MOTIVATIONS AND DOMAIN SPECIFICITY IN INTERCULTURAL ADAPTATION

Bloggers' experiences in their new host countries

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Abstract:
The current qualitative study investigates immigrant's intrinsic (internal) and extrinsic (external) motivations and how they surface in the intercultural adaption process. Additionally, it aims to answer whether immigrant's adaptation orientations differ between private and public (life) domains by testing Boski's (2008) IAFS model [the model of integration as functional (partial) specialization]. It is a fairly recent model of adaptation and only few prior studies have utilized it.

      The study concentrates on voluntary migrants, individuals, who have made a personal choice to leave their homelands. In the current study naturally occurring data in a form of weblogs were utilized as research data. The data was analyzed with an experience-centered (personal) narrative approach. Short stories were created based on the blogs, thus, it was seen important to give an overview of the bloggers' lives in their new host countries.

      The results seem to imply that extrinsic motivations alone, without any intrinsic motivation, are not enough to support immigrant's adaption. The data showed that intrinsic motivation can be a powerful source of personal strength. Hence, if a stranger has a firm internal motivation, one is motivated to work hard to adapt. On the contrary, if an immigrant is not motivated intrinsically, external pressure or incentives may not be enough to overcome the lack of immigrant's intrinsic motivation. Nevertheless, extrinsic motivations may enhance existing intrinsic motivation.

      Concerning the IAFS model, the results show that distinction between the immigrant's adaptation strategies in private and public domains were not as visible as in previous studies. The current study, yet, partly supported IAFS model since one out of three bloggers adapted according to the model. Nevertheless, the notion of domain specificity is an interesting discovery and deserves more focus in the field.

Keywords
Intercultural adaptation, immigrant, voluntary migration, extrinsic and intrinsic motivations, domain specific adaptation, blog study

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Tolerance, intercultural dialogue and respect

for diversity are more essential than ever

in a world where peoples are becoming

more and more closely interconnected.

— Kofi Annan, Former Secretary-General of the UN

1. INTRODUCTION

Traveling to an unfamiliar country even for a short-term basis offers an opportunity to learn something new about the world. However, for short-term visitors the experience usually stays relatively shallow. One may learn a few phrases in the local language and visit the main tourist attractions, but for deeper learning to happen one must stay longer under the influence of a new culture. Consequently, for long-term sojourners the learning process is more demanding. In the long run, it may be beneficial for a stranger to learn how to thrive in the new environment. For example, get to know local people and make an attempt to learn the host language in order to take the first steps towards adapting. As a result, intercultural adaptation is more profound process than just an intercultural contact (Shaules, 2007).

It cannot be denied that there can be similarities in the ways people adapt to new cultures. For example, at first a stranger may experience anxiety to deal with the locals, new customs may take time to get used to, and it might require an effort to obtain a job or a study place (e.g., recognition of prior credentials). Yet, intercultural adaptation still is an individual experience for every stranger living in an unfamiliar culture.

In the current study a concept of "stranger" is being used to describe a person who crosses a border to a foreign country to settle there for an unidentified period of time. The term is vast enough to include all people crossing borders [with diverse backgrounds and

agendas] such as refugees, students, expatriates, volunteer workers, immigrants, travelers and sojourners (Kim, 2005a). The current study concentrates on immigrants; individuals, who have voluntarily settled to a new host country and have lived there already for numerous years. Hence, they do not have family members or relatives from their homelands to support them in the new host country.

Intercultural adaptation has been studied in several fields over the decades. Some of the newer models of intercultural adaptation recognize that willingness [motivation] to adapt is not an obvious feature in all strangers. In addition, multiple studies have emphasized that personal motivation is a vital element in intercultural adaptation (Kim, 2001; Berry, 1980, 1997; Gudykunst, 1998).

Accordingly, personal motivation may determine the level of adaptation a stranger is willing to achieve, for example, is one willing to learn the host language or change one's eating habits? It has been stated by Kim (2001) that stranger's own willpower to learn can have much more powerful influence on behavior than outsiders' expectations. Hence, the current study focuses solely on stranger's personal motivation to adapt in the new host culture. In the study personal motivation is seen as a multifaceted phenomenon and not as a switch that is either on or off. To be more precise, the current qualitative study investigates immigrant's intrinsic and extrinsic motivations and how they surface in the intercultural adaption process.

Additionally, the study aspires to shed more light on how adaptation orientations differ between private and public (life) domains. To study these domains a relatively recent model of intercultural adaptation is being utilized in the study: Boski's IAFS model [the model of integration as functional (partial) specialization, 2008]. The model proposes that stranger's acculturation strategies can vary within a life domain. For example, a

stranger can adapt concerning public life (e.g., work), but keep the former habits and traditions concerning private life such as in marriage and raising children.

The empirical part of the study utilizes weblogs (later on: blogs) as research data. Stated simply, a blog is a type of online diary and the author of the blog is referred as a blogger. Blogs are a relatively new method of self-expression, thus, they were "invented" in the 90's. Nevertheless, currently there are undoubtedly millions of blogs on the internet. The vast amount of blogs in the blogosphere (all the blogs on the internet) offer vast possibilities for researchers from multiple fields to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data. Hence, most blogs found on the internet are naturally occurring data available for all internet users.

The main motivation to host a blog is to write about one's personal life (Lenhart & Fox, 2006; Trammell, Tarkowski, Hofmokl & Sapp, 2006). For example, there are thousands of blogs in the blogosphere related to traveling and moving to a new country. However, most of these bloggers tend to stay in the new host country only for a few weeks or a fixed period of time (e.g., as long as a work contract obligates), therefore, the blogs of immigrants can be more difficult to find. Blogs written by immigrants can offer a researcher a mean to learn in-depth information about long term adaptation: about the struggles and triumphs of everyday living in a new host country. In addition, they can be studied to understand, for example, more about the openness of the host society or a more detailed issue concerning adaptation, such as a stranger's host language development during the first five years. New studies are needed in the field all the time, for example, due to fast growing technologies and web applications offering new ways to communicate. The development of internet and various gadgets keep the field interesting as new technologies offer a mean for people to hold on their former ways of conduct in the new host country, at least to some degree. Hence, today there are numerous ways to keep in touch with one's family and friends (e.g., Skype, Facebook, Whatsapp) with the price of internet connection. In addition, a

stranger can consume homelands media (online magazines, newspapers, TV channels via internet). Additionally, nowadays there are relatively wide possibilities to work at home (e.g., continue to work for the same company as in homeland) without entering the host country's job market. Thus, in some cases it is not a necessity to learn the host language concerning working life.

To conclude, the theoretical viewpoint of the current study is to utilize the IAFS model which only few studies have used previously. It seeks to test whether the current data supports the model and whether the results are consistent with the previous findings. Another objective is to study intercultural adaptation motivation as a multifaceted (extrinsic and intrinsic motivation) and not as an on-off phenomenon. Within the scope of this paper intercultural adaptation is discussed from the viewpoint of stranger's personal motivation to adapt to a new culture.

The study proceeds in the following way, at first, to set up a common body of knowledge the most significant prior literature and research regarding the current study are introduced in sections two and three. The fourth section introduces the methodology chosen for the study: the use of naturally occurring data in the form of blogs. Section five presents the bloggers' experiences in their new host countries and informs about the results. The section six, discussion, concentrates on intercultural adaptation as a domain specific phenomenon. Furthermore, the last section includes the evaluation of the study and conclusion.

2. INTERCULTURAL ADAPTATION

People adapt to new situations and environments throughout their lives. In intercultural communication the phenomenon is studied from the communication perspective; people adapt to new situations via communication activities. According to Kim (2001):

> Cross-cultural adaptation (and, indeed, all other aspects of human adaptation) is something natural and inevitable as long as strangers are engaged communicatively with a given host milieu. (p. 69)

In literature, the terms *intercultural* and *cross-cultural* are sometimes used as synonyms. However, Gudykunst and Mody (2003) like many others state that cross-cultural studies are comparative in nature and are usually studied separately without the actual interaction within the groups, for example, comparing Spanish and Finnish teenagers' non-verbal communication. In intercultural communication the concentration is usually on the face-to-face communication and on a micro-level [individual level] and not on the macro-level [group level] (Gudykunst & Mody, 2003).

An adaptation to a new culture is not a contemporary interest of research; it has been studied already in the beginning of 19th century (Simons, 1900). People have always been on the move, but nowadays in the globalized world the pace has increased, and we encounter even more intercultural communication situations in our daily lives. (Martin & Nakayama, 2007).

Depending on the field, the approach varies as to why intercultural adaptation is studied. According to Bennett (1998) in the field of intercultural communication the interest is in comprehending how people from different cultures and backgrounds are capable of understanding each other; thus, the focus is on the communication competence needed to face people from various cultural backgrounds. In addition, he states that one of the key issues in the field is to discover how people adapt to new cultural environments.

2.1. Essential concepts related to intercultural adaptation

There are several concepts which are being used to describe the phenomenon of intercultural adaptation. The terms are, for example, *assimilation* (Simons, 1900; Gordon, 1964), *acculturation* (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936; Berry, 1980), *cross-cultural adjustment* (Benson, 1978), *cross-cultural adaptation* (Kim, 2001), *integration* (Bennett, 1993; Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002; Boski, 2008) and *intercultural adaptation* (Ruben, 1976; Kim, 2005b).

Sayegh and Lasry (1993) state that assimilation is the oldest term when referring to the process of people adapting to a new culture. The first studies were done in the field of sociology and the concept of assimilation was used to describe the phenomenon. According to Oxford English dictionary (1989 cited in Sayegh & Lasry, 1993) the term assimilation was used for the first time in year 1677 and acculturation in year 1880 by American anthropologists. Naturally there have been a great number of researchers who have given a definition to the concept of assimilation due to its extensive history in the adaptation related research. A definition by Park and Burgess (1921):

> Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which person and groups acquire memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated in common cultural life. (p. 735)

Assimilation is utilized also in recent adaptation research; the way it is understood today is fairly similar to the definition by Park and Burgess (1921). In assimilation, more or less, a stranger replaces one's former culture, language and values with the host countries equivalent; one becomes fully absorbed to the new host culture (Waters & Jiménez, 2005).

Acculturation is seen to be not so profound. It incorporates the changes the cultural groups (and both individual members) go through while in contact with one another (Berry, 2005). A classical widely cited definition of the concept of acculturation is from Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936):

> …phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. (p. 145-146)

The concept of integration follows the same path with adaptation, though it integrates the host's responsibility to adapt simultaneously to the strangers. Evanoff (2006) states:

> Integration, then is not simply a matter of sojourners adapting themselves to the norms of the host culture, but rather a process of co-adoption in which the sojourner and the host culture mutually adapt themselves to others. (p. 425)

The notion of culture is also a crucial to recognize when talking about adaptation to an unfamiliar country and its culture. Culture is an ambiguous concept; it can be understood in multiple ways in different contexts. In everyday language it can refer to high culture such as theater or classical music; the institutions of culture. Bennett (1998) states that one common approach to culture is to talk about an objective culture, consequently, one can refer to "Swedish culture": its religious system, language or arts. These are issues one likely learns on a lecture about Swedish culture. However, the facts of the objective culture do not create a knowledge needed to successfully interact with members of the culture in question. For example, knowing a range of Swedish painters and their paintings do not create

knowledge on the Swedish customs, for example, related to weddings and how to behave if one is invited to participate such occasion. Consequently, in intercultural communication the concentration is on the subjective culture. According to Bennett (1998) subjective culture is: "the learned and shared patterns of belief, behaviors and values of groups of interacting people". One way to describe a subjective culture is Hall's (1981) notion:

> Culture hides much more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants…the real job is not to understand foreign culture but to understand our own. (p. 29)

Hall (1981) refers to the idea that we must be aware of our own subjective culture, which can also be referred as our "cultural baggage", and its' relation to the other cultures involved in order to thrive in international relations.

Before it is possible to understand the phenomenon of intercultural adaptation one must come to terms with the fact that everyone has experienced a fairly similar process. Even if one would have never traveled abroad, everyone has gone through enculturation. Enculturation refers to the process children experience while learning the rules, attitudes, values and language of their culture of origin. Children learn how to dress and behave in diverse situations, in addition, what is accepted and not accepted in the environment they live in. Communication is the key in human learning. Therefore, by communicating the rules, attitudes and values parents teach their children to become part of the cultural environment. In the field of psychology the process is called socialization. (Shaules, 2007; Kim, 2001).

The difference in intercultural adaptation compared to enculturation is that when a stranger settles to an unfamiliar culture one is not "a clean slate" anymore as one was as a child, thus, learning new ways of conduct can take time. (Kim, 2001).

Kim (2005a) claims that by learning to cope in a new culture requires unlearning of the former habits and beliefs, that were previously taken for granted. In the new cultural milieu it may not be appropriate to dress a certain way anymore, one may need to

learn a new language [verbal language and nonverbal cues] and overall one need to be prepared for a change in one's life.

However, the notion of unlearning is somewhat controversial with the current views of intercultural adaptation. The bidimensional models such as Berry (1980, 1992, 1997), Bourhis et al. (1997), Gordon (1964) and Boski (2008) consider that unlearning is not necessary: it is possible to keep ones former culture and simultaneously adapt to the new host culture. For example, the notion of unlearning would mean in practice that acquiring host language skills would eventually diminish a stranger's ability to speak and write one's own mother tongue (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006).

Despite the current views, Kim and Semmler (2012) still argues that some of the features of former culture should be replaced in order to improve one's chances to truly become a part of the new host culture, to become functionally fit (to have effective and appropriate communication competence to be able to fulfill ones needs in the society) and to improve one's chances to acquire host social contacts (Kim & McKay-Semmler, 2012).

Nowadays, a great variety of researchers support the idea that everyone can and should choose their own path: strangers consciously choose how adapted they want to be in the host society (Berry, 2011). Whereas, Kim (2001) claimed that most strangers living and working in the new host culture would be interested in becoming as adapted as possible in the host culture while it is advantageous for a stranger to have the ability to live as a beneficial member of the host society.

Croucher, Oommen and Steele (2009) noted in their study concerning French-Muslims that the level of adaptation is not always only a choice made by the individual. The government, local media, and the host members have a strong influence on how welcomed strangers feel in the new host culture. According to the study, the strong attempts in France to make the French-Muslims to assimilate created a counter effect, a need to hold on strong to

ones identity. A number of French-Muslims reacted by watching and reading even more ethnic [Arabic] media to resist the adaptation to the French culture. During the time of the study was conducted, for example, France banned people to cover one's face in public venues. The ban concerned all face-covering headgear [such as (ski) masks, helmets, balaclava, niqābs and burqas]. The law evidently concerned primarily the French-Muslims, due to the fact that, non-Muslims typically do not cover their face in public places (Croucher et al., 2009).

Thus, there are various viewpoints and concepts of intercultural adaptation. The earliest concepts have been developed already hundreds of years ago and new are being created all the time. One of the challenges for a new researcher is to grasp the concepts and to create an understanding how they are being utilized. Consequently, some researcher may use some of concepts as synonyms while others, for example, treat assimilation as an extreme form of adaptation and consider it to be a less preferred option.

2.1.1. Different migrant groups

Martin and Nakayama (2007) have separated four migrant groups: voluntary and involuntary migrants and short-term sojourners and long-term migrants. Involuntary migrants are refugees or asylum seekers who have had no choice but to leave their home country, because of natural disaster, war or fear of persecution. Involuntary migrants may not ever have an opportunity to return to their home countries.

Voluntary migrants, on the other hand, willingly leave their home country. They can be, for example, students, expatriates, missionaries or international volunteer workers. Voluntary migrants can be also short-term sojourners whose plan is stay in the country for only certain period of time. Long-term voluntary migrants may leave their home country without a clear plan whether they will ever return (Martin & Nakayama, 2007).

According to Kim (2005a) long- and short-term adaptation has been one of the traditional ways to categorize adaptation studies. Consequently, researchers have studied, for example, short-term adaptation related to international degree students, exchange students and tourists' adaptation. In long-term adaptation studies the focus has been, for example, on immigrants or refugees adaptation to the new host culture. According to Gudykunst and Mody (2002) long-term adaptation has been more extensively studied throughout the last decades than short-term sojourners' adaptation which has been a later interest of researchers.

2.2. Models and theories of Intercultural adaptation

There is a vast amount of literature regarding intercultural adaptation. Researchers in a variety of fields have studied the phenomenon creating quite a few models, theories and concepts. This makes it quite a challenge for a new researcher to grasp what has been done in the field over the decades (Kim, 2005).

As an example, in the field of business, intercultural adaptation is studied because of its importance for companies' human resource management. It is important for them to know more about the investment they make when they send an employee to work in another country. Obviously, it is a substantial investment for a company to send an employee abroad, thus, if the employee quits the assignment prematurely or performs poorly, the investment is at least some degree wasted. Companies need to know about the factors influencing intercultural adaptation process, to know how to select the right employees for the expatriate assignments and how to train them (Harzing, 1995).

In the field of psychology, on the other hand, the interest lies in understanding how culture affects on behavior. The goal is to gain more understanding on human behavior while one is adapting to a strange environment both in individual and in group-level. According to Berry (1997) typical questions in psychological studies regarding intercultural

adaptation are, for example, what type of changes and learning process person goes through while adapting to a new culture? Does a person hold on to the former culture? And in what degree does one change former ways of doing and thinking? (Berry, 1997).

The first models and theories of intercultural adaptation concentrated on the difficulties in the adaptation process, they have been called the culture shock or assimilation models. Bennett (1998) suggest that culture shock itself is one the best known intercultural concepts. Two of the most well-known culture shock models are the classical U-curve (Lysgaard, 1955) and its extension to W-curve (Oberg, 1960) which presents intercultural adaptation process with several stages that lead to adaptation. According to U-curve model, a migrant goes through a process that starts with a honeymoon phase: everything is easy and new in the host culture. At the next phase one will experience a culture shock (low point) which eventually eases off and leads to adaptation (see FIGURE 1 below). Hall (1981) describes culture shock as: "a removal or distortion of many of the familiar cues one encounter at home and the substitution for them of other cues which are strange" (p. 170).
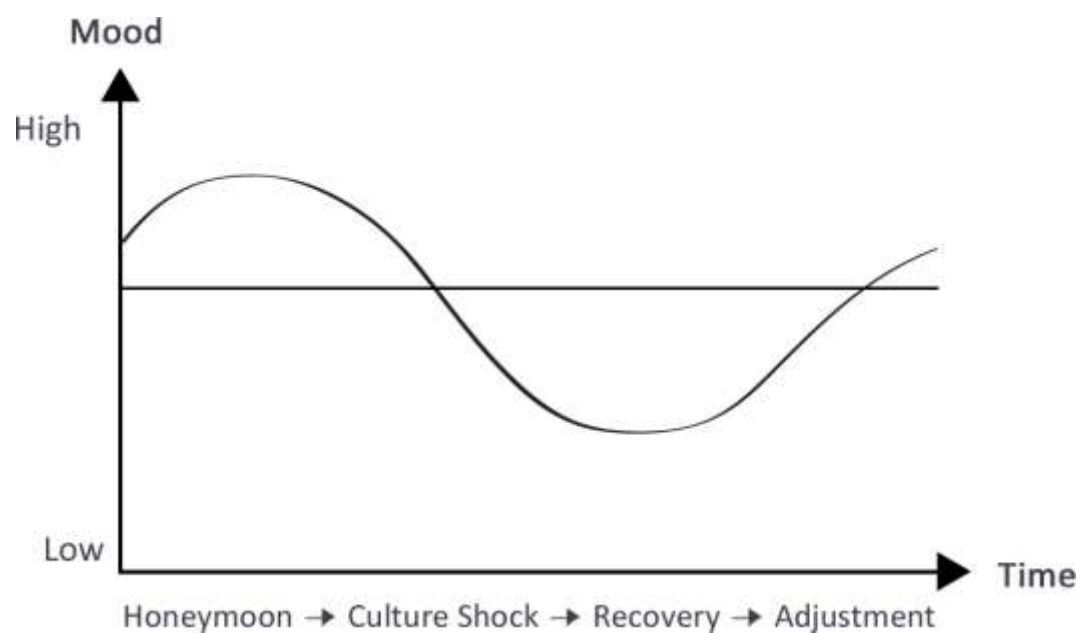

FIGURE 1: U-curve model

The W-curve model (presented in FIGURE 2 below) adds repatriation into to the U-curve model. According to the W-curve model a stranger faces another low point after returning ones culture of origin, before one feels adapted again (Ward, Okura, Kennedy & Kojima, 1998). In other words, a stranger goes through the same adaptation process again at the original culture, though, the process is not as challenging as is was to the unfamiliar culture (Kim, 2005).
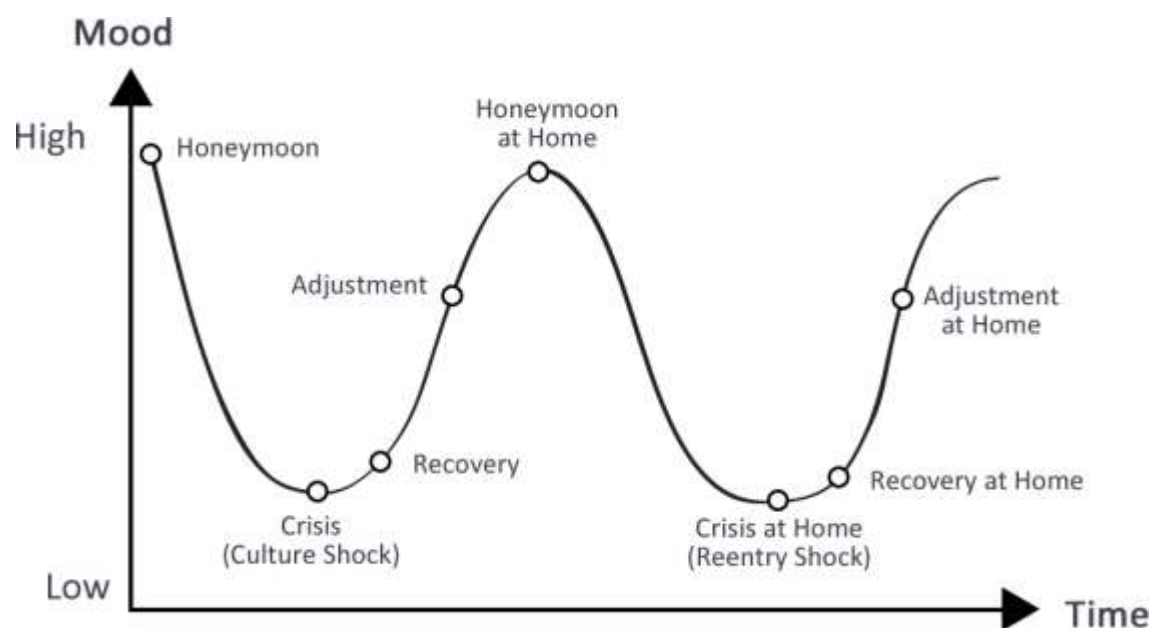
FIGURE 2: W-curve model

One of the widely cited theories in the field is the Anxiety/Uncertainty Management theory [AUM]. It was first developed by Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) as a theory of adjustment. The current theory by Gudykunst (2005) includes both the adjustment factors (strangers entering to an unfamiliar culture and communicating with the host nationals) and effective factors (host nationals communication with strangers). The theory explains the path to adaptation in the following way: at first a stranger feels uncertain about the elements of host culture, for example, host's attitudes, values and how to behave in certain situations. The communication situations evoke anxiety [nervousness, pressure],

because it is difficult for a stranger to read the situation; to know what is expected and whether one can interpret the host's behavior in a right way. Too much anxiety complicates the communication situation which makes a stranger usually interpret the situation only from one's own cultural perspective. However, if a stranger experiences no anxiety at all [feels too confident] one may not be motivated to communicate with the hosts at all. In the AUM theory uncertainty and anxiety are psychological core issues and motivation is one of the superficial issues [personal resources and environmental conditions] affecting adaptation. The superficial issues are the ones impacting on the amount of uncertainty stranger experiences in certain situation. (Gudykunst et al., 2005).

The stress-adaptation-growth dynamic (see FIGURE 3 below) developed by Kim (2001) continues on the same path as Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) and Gudykunst (2005): the process of intercultural adaptation evokes stress [anxiety] in a stranger. Thus, according to the model a stranger experience an inner struggle whether one should hold on to former identity, customs and values or to become better fitted with the new cultural milieu and lose some of the former beliefs. As the culture shock models have shown, the stress is the most intense at the earlier stages.

According to the model the stress eases off after a stranger has learned to new ways of conduct and developed skills to cope in a new environment. Simply put, the theory posits that a stranger experiences stress that leads to adaptation which eventually leads to growth. Most strangers are able to handle the stress and be successful in their adaptation; however, it is also possible that a stranger try to defy the changes which may lead to severe stress and even psychological problems (Kim, 2001).
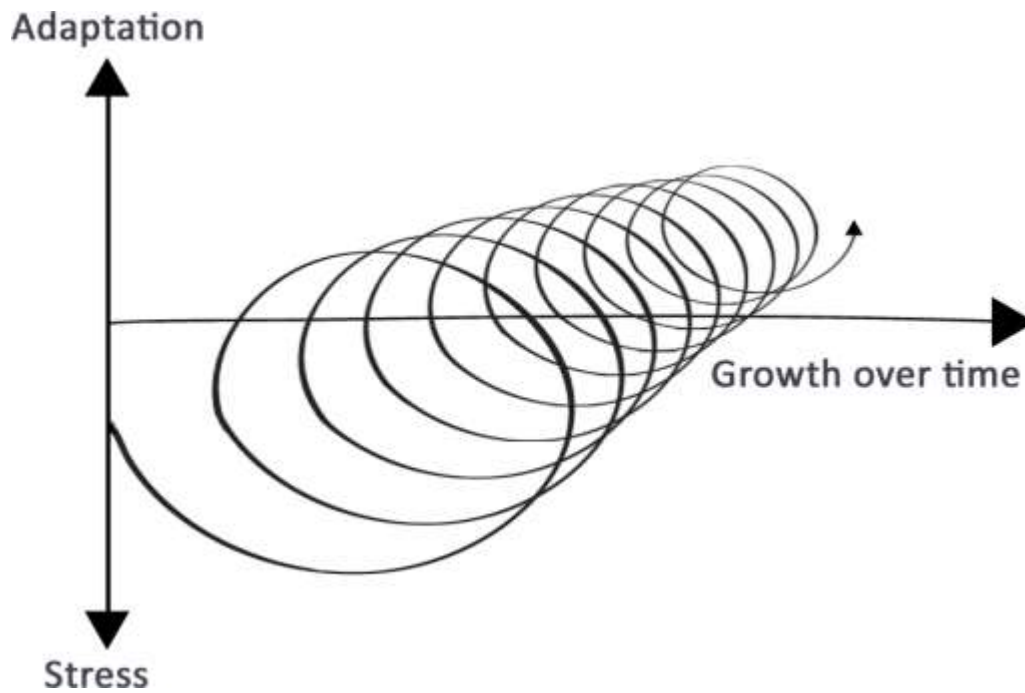
FIGURE 3: Kim's stress-adaptation-growth dynamic-model

       The severity of intercultural adaptation process and the type of stress it may

cause to strangers is revealed in the social readjustment rating scale. Holmes and Rahe (1967)

cited in Scully, Tosi and Banning (2000) developed a social readjustment rating scale which

is one of the cited theories in the field of psychology and especially in studies related to stress

measurement. In the scale there are forty three life events that anyone can encounter during

their lives (see APPENDIX 1). The life events are, for example, death of a spouse, illness,

and change in residence, food or in financial state (Scully et al., 2000). Kim (2001) highlights

that out of the 43 life events mentioned in the scale a stranger may encounter one-third of

them while settling to an unfamiliar culture (Kim, 2001). This clearly shows the severity of

change and challenges in person's life while adapting to an unfamiliar culture. Kim (2001)

clarifies:

> Cross-cultural adaptation bring profound and all-encompassing challenges to strangers
> as they soon realize that many of their previously taken-for-granted assumptions and
> life tools, such as language and social norms, are no longer relevant or appropriate. (p.
> 45-46)

Martin and Nakayama (2007) also distinguish one of the key challenges when talking about intercultural adaptation: not every migrant has the same starting point and opportunities considering the life in a new host country. They argue that it is quite difficult and risky to compare or make generalizations between people with different backgrounds when talking about intercultural adaptation. The differences in the starting point, for example, between expatriates and refugees can be huge. The set of means to cope in the new host culture can vary tremendously considering cognitive skills, previous education, social network or financial situation (Martin & Nakayama, 2007).

Kim (2005a) takes a different point of view by stating that in her studies the goal has been to develop a universal theory that would incorporate, for example, a long- and short-term adaptation which have been one of the traditional ways to categorize adaptation studies. A universal theory would unify and make the relationships clearer of the current models, theories and concepts. As a result, she claims that it could help to create more unified field of intercultural adaptation (Kim, 2005a).

Overall, the models and theories of intercultural adaptation have developed tremendously during the last decades. The starting point was the culture shock or assimilation models which believed that intercultural adaptation is an inevitable process and without a doubt one will become adapted to the new host culture. As a result, a stranger under the influence of a new host culture will learn the host language, norms and values and becomes active member of the new host society. Moreover, it was believed that one cannot hold on to the culture of origin and at the same time adapt to the new culture; the process was believed to be unidimensional. The concentration in the "problem-based view of adaptation" or "culture shock models" was the frustration and stress strangers encounter while trying to adapt to a new host culture.

Nowadays, according to a vast number of researchers in the field, a complete intercultural adaptation is not an unavoidable outcome that begins when a stranger moves to an unfamiliar culture. However, there is not a cohesive view in the field about the matter. The debated issues are, for example, how the process evolves and to what extent intercultural adaptation is in fact an inevitable.

Nevertheless, the perspective to the phenomenon is more positive and the concentration has shifted from adaptation problems and stress to stranger's own choice and capacity to learn. Thus, it is believed that maintaining ones culture of origin and simultaneously adapting to the host culture is possible; these processes do not exclude one another. As stated above, the recent development in the models of intercultural adaptation is that a stranger can even choose to adapt in one life domain such as work life and maintain the culture of origin regarding family life (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003).

3. MOTIVATION TO ADAPT TO A NEW CULTURE

According to multiple studies, motivation is a vital element in intercultural adaptation. Kim (2001) has stated:

> The more intense the stranger's motivation to adapt, the more they are likely to make an effort to learn about and participate in the host environment with enthusiasm and perseverance. (p. 109)

In the current study the concept of motivation is handled from the point of view of intercultural adaptation. The assumption is that before deficiency needs such as physiological needs and safety needs are met, one does not have motivation to measures intercultural adaptation requires. Therefore, Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954) or other hierarchy of needs theories will not be touched upon in this study. The main focus is on the theories that have been linked with intercultural adaptation motivation such as Berry (1980, 1997), Kim (2001) and Gudykunst (1998).

According to Ryan and Deci (2000) motivation has been mostly studied as an "on-off" [unitary] phenomenon, which has suggested that one either has or has not personal motivation to act. They point out that based on numerous studies and their self-determination theory [SDT, 1985] motivation is a multifaceted phenomenon. They state that in addition to the fact that the level of motivation can vary, people do not just have one type of motivation, but many that can make a person engage in an activity. Ryan and Deci (2000) divide

motivation into two main categories: intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Intrinsic motivation refers to motivation that comes within a person; something is so pleasurable or exciting that one wants to act. Ryan and Deci (2000), point out that small children are a fantastic example of intrinsic motivation. They are driven to gain knowledge and investigate their surroundings without a craving for incentive. At some point as children grow up they discover the world to be more or less incentive driven, thus, a great deal of issues are done to please somebody, to gain material possessions, or purely out of a pressure to be a beneficial member of the society. Intrinsic motivation is personal; same issues do not necessarily have an effect on all people and make them act. Likewise, something that made a person to act based on intrinsic motivation earlier might not necessarily have the same effect later in life.

Extrinsic motivation on the contrary makes people act because of an incentive such as a good grade, salary or positive feedback. Relatedness is one of the key issues in extrinsic motivation. It is important to feel that one is part of the group who are expecting the person to act. Thus, the issues accomplished are not necessarily appealing for the person in question, but one acts because of its importance to loved ones, peers, authority [e.g., teacher] or society that one feels related to (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Personality traits, obviously, must be taken into consideration when talking about motivation. Personal characteristics may have an effect how a stranger perceives the situation and how motivated one is to engage in contact with members of the host culture. Uncertainty (the not knowing the proper approach, the values or the required behavior) is an issue which is quite often present in intercultural encounters. The attitude how to handle uncertainty naturally differs. Some strangers may take uncertain situations as positive challenges and engage actively in intercultural contacts whereas others may try to avoid these situations, because of fear of embarrassment or one feels threatened (Samochowiec & Florack, 2010).

3.1. Studies on intercultural adaptation motivation

Motivation to adapt can be handled from various viewpoints, for example, what factors motivate strangers to leave one's country of origin (migration motivation)? Another viewpoint is the adaptation motivation while a stranger is already living in the new host culture. The current study focuses on the second viewpoint: (despite the reason why a stranger left his country of origin) what factors motivate strangers to adapt in the new host culture?

3.1.1. Migration motivation

Berry has studied adaptation from multiple points of view during his career. In his study from 1997 he concentrated on migration motivation. Migration motivation refers to the motivational reasons to move to another country or cultural area. However, migration motivation does not refer to the adaptation motivation when a person is already living in a new country (Berry, 1997). There are naturally various issues which may motivate people to migrate, in other words, there are various push and pull factors that may have an effect on migration motivation. In addition to political (e.g., war, fear of prosecution, hope of increased autonomy or flexible laws for asylum seekers) and economic factors (e.g., increased economical possibilities or unemployment in home country) also social aspects play a part on migration motivation. One may have, for example, family members or friends living in the preferred host country which may motivate to join them and leave one's country of origin. Unsurprisingly, positive stories about the new host culture and its' opportunities may also boost the motivation (Doerschler, 2006).

There are studies (see Kim, 1988; Doerschler, 2006) that suggest that the push or pull factor which motivated people to leave their home country in the first place also have

long term affects on the overall adaptation motivation. In his study Doerschler (2006) concentrated on immigrants in Germany. He argues that immigrants who come to a country for economical reasons only do not develop such a strong connection to the country or its politics as people who arrive to the country for political reasons (refugees). Economic immigrants may have short-term goals after which they hope to return to their home country. Doerschler (2006) claims, in fact, that the focus is to make the most out of the economical possibilities. On the other hand, according to his study, immigrants who come to the country for political reasons have long-term goals and are more motivated to learn, for example, about their rights as residents. Thus, he argues that strangers who come to the country for political reasons are more interested in adapting to the host society (Doerschler, 2006).

Push and pull factors can be also seen from economic standpoint, referred as economic theories of migration. In studies related to economic migration, for example, unemployment and underemployment are seen as a push factors. Consequently, enhanced income opportunities and also better benefits for employees in a host country are seen as pull factors (Verwiebe, 2010).

The studies concentrating on the push and pull factors [migration motivation] usually do not consider the overall adaptation process after the person is already living in a new country. However, according to Berry (1997) the push or pull factors may shed light also to the overall adaptation potential of a stranger. Intense push and pull factors may cause problems also in intercultural adaptation process. Berry (1997) states that studies have found that stranger's being "pushed" out [e.g., refugees] may encounter problems in adapting to the new host culture, at least in the beginning, hence the sense of loss. Many may not have had the opportunity to prepare for the changes in their life. However, also voluntary migrants who had been "pulled" to move to the new host culture may experience problems. Thus, one may have had too great expectations, which were not met in the new host culture (Berry, 1997).

More current term referring to push and pull factors is reactive and proactive migration motivation by Richmond (1993). Reactive migration motivation refers to aspects that are more negative; they can be for example restrictive aspects in the culture and may push people to leave [e.g., discrimination towards minorities]. Proactive aspects on the other hand are more positive, they can be facilitating in nature and they might pull people to move to the preferred host culture [e.g., better employment opportunities].

3.1.2. Motivational theories related to long-term adaptation

The communication acculturation theory (CAT) by Kim (1988, 2001) focuses on immigrant's adaptation process. Kim (2001) includes adaptation motivation as one of the components of host communication competence. Host communication competence describes a state when a stranger is able to function successfully in the host culture and with the host nationals. Kim (2001) concludes that one is proficient to "encode and decode linguistic and nonlinguistic codes and practices specific to a given cultural or subcultural community" (p. 99). According to Kim (2001) to master the skill can be lifetime venture. In her study, host communication competence is divided into three sections which are cognitive (e.g., verbal and nonverbal host language skills) affective (e.g., attitude and motivation) and operational (e.g., technical skills that make life more rewarding).

Kim (2001) states that motivation is one of the essential elements in successful intercultural adaptation; one's own willpower to learn can have much more powerful influence on behavior than outsiders' expectations. She argues that the amount of adaptation motivation is a crucial aspect that separates the short term sojourners (exchange students, expatriates) from those who settle for a longer period of time (immigrants). According to Kim (2001), it has been noticed that short term sojourners motivation to learn how to become competent in the new culture is lower. Kim claims: "different reasons for crossing cultures

accompany different degrees of commitment that individuals feel toward their new

environment". (p. 5)

Kim (2001) has gathered a list of three predispositions that may determine the

smoothness of the adaptation process. Strangers' preparedness for change [strangers'

adaptive potential] is the first predispositions for successful intercultural adaptation. The

issues that facilitate preparedness are, for example, formal education [more realistic

expectations], voluntary nature of the move, prior host language and culture training.

The other two predispositions are factors of ethnicity and personal

characteristics. The factors of ethnicity refer to the idea that the adaptation process is

expected to be less demanding for those who do not "stand out" from the members of the host

culture. Hence, does the stranger have distinctive features such as dress, food, skin color or

accent that may cause one to be treated differently than the host members? The factors of

ethnicity may also include features that are not visual such as values, nonverbal cues or

attitudes that may have an effect on the smoothness of the adaptation process.

The last of the three predispositions for successful adaptation is personal

characteristics, in other words, whether a stranger has an adaptive personality. The three

characteristics are openness, strength and positivity. Kim (2001) declares that:

> Openness allows strangers to examine themselves and the environment with a genuine
> willingness to be transformed as they incorporate new experiences and new learning.
> (p. 174)

Openness includes positive aspects related to intercultural adaptation such as

"motivation for self-development" and "willingness to communicate" which both help to

encounter unfamiliar situations. According to Kim (2001), *strength*, the second characteristic

in adaptive personality refers to "inner resource that enables strangers to face intercultural

challenges" (p. 176). The third characteristic is *positivity*. Positive view on life helps to be

persistent when facing challenges, overcome ones weaknesses, and in general, make life

more enjoyable. The suggestion behind the communication acculturation theory is that, especially concerning voluntary migrants, one should consider carefully about one's background and the predispositions before making a decision to move to a new host country. Kim (2001) concludes:

> As we make an honest self-appraisal on these and related issues, we can estimate our likehood of successful adaptation. (p. 223).

Kim's theories have been developed already over a decade ago, but still quite a few researchers refer to them today. Shuter (2012) introduced her as the "leading communication scholar on acculturation" (p. 227). Though, despite the fact that he values her work in the field, Shuter (2012) proposes that the world has changed. The widely accessible possibilities for online communication must be taken into consideration also in the process of intercultural adaptation. Accordingly, in addition to the importance of face-to-face host social contact and, for example, learning about the host culture already before moving to the country, online communication with hosts and strangers have may have positive effect on intercultural adaptation. Thus, an example mentioned by Shaules (2012) was a study by Elola and Oskoz (2008) which came to conclusion that keeping a blog with the host language may enhance both the stranger's and host's intercultural competence.

Model of immigrant acculturation by Berry (1980, 1992, 1997) is one of the cornerstones regarding adaptation motivation and also one of widely cited bidimensional models (see FIGURE 4 below). The model takes personal motivation into consideration by acknowledging that an immigrant chooses the level of adaptation one wants to achieve. It showed that intercultural adaptation can be a matter of choice. An immigrant needs to make a decision to what extent one wish to maintain the culture of origin and vice versa how integrated one wants to be in regard to the host culture [host social contacts, participation].
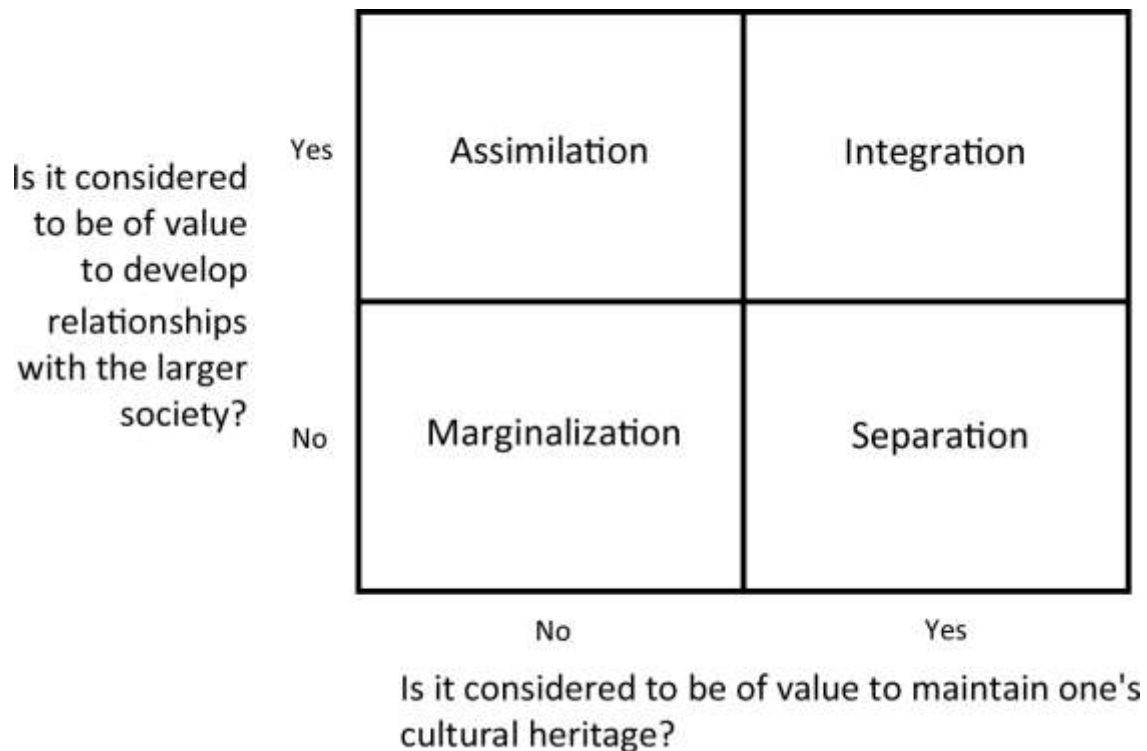
FIGURE 4: Immigrant acculturation orientations

The model is divided into four orientations: integration, assimilation, separation

and marginal. There are two questions one could ask from an immigrant and based on the

answer immigrant's orientation can be determined. An immigrant has an integration

orientation towards adaptation if one wants both; to keep ones cultural identity and

simultaneously wants to adopt features of the host culture and have relationships with host

nationals. In assimilation orientation one wants to lose whole former cultural identity and

absorb in the host culture, one wants to "go native". According to Berry (1980) in separation

orientation an immigrant choose to keep one's own cultural identity. One neither has

relationships with host nationals nor is interested in learning the elements of host culture. In

marginal orientation a stranger loses contact with culture of origin and do not engage in the

host culture either (Berry, 1980).

This chapter shed light on the importance of personal motivation in the intercultural adaptation process. It also presented previous theories and models which have taken motivation into consideration. The current study takes an approach of Ryan and Deci (2000) which concludes that motivation is not an on-off phenomenon, but it can be divided into extrinsic motivation and intrinsic motivation. As mentioned in the introduction, the study utilizes blogs written by immigrants as research data. The blogs chosen for the study are naturally occurring data available for all internet users. Overall, blogs written by immigrants offer a researcher a mean to learn more about long term adaptation. Thus, about the struggles and triumphs of everyday living in a new host country and naturally about the motivation how willing one is to adapt in the host country. To assess how the two different types of motivations surface in the adaptation process and in the current data, the following research questions are asked:

RQ 1: How do bloggers construct their view of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation to adapt to the new host culture?

RQ 2: What kind of factors may weaken stranger's personal motivation to adapt into a new host culture?

RQ 3: What kinds of factors may enhance stranger's personal motivation to adapt into a new host culture?

3.1.3. Intercultural adaptation as a (life) domain specific phenomenon

The theories and models of intercultural adaptation have evolved through unidimensional assimilationist models to bidimensional models, which acknowledge that the individual is able to govern the adaptation process. The latest development is a bidimensional model, which highlights the idea of domain specific adaptation. Consequently, a stranger is able to keep one's former culture in one life domain such as private life [family life: marriage,

raising children] and at the same time adapt on public domain [life outside home: work, colleagues].

Boski (2008) developed the IAFS model [the model of integration as functional (partial) specialization] to explain the difference in acculturation strategy of public and private domains (see FIGURE 5 below). Boski (2008) explains:

> It is much easier to have one culture dominant in one life domain and the other culture dominant in the remaining activities, than to assume complete biculturalism. (p. 142-152)

Integration
=
[home/family life separation] culture of origin
+
[public life assimilation] culture of settlement

FIGURE 5: IAFS model

Boski (2008) challenges Berry's model (1980, 1992, 1997) by stating that there are several definitions of integration. Consequently, he claims that the concept has not been defined in enough detail to clarify how the integration actually works in a stranger's life: what are the means to cope if one partially holds on to the culture of origin and also tries to adapt to the new host culture?

He also argues that the questions asked from immigrant's in Berry's model of immigrant acculturation, which supposed to determine ones orientation towards acculturation, are acultural. He states that this can be seen, for example, in the question regarding making friends in the new host culture. Thus, in the Berry's model making local

friends is one of the determinants of successful acculturation. Boski (2008) provides an example; the term friendship can be understood differently depending on the person's cultural background which ultimately can shape the results of defining one's acculturation orientation. Hence, the term friendship can mean different things in different cultures. For example, according to Boski (2008) in Latin America friends are with whom one has fun and shares happy memories, however, in Poland friends are primarily there to support one another in the times of sorrow.

Boski (2008) derived the IAFS model from a study by Arendt- Tóth (2003) in which she noticed an apparent difference of immigrant's adaptation strategies between public and private domains. Arendt- Tóth continued to explore the findings with Fons Van de Vijver. In the same year (2003) they discovered that immigrants from Turkey living in the Netherlands were integrated considering their public life, but separated in private [family] life. According to the study the domain specificity was a significant element in the Turkish-Dutch acculturation orientation. (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003). Later Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver called this type of acculturation models "domain specific" models which refer to the idea that stranger's acculturation strategies can vary within a life domain.

Naturally, there have been previous studies that have discussed about the idea of acculturation orientations and life domains. However, these studies have varied by the extent of the domains, in other words, what is included in a certain life domain. In their study Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003) found that the superordinate level is the private and public domains: private life (home, marriage, parenting, and private values) and public life (life outside home: work and time spend with colleagues). The other possible domains which can be a focal point of a study are "specific life domains" such as language learning or food. For example, at home [private domain] one eats and prepares traditional foods from one's homeland, but once out in public, one enjoys the local food. The third subordinate level in

acculturation strategies is a certain "specific situation". It refers to the idea that a stranger uses a different acculturation strategy based on a situation. The specific life domains and specific situations can, naturally, be studied under the umbrella terms of public and private domains (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004).

Dali (2012) supports Boski's IAFS model. In her study Dali (2012) discovered that the acculturation orientations explained in the Berry's model did not suit any of the participants: fourteen Russian and Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. The participants did not discard the Canadian culture, but were not integrating either. A theory that was noticed to explain their adaptation strategy more appropriately was Boski's IAFS model. In Dali's (2012) study the majority of immigrants felt isolated from the host nationals and from the Canadian culture. They felt that even if they were working, their general well-being was high, and they all had knowledge of English, they experienced "deficit in human contact". Thus, they were adapted in the public, put not in private domain. The lack of friendships, host cultural activities and casual relations with Canadians (e.g., neighbors) made them feel like outcasts. The mentioned problems mainly revolve around knowing the host language, the culture and values well, in order to communicate with ease and socialize. Consequently, Dali (2012) explained that they experienced the classical "chicken-egg-scenario" in which the immigrants were not able to learn adequate English without being able to communicate with Canadians, on the other hand, the lack of sufficient language skills (e.g., to be able to joke or use slang words) made it quite impossible to approach Canadians and make friends (Dali, 2012).

The unidimensional models of intercultural adaptation expect intercultural adaptation to be an automatic process which happens in all areas of life just by being under the influence of the new host culture. The bidemensional models and especially Boski's IAFS model (2008) have another point of view. According to the model, one can keep elements

from the culture of origin and it is not necessary to assimilate fully. In addition, it is possible at adapt on one life domain such as working life and keep the culture of origin on other life domains (e.g., marriage and family life). Boski's model is one of the recent bidimensional models to explain intercultural adaptation.

In an effort to find out how the domain-specific model is applicable in diverse studies and whether the current data (blogs written by immigrants) support or discard the model, the following research questions are posed:

RQ 4: To what extent is intercultural adaptation (life) domain specific?

RQ 5: What domain specific adaptation strategies appear in immigrant's blogs?

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes a description of the aims of the study, the research method, and ethical issues concerning the research. In addition, in the end of this chapter both the data collection and data analysis are presented.

4.1. Qualitative and narrative approach to research

According to Syrjäläinen and Eronen (2007) qualitative research is a creative process which requires the researcher to be familiar with the phenomenon and to be receptive with the data; the main goal of qualitative research is to add humane understanding about the chosen phenomenon. Mayan (2009) expresses a similar viewpoint: "By studying naturally occurring phenomena, qualitative researchers attempt to interpret or make sense of the meaning people attach to their experiences or underlying a particular phenomenon" (p. 11).

One of the eminent differentiations between qualitative and quantitative research according to Mayan (2009) is sampling. In qualitative research the aim is usually not to generalize the findings to a larger population, but to reveal the deeper connotation behind and connected with the phenomenon. The idea is to find the best sources to reveal information about the phenomenon and not, for example, reach as many people as possible within the population. Alaszewski (2006) states: "While survey research is good at describing

what people do, it is rather less effective at explaining or understanding why they do it"(p. 36).

For the purposes of this study, the benefits of a qualitative approach overruled those of quantitative. Based on the literature view, it was established that there was a need to understand immigrants' motivations regarding intercultural adaptation. For example, why some immigrants are eager to adapt to the new host culture, learn the language and try to become part of the new society, while others are not motivated or lose their motivation along the way?

A personal interest towards (travel) blogs gave the idea to use them as a data of this study. Overall, blogs represent an emerging source of data in academic research, even though there is already a body of research leaning on them. Blogs can be analyzed in multiple ways similarly as to traditional diaries or other textual data. In previous studies such methods as content analysis, semantic network analysis, frequency analysis and narrative analysis have proven to work well with blogs (Jeuring & Peters, 2013).

The experience-centered (personal) narrative approach was chosen, because it was best seen to capture the blogs essence, the bloggers' stories during the first four years in the new host country. As Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou (2008), state narratives are one mean of human sense-making, people have proneness to tell and interpret stories.

The experience-centered narrative approach concentrates on chronological and significant stories in people's lives; they can be either crucial periods in person's life such as a fatal illness or more general experience such as having a baby. The approach highlights the change person goes through while having the profound experience. According to Andrews et al. (2008) one of the most typical ways to gather data while conducting an experience-centered narrative study has been via interview, but the number of studies using written data such as diaries and biographies has increased (Andrews, Squire & Tamboukou, 2008).

Another method such as content analysis could have been chosen as well. However, it was feared that the other methods used in prior blog studies could have diminished the emotions and deep feelings that the authors shared in their blogs. This could have happened, for example, if one would have used quantitative content analysis (simply put: frequency of words show meaning).

Over the next sections, the characteristics of blogs as well as the pertinent questions related to using them in research will be discussed in more detail.

4.1.1. Blogs and their authors

Put very simply a blog is a type of online diary. According to Hookaway (2008):

> A weblog, or "blog" as they are more commonly known, refers to a website which contains a series of frequently updated, reverse chronically ordered posts on a common web page, usually written by a single author…blogs are typically housed by software programs that enable users of low technical competence to present attractive and regularly updated online material. (p. 92)

When referring to all the blogs on the internet the term *blogosphere* is used. According to Zhao and Kumar (2013) it cannot be denied that the blogosphere today is an important form of media used by millions of people. Consequently, there are various examples throughout the world in which personal blogs have influenced governments or created changes in company policies. On the other hand, popular blogs offer a platform for companies to market their products due to the vast amount of readers following them.

The exact number of blogs is unknown; the estimate varies greatly depending on the source. The wildest suggestions revolve around 200 million blogs and smallest around 100 million blogs in the blogosphere. Still, it is certain that there are millions of blogs in the blogosphere. To give an example, according to one of the most popular blog publishing system WordPress, there are 71 million blogs written in 120 different languages created with

their publishing system and 100,000 more blogs appear every day. The top three languages in WordPress blogs are English (66%), Spanish (8, 7%) and Portuguese (6, 5%) (WordPress.com, 2013).

The term *blogger* refers to the author of the blog. According to Heinonen (2008) there are a few main types of bloggers: citizen, audience, journalist and media bloggers. Citizen bloggers keep personal blogs and are obviously not working for media outlets. However, they can inspire journalists to write about issues that could otherwise go unnoticed. In a study by Lenhart and Fox (2006), it was found out that the main reason for blogging in the U.S [the country with most bloggers] was to be able to creatively express oneself and document one's life. The second reason for blogging was politics, but it did not come even close in popularity compared to documenting happenings in one's personal life. Some other reasons for blogging included keeping in touch with family, sharing knowledge and making friends. Almost all bloggers in the U.S allowed readers to comment their blog posts (Lenhart & Fox, 2006).

The second group in Heinonen's (2008) category of bloggers is audience bloggers who write to professional blogs provided by a professional publication, but are usually not working in the premises of media companies. The third group, journalist bloggers are professionals, who work for media corporations, but they are also able to write about ideas or styles that are not fully in accordance with the media house the journalist is working for. For example, freelance journalists may market their work through a blog. The last group is the media bloggers who are professionals working for media outlets and who write posts in an online version of the publication. The writing style is more formal than in a personal blog and the employer can edit media bloggers' posts (Heinonen, 2008).

As mentioned earlier, the U.S holds the first place in the amount of bloggers in the world. According to Guadagno, Okdie and Eno (2008) a typical blogger in the U.S is

younger, has higher education and is more likely to live in a city compared to an average citizen. Trammell et al. (2006) concluded that even if research concerning bloggers outside the U.S is scarce, their study about Polish bloggers came to the same conclusion that the main motivation to host a blog in Poland, just like in the U.S, was to be able to share one's experiences about life.

The amount of male versus female bloggers also varies according to the source. However, it has been found out that in Asian countries male bloggers are undoubtedly more common than women bloggers. When talking about age groups, it has been noticed that personal blogs are written by younger and political blogs by older bloggers (Sundar, Edwards, Hu & Stavrositu, 2007).

4.1.2. Blogs as data in an academic research

Blogs are a quite new method of self-expression or self-publishing. They were "invented" in the 90's and became popular in the U.S around year 1999 which shortly led to a rise in their popularity in several countries around the world. Blogs are not, however, an entirely new phenomenon since they obviously share similar features compared to traditional personal diaries which have been used as a research data for decades.

Hookaway (2008) suggests that compared to traditional diaries blogs offer advanced possibilities for obtaining qualitative data. Firstly, blogs are available practically everywhere where a researcher has access to internet which means that it is cheap to collect the data (no traveling costs). Secondly, blogs offer a possibility to gather data that otherwise would be difficult. For example, a researcher living in Finland could compare British and American tourists' experiences of traveling to Phuket, Thailand after the tsunami in 2004. To use one of the traditional data gathering methods such as personal interviews, the process could require substantial amount of time and money (Hookway, 2008).

In the fields of history and sociology traditional diaries have been studied to learn about so-called laypeople, individuals whose story can easily be left out from official history books. In addition, they have been used to study famous figures whose diaries have given more insight to historical events (Lazar, Feng & Hochheiser, 2010).

A structured diary study that use either traditional diaries or blogs is one of the typical ways to gather qualitative data. In such study, participants are asked to keep a diary, for example, for two weeks about their health issues. Later on the participants are possibly interviewed about the issues mentioned in the diary. The instructions on how to keep the diary can vary. For example, a very structured method would be to use a Likert scale to which participants must answer daily. In an unstructured approach only the general topic of the diary will be given. According to Lazar et al. (2010), the least structured diary study concerns readymade diaries or blogs that have been written without any intervention from the researcher [naturally occurring data].

Hookaway (2008) states, that blogs as research data can be the better version of traditional diaries due to their availability. Blogs are not necessarily assignments given by the researcher, but naturally occurring data available for all internet users. A structured blog study evidently is not naturally occurring data, since the researcher can influence the content of the diary with instructions on how the blog should be written and what type of information one needs to write (Hookaway, 2008).

A blog, just like any diary has one considerable advantage over survey questionnaires. One does not have to recall happenings or feelings from the distant past, but the feelings have been recorded during or relatively close to the particular time. Lazar et al. (2010) claims that if one is asked to recall issues from the past, personality differences may shape the recollection. Optimistic and pessimistic traits in personality may have an effect; some people remember a situation after long period of time as more positive, and some as

more negative than it actually was. Jeuring and Petersen (2013) conclude that blogs are a new way to collect research data; however, the method is currently up-and-coming while more and more researchers notice its benefits. Due to the fact that blogs are a relatively new phenomenon it is one of the eminent reasons they are not yet more widely used as a research data. (Jeuring & Petersen, 2013).

4.1.3.   Ethical issues concerning blog research

The vast amount of blogs in the blogosphere about different areas of life offer enormous possibilities for researchers from multiple fields to acquire both qualitative and quantitative data. Though, there are ethical issues to consider when using blogs as research data.

Eastham (2011) suggests that personal blogs can be considered to be both private and public, even if they would be available for all internet users. Bloggers who write about their life may reveal personal and even intimate information, but still surprisingly few use pseudonyms to hide their identity [in the U.S around 50%]. Naturally, there are blogs that cannot be accessed by everyone. For example, entering the blog may require a password, or only selected content is available publicly.

There are various ethical issues a researcher must consider while using blogs as data. Is the bloggers' approval needed? Is it necessary to hide the bloggers' identity? How to analyze the data; for example, can one use direct quotations in the research report? What type of information can be shared about the blogger?

Eastham's (2011) view is that while dealing with human subjects it is vital to protect the identity of the blogger. Direct quotations may expose the blogger just like using the bloggers' pseudonym in the research report. Some ways to maintain anonymity is, for example, to paraphrase the text instead of using direct quotations, to invent new pseudonyms,

and to avoid mentioning too detailed information about the bloggers' life, such as workplaces or schools (Eastham, 2011).

Several attempts have been made to create ethical guidelines for online research, such as suggestions made by the AoIR (Association of Internet Research). They propose that while conducting internet research, there is a need to put high emphasis on the ethical issues concerning the participants. For example, what harms could occur from the research to participant's career, personal life or reputation?

However, despite the recommendations and beneficial questions researchers need to ask themselves, AoIR recognizes that there are gray areas while using internet as a data. Thus, in practice each researcher makes their own decision about whether to ask for the bloggers' consent, what type of information is revealed about the informant, and how to analyze the data? For some researchers it is important to receive the informant's permission to use the data (see Sharf, 1999) while others do not see it being against moral practices (see Jeuring & Peters, 2013).

An important question while conducting any research is the validity of the data. For example, was the interviewee exaggerating? Did the participant answer truthfully in the questionnaire; according to the real feelings, real happenings? In studies that use blogs as data these questions are also valid. How does the researcher know whether the blogger is truthful? Is something left untold? Naturally, one can choose the blogs carefully and be suspicious, but eventually one must trust to the chosen data just like in any other research (Hookway, 2008). Nevertheless, the researcher must take into consideration that a blog is usually a public media. This may lead to people "sugarcoating" issues in order not to give a bad impression, especially if the blogger is writing without a pseudonym. However, according to constructionist viewpoint; the "truthfulness" is not the key, but the fact that the blogs are real, they exist and they have been written by a real people. Due to their existence

they may shape the reader's reality which, according to constructionist viewpoint, is build by subjective experiences rather than objective reality (Lindlof, 2008).

4.2. Data collection

The data used in this study was gathered during the year 2013. The blogs were searched for mainly with the help of Google Blog Search (www.google.com/blogsearch), Technorati (technorati.com) and Blog Catalog (www.blogcatalog.com), but also searched with the help of readymade lists such as "Best Travel Blogs 2012". The goal was to find blogs written by immigrants who would meet the following criteria:

- would have started keeping the blog before arriving to the country

- would have lived already for years in the new host country

- would have kept the blog for several years while settling to the new homeland

The criterion was determined based on the need to study immigrants and not, for example, short term sojourners motivations for intercultural adaptation. Therefore, it was necessary that the blogger would have lived in the country already for years. In addition, based on the theoretical background, there was also a need to consider the bloggers' migration motivation. Hence, the criterion included that the chosen bloggers would have started keeping the blog already prior moving to the new host country.

The search for the blogs that fit the criteria was challenging. As an example, there are a lot of blogs in the blogosphere written by expatriates who have been sent by companies to work in a certain country for a couple of years. In many cases they do not plan on staying any longer than their contract obligates them to. There are also numerous blogs written by tourists who are on vacation for a few weeks. Obviously these types of blogs did not fit the criteria.

Furthermore, some bloggers refer to themselves as travelers even if they have lived in a certain country for years and have settled down. Thus, a blog can start off as a typical traveling blog with pictures of the tourist sights and food. However, at some point after years of blogging the tone may shift into that of an immigrant. In many cases a blogger would not call oneself as an immigrant. As a result, it was quite tricky and time consuming to find the blogs that fit the criteria, thus, it was necessary to go through hundreds of blogs before fitting cases were eventually found (see FIGURE 6 below).

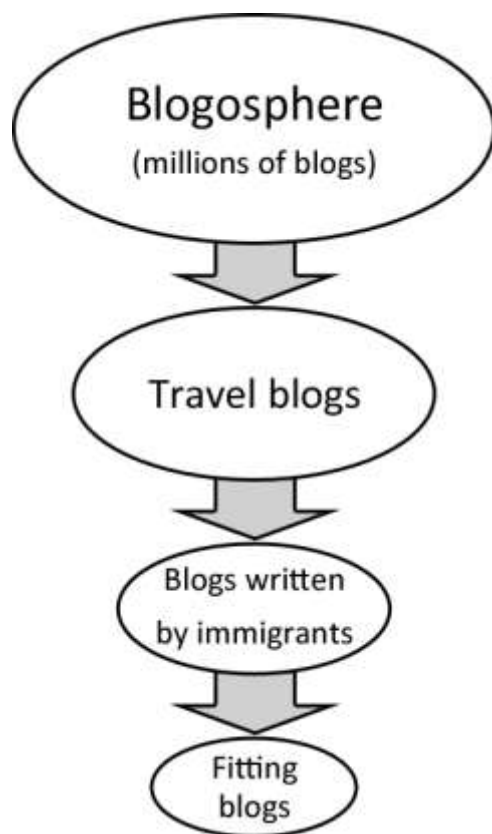FIGURE 6: Process of finding the suitable blogs

It was not clear at the beginning of the data collection process how many blogs were going to be needed for the study. This is because it was essential to make an initial analysis of the blogs to know whether the data would reach saturation and is it able to provide answers to the proposed questions. However, it was quite clear from the start that since there

were a limited time to complete the study and the personnel resources were even more limited (one person) the possibilities to analyze dozens of blogs written for numerous years, meaning several thousand blog posts, was not even remotely possible.

According to Mello (2002) there are two suppositions when dealing with narratives. First, they are too long to be analyzed as such and secondly there is a need to divide them in smaller parts to comprehend and managed them. Already after the first blog was found and preliminary analyzed, it was eminent that the amount of blog posts was too large for analysis. Thus, the first blog included over a thousand extensive posts which would have generated approximately thousand pages of transcribed text. As Mello (2002) stated, there is usually a need to reduce the amount of text. As a result, not all blog posts could be included in the analysis. The step is typical of qualitative studies and especially in narrative approach and is commonly referred to as "data reduction" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2010).

As the first blog already included such a vast amount of data it was decided that only two blogs were chosen for the preliminary analysis to see how the bloggers write about their motivation and whether there would be a need to obtain more blogs. It was also suggested by Mayan (2009) that while conducting qualitative research it is important to find the participants who talk about the phenomenon in a way that it is possible to cover its numerous aspects. It is vital not just to gather the final data and then analyze it, but to purposefully choose the participants one by one who are relevant and offer insight into the phenomenon whether positive or negative (Mayan, 2009).

The first two blogs offered various points of view of adaptation motivation and included altogether around 1500 blog posts (around 1500 pages of transcribed text before the data reduction). Despite the extensive amount of blog posts gathered from the first two blogs to reassure the findings a third blog was decided to include in to the study. This is because, a third a very different blog could confirm the findings. Thus, it was important to see whether it

would bring forward more undiscovered aspects of the phenomenon. After it was analyzed, it was noticed that the third blog shed more light in understanding the in-depth motivational factors; however, totally new aspects did not appear. Consequently, the number years of the bloggers had written their blogs, the length and amount of posts, and the analytical writing style of the bloggers made the selected blogs relevant for the study.

As a result, during the data collection process, four bloggers were contacted via email (see APPENDIX 2) and asked whether their blog could be used as research data in a master's thesis related to intercultural adaptation. After two bloggers had answered positively and their blogs were analyzed, as explained above, a third blog was needed to reassure the findings. A third request was sent for a blogger who had been inactive for quite some time, so it was not a surprise that the blogger did not respond to the request. Therefore, a fourth email needed to be sent, and gladly the response was affirmative. The three bloggers that responded all reacted positively and were very helpful and encouraging. Their blogs fit the requirements that were set before the data collection process begun. Thus, they all had lived in the new host country at least for four years and intended to stay, so they could be considered as immigrants. In addition, all of them had started to write the blog prior to their move.

4.3. Data analysis

It became obvious already during the preliminary analysis of the blogs that there is a need to reduce the data for the analysis. The current study concentrates on the personal motivation of the bloggers, not to the outsider's views of their adaptation motivation. Therefore, the first quite obvious choice was to leave out the readers' comments out of the analysis and to concentrate only on the bloggers' personal posts. After this was decided, still the number of personal blog posts in the three blogs altogether was too large for analysis. They included

overall 1795 posts that comprised around 1850 pages of transcribed text after the pictures and comments were removed.

The overwhelming amount of text highlighted the need to continue the data reduction. It was noticed that the bloggers had not written their blogs corresponding amount of years, so it was sensible to decide which time period is included. The shortest of the three blogs included posts from around two years prior to the move and the first four years in the new host country. After a careful consideration it was decided that from the three blogs the posts that had been written about a year prior to the move and the first four years in the host country were taken into consideration in the analysis. An equal treatment of the blogs would have been in jeopardy and the analyzing process would have been even more challenging if, for example, two of the blogs were to be analyzed from seven year time period and one for four year period.

These steps helped to reduce the data, but it was still noticed that a third round of data reduction could make the data even more concise. Two of the blogs included posts that were not directly related to the bloggers' life in the new host country. The blogger called *Lovestruck* had posted numerous food recipes and blogger *World traveler* had posted almost a hundred posts concerning travels outside of the host country (mostly pictures). The posts were preliminary checked and considered not to be relevant for the study; hence, they could be removed from the analysis. As a conclusion, the data reduction made the collected data analyzable, even so; 729 posts (749 pages of transcribed text) overall were included in the analysis (see FIGURE 7 below).
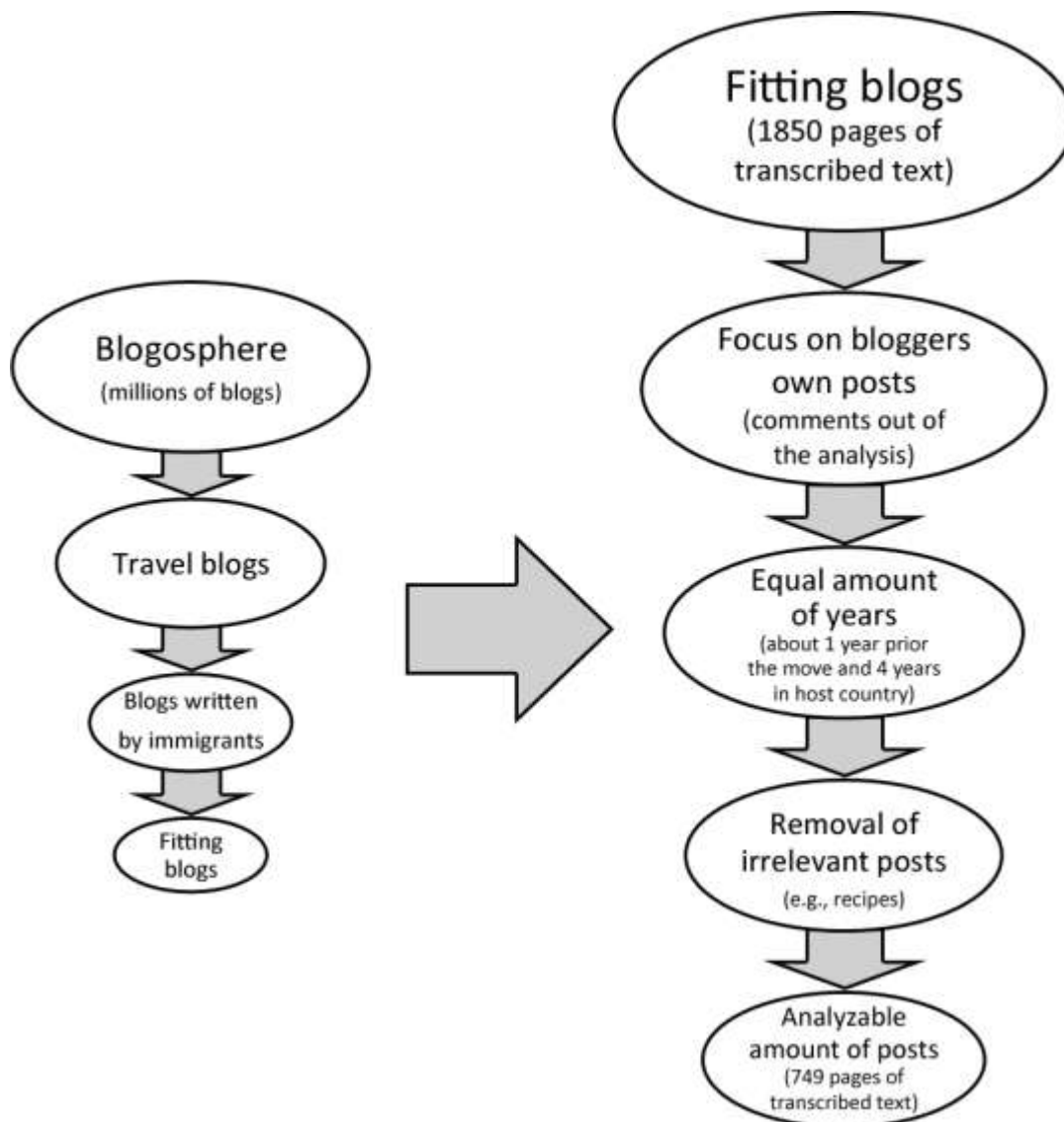
FIGURE 7: Final data reduction

The data analysis led to results which are represented in two diverse ways in the current study. At first all three blogs are introduced in a form of a short story (narrative) about the bloggers' lives prior to the move and during the first four years in the new host country. The method was chosen, because it was seen as important to give the reader an overview of the bloggers' experiences in the new host country. It was seen that short excerpts alone (represented in the section 5) would not give the reader enough information of the motivational factors, struggles and triumphs in the new host country. Thus, each story is

created by taking bits and pieces of information from hundreds of blog posts; therefore, the stories only give a narrow glimpse of the bloggers' true adaptation process in the new host country comparing to the amount of information used in the final analysis. The narratives are categorized in to a three steps:

1. Bloggers' situation before moving to the new host country

2. The first year in the new host country

3. The bloggers' life after four years in the new host country

As explained in section 3.1.1 migration motivation has been suggested (see Kim, 1988; Doerschler, 2006) to have a long term affects on the overall adaptation motivation. Due to this, the first category was formed to describe the bloggers' situation before moving to the new host country. It was seen important to describe the situation why they decided to move to a country which they did not have any family members or relatives. As the literature revealed, prior knowledge about the culture can have an effect on the smoothness of the adaptation process, for example, how much a stranger knows about the customs, values and whether one has any knowledge about the local language.

The second category was formed to reveal the bloggers' first impressions: "is this what I want?" The authors revealed in their blogs (especially two of the bloggers) that the first year turned out to be critical regarding the decision making whether to stay or return back to one's country of origin. As the classical U-curve model (Lysgaard, 1955) explains, after the honeymoon phase wane (approximately after the first few months) a stranger may experience a rough patch in the adaptation process (culture shock). Two of the bloggers experienced this phase very strongly during the first year, and were both on the verge of packing their suitcases and moving back to homeland.

The third category was formed to include the feelings and motivational factors of the bloggers' lives after four years in the new host country. The blog posts revealed that after four years, all the bloggers lived already quite balanced lives in their new host countries. The culture shock had diminished; all of them had found meaningful jobs and they were permanent residents of their new host countries. In addition, they all had a local spouse and started to consider the new host country as their home.

Naturally, it would have been interesting to have one more category, for example, the bloggers' lives after ten years in the new host country. This was not however possible with the available data.

The motivational reasons why the bloggers left their home country were different. Still, the storylines started to reveal similar features of the adaptation process and similar motivational factors, for example, the need to belong and gain acceptance by knowing the host language and the culture. The pseudonyms for the bloggers (*Lovestruck, World traveler and Pursuit of happiness*) were given based on the different motivational reasons they had to move to the new host country. *Lovestruck* moved to another continent to be with one's soulmate. *World traveler* wanted to find a new homeland after traveling for numerous years. One saw it as an ultimate freedom to be able to select a new homeland for oneself. *Pursuit of happiness* wanted a happy life and ultimately came to the conclusion that it was not possible without making drastic changes in one's life.

The process of analyzing the data led to a creation of a fourfold table which included Boski's (2008) IAFS model [private and public domains] and extrinsic and intrinsic motivations (see FIGURE below). The goal was to find out whether the bloggers' adaptation strategy fit to Boski's (2008) IAFS model [private and public domains] how do the bloggers construct their view of extrinsic and intrinsic motivations to adapt to the new host culture?

Intrinsic motivations   Extrinsic motivations

Private
domain

Public
domain
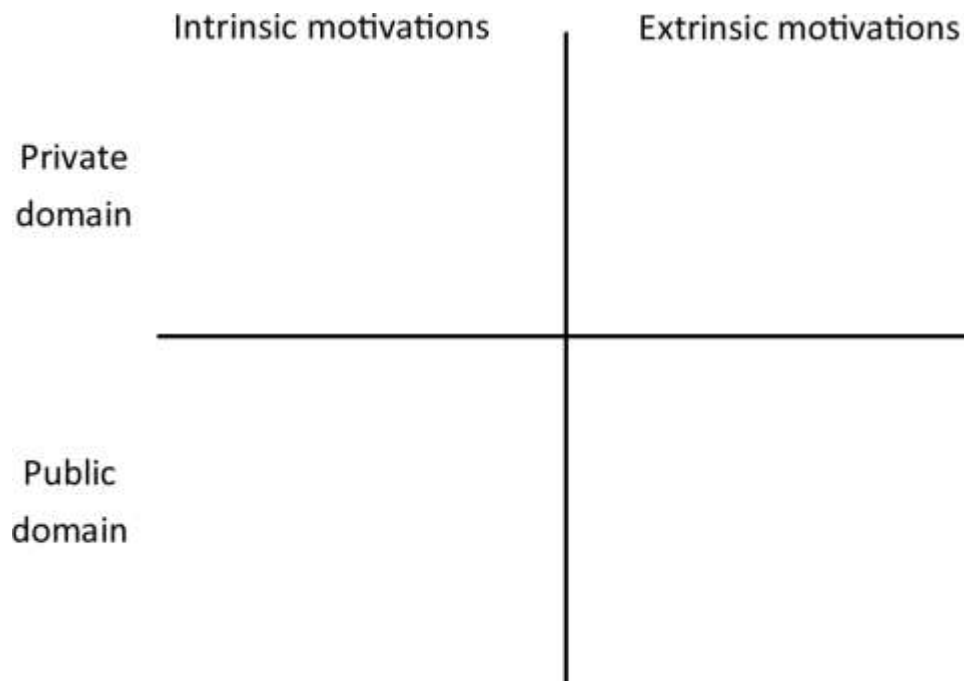
FIGURE 7: The framework for data analysis

4.3.1. Introducing the blogs & bloggers

In order to keep the informants anonymous, the bloggers are not referred to with their real names [if mentioned in the blog], blog pseudonyms, or with the blogs' web addresses. The blogs are introduced in a way that only the matters concerning the analysis of the stranger's motivation are revealed. Thus, detailed information about the blogger, such as the countries of origin or the host countries, are not mentioned.

Blog 1: Lovestruck
Lovestruck has moved from North America to South America and has lived over four years in the new host country. The blog included altogether 295 posts from time period of six years, out of which 28 were lengthy recipes. The recipes were left unanalyzed since they were not seen as part of the intercultural adaptation process. Consequently, the final number of posts that were analyzed was 267 which created 219 pages of transcribed text after the pictures and comments were removed. Only the title of the post, date and the post itself were left in the transcript.

Blog 2: World traveler

World traveler has moved from Europe to North America. After backpacking several years

World traveler did not feel as being a citizen of one's country of origin anymore and decided

to seek a new homeland. The blog, altogether, included over a thousand posts from a time

period of almost ten years. After the data reduction (explained in section 4.3) the amount of

posts was analyzable. Consequently, 286 posts were included in the analysis which created

281 pages of transcribed text.

Blog 3: Pursuit of happiness

The blogger has moved from Oceania to Asia in search for fulfillment and happiness. Due to

working in a job that did not motivate and a separation from a spouse-to-be, the blogger took

a leap of faith and moved into a country which had been inspiring during the previous trips.

The blog altogether included over five hundred posts from time period of seven years. The

process of data reduction made the amount of posts analyzable, thus, 176 posts were included

in the analysis, which created 249 pages of transcribed text.

Over the next paragraphs each blog will be introduced with a short narrative.

The three stories illustrate the journeys which started prior to the move and ended up to a

situation in which all of the bloggers had lived already four years in the new host country.

4.3.2. The narratives: bloggers' adaptation to the new host countries

The Story of Lovestruck

Before the move:

I have always been adventurous. I have tried different types of ethnic foods, learned foreign

language, and been independent (lived in my own apartment already for years). However,

after I told my family that I would actually move to another continent to be with the love of

my life, they could not believe I was serious. Surprisingly my family members are not the

most skeptical, but some of my friends and relatives. They question my motives and talk to me like I would be moving to Mars and abandoning the human race! It troubles me that they do not even know anything about the country. I hope they finally start to realize this is really happening, because I know what I am doing.

I am aware that it is going to be challenging to keep both my current friends and also make new friendships in my future homeland, but I think I can manage. I have had long discussions with my soulmate and with my possible future in-laws, and I have visited the country for four times already. The last "tourist trip" to the country was made together with my family. They wanted to see for themselves and, without a doubt, make an evaluation of the country, my soulmate and the whole situation. After the visit they were more relaxed about my move and I was happy that they enjoyed the trip. My pets were the other reasons for the trip, they moved to the new home six months earlier than me.

Work wise my plan is to start my own company and work as a freelance translator since I am fluent in the host language. In addition, I have prepared myself for the transition by reading numerous tips how to handle homesickness and I have also learned about a culture shock. I am ready to pack my bags and fly to be with my love.

After the first year in the country:

I am happy here, pleased to be with my soulmate in my new host country. Naturally, there have been moments when I have missed my family and friends, but overall I like my new life. In addition, some of my family members visited me already, so that helped a lot.

We renovated a small modest apartment during my first weeks in here. With the help of my blog I have also made some friends whom I later met in person. They are westerners, mostly expats living in the area. I have to admit that I have spent a lot of time on my computer, on my free time as well. I think it is difficult to make local friends even if I

speak the language. I do not know if I have tried hard enough? One of my dearest hobbies, photography, has kept me busy during the year and it has become even more important part of my life here. My business is also going good, I am happy that I have received new clients.

I like the local food, but after a while the same foods start to get boring. The lack of familiar spices and ingredients from home and the lack of variety of different types of food has been challenging for me. I have cooked some of my favorite foods from scratch, because otherwise I would need to live without them. There are also certain products that I love from homeland, so I bought some with me and family also sends them for me.

I love celebrating Christmas, so to be honest; I brought hundreds of decorative items from home to create a little bit of the same atmosphere. The lack of snow made me to create a snowman in the sand, so that tells something about my enthusiasm towards Christmas. In addition, not all the same holidays are celebrated here or they are celebrated in different way, so that has taken some adjustment from me as well. Gladly, my soulmate's family was happy to celebrate thanksgiving with me even if it was a totally new tradition for them.

After four years in the country:

A lot has happened during the last years. I got married to my soulmate, I received permanent residency (a long bureaucratic process) and started a new hobby to make local friends. I like my new home, hence I like to share traveling tips and write about the famous sights and activities in my blog. I hope all people visiting the country could get the most out of it.

I follow the politics and support environmental issues just like I did back home. My accent is also improving; it already fools some locals for a few minutes to think I was born here. I am very happy about that. I also have to confess that my pets have helped me

with my homesickness better than anything else. On the other hand, my solitary work has had an effect on my lack of local friends.

We spent the holiday season in my home country after we got married. It was the first time my soulmate traveled to North America and it was wonderful to finally show the place where I grew up. While at home I noticed that there are a lot of things I have missed, but have not even realized it. On the other hand, my new home has changed me as well. I am not the same person who left four years ago. I have also accepted the fact that I am always going to miss something or someone whether I am in my "new" or "old" home country. It is not easy, but hopefully gets easier as time goes by.

The Story of World Traveler

Before the move:

I have traveled the world numerous years even if I am still quite young. I backpack until I run out of money and then return to home to make some more. The spark for traveling started after my first trip alone. It became clear to me that traveling is not so frightening or difficult as I had been told.

I must admit that lately I have not felt strong connection to my country. After I realized I could actually choose a new home country for myself, I felt free. I am not running away from home, but I see no future there. The employment situation is not good for young graduates and salaries are low at entry-level. Overall I feel very excited about a possibility of starting a new life in a country of my choosing. Additionally, during the last months of travel I have started to get these strange feelings that I want to belong somewhere, to have my own apartment and a job. I am no longer happy to be just a world citizen.

I had a connecting flight via my future host country after returning from another backpacking trip. It was the first time I stepped to its soil. Previously the country had not interest me even traveling wise, nor did I know anyone from home who would had visited the

country. It's a cliché, but my knowledge was mainly based on movies and music. My travel mate was from the country (also an immigrant), so a year later I decided to apply for a temporary visa to see whether it could be my new home country.

After the first year in the country:

I never actually moved. Typically moving means that you take your possessions and move them to another location, I did not do that. I just wanted to stay and I was quite surprised that I was given a permanent residency fairly quickly. In addition, I was still so young when I arrived to the country, and had been backpacking for so many years, that I did not have a lot of stuff to move in the first place.

The first year was difficult. Naively I thought I was going to fit right in since the culture is pretty much the same as in Europe, and I had learned English at school. Obviously, I experienced a huge culture shock. I learned that did not know the language, mainly the basics, and the culture is very different.

In the beginning everything was hard. I was not able to work because I did not have proper visa, TV had hundreds of channels, but lacked content. I was scared to drive while driving was almost a necessity here, and it was extremely cold in the wintertime. On top of that, one of the main differences was the food. I wanted to try everything, new dishes, desserts and fast-food. I gained quite a lot of weight in the process, because I had not been accustomed to such a big portions or fast food. For the first time in my life I learned that I need to watch what I eat, I did not have to do this at home. I just ate normally, the normal here is just not the same.

After I became a permanent resident I started to work full time. The job is not my dream job (short contracts, low-salary), but I am happy to work and earn money. Slowly I also got accustomed to the food; I started to cook more healthy meals and learned more

English. I came here to find a new home: despite the difficulties I am determined and not willing to give up.

After four years in the country:

It has been strange to notice how nowadays the only thing I miss from my country of origin is my family and friends. The only family I have here are my husband and my in-laws. Sometimes I feel torn apart; I have so many questions in my head. For example, what if we have a child who cannot communicate with my parents? I visit my parents once a year and during the latest visits I noticed changes in me compared to others from my country of origin. The way I speak, dress and think have all changed. Especially the politics seem outdated and appear to move nowhere in my country of origin.

However, at the same time there are obvious signs that tell I am not originally from my new host country either. I sometimes still feel clueless when facing cultural references, I make grammar mistakes and I will continue to read books also in my mother tongue. In addition, I am not going to pick up the habit of buying coffee and donuts on the way to work.

There have been many frustrating situations that I have had to deal, because I am an immigrant. For example, it took almost a year and numerous meetings with university representatives to get my educational background sorted out. It became clear that acquiring another university degree, this time from my current homeland, will help me in the future. Luckily, a few months ago I was hired for a better job, even if I have only the degree from my country of origin. Until now, I had actually worked for the past four years in the same job I received after my permanent residency.

My blog has helped me to deal with homesickness and the cultural differences. Via the blog I have also met people in similar situation; it is great to share stories and feelings.

I still love to travel, but there has been only one backpacking trip in the past four years, in other words, I am very settled. One of the greatest moments happened a while ago: I received a citizenship! I got it after a lot of bureaucracy, but it was very important for me to be recognized as a citizen. I have a lot more opportunities because of it. So, I am definitely staying!

The Story of Pursuit of Happiness

Before the move:

In some standards I have everything: a house, a career, friends and a significant other. I enjoy my life, but it does not stop me to feel empty. To be honest, I hate my job. It does not give me anything else but financial gain. I have wanted to quit so many times, but what do I do after quitting?

Then something unexpected occurred that changed my life forever: my spouse-to-be left me. After the shock I realized that even if it is scary, I have to make changes in my life to be happy. Due to my habit of planning and over-thinking everything in my life has caused it to be too expected, all excitement is gone. To end the cycle I decided to take a long service leave from my job and work abroad as a volunteer for a while. I have never traveled out of the country alone, but I already know where I am going to. Previously I have spent a few vacations in the country and always felt very peaceful, but at the same time inspirational. Everything seems different there; it is a perfect place to gather some thoughts.

I spent over a month volunteering, returned home and left again for another three month stretch. After returning home from the second trip I felt lost again. I was not willing to resume my old career and the thought of a new life in the country lingered in my

mind. I wanted to go back and stay! I was searching possibilities and I found a job that gave me another eight months in the country.

After the first year in the country:

My life is a mess. I am struggling between two worlds, and the more I think about my current life in the new host country I hear my friend's words that tell me to come home. The life here is a struggle, I do not speak the language and I do not understand the way things work. People continue to stare at me wherever I go. Due to that I am anxious and I prefer to stay indoors. It is easier to let others handle my errands. I sleep a lot and regularly feel unhappy and frustrated.

I ask myself: how could I rent my house to someone else while now living in a small apartment? Why did I leave all my belongings and a steady job that gave me money to buy whatever I wanted? On the other hand, I sometimes feel free that I can live with less. Do I need a lavish lifestyle to be me?

I understand now why living in this country felt different during the vacations and the volunteering gigs; I was not here to stay. I did not have to cope with daily life; I was just a tourist having time of my life in the new and exciting atmosphere. I did not have to adapt.

The reason I continue to try, is that if I give up now and go back home it will not fix the core problem, I may not be happy there either. This country, the more relaxed lifestyle, the atmosphere has so much more to offer. It is just so hard to let go of the past. In addition, have found someone special in my life, we are about to get married, and perhaps we go back to my country of origin once we are both ready.

After four years in the country:

I am still living in the new host country and married to same spouse. I have made a few longer trips back home, and noticed that both countries have their positive and negative features. Obviously, I miss my family and friends, but no gain no pain. My organized lifestyle has changed into more relaxed one. In addition, I am happy to say that even if it was a difficult process to face, I sold most of my old possessions. I have also found a job that is fulfilling and has nothing to do with my previous career! I have found my calling.

I have studied the local language and little by little I am able to shop and run daily errands. I am not anxious to go outside anymore; I have accepted the fact that I am always going to look different. There is nothing I do to change it, I will never blend in. This is the case even if I would speak the language perfectly or wear similar clothes than the locals. I am too tall and too white.

My spouse confessed me after the first year of our marriage that it was not an instant thing to accept me as a spouse. My partner felt that it was too early to trust that I would be staying and also feared that I would change my mind about our marriage. Overall, I must have acted quite differently compared to a local spouse.

I am generally happy with my life; I do not want to escape anymore. However, there are still issues that bother me. The most difficult issue is that a lot of local people still question our marriage. It is difficult for most locals to understand why I chose to marry my spouse, like I would be superior to my significant other. I hope that if we have children the inquiries end. Naturally, it also bothers me that the relationship with my in-lawns is quite shallow due to language barrier, and I sometimes feel left out. However, it is obvious that we have love and respect for one another.

It is still possible that someday we move back to my country of origin, but at the moment we are happy to be where we are.

5. RESULTS

In this chapter the main findings are discussed. The short stories presented in the previous section were introduced to give a fairly simplified version of the three bloggers' (*Lovestruck*, *World traveler* and *Pursuit of happiness*) journeys; their lives prior to the move, one year after the move, and their lives after four years in the new host country. In this chapter, the results are presented in a more thematically oriented fashion, following the major factors at the heart of the data analysis. As explained in more detail in section 4.3, these factors rely on Boski's (2008) IAFS model and the concepts of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation in relation to intercultural adaptation.

Throughout the results, short excerpts of the blog posts are offered as a means to illustrate the matter at hand. The excerpts have been constructed similarly as the longer stories, by paraphrasing bloggers' posts and in some cases also condensing a few blog postings together. They have been created with a purpose of keeping the subject matter as intact as possible, while protecting the anonymity of the participants. In addition, each blogger has been raffled a personal pronoun "he" or "she" in order to achieve a more comprehensible analysis compared to referring all the bloggers with the pronoun "one".

As a result, *Lovestruck* is referred as "he", *Pursuit of happiness* and *World traveler* as "she" in the analysis.

5.1. Adaptation in the private domain

The private domain in the IAFS model (Boski, 2008) concerns the aspects in people's lives that are private for each individual. They are issues that concern, for example, one's home, marriage, parenting, food, private values and leisure time.

Pursuit of happiness and *World traveler* wrote about their problems in adapting to their new surroundings more than *Lovestruck*. It became clear while analyzing the blogs that both experienced a greater culture shock and both also had weaker language skills concerning the host language compared to *Lovestruck*.

Prior moving to the new host country, *World traveler* thought the culture was not going to be considerable different compared to her country of origin. She was also oblivious to the fact that her language skills were weak. Slowly *World traveler* started to realize that the culture is actually very different, and the language skills she thought to obtain, were almost nonexistent. A deeper culture shock was due to the realization that there was so much to learn and the process would take years before she would be competent to deal with variety of matters in the new host culture.

> After all these years, I think I have adapted quite well. I am a mixture of two cultures: I eat local food (with some exceptions), I read books with local language and with my mother tongue and now I rather go to sporting than cultural events! However, I do not think I will ever make changes to the hours when I eat my meals and they are quite different compared to local ones. (*World traveler*)

It became quite clear while reading the blog that *Pursuit of happiness* experienced a culture shock. Despite her knowledge that the new host country was going to be totally different she tried to control her surroundings. *Pursuit of happiness* expressed in the blog that she tried to control the happenings around her, was afraid to embarrass herself in public, and basically lived in a bubble for the first year by not leaving her apartment. Eventually, *Pursuit of happiness* realized that by forcing her own values and ways of conduct

is not going to help. Moreover, she wrote in the blog that she had finally understood that she needed to stop these efforts and accept that she was not able to change the culture or the local people. Thus, by letting go of the past, and accepting that the culture was different were issues that led her on the right track.

> I did not want to do things on my own, or go out of the apartment, thus, I lived in a bubble. I could not speak the language, I did not know how to behave, and I felt that I needed to be "faultless" before I could step out of the bubble. I feared of being judged or misinterpret. It took time to realize that I will never be "faultless" If I wanted to adapt to the new situation I needed to start from my own attitude. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

Concerning the private domain, for all the bloggers one of the hindrances in adapting to a new host culture was due to lack of local friends. In addition, all of them missed their friends and family in their countries of origin. Thus, homesickness was a subject that all the bloggers wrote about in numerous posts. They all mentioned that it was important to make new friends in the new host culture for various reasons, one of them being to get one's mind of the happenings in their homelands.

Lovestruck wrote about the need to have local friends more than the others, this may be due to the fact that *Lovestruck* knew the host language prior to move. Hence, making local friends could have been easier compared to the other two bloggers. However, he noticed fairly quickly that making local friends is definitely not easy.

Lovestruck's blog revealed how his friendships were mainly formed through the blog, which brought him in contact with other English-speaking "western" people (expats) living in the area. *Lovestruck* wrote how he started a new hobby after the second year in the new host country to meet local people. However, in the blog there was no mentioning whether the effort was successful or not. Most likely it did not happen, because later on *Lovestruck* wrote that it seemed the locals had "locked their circle of friends" and it was very hard to get accepted into that circle. However, between the lines it was obvious that he knew

the fact that making local friends would have required much more effort also on his side. If making local friends would have been really important to him, it could be acknowledged that he would have needed to participate more to local activities, and have more hobbies outside home.

There were signs that all three bloggers resisted adaptation in the private domain, at least to some degree. For example, *Lovestruck* wanted to hold on to the North American Christmas traditions and brought numerous decorations to the new host country. He also wanted to spent thanksgiving with a new spouse and in-laws even if they had never heard about the holiday before. Thus, he tried to continue the prior traditions also in the new host country.

> I tried my best to make everything look and taste the same as in Thanksgiving dinner at home. Unfortunately, it was impossible to get a turkey on the table, and I felt a little sad about it. Overall, I am glad that most of the foods turned out great! (*Lovestruck)*

Pursuit of happiness wrote how she experienced anxiety about the changes in her personal life [private domain]. As an example, she was not used to welcoming people to her home unannounced. Thus, she was very used to the way that people call in advance before visiting someone's home. It was difficult for her to change her thinking and allow someone to see herself without preparing to meet someone, or see her home without first organizing it to her pleasing.

> There are numerous issues that I have been able to change in my behavior, eating habits and even thinking in some degree. However, the fact that one is not able to have privacy even in one's own home is something I maybe never get used to. I feel like I should always be ready to open the door for strangers such as garbage man, children in the neighborhood and relatives. I have noticed that the only way to handle my anxiety regarding this issue is to not open the door. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

Intrinsic motivations to adapt in the private domain

All the bloggers were intrinsically motivated to move to their chosen host countries, they made a personal choice and followed their heart or dreamed of a better or more fulfilling life.

Overall, they all felt their life could be better somewhere else and jumped to the unknown without necessarily knowing much about the new host country.

> I wanted to belong. Somewhere along the way during the years of backpacking, the idea of going back to my country of origin started to feel like a depressing option. To me, choosing a new homeland represented unlimited freedom. (*World traveler*)

> I had always avoided change; however, my life came to a point that only through change it was possible for me to be happy. I needed to try something new. I took a chance and moved to a country that I had only visited twice before, and never alone. It was the most courageous thing I have ever done. (*Pursuit of happiness*)

They all dealt with the difficult dilemma of leaving their friends and family to their homelands. All the three bloggers missed their families and friends very much especially in the beginning. It was a difficult dilemma wanting to move to a new host country, but at the same time knowing that one is going to miss the people in the homeland tremendously.

> I feel like I am split in two parts which cannot be stitched together. I have accepted that whether I am in the new or the old homeland these feelings are not going away. I am always going to miss something from the other world. (*Lovestruck*)

> It feels troublesome to enjoy my happiness in the new host country while I know my family and friends miss me back home. I miss them too, but I cannot go back, I am happier here. I have come to terms with the fact that some sacrifices are necessary. (*World traveler*)

> At times I have missed my prior life, my family and friends so much that I have felt sick and only wanted sleep. I think I am always going to miss something I gave up, but time heals and slowly I have started to appreciate the new life more and more. (*Pursuit of happiness*)

Lovestruck knew that he is going to miss his friends and family very much, so he moved to the new host country with pets. The pets helped him to overcome the worst homesickness, but naturally did not remove it completely.

> My pets are a better treatment for homesickness than any medication. Even if I left most of my belongings, my friends and my family, my pets give me great comfort every day. (*Lovestruck*)

Especially in the beginning *World traveler* and *Pursuit of happiness* wondered whether the move to the new host country was the right choice after all. They both pondered about the choice they had made in numerous blog posts. In addition, both of them were on the verge of returning back home on a few occasions. Eventually, they both decided to stay even if visited home few times during the four years.

> Looking back my journey in the new host country, it took me almost two years to make the final decision whether to stay or to go. At this point, after four years in the country it is very difficult to even imagine my life if I would have decided to stay in my country of origin. (*World traveler*).

> I left home with a dream. Some days I do regret leaving my life behind and moving here. I have been here a little over a year and during numerous days I have wanted to pack my bags and go home. However, eventually I have always realized that getting out of the "hamster wheel" was the right decision and going back is not a solution. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

Extrinsic motivations to adapt in the private domain

As mentioned before, all the bloggers were intrinsically motivated to move to their new host country. However, they all felt extrinsic pressure to adapt in private domain. *Lovestruck* and *Pursuit of happiness* both had a local spouse which naturally at least partly put pressure on their adaptation. It was not that their local spouse directly stated, for example, that they needed to learn a special skill that was part of their culture or how to make certain foods, but somehow they both felt that it was their obligation to try learn new things. Thus, they wanted to please their spouse and the new relatives.

> The standard of being a good spouse is different compared to my country of origin. Now that I have learned to know my in-laws and how the dynamics between spouses play out, and what are the roles and chores between man and wife in this culture, I feel I will never fit in to those standards. In this regard, I feel inferior compared to local people. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

> I am a family person, so I am happy to have my in-laws and my spouse's relatives in my life. As we share a common language it has been quite easy to get to know them. We have made food, taken horseback rides and visited local places. (*Lovestruck*).

World traveler on the other hand, had a friend (later a spouse) who was also an immigrant. The spouse-to-be had good language skills and a nice job which opened *World traveler's* eyes for the possibilities in the new host country. Together they formed the rules of their relationship and how things are done in the household. At home they did not have the pressure to follow the host country's ways of conduct; naturally, they were also partly clueless how things were done in families of host members.

> My friend (future spouse) who is also an immigrant speaks really good English and has a nice job. That has given me courage to put all my efforts in learning. If other immigrant can do it, I can do it! (*World traveler*).

Religious practices in the new host culture had all the bloggers to write about their views on the matter. For *World traveler* and *Pursuit of happiness* the religious practices in their new host country were unfamiliar and even unexpected; therefore, the issue was covered more in their blogs compared to *Lovestruck*. In *World traveler's* blog she expressed how difficult it was for her to get used to the conduct how religion is emphasized in various situations in her new host country. As an atheist in a quite religious country she faced several situations, especially, during the first years in the country that made her write long blog posts about the unexpected encounters with religious host members. She was surprised how publicly religious issues were handled and how heated the discussion was. Hence, she highly preferred the approach she was used to, thus, everyone kept their views to themselves, but if there was a need to discuss about religion, it could be done by appreciating all opinions.

> The overwhelming religiousness in the new host country bothers me from time to time. Here religion is not just part of one's personal life, but in politics and public banners. People also tend to emphasize it in odd contexts. It tells a lot, that it is not a surprise anymore if someone knocks on my door and tries to convert me. As a non-believer it is sometimes difficult to deal with religiousness, because I have used to being able to discuss my views or any religion related issues without a quarrel. It seems that here it is better to be quiet and suck it in. (*World traveler*).

Pursuit of happiness visited holy places and learned about spirituality. However, her views about religion showed no signs of change over the years, even if she was intrigued by the new information. Her approach was very appreciative and she was keen on learning new issues about the daily religious practices. Thus, it also helped her to understand the local people and their routines, that greatly revolved around religion.

> Religious practices are everywhere. I believe I am still unaware most of them and how they truly affect on people's lives. I have learned which places in an apartment are holy, and that these places should be cleaner than others. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

For *Lovestruck* the religious practices in the new host country were mainly attached to the fact how they affected on holiday celebrations. She was not happy with the dissimilarities in the customs; she would have wanted the same traditions to continue in the new host country especially since some of the holidays were same as in homeland (such as Easter).

> Religion is an essential part of many holidays here and unfortunately Easter is not the same for me anymore. This is because; most elements that my family used to attach to Easter are not part of the celebration here. (*Lovestruck*).

Local people's opinion about *Pursuit of happiness'* and her spouse's marriage was one of the extrinsic issues that brought distress in their marriage. It seemed that most of the local people (excluding the spouse's family) were not able to understand why they got married and how they could be in love. Thus, *Pursuit of happiness* was regarded as superior to her spouse in the eyes of the locals. It was mainly due to her skin color and assumed wealth. The differences in their "status" (in the eyes of the local people) caused unwanted comments and also various unpleasant situations in their daily life. For example, on a vacation to another part of the country the hotel staff refused to give them a room since in the staff's eyes they could not be considered as a married couple (which they were at the

moment). After a discussion with the manager, which was highly embarrassing for the couple, they were given a room and welcomed to stay as long as they wanted.

> My greatest hope is that the local people would not question our marriage anymore. Naturally, I am not superior to my significant other, but that is how I am treated by outsiders. It is difficult to accept that as long as we live here, the situation may not ever change. I still hope that once we have kids, and we are a bigger family, my spouse would get the same appreciation as I do. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

5.2. Adaptation in the public domain

The public domain in the IAFS model (Boski, 2008) concerns the aspects of people's lives that are public. Thus, one's working life, time spent with colleagues, hobbies and overall the life spent outside one's home.

Due to the fact that *Pursuit of happiness* and *Lovestruck* did not work outside home, their adaptation into local working life was basically nonexistent. The blog reveled that *Lovestruck* kept in touch with local clients, but mostly by email. The fact that they did not work outside home, naturally, had an influence on their adaptation and lack of local contacts. *Pursuit of happiness* commented on one blog post, that most locals she knows she has learned to know by her spouse, hence, she would also like to learn local people on her own.

> My work is quite lonely and the chances of meeting people through work are almost impossible. I am glad I have now found a hobby that allows me to meet local people. *(Lovestruck)*

The difference in time orientations (how time is handled in different cultures) made all the bloggers at least mention about it in their blogs. It caused difficulties to some of the bloggers to adapt to the new host culture also in public domain. For example, *Pursuit of happiness* who experienced trouble with the issue in private domain also felt that the relaxed mentality towards time bothered her also in public domain. Accordingly, *Pursuit of happiness*

wrote that time is not respected in same degree, for example, in government offices compared to her country of origin. She also wrote regarding social gatherings that there is a lot of adjustment to the conduct that people do not arrive to events at the time when they are informed to start.

> You just never know how long it will take to take care of, for example, residence issues in government offices. Most likely it will take a whole day, but it may even require one to visit the office in multiple days to get one issue completed. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

World traveler, Pursuit of happiness and *Lovestruck* all had different views about how they perceived the local sporting events. They all moved to countries which tended to highlight one sport over all others. They all wrote in several posts how strongly the locals felt about their sport and teams, how they experienced sleepless nights due to victory parties, and were faced with questions about their favorite team by the locals.

World traveler changed her way of conduct completely in the new host country. She chose local sporting events over cultural events, even if back in homeland sporting event was not even an option as a leisure time activity.

> I did not enjoy watching sports in my country of origin, I preferred culture. Here I find the country's most popular sport irresistible, because of the speed and action. I still do not like to watch any other sport. (*World traveler*).

Pursuit of happiness revealed in one post that she did not follow any sports in homeland, and the view did not change, even if most locals passionately follow the country's national sport. *Lovestruck* was not interested in the host country's national sport and felt like an outsider because regarded the sport uninteresting. *Lovestruck* rather liked to follow sports that were played in homeland, thus, she was not willing to give up the tradition of watching certain sporting events.

Intrinsic motivations to adapt

Lovestruck had been at least to some degree intrinsically motivated to learn the local

language already while living in homeland. Thus, he wrote that it would not have been

necessary to learn the language at school.

> I am proud of my abilities; in addition, I am improving my local accent all the time. It is hard sometimes for the locals to believe that I am from North America and so are my parents, thus, I did not learn the language from home. I have done the work myself, and due to that I have been able to create a profession around my language skills. (*Lovestruck*).

World traveler, on the other hand, had studied the local language at school,

because it was compulsory. However, she fairly quickly noticed that her skills were far from

ideal. This was quite a shock to her, since she realized that she had a long way to go before

her language skills were going to be fluent.

> I definitely experienced a language shock with English. I was the best student in my class in high school, still after moving here it became clear that my English skills were less than mediocre. Nowadays, it humors me to listen to people who claim that they are fluent in English after a short trip to North America. To really be fluent, to know the slang and cultural references mean that one learns the culture inside and out. It will take a long time. (*World traveler*).

Pursuit of happiness knew only a few words in the local language prior to the

move. Nevertheless, her interest towards the language got a kick start after the in-laws were

happy to teach her some basics. The in-laws were very supportive and it boosted her self-

esteem concerning the language learning. Hence, at first it seemed like impossible effort to

learn even the basics, but slowly she learned to remember some sentences.

> One of the reasons that caused me to live in a "bubble" at first was the difference in a way the shops work. It is common that the items are behind the counter and customers need to ask from the shopkeeper to give the things they wish to buy. For me this caused extra misery. During the first times when I tried to buy something alone, I usually left empty handed! It was so disappointing and embarrassing since I thought I knew the words and no one understood me. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

As stated in the literature, it is quite obvious that local language skills are important asset while adapting to a new host culture both in the private and public domains. Consequently, without the knowledge of the local language, one may experience alienation from the society and from local people.

World traveler is the only blogger out of the three working outside home. After obtaining a permanent residency she received her first job. However, the path of receiving the job was not simple.

> In the beginning I felt abandoned by the society in my new host country. I could not apply for work (no work permit), I did not have a bank account, or even a library card, because I could not prove my address with local ID. Basically, all I did was spend time at home and wait for the papers that would allow me to start my new life. (*World traveler*)

She worked in the first job for almost four years. According to her blog posts without a citizenship or a degree from the new homeland the options to work in more preferred jobs were limited.

> Sometimes I feel frustrated. The differences between "us" and "them" are obvious, due to my background I feel the only options in the job market are the low-paying, unexciting jobs that locals avoid. (*World traveler*).

After *World traveler* received one of the preferred jobs (after four years in the country) the mood about the work situation changed. In addition, according to the blog posts it was a great moment for her to receive a citizenship around the same time. After receiving the citizenship *World traveler* referred to herself a few times as a former immigrant. These remarks in her blog posts underlined the meaning the recognition (citizenship) meant to her. She was no longer an immigrant or only a citizen of her homeland, but she had gained full rights as a member of the new host country as well.

> I think I deserved the job, but nevertheless it is an amazing feeling to be recognized, to have a job which is rewarding and challenging. It is finally a "normal" job, compared

to jobs that immigrants must accept due to lack of options without a citizenship, local education or work experience. (*World traveler*).

Extrinsic motivations to adapt

The need to belong and blend in was something all the bloggers wanted with different degrees. *Pursuit of happiness* and *World traveler* both wrote in their blogs about an idea that they want to be "flawless" before they thought it was possible to be accepted as members of the new culture. They brought up a need to master the host language, and the ways of conduct [how to behave in certain situations] before they thought an acceptance was even remotely probable. *World traveler* stated in numerous posts that she wanted desperately to blend in. Her ultimate goal was that the locals would not detect anything foreign in her behavior: in the way she spoke or how she looked.

> There are questions that linger in my mind: How am I adapting? I am determined to be fluent in English and I want to learn more about the culture daily, but am I doing enough? Am I good enough to belong? Am I destined to feel foreign in both countries? (*World traveler*)

Pursuit of happiness on the other hand stated in her blog that she realized fairly quickly that no matter how hard she tried to blend in and tried to learn the host language her appearance is always going to raise questions and awe.

In the case of *Lovestruck* the adaptation was not a predetermined goal and it was not directly discussed in the blog. *Lovestruck* was happy to be with his soulmate and with the new relatives. He had the needed language skills prior to the move, and basically the only thing that he seemed to miss was local friends. According to his blog posts, they would have been wanted addition to the expat friends. He also stated in the blog that he felt offended by the opinions of some of his acquaintances back in homeland. According to *Lovestruck* they seemed to think that once you move abroad the connection to your homeland disappears, but he felt the opposite. Hence, he stated that his former homeland is always going to stay

with him and his always going to follow its politics and media – he is always going to be a proper citizen of his country of origin.

> It was insulting for me to hear some people's opinions about the choice I made. The fact that I moved here does not make me an idiot nor am I abandoning my homeland. I will always be a citizen of my country and proud of it, I am going to vote in the elections and I do care what happens over there. *(Lovestruck)*

Even if all the three bloggers had made a personal choice to move, and had fairly strong intrinsic motivation to support their adaptation, they all felt extrinsic pressure that pushed them to adapt also in the public domain. For *Pursuit of happiness* the slight pressure came from the in-laws and other local relatives. According to the blog, the in-laws did not directly express that they wanted her to wear certain pieces of clothing in celebrations, but they gave hints that it was very much liked if she did so.

> I like to participate to local festivities even if I always do not understand all the happenings and traditions involved. I have noticed that my in-laws appreciate a lot when I wear traditional clothing, so it has become a habit of mine to dress up for the celebrations in the way they prefer. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

> I have wanted to start to learn the language, but it seems so difficult. Without the help of my in-laws it could have been that my language skills would have stayed almost non-existing. I am happy to learn since it also develops my relationship with my spouse's family and gives me courage to run errands. (*Pursuit of happiness*)

One of the reasons why *World traveler* preferred the new host country was the lower cost of living and lower prices in general. The issue was highlighted in the blog, thus, it seemed to be one of the extrinsic issues that increased her motivation to stay in the country. Especially during the first years she was amazed about the increased value of money. Thus, she wrote about it in the blog to inform her friends back home about the amazing sales in department stores and about wonderful restaurants she could now afford to eat.

> The money I have per month gives me much more here compared to my homeland. The rents are cheaper, so is the use of electricity, phone bills, movies, restaurants and clothes. With the money I currently have, I could not even dream of going to the movies and eat in a restaurant during the same month in my country of origin. I would

hardly afford to pay a rent (only if the apartment would be located far away from the city centre). (*World traveler*).

In the blog of *Pursuit of happiness,* there were a few posts that talked about a controversial behavior that she received from the locals, and how it caused distress in their private life. Though, it surprisingly provided extrinsic motivation to adapt in the public domain. Thus, as a foreigner she received numerous benefits. For example, getting table at a "full restaurant" was not a problem. Or if her spouse had complained about an issue that was not taken seriously, she was able to get the message through right away. Concerning their marriage (private domain) the issue irritated *Pursuit of happiness*. As stated earlier, it was frustrating that their marriage was undermined by the locals and her spouse was not treated with similar respect. However, considering her adaptation in public domain, the fact that she was treated with respect and even admiration was not a hindrance in the adaptation process. Occasionally, she was even treated like a celebrity. Additionally, her blog was also read by the locals who occasionally commented her posts and, for example, begged her to visit their city and write about her experiences there! However, being on the "spotlight" every time one steps out of the door is not necessarily a positive thing in the long run. For example, she wrote in the blog that it requires a strong will not to get too frustrated by the constant staring which, most likely, is not going to end as long as she lives in the country.

> Locals, both women and men are interested in my life in the country. For example, they may ask what types of food I eat, and what I do during the days. Sometimes people want to have a picture taken with me. Occasionally, it is fine and even humorous to answer questions, but the fact that people do stare at me wherever I go is also exhausting. (*Pursuit of happiness*).

The implications of the results are further discussed in the following section combined with the ideas for future research.

6. DISCUSSION

The current study investigated how personal motivation surface in the intercultural adaptation process and to what extent intercultural adaptation is domain specific. The study tested a fairly new adaptation model by Boski (2008) by analysing three blogs with an in-depth narrative analysis. The results demonstrated that all the three bloggers who left their country of origin voluntarily had a strong intrinsic motivation to make changes in their lives; they all aspired to have a happier and more fulfilling life in their new homelands. Extrinsic motivations played a more significant role alongside with intrinsic motivation after the bloggers had settled in to their new host countries.

Regarding the Boski's (2008) IAFS model [the model of integration as functional (partial) specialization] the results show that the cases of the three bloggers fit only to some extent to the model. All of them adapted at least partially to their new host cultures, but their adaptation strategies vary. Thus, the adaptation strategies did not follow completely the model's idea according to which a stranger would keep one's former ways of conduct in private domain and adapt more profoundly in public domain.

In this chapter the phenomenon of domain specific adaptation is discussed in more detailed. The cases of *World traveler*, *Pursuit of happiness* and *Lovestruck* give an in-depth description some of the possible paths voluntary migrants may adapt in their new host

countries and how domain specific adaptation works as an adaptation strategy. An evaluation of the study is included in the end of the chapter.

6.1. Partial adaptation as an adaptation orientation

The study aimed at understanding more about how intrinsic and extrinsic motivations appear in the intercultural adaptation process, and to what extent intercultural adaptation is domain specific.

The results of this study confirmed the significance of stranger's personal motivation in the intercultural adaptation process. Furthermore, the findings highlighted that personal motivation is not an on-off matter, but a multifaceted phenomenon which can make a person engage or not to engage in an activity. Berry (2011) has stated that strangers consciously choose how adapted they want to be in the host society. Thus, one could argue that stranger's personal motivation to adapt is linked with the type of adaptation orientation one employs.

Intrinsic motivation surface in activities that are so exiting that a person wants to do them out of pure delight. In the contemporary hectic lifestyle, unfortunately, the activities that people engage entirely based on intrinsic motivation are limited. As Ryan and Deci (2000) has stated, our world is more or less incentive driven and many activities are done based on extrinsic motivation. Thus, activities are done, for example, to please other people [loved ones, teachers, authorities], to receive a salary, or to be a thriving member of the society and not an outcast [peer pressure]. Several examples how extrinsic and intrinsic motivations surface in the bloggers' lives in the new host country have been illustrated in sections 5.1 and 5.2.

Personal characteristic, naturally, also play a role how willing one is to take a challenge and to engage in activities. Some strangers may take it as a positive challenge to

engage in intercultural contacts, whereas others may try to avoid these situations. One of the bloggers (*pursuit of happiness*) mentioned a need to control happenings and was terrified of embarrassment especially during the first year. It was also stated by the same blogger, that some of the features in her personality did not match with the new host culture. For example, she felt that her ability to cope with unexpected situations was extremely low. Her solution was to not to open the door if she did not know who was behind it, and sometimes she stayed in her apartment the entire day to avoid surprises. Eventually, after years of living in the new host country she wrote that her capacity to encounter these situations has improved, but not to the level of the locals who are comfortable to open the door for unexpected visitor even if they would be wearing pyjamas.

As Kim's (2001) Stress-Adaptation-Growth model illustrates, strangers experience an inner struggle whether one should hold on to former identity, customs and values or become better fitted with the new cultural milieu. According to the model, the stress eases off after a stranger has learned to new ways of conduct and developed skills to cope in a new environment.

The cases of the three bloggers suggest that there are numerous issues that can contribute to the motivations of what type of orientation to adapt voluntary migrant's employ. Kim (2001) has stated that stranger's own willpower to learn can have much more powerful influence on behavior than outsiders' expectations. An intense example surfaced also in the data, as mentioned earlier, *Pursuit of happiness* spent the first year in "a bubble" nearly without leaving one's apartment. Her desire to avoid uncertainty went into extreme, but eventually she was able overcome the worst fear.

In some cases it is possible for a stranger to move to a new host country and more or less continue one's life as it was in the homeland among co-ethnics. One example of these "ethnic enclaves" is known as Chinatown (inhabited mostly by Chinese immigrants).

Chinatowns can be found in several Western countries such as Canada and France (Luk, 2005). According to Luk (2005) ethnic enclave is: "a spatially confined area (normally found at downtown locations) where there is a concentration of an ethnic minority group. There is also a distinct presence of ethnic businesses run by or catered for that particular ethnic group" (p. 17). However, even if *Pursuit of happiness* spent the first year in a bubble avoiding the host members and the new host society, it was not a possibility for her to continue on this path. Hence, she did not have the support of co-ethnics in the city, it was not possible to cope only with her mother tongue, and she noticed it was beneficial to learn more about the surrounding culture to understand better her spouse and in-laws.

The current study focused solely on stranger's personal motivation, however, other studies have talked about the idea how pressure from the host society [host conformity pressure] may influence on the adaptation process (Kim, 2001; Croucher et al., 2009). Thus, the host members and the host society itself can have an impact on how welcome strangers feel. The bloggers did post about issues concerning host conformity pressure; for example, one blogger wrote about a positive surprise how immigration policies were not as rigid as originally thought. In addition, all of them posted about both positive and negative experiences regarding the local people's behavior towards them and other newcomers.

It has been noted in previous studies such as Kim (1988) and Doerschler (2006) that the push or pull factors which motivated strangers to leave their homeland in the first place, also have long term affects on the overall adaptation motivation. The evidence of this study implies the same. All the bloggers left their country of origin voluntarily, although due to different reasons. *World traveler* left to find a new homeland and had a strong motivation to adapt in most areas of life. She wrote in numerous posts about a desire to be recognized as a full member of the new host society. Thus, after four years in the new host country she was exceptionally adapted in both private and public domains. The fact that she was still young

adult during the time of the move, in addition, felt that her country of origin might not provide a bright future, may have even amplified the need to adapt or even assimilate. *Lovestruck,* on the other hand, left his country of origin because of love. He knew the host language and as described in quite a few posts, the new family did not push *Lovestruck* to change his ways of conduct. On the contrary, it seemed that *Lovestruck* wanted to push his traditions to the new relatives. His willingness to embrace the new culture extended only to certain degree, thus, he wanted to hold on to certain issues especially concerning private domain (e.g., homelands media, food items and numerous traditions).

The last of the three bloggers, *Pursuit of happiness* wanted a happier and more fulfilling life, but in the beginning was clueless how to achieve this goal. She mentioned a couple of times in the blog that she most likely will return to her country of origin someday. It could be one of the reasons why she did not strive to be more adapted in the new society at least during the first four years.

The current results do not totally support or discard Boski's (2008) IAFS model. This is because; the different cases (*Lovestruck, Pursuit of happiness* and *World traveler*) all had somewhat different strategies to adapt in the public and private domains. *World traveler* employed a more assimilationist orientation in both domains and was determined to become a beneficial member of the new host society. *Pursuit of happiness* was not highly adapted either in public or private domains. However, based on the data she made more changes towards accepting to the local ways in the private domain. The adaptation strategy that *Lovestruck* employed fit to the IAFS model. The results regarding his adaptation strategy show a similar pattern as in Dali's (2012) study: one is more adapted in public than in private domain. As stated previously the IAFS model has been employed only in a few studies prior to this, therefore, the study contributed to the knowledge about the model's applicability in various settings.

Overall, the study shed light on the domain specific adaptation orientation regarding voluntary migrants, individuals, who do not have the support of their family or relatives in the new host country. Some of the former studies about the phenomenon referred numerous times to families who have moved to a new host country. Hence, in the cases when a whole family moves the situation can be a bit different compared to individual people. Individuals may not necessarily have a possibility to continue to use their mother tongue at home or out in public. In addition, the need to continue the former ways of conduct such as celebrate former holidays may not seem that important without children or relatives. However, based on the results it cannot be stated that a stranger who moves to a new host country without a family would be more motivated to adapt. On the contrary, the results emphasize that extrinsic motivations alone, without any intrinsic motivation, are not enough to support immigrant's adaption. Thus, if an immigrant is not motivated intrinsically, external pressure or incentives may not be enough to overcome the lack of immigrant's intrinsic motivation. Therefore, it is possible that even among families, other family members may be motivated in learning the host language and others not.

Consequently, the initial motivation needs come within the stranger, however, in the long run without any support from the surrounding society (extrinsic motivation) such as positive attitudes towards strangers (local people, media), career opportunities, open immigration policy and possibilities to obtain education (in addition, official recognition of previous qualifications) the burden of adaptation may appear overwhelming for immigrants. Thus, a stranger may feel that no matter how hard one tries to adapt, the efforts are not enough to become a valuable member of the society (e.g., by getting a job or a study place). In these cases, it is highly likely that at some point the personal motivation may start to decrease and one may feel like an outcast. Furthermore, if a stranger's motivation has

decreased to the level of almost giving up, it may be difficult to gain the trust back and to believe the particular society can still offer a bright future one day.

Generally, the results show that the distinction between the immigrant's adaptation strategies in private and public domains were not as visible as in previous studies (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004; Dali, 2012) since there were variety between the participants' adaptation orientations. Thus, not all of the bloggers adapted more profoundly in the public domain. The results support the bidemensional models, thus, the idea that immigrants have personal choice to adapt in a level one feels comfortable with (within public and private domains). The bloggers clearly made conscious choices how willing they were to adapt regarding different areas of life. Consequently, the results support models (such as Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997; Gordon, 1964) which recognize the fact that strangers can maintain elements from one's culture of origin and at the same time include elements from the new host country.

6.2. Evaluation of the study

The set of criteria by which qualitative research should be evaluated has been under discussion already for decades. The most widely used set of criteria to evaluate a study's rigor [trustworthiness] is validity, generalisability and reliability. Quite a few researchers have come up with their own set of tools to evaluate qualitative research. For example, Guba & Lincoln (1981 cited in Mayan, 2009) has an invented a criterion: credibility, fittingness and auditability.

It has been argued that since qualitative research do not correlate with same research paradigms as quantitative the same criterion cannot evaluate the rigor of qualitative research. (Mayan, 2009). However, Mayan (2009) argues that validity, generalizability and

reliability can be essentially used to evaluate rigor in qualitative research, however, the definitions of each term need to be acknowledged from qualitative point of view.

Validity in a qualitative research means that the findings are drawn from the data and not, for example, from researchers own views about the phenomenon. Creswell (2009), state that in qualitative research the accuracy of the research results (validity) is better achieved by preplanned process and clear documentation while conducting the research.

In the current study the ethical issues such as anonymity of the participants and the importance of carefully planned research method were taken into consideration to ensure the quality of the research. In addition, the notion that researcher's own bias cannot be totally avoided was kept in mind. As Lyons and Bike (2010) has stated, researchers must keep in mind one's own cultural background and own bias since it may have an effect on the contact with the participants and the analysis of the data.

Generalizability in quantitative research refers to the idea that the data sample represents the whole population and therefore it can be generalized to the population in question. Mayan (2009) points out that in qualitative research the main goal is not to generalize to the whole population, but to gain knowledge about a certain phenomenon by selecting the sources who can give as versatile and as meaningful knowledge about the phenomenon as possible. The gained understanding about the phenomenon can be then transferred to identify comparable happenings in versatile settings. (Mayan, 2009). In the current research, the method was chosen to give realistic, in-depth information about the phenomenon. Furthermore, it aimed at testing a fairly new model of intercultural adaptation.

The bloggers were carefully selected to fit the predetermined criterion which is explained in detail in section 4.2. However, given the small sample size (three bloggers) caution must be applied while evaluating the extent of the results. Furthermore, the people who are able to blog about their experiences are already a limited group. Thus, not all people

in the world have the technology, the skills or the willingness to share their experiences with the rest of the world. Therefore, the bloggers selected for the study are already chosen from a particular narrow group. Consequently, the decision to use blogs as research data was made by recognizing the mentioned restrictive elements.

One of the positive aspects that blog studies offer, in this case readymade blogs chosen from the blogosphere, is that researcher can work with a naturally occurring data. Thus, one is not in any way able to influence on the participants. Naturally, one still works as an instrument by reducing and interpreting the data. The limitations of blog study are explained in section 4.1.3.

Common way to define reliability is that if another researcher can replicate ones' study, it regarded as reliable. Nevertheless, the opinions vary among qualitative researchers. Others highlight the meaning of appropriately documented data (e.g., field notes), while others do not consider reliability as a requirement in a qualitative research, hence, they consider it impossible to replicate others fieldwork. (Schwandt, 2007). Mayan (2009) also points out that even if it is likely that researchers see the same patterns in certain data the different positions researchers have (political, cultural, theoretical) reliability cannot define rigor in qualitative research. Thus, it is possible concerning the current study that someone else could have found other issues relevant concerning the data or interpreted some of the blog posts differently. It is an issue that must be taken into consideration while going through the results.

6.3. Conclusion

The current qualitative study investigated immigrant's intrinsic and extrinsic motivations and how they surface in the intercultural adaption process. It also aimed to answer whether

immigrant's adaptation orientations differ between private and public (life) domains by testing a fairly new bidimensional model: Boski's (2008) IAFS model.

This study has underlined the importance of personal motivation in the intercultural adaptation process and the need to talk about motivation as a multifaceted, not an on-off phenomenon. Similarly, an intercultural adaptation can be divided at least in two domains; hence, it does not have to be treated as a unitary phenomenon. Thus, a stranger can be highly adapted in public domain, but continue the former ways of conduct in private domain.

Based on the results, it is quite clear that both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations play a role in the intercultural adaptation process. The data showed that strong motivation, especially intrinsic motivation to adapt in the new host country may lead to adaptation in both private and public domains. The IAFS model fit only to some extent to the cases of the three bloggers. All of the bloggers adapted at least partially to their new host cultures, but their adaptation orientations vary between private and public domains.

The data showed that intrinsic motivation can be a powerful source of strength that makes people act. It was witnessed in the blog of *World traveler*. Hence, if a stranger has an internal motivation to belong (a need to adapt) one is most likely to work very hard to learn the local language and the new ways of conduct. One is open for change and is motivated to try new things. However, in the case of *World traveler* it must be remembered that despite the few negative issues, she posted about numerous positive aspects in her new host country (affordable, multicultural, opportunities) which most likely have increased her willingness to adapt.

In a case of *Lovestruck,* one was willing to adapt only to a certain degree. He wanted to hold on, for example, to former holiday traditions, foods and media from the country of origin. Thus, he was not motivated to give up former ways of conduct completely.

One of the only issues that he showed strong intrinsic motivation was a need to perfect his language skills (the skill also helped his business). Consequently, the adaptation to the new host country stayed relatively one-dimensional within the first four years, especially regarding the private domain.

Pursuit of happiness' case showed again the power of intrinsic motivation. She spent the first year more or less in a "bubble" by staying in her apartment. The blog posts revealed that no extrinsic obligation or plea could have made her want to leave the apartment and start to get to know the new host culture, the willingness needed to come from her. The issue that made her finally open the door was a deep desire to have a happy life. She realized that by staying in the apartment or going back to homeland would not solve the core problem; the issue that needed to change was her own attitude and thinking. After she made the decision to open up to the new culture and embrace it, things in her life started to move to a more positive direction. Naturally, the path was not easy, but she slowly she started to enjoy her new life.

Consequently, the evidence from this study suggests that especially individual's intrinsic motivation is highly important in the intercultural adaptation process. Thus, it has an impact how willing one is to adapt to private and public domains. However, depending on each individual and their situation, there can be extrinsic motivations that support the intensification of intrinsic motivation.

Taken together, the results seem to imply that intrinsic motivation can support immigrants to have the courage to take the first steps towards adapting in both domains. However, without the support of extrinsic motivators the burden of adaptation may appear overwhelming for immigrants. These extrinsic motivators are, for example, positive attitudes towards foreigner's (local people, media), various job opportunities, vast possibilities to obtain education (in addition to official recognition of previous qualifications) and support

from society (e.g., language trainings, other support services and positive immigration policy). It, however, seems that extrinsic motivations alone, without any intrinsic motivation are not enough to support immigrants to begin engaging measures adaptation requires.

Thus, treating motivation as a unitary phenomenon seems as an underestimation of its true nature. Understanding why strangers act towards some goals, lose their motivation towards others, or never even start to pursue certain objectives are issues that were not completely answered within the scope of this paper. Further elaboration of the nature of extrinsic and intrinsic motivations is needed in relation to intercultural adaptation.

Finally, the current study aimed at testing Boski's (2008) IAFS model which is a fairly recent model of adaptation and only few prior studies have employed it. The current study partially supported it since two out of three bloggers more or less adapted according to the model (adaptation in other life domain was more profound than in the other). However, only one case (*Lovestruck*) supported the model completely by employing an orientation of adapting more profoundly in public domain compared to private domain. Consequently, there is a need to test the model even further and in various settings. Overall, the notion of domain specificity is an interesting discovery and deserves more focus in the field.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: Social Readjustment Rating Scale (SRRS)

The most widely cited stress measurement scale for adults.
The stress level can be counted based happenings in one's life during one year.

Weights and rank order

Life event (Holmes and Rahe Rank order, 1967)	Holmes and Rahe (1967) weights/scores	Scully et al. Rank order (2000)
1. Death of a spouse	100	1
2. Divorce	73	2
3. Marital separation	65	4
4. Imprisonment	63	5
5. Death of a close family member	63	8
6. Personal injury or illness	53	3
7. Marriage	50	6
8. Dismissal from work	47	13
9. Marital reconciliation	45	15
10. Retirement	45	29
11. Change in health of family member	44	7
12. Pregnancy	40	16
13. Sexual difficulties	39	10
14. Gain a new family member	39	23
15. Business readjustment	39	40
16. Change in financial state	38	9
17. Death of a close friend	37	12
18. Change to different line of work	36	14
19. Change in frequency of arguments	35	17
20. Major mortgage	32	30
21. Foreclosure of mortgage or loan	30	11
22. Change in responsibilities at work	29	24
23. Child leaving home	29	31
24. Trouble with in-laws	29	42
25. Outstanding personal achievement	28	21
26. Spouse starts or stops work	26	19
27. Begin or end school	26	25
28. Change in living conditions	25	18
29. Revision of personal habits	24	37
30. Trouble with boss	23	22
31. Change in working hours or conditions	20	20
32. Change in residence	20	28
33. Change in schools	20	32
34. Change in recreation	19	33
35. Change in church activities	19	36
36. Change in social activities	18	26
37. Minor mortgage or loan	17	41
38. Change in sleeping habits	16	34
39. Change in number of family reunions	15	27
40. Change in eating habits	15	38
41. Vacation	13	39
42. Christmas	12	43
43. Minor violation of law	11	35

Score of 300+: At risk of illness.
Score of 150-299: Risk of illness is moderate (reduced by 30% from the above risk).
Score <150: Only have a slight risk of illness.

APPENDIX 2: Letter of consent for bloggers
(delivered by email)

Request to use your blog as a part of research data in a master's thesis.

Dear xxx,

My name is Tanja Myry. I am a master student at University of Jyväskylä, Finland, in a Master's Degree Programme in Intercultural Communication.

I am conducting a study [thesis] concerning how people integrate to another country. During my search I encountered your blog and noticed that it contains very interesting observations and points of view about the issue! I am searching for a few blogs that could be included in my study. I hope your blog could be one of them.

The purpose of the study is to help to understand the complexity of adaptation process to another country/culture. Hopefully the study gives future sojourners/expats/immigrants insight what kind of challenges and surprises they are about to face in the new country.

Your name or any other personal information [if stated somewhere in the blog] would not be mentioned in the study.

I would greatly appreciate your approval to use your blog as a data in my master's thesis. If you have additional questions, please feel free to contact me at: tanja.h.myry@student.jyu.fi

Thank you for your consideration,

Tanja Myry
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