak for the whole length of the class. Students were asked to prepare ahead of time and do a lot of research, and in class, they were asked to discuss and give presentations. One had to finish his thesis on his own, and the supervisor wouldn't give him much guidance before he finished the first draft. I'd never studied this way before, and hence I felt I had far less learning ability than the Japanese students.

The way S experienced Japanese culture is to live in Japan, which is the case where one experiences a specific situation by living it in person. Just as Merleau Ponty has said, it's impossible for one to disconnect himself from the world, and the way one exists is to "be at the world (être-au-monde)" – that is, one lives as a part of the world with his

own consciousness. Our bodies are open to the outside world and are inevitably building connections with it [11]. To preserve their inner stability, our bodies are also constantly adapting themselves to be in harmony with the outside world. Amid unfamiliar situations brought about by a foreign culture, however, S felt the incompatibility between herself and the outside world which threatened to disrupt her inner balance. The culture shock S experienced went beyond her ways of thinking and doing and came to her in the form of an "intrusion." As familiar things usually strike one as comfortable, things that go beyond one's knowledge can cause one discomfort. Every time S experienced such discomfort, her feeling of alienation from the outside world intensified, and the incompatibility between the outside world and her also made her aware of the large "gap" between herself and the world. While renting the apartment, working part-time, and studying, S felt the huge differences between Japanese and Chinese culture. While trying to perceive the outside world, S felt the distinctions between the outside world and her values and beliefs. The "gap" deprived her of the ability to control the world with her consciousness and broke the spiritual connections between the world and her. This was why she felt she was separated from the outside world.

3.1.2 Self-reflection Based on Exploring Oneself

When S became aware of the "gap" between the outside world and her, she started to experience excruciating inner struggles. S didn't allow herself to immerse in agony and frustration. Instead, the culture shock made her question herself and led her to self-reflection. The "gap" between the outside world and her excited her desire to rebuild a harmonious relationship with the outside world. The culture shock S experienced, in some sense, became what led her to her craving for change. While repeatedly asking herself the question "what should I do", S tried to explore the meaning of life and worked hard to eliminate the "gap" between the outside world and her.

"Do I have to keep my distance from the Japanese?"

"Why do they live that way? Why do they treat me that way?"

"Why should I continue my life in Japan?"

"Why do I need to change?".

"Who am I? What am I doing now? Is this society weird? Or is there something wrong with me?"

"Why do I have to act the same way as others?"

When S's inner turmoil caused by the culture shock reached its peak, she kept asking herself the question "who am I". This is a question deep inside the members of the cultural minorities in a multi-cultural society. The culture shock S experienced gave her a chance to re-evaluate herself. She studied issues including her cultural identity and tried hard to explore the meaning of life. What made S suffer most in this process was the denial of the self. S found that her perception of herself was often challenged, which forced her into a fight with herself. S noticed the lack of knowledge and the prejudice in her, and apart from making her frustrated, such self-denial caused S the feeling of emptiness

engendered by the death of one's original self. Though S's questioning of herself was far from enjoyable, it produced positive energy which helped S brave the difficulties and setbacks. S started to feel a strong desire to change the status quo and got more positive knowledge about herself and the world. While exploring herself, S assimilated new knowledge, opened her eyes to the outside world, and regained her enthusiasm for life. The culture shock S experienced prompted her to venture into the unknown, started her quest for truth, and set her out on a journey of growth. As the culture shock acquainted S with Japanese culture, S got new insights into herself and the outside world through her self-exploration and acquired the ability to deal with complex situations.

3.2 Integration: From an Outsider to a Friend

3.2.1 Becoming Aware of the Connections with Others

While adapting herself to Japanese culture, S experienced the alternation between culture shock and cultural integration. Then how did she manage the transition from experiencing strong culture shock to reaching the state of cultural integration? S's awareness of her close connections with the people around her was the key to her successful transition. While experiencing strong culture shock, S kept doing self-reflection and trying to find connections between the world and her. No matter what difficulties S faced, there would be people encouraging her and giving her help. They were those who gave her real care and made her feel warm. The kind-hearted people abounded in S's life and prevented S from locking herself away. The presence of the Japanese who could talk to S in time and give her help enabled S to survive the agonizing period of frustration and despair.

Even though there were lots of kind-hearted people in S's life, S couldn't get rid of the strong feeling of loneliness if she failed to recognize her connections with the people around her. When S noticed the presence of others in her life as well as her strong connections with them, she managed the transition from culture shock to cultural integration. Having suffered great insecurity as well as the fear and despair one would feel when one was alienated from the world, S couldn't figure out why the people chose to help her. She asked herself "why did he help me" and even asked the ones who helped her the question. Greatly influenced by the culture shock, S didn't believe there could be Japanese people who cared about her and were willing to help her. Hence despite the help from others, S still felt she was completely alienated and failed to recognize her close connections with others. While experiencing the inner turmoil, however, S became aware that there were always kind-hearted people who were ready to help her and keep her company when she faced difficulties. When S was at a loss and started to doubt her ability as her Japanese supervisor imposed extremely strict requirements on her thesis, her Japanese senior, who had already been working, stayed up late helping her review her thesis. When S was afflicted with postpartum depression, her Japanese neighbors visited her frequently to see if she and her baby were alright and offered her information that could facilitate her life. Though the Japanese society was known for its "silent majority", there were Japanese helping S in the silent, characteristically Japanese way as S suffered workplace bullying. Some taught S how to avoid being bullied, some shared S's heavy workload, and others reported S's predicaments to the leaders. When S recalled the agonizing time she had endured, along with the painful memories, she talked with gratitude about the people who had reached out to her.

"One could easily feel lonely in Japan as people were all quite busy and weren't close to each other. What was worse, I was a foreigner and would prefer to solve the problems on my own rather than seek help from others. Sometimes I felt helpless and frustrated and had little enthusiasm for life, but every time I could hardly bear the torment, some Japanese would come out and help me, for which I felt quite grateful. Then I became gradually aware that I wasn't alone at all. There were always people caring about me, and it was just that I had failed to notice their presence. When I thought this way, I regained the courage and strength needed to continue my life. I felt I should live up to their expectations and pay back their kindness one day."

Despite S's "fear of being alienated" which is typical of the members of the cultural minorities in a multi-cultural society, the help and kindness from others made her aware that she wasn't "completely alienated" from the world. S realized that she wasn't an outsider in Japanese society – there were always some Japanese seeing her as a part of them. When S found that she could help those who had helped her, she sensed her value. While S was plagued by the "gap" between the outside world and her at the start, she noticed gradually her connections with the people around her. Just as Merleau Ponty has said, one cannot know oneself without being in the crowd [11]. The awareness of her connections with others as well as the knowledge of their importance to one another gave S the hope and courage she needed to continue her life. S got rid of the frustration caused by her self-denial and gradually figured out the meaning of her existence.

3.2.2 Building Empathy

The culture shock S experienced while adapting herself to Japanese society made S feel the large "gap" between the outside world and her, but the kind-hearted Japanese who offered her help gave her new motivation in life. To better understand Japanese culture, which was a culture foreign to S, S tried harder to communicate with the people around her. To communicate with someone is to communicate with the world in which he lives. Through such communication, S learned more about the meaning the Japanese attached to their culture. S's effort to communicate with the outside world is a process of learning as communication is both a way of learning about a culture and the learning outcome. This is also how S tried to eliminate the "gap" between the world and her and make the transition from being alienated to becoming a part of the world.

S's perception of the outside world wasn't just about understanding a foreign culture—she and the people around her perceived and influenced each other. According to Merleau Ponty's body theory, the body is both passive and active. To perceive things, one goes out to feel the world and is at the same time surrounded, influenced, and even pushed by the outside world and others. S and the Japanese around her went deeper into the world of one another in this process—the Japanese influenced S as S imperceptibly influenced them. S's interaction with the Japanese around her was hence a process of mutual learning based on mutual influence. When S was in an interpersonal relationship where there was a "gap" between other people and her, the first effort she made was to see the world from the perspectives of others.

When she did this, S noticed what she was like in other people's eyes. By examining the image of herself, S learned from her failure, tried repeatedly to communicate with

the other party, and sought to reach a consensus in a way that the other party could understand.

"When something confused me, I would turn to my Japanese friends for help. I felt I should at least know how the Japanese thought. If it was about the trivialities in life, I would ask my neighbours, and if it concerned my studies, I would turn to my fellow students and the seniors. Later when I started working, I would talk with the colleagues who were close to me. From the people mentioned above, I learned a lot about the Japanese way of thinking which greatly facilitated my communication with the Japanese."

The common experience in the same environment helped S get more empathy for others. With the help of daily communication, S started to share more beliefs with the people around her. Neither an individual nor a group can exist on its own – they both belong to a wider, more fundamental world. We can get a good understanding of one another because we share a common world. The closer we are to the common world we share with one another, the more empathy we will have. Communication is the way to the common world as well as empathy. By communicating with the Japanese around her, S, who had been trapped in her own small world, discovered the common world she shared with others.

3.2.3 Integration

S never stopped experiencing life in Japan. After living through the 2011 earthquake on the Pacific coast of Tohoku as well as incidents of social bullying, she got a better understanding of Japanese culture and started to have empathy with the Japanese. The distinctive features of the Japanese, which include frugality, prudence, a tendency to repress feelings, and emphasis on teamwork, started to become reasonable for her.

From S's description of her life in Japan, it can be seen that though S had got more empathy with the Japanese as time went by, the culture shock she experienced didn't come to an end. S still suffered temporary inner struggles, but sometimes she would choose to believe in herself. S felt, for example, that she couldn't compromise on issues including women's inferiority in Japan, the country's exclusion of foreigners, and the bullying suffered by the vulnerable. Just as Merleau Ponty has said, the body attaches meanings to the objects of senses according to the situation it is in and the action it is about to take [12]. Though people share a common world with one another, they attach different meanings to the same thing based on their different positions and perspectives. While S was interacting with the Japanese around her, she explored issues including death, prejudice, and identity and formed her own views on the issues. Through comparison, judgment, and selection, S kept trying to find a better way to perceive the issues, which imbued her life with new meaning. Hence as S shared more beliefs with those around her and felt more empathy for them with the help of communication and lived experience, she held on to some of her previous beliefs.

"I got pregnant before I completed my studies, so I had no choice but to give birth in Japan. After giving birth, I was moved to a ward for four. New moms in Japan didn't need to be confined for a month – they could do whatever they wanted right after giving birth. The mom whose bed was across from mine was just eighteen, and she started to do splits on her bed the day after she gave birth, which greatly stunned me. After chatting

with her, I learned that she was preparing for a ballet performance she would give a month later. The nurse told me that I could take a shower the day after I gave birth, and she asked me to choose a time and write it down on the noticeboard on the outer wall of the bathroom. I was hesitant about taking a shower, but neither did I want to strike the Japanese as scruffy. Hence, I chose a time and wrote it down on the board. It was quite cold in the bathroom in winter, and the windows were open. I felt it better not to expose myself to the wind as I'd just given birth, but I also felt it necessary to clean myself. After thinking about it for a while, I came up with a solution that combined Chinese and Japanese cultures. Instead of taking a shower, I cleaned myself with a warm towel."

S didn't always see things from the perspectives of other people, and neither did she act the same way as others. S knew that it was impossible for one to be exactly the same as another, so she decided which way she would go by comparing Chinese and Japanese cultures and would combine the ways of the two cultures when necessary. This is the "improvement" and "innovation" spawned by the influence of others as S interacted with them. As S learned a lot from her interaction with other people, she exerted influence on the Japanese around her and gained their empathy and support. The Japanese also made corresponding changes, which caused changes in their living environment. Such mutual influences were not "a mixture" but "an integration". Instead of imitating others, S sought to integrate her features into that of others. Such integration was a dynamic process instead of a static one.

4 Conclusions

Through conducting qualitative research on the cultural adaptation of Chinese students studying in Japan, the study explores the features of successful cultural adaptation as well as the way one learns and grows in this process.

Firstly, culture shock isn't necessarily negative. It plays a positive role in one's growth and should hence be handled the right way. In this study, S's cultural adaptation is not a linear process that consists of distinct phases but a dynamic one featuring the alternation between culture shock and cultural integration. The existing sociological and psychological studies tend to perceive culture shock as something negative that needs to be overcome and eliminated. This study, however, found that the process in which one experiences culture shock can be a positive process of learning when viewed from the perspective of individual growth. When faced with unprecedentedly strong culture shock, one gets not only negative feelings but a great desire as well as a strong motivation to change the status quo. Such a force can then spur one on to practical actions for change and lead one to real growth. The researcher hence believes that culture shock shouldn't be perceived as altogether negative. When viewed from the perspective of education, culture shock can be a force exerting a positive influence on one's growth. One needs to perceive culture shock the right way, see it as the motivation for growth, and work harder with a more positive mindset.

In addition, the study found that what the participant gained from her cultural adaptation include not only the mastery of a foreign language, the knowledge of a foreign culture, and necessary communicative skills but the comprehensive ability which had exerted a greater influence on her. S's cultural adaptation is a paradigm of successful

intercultural learning. While repeatedly experiencing culture shock, S acquired intercultural skills of which the most important was not the mastery of a foreign language or the knowledge of foreign culture but the insights into life gained through perceiving, analyzing, and handling things. The special learning activity improved S's adaptability as well as her social skills. The process of S's adaptation to Japanese culture became an important lesson in S's life which spurred her to pursue a more fulfilled life as well as a new self. Different from an increase in knowledge, S' growth was an improvement in her comprehensive ability which marked a major step forward in her life.

Finally, the comprehensive ability S possessed was acquired not only from the class-room but from the experience of cultural adaptation in real life. The study found that S's experience of living in a foreign country is itself a process of learning which led to her growth. What makes this process different from the learning of theories with which one is more familiar is that the process is completed through one's bodily experience. For S, the learning was completed in real multi-cultural situations with the help of her bodily sensations. S's body helped her look outward as well as inward. With her body serving as a bridge, S built connections with the outside world and gained plenty of experience which led her to new ways of perceiving things. S's multicultural experience not only gave her practical knowledge but helped her find new meanings in life. This process of learning, moreover, caused a huge change in the way she perceives things. Hence to improve one's intercultural ability, one has to keep broadening his horizon and put himself in multicultural situations to gain multicultural experience.

Through studying S's adaptation to Japanese culture, it can be learned that the cultural adaptation of Chinese students studying in Japan is a dynamic process featuring the alternation between culture shock and cultural integration. In addition to this, the case study reveals that culture shock played a quite positive role as S acquired her intercultural skills. For one thing, the desire to get rid of the culture shock motivates Chinese students to study hard and continue their life in Japan, and for the other, the cultural adaptation completed through in-depth communication in a multicultural society helps students acquire important comprehensive intercultural abilities.

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