



THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

PROTECTION OF AUTHOR'S COPYRIGHT

This copy has been supplied by the Library of the University of Otago on the understanding that the following conditions will be observed:

1. To comply with s56 of the Copyright Act 1994 [NZ], this thesis copy must only be used for the purposes of research or private study.
2. The author's permission must be obtained before any material in the thesis is reproduced, unless such reproduction falls within the fair dealing guidelines of the Copyright Act 1994. Due acknowledgement must be made to the author in any citation.
3. No further copies may be made without the permission of the Librarian of the University of Otago.

“DON’T JUST VISIT. LIVE IT!”

**A Descriptive Study of Japan Exchange and Teaching
Programme Participants’ Experiences in Miyazaki
Prefecture**

Timothy Adam Doering

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Tourism
at the University of Otago, Dunedin,
New Zealand

June 28, 2007

Abstract

Conventional tourism discourse commonly adheres to the premise that tourist acts are the antithesis of work. Tourism is frequently portrayed as a diversion from quotidian activities of daily life, offering individuals the opportunity to experience existence beyond their everyday reality. However, contemporary tourist behaviour involves a variety of opportunities that merge employment with adventure and a chance to explore the world. The business of tourism is evolving to include many travel-and-work experiences, yet this fascinating area of study remains a neglected area of research. It is the intention of this study to address this gap in an attempt to broaden the scope and knowledge of tourist studies.

To accomplish this objective this study aimed to describe participants' experiences in one of the world's largest international exchange programmes - the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET). An interpretive and constructionist qualitative approach was used to address two broad research areas concerning the JET experience; (1) to explore the reasons for voluntarily choosing to live and work in Japan for an extended period of time and, (2) to investigate the social dynamics of such experiences and the meanings attached to these relationships. Information was gathered from nine JET participants, who at the time of the study, were living and working in Miyazaki Prefecture. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used as the primary method of data collection, with continuous e-mail correspondence and informal observation providing supplementary information. The information was recorded, transcribed, and analysed for emergent themes and their meanings.

Focusing on the emic perspectives of JET participants, the research explored aspects of tourism often overlooked in tourist studies, including; the relationship between overseas employment and tourism, the reasons for combining work with a tourist disposition, the social dynamics of such experiences, and the meanings attached to these unique categories of temporary mobility. Specifically, it was found that the JET experience was described as being a coalescence of social psychological and tourist-oriented factors, including; personal independence, a 'job' that facilitated and funded further travel, emancipation from the contrived tourist experience, and an opportunity to become culturally and linguistically immersed in a foreign culture. Concerning the social experience of JET, the study revealed a dynamic interplay between participating in the culture and society of their Japanese hosts and with maintaining their own cultural identity through social engagement with their JET colleagues (Berry 2001). Although participants clearly described their interactions with their host community as significant and sincere (Taylor 2001), it was evident that participants gave additional meaning to their relationships with their 'JET community'. These relationships were identified as being characteristic of Turner's (1969) anthropological theory of 'communitas'. The findings of this study conclude that the underlying meanings attached to these guest/host relationships, as well as the desire to become embedded in a foreign culture, often has more to do with the society from which they left than the culture they temporarily chose to dwell. It allowed participants to explore the meaning of 'home' and potential alternatives without becoming completely displaced.

KEY WORDS: communitas, tourism, travel, temporary mobility, JET, English teaching, Japan, guest-host relations, meaning of home

Acknowledgements

The unfolding of this thesis took place across three countries - New Zealand, Japan, and Canada - with people at each location making a significant contribution to the completion of this thesis.

Japan - This thesis would not have been possible if it were not for the assistance of the JET Programme Coordinator, Jason Pickens, and the Miyazaki Coordinator of International Relations, Henry Adams, who enabled me to get in contact with the JET participants in Miyazaki. I especially owe a sincere thanks to the nine Miyazaki JETs who volunteered their time to share their fascinating experiences with me.

New Zealand - I would like give a heart-felt thanks to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Hazel Tucker, for her guidance and patience throughout the past year. Although I had my reservations, you never doubted my abilities. To Donna Keen, whose musical knowledge, culinary expertise, and sincere friendship offered solace amid a sea of chaos. Many thanks to Neil Walsh and Scott Cohen - the Duke Street house - for the good times and support when I needed it the most. A special thanks to those annexed with me - Dan, Eliza, Karla, and Fiona. In addition, I would also like to express my gratitude to the faculty and administration at the Department of Tourism who ensured that everything went smoothly for me even though my circumstances changed so dramatically.

Canada - I am forever indebted to my parents who are always there in my time of need. This thesis would not have been completed had it not been for your support. I would also like to extend gratitude to my partner Keiko who has been my biggest supporter and pillar of peace throughout the past year. I look forward to a lifetime of adventure together. And, finally, much love to our beautiful daughter Miyabi Aroha who is my light of inspiration.

Without each and every one of you my Master's experience would not have been possible.

Much love to you all.

Timothy Adam Doering

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
TABLE OF CONTENTS	III
LIST OF TABLES.....	V
LIST OF FIGURES.....	V
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	V
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	- 1 -
1.1 DON'T JUST VISIT. LIVE IT!	- 1 -
1.2 RESEARCH CONTEXT: OVERSEAS ENGLISH TEACHING, JAPAN, & JET	- 3 -
1.2.1 English Teaching and Japanese Society	- 3 -
1.2.2 Miyazaki Prefecture: Rural Japan	- 5 -
1.3 DELIMITING THE SCOPE OF STUDY: A FOCUS ON THE JET PROGRAMME	- 6 -
1.3.1 Rationale for the Case of Miyazaki JETs	- 8 -
1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	- 11 -
1.5 THESIS STRUCTURE.....	- 12 -
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATION & REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE ..	- 14 -
2.1 STRUCTURE OF LITERATURE REVIEW	- 14 -
2.2 TEMPORARY MOBILITY: SITUATING THE JET EXPERIENCE	- 14 -
2.2.1 Introduction	- 14 -
2.2.2 Defining Temporary Mobility	- 16 -
2.2.3 Situating the JET Programme.....	- 21 -
2.2.4 Summary	- 23 -
2.3 WORK: A TOURIST EXPERIENCE?	- 25 -
2.3.1 Introduction	- 25 -
2.3.2 Bridging the Work–Tourism Divide	- 26 -
2.3.3 Travel-to-Work: Tourist ‘By-products’ of Professional Occupations	- 28 -
2.3.4 Work-to-Travel: The Search for Leisure-Oriented Lifestyles	- 31 -
2.3.5 Work to Prolong a Tourist Experience	- 34 -
2.3.6 Work as a Tourist Experience	- 39 -
2.3.7 Summary	- 41 -
2.4 SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW	- 43 -
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	- 45 -
3.1 INTRODUCTION	- 45 -
3.2 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	- 46 -
3.3 ONTOLOGICAL STANCE & EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITION	- 47 -
3.3.1 Relativist Ontology	- 48 -
3.3.2 Constructionist Epistemology	- 50 -
3.4 INTERPRETIVIST TRADITION THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	- 52 -
3.5 CONTEMPORARY QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY	- 54 -
3.5.1 Embracing the Postmodern	- 56 -
3.5.2 Portraying an Emic Perspective.....	- 57 -
3.5.3 Holistic Examination of the Social World.....	- 59 -
3.5.4 Securing Rich Descriptions	- 60 -
3.5.5 Summary	- 61 -
3.6 STUDY METHODS.....	- 62 -
3.6.1 Data Collection.....	- 62 -
3.6.2 Participant Profiles: The Miyazaki ‘JETs’	- 67 -
3.6.3 Emergent Thematic Analysis	- 70 -
3.6.4 Research limitations	- 74 -
3.7 SUMMARY	- 76 -

CHAPTER 4: JET(ING) TO JAPAN - REASONS FOR BECOMING A JET.....	- 77 -
4.1 THE PERSONAL JOURNEY.....	- 78 -
4.1.1 Independence.....	- 79 -
4.1.2 Transition, Liminality & Time to Think.....	- 81 -
4.2 THE 'JOB': FINANCIAL REMUNERATION & TRAVEL.....	- 85 -
4.3 OVERCOMING TOURISM: JET AS AN 'UNTOURIST' EXPERIENCE.....	- 88 -
4.4 LINGUISTIC IMMERSION.....	- 91 -
4.5 SUMMARY.....	- 94 -
CHAPTER 5: GUEST-HOST RELATIONS - SINCERITY IN THE JET EXPERIENCE	- 96 -
5.1 ARTICULATING SINCERITY.....	- 97 -
5.1.1 Japan as 'Home'.....	- 98 -
5.1.2 'My Japanese Mother'.....	- 103 -
5.2 DWELLING IN JAPAN.....	- 104 -
5.2.1 Establishing a Localised Daily Routine.....	- 105 -
5.2.2 Extended Temporal Dimension & Fixed Spatial Location.....	- 109 -
5.3 IMMERSION OF 'SELF' IN A FOREIGN CULTURE.....	- 111 -
5.3.1 Challenge or Shock?.....	- 113 -
5.3.2 Personal Acculturation.....	- 116 -
5.4 SUMMARY.....	- 118 -
CHAPTER 6: THE INTER-JET SOCIAL DYNAMIC	- 120 -
6.1 SHARING EXPERIENCES: EACH OTHER NOT JUST 'OTHER'.....	- 121 -
6.2 JET 'COMMUNITAS'.....	- 125 -
6.2.1 Liminality & Group Cohesion: The Foreigner Identity & "Travelling Mindset"....	- 126 -
6.2.2 Spontaneous Bonding.....	- 130 -
6.2.3 Acceptance.....	- 132 -
6.2.4 "A Little Bit of Craziiness": Like-minded Travellers.....	- 134 -
6.2.5 Detrimental Consequences of Communitas.....	- 136 -
6.3 SUMMARY.....	- 137 -
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS & FUTURE DIRECTIONS.....	- 138 -
7.1 REASONS FOR BECOMING A JET.....	- 138 -
7.2 THE SOCIAL DYNAMIC OF THE JET EXPERIENCE.....	- 140 -
7.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS & FUTURE DIRECTIONS.....	- 145 -
REFERENCES.....	- 148 -
APPENDICES	- 164 -

List of Tables

Table 1: Travelers who Combine Work & Tourism.....	- 42 -
Table 2: Characteristics of the Interpretive Traditions.....	- 53 -
Table 3: Essentials of Contemporary Qualitative Research	- 55 -
Table 4: The Miyazaki JETs.....	- 68 -
Table 5: Comparing Guest- Host Encounters in Tourism Discourse and the JET Experience -	142 -

List of Figures

Figure 1: Hall's Model of Temporary Mobility	- 19 -
Figure 2: Travel-and-work Orientation	- 27 -
Figure 3: Methodological Framework.....	- 47 -
Figure 4: Miyazaki Prefecture & Location of JET Participants	- 70 -
Figure 5: Mapping Data Analysis.....	- 73 -

List of Abbreviations

CLAIR - Council of Local Authorities for International Relations
JET - Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme
ALT - Assistant Language Teacher
CIR - Coordinator of International Relations
MOFA - Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MEXT - Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology
WHM - Working Holiday Makers
WWOOF (Willing Workers on Organic Farms)

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Don't Just Visit. Live It!

“Don't just visit. Live it!” is the slogan used to entice over five thousand young university graduates to travel to Japan each year, not as a ‘gazing’ tourist, but rather to live and work as a participant of the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) (CLAIR 2006, front cover). This catchphrase simultaneously encapsulates the opportunity of a life time offered by JET and epitomizes a growing trend in tourism - the desire to experience the everyday life in a foreign culture as an active participant instead of a passive observer (Bloch-Tzemach 2005; Corrigan 1997; MacCannell 1973; Mason 2002; Munt 2004; Rehberge 2005). Williams and Hall (2002) contend that in our increasingly mobile world there exist many fascinating forms of travel that are situated somewhere along a tourism-migration continuum. Indeed, what constitutes tourism has always been a point of contention. Cohen (1974, p. 547) maintains that “tourism is a fuzzy concept - the boundaries between the universe of the tourist and non-tourist roles are vague and there exist many intermediate categories”. As these authors suggest, there exist a variety of travel behaviours that are neither completely representative of tourism nor permanent migration. These forms of temporary movements often transpire over an indeterminate length of time, lasting from months to years, and offer these travelers a way of living that is neither characteristic of their life at home nor of the dominant culture they are immersed in. As JET's motto indicates, these unique travel behaviours often reflect a desire to experience ‘life’ in another culture, even if only temporarily.

From the early stages of this thesis, my interest was in investigating the experiences of individuals who chose to voluntarily live and work in foreign culture for an extended, yet temporary time period. The inspiration for this study derived from my personal experience as a teacher of English as a foreign language in South Korea. I had perceived my time spent in living and working in South Korea to be an extension of my travel biography. Although not a tourist or backpacker per say, there was no doubt in my mind that this travel experience was more reminiscent of tourism than my pride

would have led me to believe. Thus, as a graduate student in a tourism department I assumed that experiences akin to teaching English overseas were all relevant and necessary subject matter for tourist studies. Yet, with the exception of the overseas experience (OE) of young New Zealanders (Bell 2002; Mason 2002) and a few sources on the 'gap year' in the U.K. (Duncan 2004; Simpson 2004) there were very few studies concerning many of these fascinating travel behaviours. Moreover, a study of teaching English overseas in a tourism context was non-existent. Thus, this study emerged from my own personal experiences as an English teacher combined with the lack of academic literature pertaining to these various forms of temporary mobility. It was determined that an exploration of these overseas English teachers would be an exemplary instance of a unique form of travel that combines work with a tourist disposition.

Work-related tourist activities have become progressively more common in the contemporary tourist experience (Munt 2004; Uriely 2001, 2005). This transformation can be observed at most youth directed travel agencies where a perusal through the abundance of brochures reveals a variety of employment-oriented travel adventures. For instance, in the entranceway of my local STA Travel reads the motto 'Live and Learn: Work-Study-Volunteer'. The materials that enclose the office walls present prospective travellers with opportunities to work their way around the world and include; teaching English, working holidays at resort destinations and ski resorts, seasonal agricultural labour, and various voluntary positions. Typical images illustrating an escape to sun, sex, sand, and surf are rarely on display. The majority of travel products merge some element of work or educational opportunity with adventure and a chance to explore the world. To this point, Poon (1993) argues that the contemporary tourist is moving away from the four S's of tourism towards more natural and less contrived travel experiences such as working and volunteering overseas. Individuals increasingly desire experiences that are perceived to be more sincere (Taylor 2001) and intellectually rewarding, confirming what Munt (1994) termed the 'intellectualisation' of today's tourist. STA Travel embodies how the tourism industry is responding to the shifting demands of a highly fragmented and individualised contemporary tourist market (Williams & Hall 2002).

The business of tourism is evolving to include many travel-and-work experiences, yet this fascinating area of study remains significantly under researched (Uriely 2001, 2005; Williams & Hall 2000). Very few academic sources have examined these intriguing travel patterns as an extension of tourism discourse. Though it has been suggested that long-term budget travellers may include work as part of their overseas journey (Adler & Adler 2005; Cohen 1973; Riley 1988; Vogt 1976), empirical research has yet to investigate the abundance of travel behaviours where ‘work’ is an integral part of the experience. Further research is needed to explore these burgeoning categories of mobility. Williams and Hall (2002) contend that the various forms of temporary mobility arising from this blurring of work and leisure continue to be a neglected area of study. Uriely (2005, p.211) believes “future studies should specify which types of work-related activities are incorporated in contemporary tourist experiences”. Crouch (1999, p.13) points out that enlarging the scope of tourism “practices, spaces, and knowledges” will cultivate a better comprehension of the tourist and improve our understanding of their experiences. Though his illustration of the Overseas Experience (OE) of New Zealand youth, Mason (2002) illustrates not only do examining these new experiences provide greater understanding of the relationship between tourism and migration, it also offers insight into contribution of temporary mobility to future travel patterns. In addition, Hall (2005, p. 132) argues that expanding the definition of tourism to include temporary forms of mobility “allows us to see tourism within a wider social context over the life span of individuals”. It is the intention of this study to address these gaps in research in the hopes of broadening the scope and knowledge of tourism discourse by describing the experiences of the overseas English teacher.

1.2 Research Context: Overseas English Teaching, Japan, & JET

1.2.1 English Teaching and Japanese Society

English language has indisputably become the world’s *lingua franca* (Bhatt 2001; Crystal 1997; Kachru 1990; McCallen 1989). International demand for native-speaking English teachers has significantly intensified in the past two decades in response to this escalating phenomenon (Crystal 1997). McCallen (1989) argues that

the growth in demand for English language learning worldwide, coupled with an escalating fascination in teaching English overseas, has resulted in the development of one of the world's major growth industries in recent years. Unquestionably, opportunities in the field of English as a foreign language instruction (EFL) teaching have flourished, both for those with teaching experience and qualifications or without. It has become a worldwide phenomenon, with an increasing demand from all six continents, and with both developed and undeveloped nations requiring assistance in EFL instruction (Crystal 1997). Thus, one question remained, which country would offer the best opportunity to investigate the experiences of these traveling workers?

Japan was considered to be an ideal case for several reasons. Firstly, Japan has an established tradition of inviting native-speaking EFL teachers within their borders (Browne & Wada 1998) and in recent years, has proven to be one of the more popular contemporary English learning and teaching locations. For instance, in 1989 McCannell (1989) estimated that in Tokyo alone there were approximately 700 private English language schools (*eikaiwas*) with nearly 200,000 English language students (McCallen 1989). However, modern discourse on English teaching in Japan has traditionally center on teaching English as a foreign language pedagogy (Browne & Wada 1998; Lai 1999) and government policy (McConnell 1996, 2000) rather than on the experiences of the teachers themselves. As a result, an investigation into the experiences and meanings that these temporary migrants attach to living and working in Japan, in *their own terms*, would be a unique contribution to temporary mobility knowledge.

In regards to touristic 'pull' factors, Japan is a fascinating area of study as it continues to have a unique hold on the imaginations of Western society (Botterill 1989; Goldstein-Gidoni 2003). From 'weird' games shows to strange food, Japanese culture continues to be perceived as remarkably different from the Western world. It is paradoxically recognised as a world rich in ancient traditions and practices in addition to being a leader of the modern world in regards to fashion, style, and technology. The demand for English teachers combined with this lure of 'exotic' Japan offer individuals an opportunity to live and work in a culture uniquely different from their own while at the same time being financially remunerated for their employment. This creates a unique condition in Japan where work and leisure, tourism and migration merge.

Perhaps even more noteworthy, a study of Japan offers a view into how foreign nationals experience daily life in what is commonly professed to be a highly homogeneous society (Onishi & Murphy-Shigamatsu 2003; Tsuneyoshi 2004). Tsuneyoshi (2004) acknowledges that the foreign population represents only 2% of Japan's total population with approximately half being of Korean descent. Japan is particularly fascinating in this regard as there is an obvious cultural distance between Japanese nationals and the vast majority of their visitors in terms of language, cultural, and social differences. Brody (2002, p. 6) argues that these sociocultural influences "are bound together to create the dichotomy between the Japanese and foreigners". In Japan, foreigners are commonly referred to as *gaikokujin* which literally translates to 'foreigners' or person from the outside. While this term is not typically meant to be derogatory, it certainly implies that there exist two distinct categories of people in Japan; Japanese and foreigners. In this context, Brody (2002, p. 1) suggests that the very nature of Japanese governmental policies only contributes to this dichotomy between "insiders and outsiders, with immigrants being outsiders in every sense - outside the law, outside the culture, and outside the race". This dichotomy is precisely what makes Japan such a fascinating area of study, particularly in regards to the host-guest social dynamic. In Japan, foreigners often exist on the margins of society constrained by many political and sociocultural influences that severely limit their ability to integrate into Japanese society. Combined, these factors make Japan an ideal case to base a study concerning those who combine work with a touristic disposition.

1.2.2 Miyazaki Prefecture: Rural Japan

To further narrow the scope of the investigation, the study population was restricted to English speaking foreign nationals currently living and working in Miyazaki Prefecture. Miyazaki is located on the most southern and least populated of Japan's four main islands, Kyushu. It was chosen as the study area for two main reasons. First, Miyazaki Prefecture is what the Japanese call *inaka*, literally meaning country-side, and is well known as a rural destination. Due to its remoteness, it is a destination not often visited by foreign visitors which creates an environment where one must relate directly with their host community or with their JET colleagues as a form of social support and friendship. In many cases, JETs in the Miyazaki area are the

only foreigners in their respective towns or villages. While some may thrive on the isolation of living in rural Japan others may find this to be an extremely challenging experience and will barely finish the first year of their contract. In order to better understand the diversity of the JET experience it was imperative to find an area that would offer both an urban and a rural setting. Miyazaki Prefecture consists of Miyazaki City, with a population of just over 300,000, and numerous smaller villages and towns with significantly smaller populations. Consequently, Miyazaki Prefecture was considered the model case to investigate the experiences of those who are ‘on their own’ in the country-side as well as those who reside in an urban centre.

1.3 Delimiting the Scope of Study: A Focus on the JET Programme

My initial interest was to investigate the experiences of independently organized EFL teachers currently living and working in Japan. However, upon closer investigation several categories of English teaching employment were made evident including; the JET Programme, *eikaiwa* (private English conversation schools), *juku* (after school cram classes), company corporate classes, kindergarten, private tutoring, international schools, and colleges/universities, all of which hire foreign native speakers to assist with their English language curriculum. In her investigation of ski resort workers in Whistler, Duncan (2004) suggested that the type of work and company culture of the employer plays a prominent role in influencing a travel-and-work experience. Accordingly, it quickly became evident that the study population needed to be more clearly defined and limited to one specific organization. After careful deliberation, the JET Programme was considered to be the most accessible and pertinent organization to focus this study. It was a choice to delimit the scope of the research in an effort to identify a logistically viable study population from which the methodological approaches and data collection processes could be employed. Prior to explaining why JET was specifically chosen, however, it is essential to first provide a description of the JET Programme, its historical context, and its foremost goals and objectives that make it unique to other English teaching schemes and form the basis of its selection for this study.

Formal English language education was first established in Japanese junior and senior high schools in the era immediately succeeding the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (Browne & Wada 1998). From this period and until 1987 foreigner nationals were not permitted to teach in the public school system which meant that English language education was taught solely by Japanese nationals (Lai 1999). This changed with the introduction of the JET Programme. In an effort to expand and improve English language education throughout the country, the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR) established the JET Programme in 1987 in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology (MEXT). The programme was founded on two primary objectives:

- (1) to improve foreign language in Japan
- (2) to promote 'grass-roots' international exchange between Japan and other nations (CLAIR 2007)

In this way, the programme is expected to foster cross-cultural understanding as well as contribute to the internationalization and foreign language education efforts within Japan (CLAIR 2007). Currently, the JET Programme describes itself as "one of the world's largest international exchange programmes" and as of 2006, had welcomed over 46,000 participants into Japan (CLAIR 2007, p. 13). Today, the programme brings over 5,500 foreign youths into Japan annually.

JET recruits for three categories of positions; Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs), Co-coordinator for International Relations (CIRs), and Sports Exchange Advisors (SEAs). ALTs are positioned in local school boards and assist in foreign language education, the vast majority teaching English. CIRs are placed in local government authorities and engage in projects related to international activities such as economic exchange programmes, hosting official guests from abroad or performing translational duties when required. SEAs are unique in that they are positioned in local authorities that engage in sports-related activities and assist in specific sports training activities. Although there are three types of positions, 92% of all participants are ALTs with the vast majority from English speaking nations (CLAIR 2006). Thus, the JET

programme remains largely an English language teaching exchange and will be the primary focus of this study.

Aside from the basic requirements of good health, a university education, and age (under 40), a successful JET candidate must also “be interested in Japan, and be willing to deepen their knowledge and appreciation of that interest after arrival” (CLAIR 2006, p. 5). Accordingly, of equal importance to their ability to teach English is the applicants’ motivation to learn about Japan and desire to experience Japanese culture. In this manner, the JET Programme is not strictly an English teaching programme. Rather, it prides itself on being a cross-cultural exchange that fosters intercultural understanding. There is no requirement for previous knowledge of the culture or language of Japan, just a desire to learn about it. Once accepted, the JET participant has the option of signing a one year contract which commences on the day after arrival in Japan. In principal, these contracts may be extended annually, with two extensions permitted, for a total of three years. In exceptional circumstances the local authority may choose to re-contract the participant two additional times, making it possible to remain on the JET programme for up to five years (CLAIR 2006). Selected participants have round trip airfare paid for, receive free or subsidised accommodation prearranged, work 35 hours per week from Monday to Friday, and are paid 3, 600, 000 yen (approximately \$35, 000 USD) per year for their services. Accordingly, the JET Programme exemplifies a form of temporary mobility that involves an element of work combined with the touristic lure of ‘experiencing’ a foreign culture.

1.3.1 Rationale for the Case of Miyazaki JETs

This study specifically focuses on JET participants in Miyazaki Prefecture for several key reasons. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999, p. 69), a realistic area of study is “where a) entry is possible; b) there is a high probability that a rich mix of the processes, people, programs, interactions, and structures of interest are present; c) the researcher is likely to build a trusting relationship with participants in the study; and d) data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably assured”. These factors were taken into consideration with the decision to focus the study on JET participants in Miyazaki Prefecture.

Of primary consideration was the issue of gaining entry. Due to the independent travel patterns of many English language teachers, locating autonomous English teachers throughout Japan at various private language institutes while based in New Zealand would have been time consuming and problematic. Thus, gaining access to English teachers in Japan while overseas would have proven to be extremely difficult if it were not for a personal connection with the JET Programme coordinator. This personal connection allowed me to connect with JET participants prior to leaving for Japan for the interviews. Finding participants for this study required three steps. First, I needed to receive official support to conduct interviews with JET participants from JET Programme management and CLAIR representatives prior to conducting the research. Following a meeting in early November with the JET Programme Coordinator and two Japanese representatives of CLAIR this support was granted (see Appendix 1). Second, with the assistance of the JET administration, communication was established with the Miyazaki JET Prefectural Advisor. An initial email requesting volunteers for the study was sent to the advisor, who in turn, forwarded it on to all JET participants currently living and working in the Miyazaki area. Potential participants were asked to contact me via email if they were interested in taking part of this study, at which point we would arrange for a time, date, and a place for the interview. Through this email method I was able to establish contact with eleven JETs in the Miyazaki area. However, due to scheduling conflicts and time constraints interviews were secured with nine participants in the area.

Due to the time restrictions of the research it was imperative to locate, establish a rapport, and arrange an interview schedule with potential interviewees prior to arriving in Japan. Establishing contact prior to the interview enabled me to build a rapport with the participants prior to the actual interview. As a result, the interviews conducted had a relaxed and friendly atmosphere with little of the usual awkwardness of meeting someone for the first time. Consequently, a certain degree of trust was fostered between the participants and myself which allowed us to address more personal issues throughout the interviews. The development of these relationships helped to create better quality and more credibility information. In this sense, participants' were not being interviewed by a complete stranger but rather with someone whom they have gotten to know and trust. This is imperative for gathering qualitative information in the social sciences.

My personal connection with the JET Programme provided me access to a large contingent of potential interviewees and to enter into the world of English teachers in Japan. For this reasons the JET Programme offered a significant advantage over other English teaching schemes or independent workers. Furthermore, Miyazaki Prefecture was also chosen in part due to my personal connections in Miyazaki City which helped to minimise research costs. Using Miyazaki City as a base, I was able to have a central location, access to a vehicle to travel to the more remote rural areas of the Prefecture, as well as minimizing research expenses through staying with friends and family. Accordingly, time and economic constraints limited the gathering of empirical data to this one specific region. For these reasons JET participants in Miyazaki Prefecture was considered to an ideal destination for this study.

Furthermore, JET is a diverse programme which consists of both urban and rural placements, differing periods of stay ranging from one to five years, and participants from 44 different countries (CLAIR 2007). So although participants are part of the same exchange programme the individuals and their experiences are diverse. In his information presentation for potential applicants at the University of Otago, Jason Pickens (2006), the JET Programme Coordinator echoed this sentiment when he stated that “everyone's situation is different” making sweeping generalisations of a typical JET experience nearly impossible. In terms of a study sample, the JET Programme offers a rich mix of the processes, people, and interactions.

In addition, the programme's goals and objectives of *grass roots internationalisation* offer an unconventional account of host-guest relations not typically found in tourism discourse. For JET and the Japanese government, cultural changes to the host destination are welcomed and embraced. In tourism literature, host acculturation is often perceived as a negative consequence of hosting Western guests (Medina 2003; Krippendorf 1987), yet in Japan the process of internal ‘internationalisation’ it is considered to be a highly desired governmental objective used as a tool to diversify an otherwise mono-ethnic Japanese population (McConnell 1996, 2000; Tsuneyoshi 2004). As a result, JET promises its participants the opportunity to ‘live’ Japanese culture rather than experiences it as a tourist. However, due to Japan's traditional *uchi-soto* (inside-outside) dichotomy becoming integrated into Japanese society becomes an unattainable goal and ultimately a source of

dissatisfaction for many foreigners living in Japan (Brody 2002, Onishi & Murphy-Shigematsu 2003). Thus, the JET Programme not only offered entry into the field, but it also provides an opportunity to investigate this fascinating contradiction between JET's goals and objectives of internationalization and the *uchi-soto* (inside-outside) culture which is said to be strongly engrained in Japanese culture.

1.4 Research Objectives

The research objectives that guide this research emerged from my own personal experiences as an English teacher in South Korea in addition to a review of the limited literature related to those experiences that combine overseas employment with a tourist disposition. Clearly, these categories of mobility differ slightly from tourism in that they contain an element of spatial stability and an extended temporal dimension rather than being fleeting and in a constant state of movement (Bloch-Tzemach 2005). Yet, they are also not permanent migrants either. They exist somewhere in between the two. It is tempting to refer to the temporary guests as 'sojourners' (Sui 1952). However, Sui (1952, p. 35), who coined the phrase, characterised the sojourner as an individual whose "intrinsic purpose...is to do a job and do it in the shortest possible time" with little interest in "his life beyond the accomplishing of this end". The JET programme is founded on participants' interest in Japanese culture, which was described earlier as a requirement to be selected for the programme. Participants are not moving to Japan to complete a 'job', but rather experience the life and culture of Japan. Thus, the manner these working tourists interact with their new surroundings will also differ significantly from that of the tourist, sojourner, and/or migrant. These forms of temporary movements often transpire over an indeterminate length of time, lasting from months to years, and offers these travelers a way of living that is neither characteristic of their life at home nor of the dominant culture they are immersed in. This raises the question, what is the experience of those who combine overseas work with a tourist disposition?

This study is primarily concerned with the experiences of nine JET participants in Miyazaki Prefecture, Japan. Specifically it will investigate the role of work in these categories of temporary mobility and the unique social dynamics that develop as a

result of these special circumstances. In particular, two broad research questions served to guide the direction of this research:

- 1) For what reasons do people voluntarily choose to live, work, and temporarily immerse themselves in a foreign culture uniquely different from their own?
- 2) Being neither truly characteristic of tourism, sojourning nor permanent migration; what is the social dynamics of these working-travellers and what meanings are attached to these relationships?

Focusing on the experiences from an emic perspective, the study will explore aspects of tourism often overlooked in many studies. These include the relationship between overseas employment and tourism, the social dynamics of such experiences, and the meanings attached to these unique categories of temporary mobility. Particularly, the research will provide insight into the question; how does one 'live' the everyday life of the toured destination rather than 'just visit'?

1.5 Thesis Structure

The research questions are explored in the following chapters which have been organised into seven chapters. Chapter one - *Introduction* - has presented the context of the research. It has conceptualised the phenomenon of English teaching in Japan, provided a rationale for choosing the JET programme as an area of study, and has established the research objectives. Chapter two - *Conceptual Foundation and Review of Relevant Literature* - will build on these concepts by exploring the relevant academic literature pertaining to two key areas; (1) temporary mobility and (2) working-tourism. This review will help to illuminate the JET experience as a unique category of travel that combines work with a touristic disposition. The methodological framework that guides this research is described in chapter three - *Methodology*. Specifically, it will underline four elements of the research process used as a foundation for this study; ontological/epistemological position, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods. The following chapters will outline three themes that emerged from the interviews with JET participants. Chapter four will investigate the reasons that participants gave for becoming a JET participant. Chapter five explores how these

temporary guests interacted with the people and places in their host community. Specifically, that chapter will explore how JET participants socially engaged with Japan and the meanings they attached to these relationships. The inter-JET social relations also emerged as being a particularly meaningful in participants' experiences which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six - *The Inter-JET Social Dynamic*. The thesis will conclude with a discussion on the broader implications of these emergent themes and unite the research aims and objectives with the findings of the interviews.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Foundation & Review of Relevant Literature

2.1 Structure of Literature Review

The primary focus of this research is to investigate the experiences of Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) participants in terms of their reasons for living and working in Japan with particular attention given to the social dynamics of such experiences. Thus, literature pertaining to both tourism and temporary mobility are particularly relevant to this study as this fascinating form of mobility is an eclectic mix of tourism, sojourning, and temporary migration. Accordingly, the chapter will review the relevant literature that has illuminated similar travel-and-work experiences and is subdivided into two sections:

- 2.2 Temporary Mobility: Situating the JET Experience
- 2.3 Work: A Tourist Experience?

This chapter begins by situating the JET Programme (and other overseas experiences like it) in the field of temporary mobility. This is followed by an analysis of research concerning the relationship between work and tourism. Although tourism is often perceived to be the antithesis of work, this chapter will explore how work can in fact be a tourist experience. Reviewing literature in these two key areas will help to elucidate the experiences of those who combine work with tourism. Accordingly, the literature review will provide a base to initiate the research in a more informed manner.

2.2 Temporary Mobility: Situating the JET Experience

2.2.1 Introduction

There has been a rapid acceleration of transnational human mobility in contemporary society. This mobilization of the world's population is most evident through the growth in international tourism. The World Tourism Organization

(UNWTO) (2007) estimated 806 million people traveled internationally in 2005 and is predicted to mature at an annual rate of 4.1% until 2020. Parallel to tourism, world migration has also been on the rise. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division (2006) has estimated that since the 1960's international migration has more than doubled, increasing from 75 million in 1960 to approximately 191 million in 2005, and currently represent 3% of the world's population. The world has undoubtedly become more mobile. However, as movement and circulation across borders becomes the norm, it becomes increasingly difficult to ascertain which forms of travel constitute 'tourism' and which represent 'migration' (Williams & Kaltenborn 1999).

There are many new and innovative ways in which individuals are moving locally, nationally, and transnationally, which neither represent tourism nor migration (Williams & Hall 2002). As a result, Krakover and Karplus (2002) maintain that governments across the world have started to accommodate and encourage these transitory migratory patterns by issuing various innovative categories of temporary visas. For example, the 'working holiday maker' visas of issued in most Western countries (Harding & Webster 2002; Hugo 2006), the six month 'cultural visa' of Japan (Bloch-Tzemach 2005; Goldstein-Gidoni 2005), and the pioneering 'potential immigrants' and 'settling tourist' status given to individuals entering Israel (Krakover & Karplus 2002) have been implemented to encourage these touristy forms of temporary migration. These movements, which blur the boundaries of work/leisure and tourism/migration, are rapidly developing into a significant part of international travel, yet research of these fascinating mobilities remains limited (Williams & Hall 2000, 2002; Williams & Kaltenborn 1999). The following section will define 'temporary mobility', investigate the role of production and consumption in these movements, and will situate the JET Programme experience within the framework of temporary mobility.

2.2.2 Defining Temporary Mobility

A definitional structure characterizing the forms of travel that combine temporary labour migration and tourism has proven to be problematic. Literature regarding human mobility has traditionally centered on two polar extremes with migration on one end and tourism at the other (Bell & Ward 2000). Conventional definitions suggest that migration is defined as production-led relocation possessing a degree of permanence while tourism is commonly perceived as a round trip leisurely transitory experience (Bell & Ward 2000; Williams & Hall 2002). However, Williams and Hall (2002) suggest that such definitions are habitually given an arbitrary temporal dimension, frequently employing a twelve month period as the subjective borderline between migration and tourism. These definitional dilemmas perhaps stem from our preconceptions of 'the tourist' and 'the immigrant'. The distinction between the two is typically one based on tourism being voluntary, pleasurable and cyclical travel of the wealthy, while migration is an instrumental journey of the poor as a result of economic or socially unfavourable conditions (Adler 1985; Crick 1989). However, are some forms of migration not also voluntary? Are these individuals not also motivated to relocate to a particular destination in search of an improved quality of life? And, are these reasons not also akin to touristic motivations? The labels of 'tourist' and 'immigrant' invoke a plethora of imperialistic and adverse stereotypes, and as a result, no one really desires to be either. However, through utilizing the broadened definition of temporary mobility researchers are able to explore these fascinating travel patterns in the context of human mobility.

Recent studies suggest there are numerous patterns of circulation that challenge these discretionary definitions (Bell & Ward 2000; Williams & Hall 2000, 2002; Zelinsky 1971). For example, Williams and Hall (2000) examined the relationship between tourism and labour migration, entrepreneurial migration, return migration, and retirement migration. These associations serve to two purposes. First, they exemplify the connections between temporary forms of tourism and migration. Secondly, it reveals the ephemeral nature of what used to be regarded as 'permanent' migratory patterns. These relationships expose new forms of mobility that "straddle not only international boundaries but also the worlds of work and leisure, and so of tourism and migration" (Williams & Hall 2002, p. 1). Through the union of tourism and migration,

many more remarkable circulatory travel behaviours become perceptible, forms of mobility that negotiate the equilibrium of who is a 'tourist' and who is not (Munt 1994; Urry 1990a).

The relationship between tourism and migration was a result of earlier literature on the spatial and temporal dimensions found across various forms of migratory behaviour. In his analysis of 'mobility transition', Zelinsky (1971) identified the temporal trends and spatial patterns of migration across five phases of societal development representing premodern traditional, early traditional, late transitional, advanced, and future superadvanced societies. He suggests that as migration modernises it performs a less functional role and is rather a consequence of noneconomic and leisure associated motivational factors. Moreover, it is hypothesized that in highly mobile societies, movement becomes a way of life resulting in future migratory patterns that largely consist of a "vast range of irregular temporary excursions" (Zelinsky 1971, p. 247). For Zelinsky, migration evolves into temporary mobility, becoming more circulatory rather than permanent relocations. Similarly, Roseman (1971) identifies two categories of migration, 'partial' and 'total' displacement. Whereas total displacement migrations relocate to a new area and dwell entirely within that community, the partially displaced migrants remain actively attached to the other areas from which they left. He suggests that these patterns displacement are critical in determining the assimilation adjustment process of migration. However, these 'partial displacements' once again reiterate the ephemeral nature of many migratory movements.

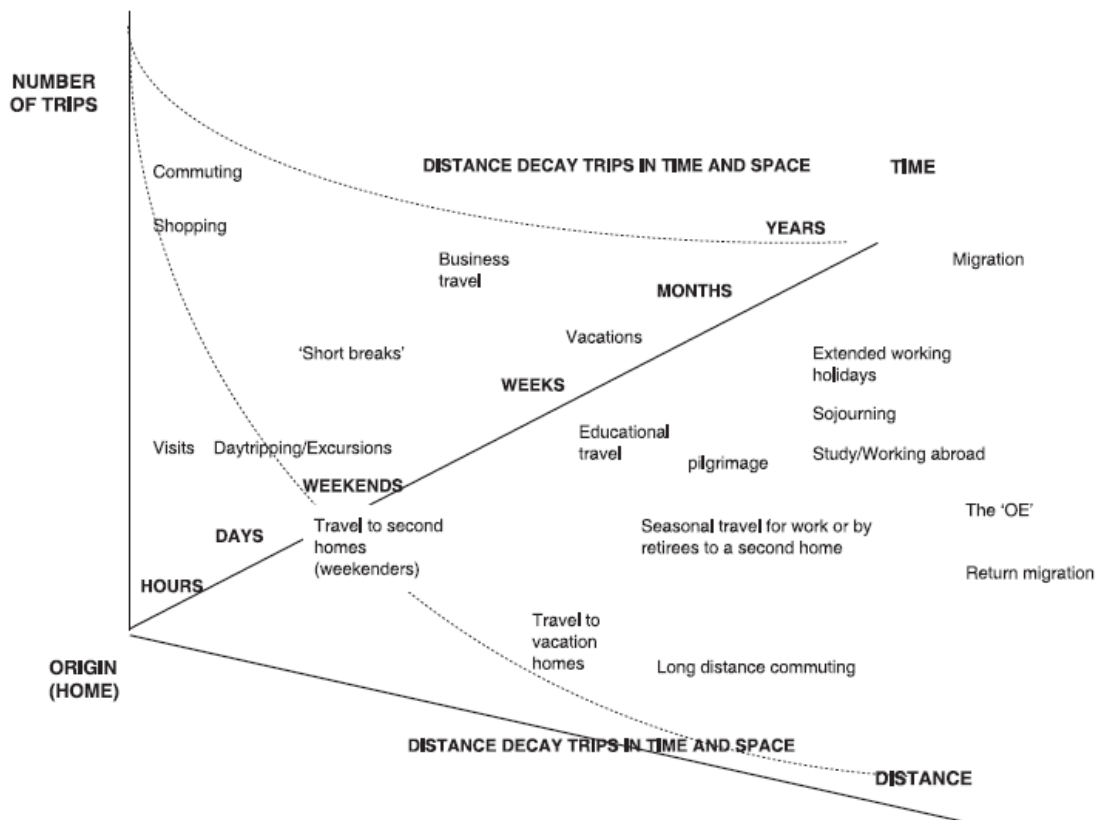
While these studies serve to illustrate the temporary nature of migration, other research has explored the correlations in motivational factors between tourism and migration. For instance, in his investigation of the motivations of tourism and migration in Hawaii, Schmitt (1968, p. 309) found that often tourists and migrants tend to congregate in similar destinations and "that the two groups may be motivated by much the same attractions". He demonstrates that in addition to the temporal and spatial relationships between tourism and migration, these mobilities also merge in the motives to travel. So, not only are tourism and migration becoming increasingly similar across temporal and spatial dimensions, but they also intersect in the motivational factors that produce mobility in the first place. The common thread among these early conceptions

of temporary mobility is that migration was perceived as an element of the larger perspective of human mobility, a notion constructed around the temporal and spatial dimensions of the populations they were investigating. By placing migration in the context of human mobility, the relationships between tourism and migration became more apparent.

Early literature on temporary mobility concentrated on non-permanent nature of migration mobility. However, just as migration is temporary, tourism is capable of being more permanent. Duval (2006) suggests that tourism research has been myopic in its approach, often failing to see the larger context of which tourism is a part. Consequently, tourism researchers have also demonstrated a fascination towards temporary mobility as a means to expand the definition of tourism. Bell and Ward (2000, p. 88) ascertain modern temporary mobility is “most readily defined as the complement of permanent migration: that is, as a form of territorial movement which does not represent a permanent, or lasting, change of usual residence”. In this context, tourism is situated within larger category of temporary mobility positioning it amongst the company of several forms of temporary movement (Bell & Ward 2000). Employing a temporary mobility framework, then, offers a solution to overcome this short sightedness by offering a more comprehensive conceptualization of tourism. This definition encompasses an extensive range of ‘new’ mobilities (or newly studied mobilities) within a broader context.

Hall (2005) presents a model to illustrate these various temporary mobilities across three fundamental dimensions of any form of human movement; time, distance (space), and frequency (including a distance decay factor). Figure 1 illustrates how these three elements of mobility interact.

Figure 1: Hall's Model of Temporary Mobility



Source: Hall 2005, p. 132

Hall's (2005) model demonstrates how these three elements of movement work together to establish a more comprehensive conceptualisation of human mobility. This situates tourism within the same framework as other forms of mobility, ranging from visits/day tripping/excursions (hours & days), to travel to second homes (weekends), and extended working holidays/studying abroad or sojourning (months & years) (Bell & Ward 2000; Hall 2005; Williams & Hall 2000, 2002). This model exhibits the overlaps, or "grey zones of the complex forms of mobility which lie on a continuum between permanent migration and tourism" (Williams and Hall 2000, p.20). Furthermore, it reveals numerous 'tourist' activities that occur across an individual's lifespan. In terms of time, space and frequency, these forms of touristic movements run parallel to other forms of mobility considered to be temporary migration, thus revealing the overlaps between these merging forms of human movement (Hall 2005).

Temporary mobility has been further segmented into two distinct categories; movements of consumption and production (Bell & Ward 2000; Williams & Hall 2000; 2002). Consumption-related mobility is comprised of movement for pleasure and is motivated by some form of non-economic amenities. Conversely, production-related mobility consists of movement for the purpose of engaging in an economically productive activity; usually defined as work (Bell & Ward 2000; Williams & Hall 2000; 2002). Thus, in Hall's (2005) aforementioned model (see Figure 1), consumption-related forms of mobility consist of a wide range of leisurely travel patterns including day trips, excursions, travel to vacation homes, vacations, short breaks, educational travel, travel to second homes, pilgrimages, and/or retirement relocations. In contrast, production-related temporary movements include several types of work based travel including working holidays, sojourns, labour migration, business travel, long distance commuting, seasonal work, and commuting.

Yet, as with most dichotomies, there are cases where the division between production and consumption are often indistinct. Bell and Ward (2000, p. 94) submit that when defined by motivational factors, it becomes apparent "that an increasing proportion of long distance moves are motivated by the search for social, physical or service amenity and are hence consumption- rather than production-led". Thus, there are many forms of contemporary mobility that challenge the notion that long distance resettlement patterns are a result of economic opportunity, or production-led (Bell & Ward 2000). Rather, many of these temporary movements are consumption-led in that in a mobile world individuals can often choose where to live based on lifestyle desires (Adler & Adler 1999; Bianchi 2000; O'Reilly 2003; Lazaridis & Wickens 1999; Williams and Hall 2002). This especially holds true for work-to-travel experiences that combine employment with tourism induced motivations. In these instances, individuals choose to move to various destinations for leisurely reasons and do so by participating in the labour market. As a result, these consumption-led categories of labour migration often blur the boundaries between production and consumption. Thus, positioning tourism in the framework of temporary mobility, researchers are better able to investigate travel experiences that combine work/leisure, production/consumption, and tourism/migration binaries. Temporary mobility is more comprehensive foundation with which to investigate these increasingly common 'grey zones' of mobility as it incorporates two characteristics often neglected in tourism literature; work and a long-

term temporal dimension. Through utilizing this conceptualization, we are able to investigate those travel experiences that combine work (production-related) mobility and touristy (consumption-led) behaviours.

2.2.3 Situating the JET Programme

Greenbalt and Gagnon (1983) suggest the most useful and informative feature of studying these multifaceted forms of mobility are their ability to explore the changing relationship between work and leisure in contemporary society. Tourism research has traditionally centered on the consumption of tourist products often at the expense of these fascinating work related experiences (Uriely 2005). However, a growing volume of literature suggests that work has increasingly become a significant component of the contemporary 'tourist' experience (Cohen 1973; Mason 2002; McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006; Pearce 1990; Uriely & Reichel 2000). These travel-and-work experiences contain elements of production/consumption, work/leisure and an extended temporal dimension not typically found in tourism discourse. For this reason, these unique forms of mobility are positioned in the 'grey zone', situated somewhere along the continuum of tourism and permanent migration (Williams and Hall 2000). Accordingly, these touristy forms of mobility are best explored through the lens of temporary mobility.

There have been an increasing number of scholars dedicating time to investigating these tourism-related categories of temporary mobility. The range of studies consists of a diverse variety of experiences including tourism's relationship to retirement migration (Ming 1997; Williams, King, Warnes & Patterson 2000), return migration (Duval 2002; Gmelch 1980), and perhaps the most researched area on temporary mobility, travel to second homes (Keen & Hall 2004; Muller 2002; Williams & Kaltenborn 1999). Conducted as an extension of tourism, these studies have collectively identified several fascinating travel patterns positioned in a temporary mobility framework. Although representing uniquely different experiences, they exemplify 'new' forms of temporary mobility that are being studied in the context of tourism. Nevertheless, not unlike conventional tourism literature, there is propensity in temporary mobility discourse to concentrate specifically on the more consumptive

modes of mobility, such as retirement and second home migration, rather than employment associated experiences. However, there has been a growing volume of literature highlighting various forms of touristy work-related movements, specifically in regards to resort destination migration (Adler & Adler 1999; Bianchi 2003; Guerrier & Adib 2003; Hugo 2006; Lazardis & Wickens 1999; O'Reilly 2003) and the Big 'OE' (overseas experience) of young New Zealanders (Bell 2002; Conradson & Latham 2005; Mason 2002). These forms of temporary migration exemplify work-related yet, consumption-led forms of movement. It has been recognised that these unique forms of mobilities are essentially defined by their amenity-oriented motivations such as climate or recreational incentives (Bell & Ward 2000; Cooper 2002; O'Reilly 2003; Williams & Hall 2002). Williams and Hall (2002, p. 33) coined the phrase "consumption-led economically active migrants" to describe these individuals whose economic activity is not tourism-related but are motivated to relocate for leisure-oriented reasons. These are consumption-led individuals find ways to relocate temporarily to destinations which interest them for tourist-related reasons.

The 'Big OE' is an exemplary illustration of a consumption-led economically active category of temporary mobility (Bell 2002; Mason 2002; Williams and Hall 2002). Bell (2002, p.144) describes the 'OE' participants as "making an open-ended trip, but do not intend to be away permanently. They are not emigrating. They usually expect to be away one or two years – though in actuality this often extends to three or five years". Although the 'OE' involves work and an extended temporal dimension, it is essentially a long-term tourist experience that reflects elements of temporary migration. Staying abroad for such an extended period of time requires employment. In the case of the 'OE', work is seen as secondary to the extended travel experience (Mason 2002; Williams & Hall 2002). Mason (2002) suggests that one of the most fundamental motivational factors to partake in this type of mobility is the opportunity to explore another culture. Accordingly, the 'amenity' in the 'OE' experience is having the opportunity to dwell in a different culture rather than traveling from one tourist enclave to another. The 'OE' exemplifies a consumption-led economically active form of temporary mobility.

Akin to the 'OE' of young New Zealanders, this study is primarily concerned with a category of work-related temporary mobility, yet is strongly influenced by tourism induced motivations. The extended temporal dimension and stable spatial dynamic of the 'OE' and JET epitomize these increasingly common forms of long-term tourist mobility. The JET Programme involves a form of mobility that involves working overseas for an extended period of time, ranging from a minimum of one year to a maximum of five years. Participants of the JET Programme are not involved with the tourism industry in Japan nor is their employment a result of tourism infrastructure. Accordingly, this should not be considered a study of a production-led form of tourism labour migration. Moreover, similar to the 'OE', it has been demonstrated that a fundamental motivation to participate in JET is the opportunity to work in Japan in order to experiencing the life as a member of a different culture (Reeves 1997). In this regard, the JET Programme is consumption-led, as the main objective for participants is to engage in a cultural exchange facilitated by the temporary employment. These unique forms of mobility, and others like them, are not typically found in tourism academic literature as they involve two characteristics commonly (mis)perceived to be outside the definition of a tourist experience; (1) work and (2) mobility that transpires over years rather than weeks or months. In this context, JET exhibits features of both tourism and migration as articulated in the temporary mobility framework. It epitomises a category of mobility that represents neither tourism nor permanent migration. Although it is acknowledged that temporary mobility is in the early stages of theorisation, I feel the JET Programme, and other experiences like it, are best described as existing within the context of this burgeoning framework.

2.2.4 Summary

Situating tourism in a temporary mobility framework empowers researchers to investigate these increasingly common work-related tourist-migration movements rather than focusing solely on consumption of tourist destinations. By broadening the scope of tourism into the field of temporary mobility, tourism researchers are able to cultivate a more comprehensive understanding of today's tourist (Hall 2005; Williams & Hall 2000). Furthermore, understanding tourism to be one of several forms of temporary mobility encourages interdisciplinary investigation, offering researchers the

opportunity to unite theory from a variety of academic fields (Duval 2006; Williams & Hall 2000; 2002). As tourist practices continue to evolve into the merging fields of temporary mobility, tourism discourse would certainly benefit from incorporating knowledge of other fields of mobility including sojourning, migration acculturation, and international/exchange student cross-cultural psychology as they all represent comparable categories of temporary mobility.

Much of the discussions on temporary mobility concerns theoretical discussions and conceptual developments that verify the relationships between tourism and migration (Bell & Ward 2000; Hall 2005; Williams & Hall 2000, 2002). However, conceptual development and primary research are both needed to fully understand the nature of these contemporary forms mobility (O'Reilly 2003). Reviewing literature on temporary mobility in relation to tourism has identified several fascinating forms of consumption-led temporary mobility including retirement migration, resort migration, and travel to second homes. Research pertaining to work-related movements has also revealed several other fascinating travel experiences, such as seasonal resort workers and temporary labour migration. However, in regards to tourism literature, these unique travel experiences that blur the binaries of work-leisure continue to be a neglected area of study (Uriely 2001; Williams & Hall 2002). Although such work-related activities have traditionally been outside the realm of tourism literature, situating these experiences within a temporary mobility framework enables researchers to explore these fascinating travel patterns, such as the JET experience. In this context, there are a growing volume of studies that have begun to investigate how individuals are combining work (production) with tourist behaviour (spatial consumption). An examination of these travel-and-work experiences, found in both the tourism and temporary mobility literature, are further explored in the following section.

2.3 Work: A Tourist Experience?

2.3.1 Introduction

Conventional literature generally adheres to the premise that tourism is a diversion from everyday activities, such as work, offering tourists the opportunity to experience life beyond the normative functions of daily reality (Graburn 1989; MacCannell 1999; Urry 1990a, 1990b; Wang 2000). Urry (1990a, 1990b), for example, argues that it is exactly this departure from the routine which epitomises the tourist experience. In regards to work, he stipulates that a fundamental feature of tourism “is to be able to buy time, that is, the ability to avoid work and to replace it either with leisure or other kinds of work” (Urry 1990 b, p.24). Garburn (1989, p.22) supports this notion when he argues that the underlying principle of tourism is that it “is not work”. MacCannell (1999, pp.34) is a little less absolute, but still argues that leisure still exist in a “slight remove from the world of work”. Tourism, as it appears in these academic contexts, is the antithesis of work. How, then, can one argue that work is a tourist experience?

Work has become a tourist experience, yet literature on tourists who combine work related activities remains a neglected area of research (Uriely 2001, 2005; Williams & Hall 2000). Through a review of relevant literature, this section will explore how work, the epitome of everyday existence and the antithesis of tourism, is closely associated with today’s tourist experience. It will demonstrate that employment is not detached from the tourist experience; rather tourism and work interact, each influencing one another and challenging the traditional dichotomous approach to tourism. Furthermore, the review will define the ‘working tourist’, examine the meanings attached to work across a variety of travel contexts and investigate the motivational factors which foster a desire to work as part of their tourist experience. Consequently, it will demonstrate the various ways employment and tourism interact as individuals travel the world, collapsing the binary between these two contradictory terms.

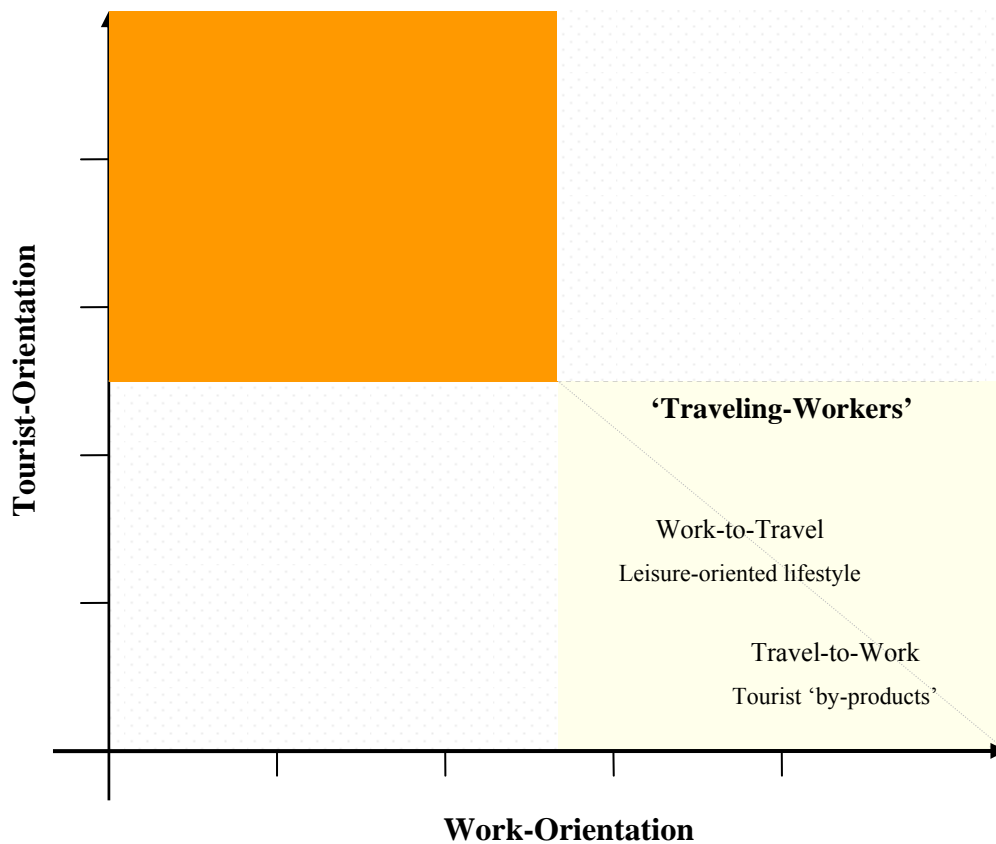
2.3.2 Bridging the Work–Tourism Divide

Contrary to the notion that work is the antithesis of tourism, work related activities have become a staple of today's tourist experience (Munt 2004, Uriely 2001). Literature concerning the relationship between work and tourism reveals a diverse number of travel patterns that merge these two contradictory terms including; long-term budget travellers (Cohen 1973; 1974; Riley 1999; Vogt 1976), 'touristy' professional workers (Cohen 1974; Pape 1964; Zelinsky 1971), volunteer and aid workers (Brown & Lehto 2005) and various forms of temporary resort employment (Adler & Adler 1999; Bianchi 2000; Duncan 2004; Lazaridis & Wickens 1999; O'Reilly 2003; Pizam, Uriely & Reichel 2000). However, the diversity of these experiences makes categorizing those who combine work with tourist activities problematic. As a result, the term 'working tourists' has been frequently employed as an all-encompassing phrase to define all travelers who combine an element of work with a tourist-oriented experience (Pizam et al. 2000; Uriely & Reichel 2000). For instance, Pizam et al. (2000, p.396) characterize the working tourist as "non-institutionalized tourists who remain at the destination for relatively long periods of time and have intimate rather than casual contacts with their hosts". Thus, working tourists are similar to the 'consumption-led economically active migrant' in that their experience is neither completely a tourist activity nor a form of permanent migration.

Uriely (2001) suggests that the phenomenon of these travel-and-work experiences has rarely been investigated as a specific group unto themselves. Recently, he endeavored to address this gap in tourism research. Uriely (2001) posits that these tourists are not a homogenous group. Using secondary literature, Uriely constructed a four-fold typology of travellers who combine work with tourism based on the meanings they attached to employment and tourist related activities. He positions the variety of travel and work experiences along a continuum, ranging from the most work-oriented individuals on one extreme to the more tourism induced workers on the other. There are two broad categories defined as; 'travelling workers' and 'working tourists'. 'Travelling-workers' are work-oriented and consist of two more specific classifications; 'travelling professional workers' – who travel for the purposes of work and view the tourist experience as pleasurable "by-product" of their work and 'migrant tourism workers' - whose reason for travel is to "make a living and have fun at the same time"

(Uriely 2001, p.6). On the other end of the continuum are the ‘working-tourists’ who are more tourist-oriented. The two categories in this grouping consist of; ‘non-institutionalised working tourists’ - who work in order to finance their primary purpose of long-term travel and ‘working-holiday tourists’ - who view their employment as their tourist experience (Uriely 2001). Figure 2 depicts the range of work and tourist-oriented motivations of these types of travellers.

Figure 2: Travel-and-work Orientation



Source: Adapted from Uriely (2001)

Although somewhat simplistic, this model serves well to identify working tourism as an independent phenomenon that requires further research. The categories reveal that work acts a catalyst for tourism across four distinctive domains: (1) work produces tourist ‘by-products’, (2) it acts as means to gain access to a leisure-oriented lifestyles (3) prolongs a long-term tourist venture, and (4) functions as an integral component of the tourist experience itself. These meanings given to work and tourism present an excellent structure with which to explore these types of experiences. The following

section will review the relevant literature, providing examples of the various relationships between work and tourism while simultaneously exposing several significant motivational factors which lead to engaging in touristy forms of employment. The ensuing review of the tourist-work experiences follows Uriely's classification and related literature is presented accordingly within each category.

2.3.3 Travel-to-Work: Tourist 'By-products' of Professional Occupations

For many professions, travel and the ensuing tourist activities resulting from occupational mobility are a noteworthy occupational incentive (Pape 1964; Zelinsky 1971) or at minimum, is an agreeable consequence of the work itself (Cohen 1974; Uriely & Reichel 2000). Even for those whose employment does not involve travel, work is intimately coupled with tourism as everyone must receive a pay check in order to go on holiday. In modern industrial societies, all individuals must accumulate the wealth to participate in international mass tourism (Crick 1989). In this context, most forms of tourism are a 'by-product' of working. In this sense work and tourism interact in each and every tourist experience.

The dialogue concerning the tourism and work binary is analogous to leisure discourse regarding the late-modern shift from a work to a leisure-oriented society. For example, Turner (1982 p. 36) explains that the traditional perspectives of the work-leisure dichotomy argue that leisure "presupposes work: it is a non-work, even anti-work phase in the life of a person who also works". Recreation and leisure research has explored the notion that non-work activities are not a separate entity from which we escape 'working' reality (Turner 1982). Rather it has been suggested that employment and leisure powerfully influence one another and at times become indistinguishable (Snir & Harpaz 2002; Stebbins 1979, 1982). Furthermore, in an increasingly leisure-oriented society, non-work activities are performing an essential role in contemporary identity building (Gorz 1985; Stebbins 1997). The boundaries of work and leisure are progressively becoming more ambiguous or even reversed. As Greenbalt and Gagnon (1983, p.85) suggest, our passions, our sense of self and well-being "increasingly reside in the leisure sector rather than in the world of work; work is more often seen as being in the service of leisure, in contrast to the traditional concept of leisure serving work".

In this context, it could be argued that in a leisure-oriented culture, work is a ‘by-product’ of the desire to travel.

The parallels between leisure and tourism are hardly surprising considering that tourism has been viewed by researchers as a common contemporary leisure practice (Cohen 1984; Pearce 1982). In contemporary society, such research is of tremendous value. However, to fully explore the complexities of the leisure-work dichotomy is beyond the scope of this study. The literature review below will specifically concentrate on professional work experiences that involve travel rather than exploring the existential discourse regarding the realities of work and leisure in modern society.

Within the context of merging the worlds of work and temporary mobility, one of the first characterizations was Sui’s (1952, p.35) ‘sojourner’. The sojourner voluntarily leaves home for a new country with a specific functional purpose, a ‘job’ of a temporary nature including; work, study, religious missions, or commercial and economic reasons. For Sui (1952), what distinguishes sojourners apart from other migrant and traveler types is their intention of completing their job in the shortest time possible and with minimal interaction with the host culture. Furthermore, he argues that the defining characteristic of the sojourner “is that he clings to the culture of his own ethnic group” (Sui 1952, p. 34). These temporary migrants remain tenaciously ethnocentric and have little intention or interest in interacting with their host community. However, this terminology is contradictory to most contemporary cross-cultural exchanges or long-term overseas working experiences. It has been demonstrated that these forms of long-term travel experiences are often strongly motivated by an interest to explore other cultures (Richard & Wilson 2003; Strangor, Jonas, Stroebe & Hewstone 1996; Ward & Rana-Deuba 2000). Thus, the limitation of Sui’s sojourner is that it does not recognize any motivational factors to travel that extend beyond functionality. These forms of temporary mobility have been proven to combine these work incentives with other tourist-related motives and in many instances are more tourist-oriented than ‘job’ related (Pape 1964; Schmitt 1964, Zelinsky 1971).

Work becomes more touristic through Pape's (1964) analysis of the 'occupational mobility' within nursing. She coined the term 'touristry' to encapsulate "a form of journeying that depends upon occupation, but only in a secondary sense in that it finances the more primary role, travel itself" (Pape 1964, p. 337). Using their chosen profession as a means for mobility, these nurses are able to spend more time dwelling in a given destination than if on vacation and are able to stay at their chosen location as long those leisurely features remain appealing (Pape 1964). By engaging in a high demand and easily transferable occupation, work becomes mobile in two ways. First, nurses are given the opportunity to pick and choose the location of their employment destination and secondly, the ease of which they can leave their job and be hired in another destination seemingly at will. Thus, nurses in Pape's example are described as being 'touristry' as the choice of occupation is perceived only as means of financial support while enjoying the amenities of their chosen location. Further, Pape suggests that these nurses give no consideration to the role of their chosen occupation in their lives. They are depicted as entirely leisure-oriented, with much of their life values being placed outside the work environment. However, Pape's (1964) definition of 'touristry' has been disputed on the grounds that it is unreasonable to assume these professionals are participating in their lifelong careers exclusively for tourist acts (Cohen 1974; Uriely 2000; Uriely & Reichel 2000). Rather, as Uriely (2001) suggests, travel, mobility, and all ensuing tourist acts of these highly mobile professionals are better understood to be an agreeable occupational incentive rather than the exclusive motivation.

Building on the concept of 'touristry', Cohen (1974, p. 541) identified several other business-oriented travellers he coined "partial tourists", such as 'conventioners', 'business-travellers', and 'official sightseers'. These classifications were not meant to be a typology, but rather serve to highlight the variety of professional work-related activities that involve tourist elements. In this context, Pizam et al. (2000) refer to this category as a form of institutionalised tourism which is demographically composed of professionals and business-oriented travellers. These work-oriented individuals share the common feature of travelling for a specific instrumental purpose, such as attending national or international conventions, for business dealings, or for diplomatic or political relations. Cohen (1974) ascertains that the tourist experience for these working professionals transpires in their free time, or often at the expense of work, when they

partake in sightseeing, tours and other tourist amenities of the destination. Indeed, for many professionals one of the more exciting perks of employment is attending conferences in different locations each year.

Work induced travel incentives are quickly becoming a popular incentive of employment as well as a representing a significant proportion of all travel (Hoyer & Naess 2001). To the ‘partial tourists’, combining business with travel is simply an agreeable ‘by-product’ of the job (Pizam et al. 2000; Uriely 2001). In these instances, professional individuals are travelling for the purpose of work and perceive these tourist experiences as an agreeable occupational incentive. Thus, these ‘travelling-workers’ demonstrate that one way in which tourism and work interact is through these tourist ‘by-products’ of professional employment.

2.3.4 Work-to-Travel: The Search for Leisure-Oriented Lifestyles

While the issue of identifying occupational choices which produce tourist ‘by-products’ has been acknowledged as a significant area of study, the role of work in various categories of temporary migration has also emerged as an important research area. It has long been recognized that there exists a more consumption-led group of workers who engaged in employment for the primary purpose of travel (Pape 1964, Zelinsky 1971) and are motivated by tourist-induced incentives rather than economic opportunity (Schmitt 1968). In these instances work acts a vehicle for mobility.

Accordingly, recent studies have begun investigating this category of consumption-led economically active migrants who are primarily attracted to the environmental, social, or recreational amenities of particular destinations (Bell & Ward 2000; Williams & Hall 2002; Uriely & Reichel 2000). These resort workers have been termed ‘seekers’ and ‘new immigrants’, (Adler & Adler 1999), ‘tourist-workers’ (Lazaridis & Wickens 1999) and ‘migrant tourist workers’ (Bianchi 2000; Uriely 2001), and ‘consumption-led economically active migrants’ (O’Reilly 2003; Williams & Hall 2002). The common feature amongst these characterizations is their leisure-orientation and desire to seek employment which facilitates a temporary relocation to these particular amenity-rich destinations (Adler & Adler 1999; Bianchi 2000; O’Reilly 2003;

Lazaridis, & Wickens 1999; Williams and Hall 2002). In this context, these individuals were working-to-travel.

This form of temporary labour migration involves aspects of both production and consumption as work is required to maintain some form of stability at these tourist destinations. In these instances, employment is generally characterized as low-skilled and menial employment (Bianchi 2000; Lazaridis & Wickens 1999). However, Bianchi (2000) suggests that the skills gained from even these 'unskilled' forms of employment are of tremendous value to these individuals. Termed 'mobile resort workers', Bianchi (2000) indicates that the work experience acquired through these employment opportunities develops the necessary skills and qualifications needed to remain mobile. Consequently, this tourist destination aptitude enables these employees to gain employment in a variety of highly sought after tourist destinations; in a sense becoming permanent tourists (Adler & Adler 1999).

However, not all employment in this category is unskilled. In their study of workers at a large resort complex in Hawaii, Adler and Adler (1999) identified a small contingent of mobile hotel employees that had semi-skilled qualifications relevant to their chosen careers such as culinary arts, spa-related work such as massage therapy or specially trained professions such as aquaculture and horticulture. Furthermore, literature also suggests that there are also resort destination temporary migrants who engage in career-oriented practices outside of the resort infrastructure. For instance, O'Reilly (2003) identified a group of consumption-led economically active migrants whose careers enabled them to work at a distance, such as journalists and academics. These were highly skilled workers, yet were not employed within the resort destination community. Consequently, work in this category is comprised of unskilled, semi-skilled and/or professional occupations. Thus, regardless of the occupational differences, these individuals can all be described as mobile workers whose employment, skilled or not, has enabled them to relocate to the destination of their choice. The examples illustrate that work can act as a facilitator for travel.

In terms of motivational characteristics, research suggests that those who work-to-travel not only explore occupational opportunities, but are also seeking lifestyle alternatives (Adler & Adler 1999; Lundmark 2006; Lazaridis & Wickens 1999;

O'Reilly 2003). Adler and Adler (1999, pp. 138) portrays this category of mobile worker as “escapists, they desired to rid themselves of routine, scripted monotony of the everyday world”. Interestingly, they desired to escape routine through work. Accordingly, research has indicated that these ‘push’ motivational factors of ‘escape’ from a normative existence is inherently coupled with the search for a more preferential leisure-oriented lifestyle (O’Reilly 2003; Lazaridis & Wickens 1999). In a recent study of tourism induced labour migration in Greece, Lazaridis and Wickens (1999) identified that both the ethnic Albanians and Western tourist-workers were both searching for a more comfortable way of life. Greece offered these tourist-migrants “kalozioia – the good life” presenting a better climate, great food, relaxed atmosphere, and a Greek culture that represented a better alternative to the one from which they came (Lazaridis & Wickens 1999, p. 633). In addition, Adler and Adler’s (1999) ethnographic study of resort workers in a Hawaii demonstrated that managers, locals and temporary workers – termed ‘seekers’, largely “based their occupational choices on their lifestyle decisions”. More recently, in her investigation of Spain’s resort of Costa del Sol, O’Reilly (2003) also found that the issue of escape was complementary to the search for a better lifestyle. She established that all three categories of migrants found in Costa del Sol, retirement, entrepreneurial, and consumption-led economically active migrants, were more motivated by the promise of a better lifestyle than of economic opportunity. These types of movements are more than simple escape from everyday life or simply a tourist experience, but are also practice grounds for alternative ways of living.

So, what lifestyle are these individuals searching for? Adler and Adler (1999, p.381) suggest that these types of tourism migrants are seeking a more experiential mode of living as opposed to the materialistic goals of mainstream society. It is a lifestyle choice to “maximize their immediate life satisfaction” by generating a more harmonious balance between the work and leisure divide (Adler & Adler 1999, p.381). In *The Holiday Makers*, Krippendorf (1987, p.211) exclaimed “what interests us, then, is not only how we may add new perspectives to travel and holidays, but also how our day-to-day existence may be modified so that life in general may become more satisfying and meaningful...to have, in short, more holiday in everyday life”. This category of traveling-worker exemplifies the leisure-oriented ‘existence’ Krippendorf was referring to. Through their search for an alternative lifestyle, these traveling

workers are seeking ways to unite the various elements of life, work and leisure, in the hopes of creating a more balanced lifestyle. Rather than ‘going on vacation’ once a year, individuals in these mobile positions can relocate to numerous destinations based on their favourable amenities, therefore creating more ‘holiday’ in their daily existence.

These tourist resort destination workers and participants exemplify this category of traveling-worker. They are characterised by two fundamental features, the consumption-led desire to travel and the production-led need to work in order to be sustain a leisure-oriented lifestyle. It demonstrates how tourism and work combine to create opportunities for individuals to seek and express alternative lifestyle choices, even if only temporarily. In these instances, unskilled, semi-skilled and professional individuals alike engage in work that offers an opportunity to be mobile; working-to-travel in an effort to gain access to a more leisure-oriented lifestyle.

2.3.5 Work to Prolong a Tourist Experience

The previous two categories discussed are considered to be ‘traveling-workers’ who are more work-oriented in their travels. However, work has also been utilized by travelers to prolong a travel experience (Adler & Adler 2005; Cohen 1973; Riley 1988; Vogt 1976). Uriely (2001) identifies these individuals as ‘working-tourists’ due to their leisurely intentions. They are first and foremost travelers, and work only when it is necessary (Cohen 1973; Uriely 2001; Vogt 1976). They are differentiated from the earlier category of ‘traveling workers’ in that they are engaged in temporary employment characterized as unskilled and easily accessible forms of labour (Cohen 1973; Pizam et al. 2000). Thus, individuals aspiring to remain ‘out there’ can fund the extension of their travels by engaging in short-term and easily accessible employment.

In this context, Adler (1985) contends that the origins of this form of working-tourism derived from the ‘tramping’ traditions of the European working class in the early 18th century. Traditionally, ‘tramps’ were engaged in travel primarily in search of jobs. However, Adler (1985) notes that this labor incentive was always coupled with sense of adventure and a desire to see the world. The search for work was an ongoing process, requiring tramps to go from job to job and city to city. However, shortly after

World War One the necessity to travel for work purposes waned and ‘tramping’ was transformed into a “modified form, as play” for the European middle class (Adler 1985, p. 337). Consequently, ‘tramping’ quickly evolved into an increasingly voluntary means of leisure travel, with work serving as both the facilitator and the means with which to remain on the road. For the middle class tourist, tramping became more valued for its own sake than as a means to obtain gainful employment (Adler 1985). Work was transformed into novelty, producing a mobile labour structure which offered these youthful tourists the opportunity to remain traveling and provided work when it was necessary. This enabled ‘tramps’ to remain on the road indefinitely, as long as there was more work and more adventure in the next town. Accordingly, this form of temporary labour was an alternative to tourism. In this context, work prolonged their travel experience.

In a contemporary context, literature reveals several categories of working tourists who use employment as a means to prolong their tourist experience; ‘drifters’ (Cohen 1973), ‘wanderers’ (Vogt 1976), ‘long-term budget travelers’ (Riley 1988), ‘backpackers’ (Locker-Murphy & Pearce 1995; Sorensen 2003) ‘working holiday makers’ (Clarke 2005; Harding & Webster 2002; Hugo 2006), the Big ‘OE’ (Bell 2002; Conradson & Latham 2005; Mason 2002), and the ‘dwelling-tourists’ (Bloch-Tzemach 2005). Cohen’s (1973) first identified this working-tourist movement in his analysis of ‘drifter-tourism’. He referred to ‘drifters’ as the least institutionalized type of traveler who attempts to escape the inauthentic grasp of mass tourism at all costs. Leaving home for various reasons, the ‘drifter’ sets out to explore the world and flee from where they came. He identified that to prolong their journey, the ‘drifter’ often resorted to working in tedious jobs. However, in contrast to the ‘traveling-workers’, the drifter did not engage in work as means to travel, rather it was considered “an unpleasant necessity” (Cohen 1973, p.92). If they did find employment, it was often in unskilled yet well-paying odd jobs. Their work did not coincide with their careers. Cohen argues that they often attempted to avoid work altogether by negotiating life’s necessities through begging, sharing, and trading.

Deriving from Cohen’s ‘drifters’ are a number of non-institutionalized travel patterns that combine work and tourism. Akin to the ‘drifter’ was Vogt’s (1976) notion of the ‘wanderer’. For Vogt (1976), ‘the wanderer’ differentiates itself from the

frivolous 'drifter' in that the former term is more romantic and less derogatory. Whereas drifting contains negative connotations of aimlessly roaming the world with no instrumental purpose, the 'wanderer' is motivated by personal growth and cultural learning (Vogt 1976). The 'wanderer', like the 'drifter', was a non-institutionalized and budget minded tourist who also needed to work when the funds begin to diminish. Riley (1988) identified a similar trend among the present-day European middle classes, defined as 'long-term budget travelers'. In her year of participant observation among 'long-term budget travelers', Riley (1988, p.315) documented that these individuals are leisure-oriented in their approach to work, and engage in only "as a means to the end of extending one's leisure". Consequently, as with the 'drifter' and 'wanderer', the 'long-term budget traveler' often resorted to menial jobs, fishing, fruit picking, and various volunteer works, but only when it was necessary. Locker-Murphy and Pearce (1990) and more recently, Sorensen (2003) also portray the contemporary 'backpacker' in a similar light, suggesting that they too rely on brief spells of work to stretch their budgets, and hence their time overseas.

The illustrations above are all considered non-institutionalized forms of touristic travel (Uriely & Reichel 2000). However, these forms of work-to-prolong-travel experiences have increasingly become institutionalized in the form government issued Working Holiday Makers (WHM) visas. WHM visas are a more recent development that encourages individuals from one country to enter another country for an extended holiday while engaging in "incidental employment" in order to help finance their travels (Harding & Webster 2002, p.5). In an Australian context, the WHM visa is restricted to youth ages 18-35, can stay no longer than 12 months and are not supposed to hold any position for longer than three months (Kinnaird 1999).

Similar to Adler's European middle class 'tramps', Australia also has a labour structure and demand which encourages this category of temporary employment. Indeed, WHMs have been demonstrated to be an integral element of Australia's unskilled labour market, significantly contributing the rural agricultural workforce and the seasonal hospitality and tourism industry sector (Hugo 2006). The multifaceted nature of WHMs makes it an experience existing somewhere between tourism and labour migration. As Clarke (2005) observed in his study of British WHMs in Sydney, the experiences of these WHMs are often paradoxical, remaining mentally 'traveling'

while simultaneously attempting to form new forms of stability and community within their host destination. He consequently terms the experiences of such individuals “the transnational lives of the middle”, neither tourists nor labour migrants who manage to ‘dwell-in-travel’ and ‘travel-in-dwelling’. Although most studies have been Australian specific, WHM visas across various countries are aimed at these forms of temporary workers. The main premise being that work is incidental and ancillary to the travel experience. They are not traveling for the sole purpose of making money, but rather to prolong a travel experience.

Similar to the Australian WHM, except in reverse, is the ‘Big OE’ Australia and New Zealand youth in the UK. The ‘Big OE’ is an expression used to describe the experience of New Zealander’s who partake in overseas travel lasting anywhere from several months to a few years (Mason 2002). Accordingly, this work and travel experience exhibits characteristics of tourism and migration in that they engage in paid work and stay for an extended period of time. In this context, literature indicates that this unique form of migration is understood to be circulatory, consisting of a departure, an experience and a return (Bell 2002; Conradson & Latham 2005; Mason 2002). Accordingly, both Bell (2002) and Mason (2002) have described the ‘OE’ as a rite of passage, whereby young New Zealanders depart their geographically isolated islands to set off on a journey of self discovery and identity construction. In contrast to the aforementioned resort workers, those engaged in ‘the OE’ are not necessarily seeking an alternative lifestyle, rather they are motivated by a desire to gain direct contact with a foreign culture and experience a different way of living (Mason 2002). Bell (2002) suggests they are in seeking a once in a life time ‘experience’, to live and travel abroad in order to experience other cultures before returning to their country of origin and settling down. In this context, Conradson and Latham (2005, p. 163) term them “experiential movers...moving to a place to experience of living within a different culture and/or social milieu”. Thus, a common thread across these studies is that these travelling workers are strongly motivated by a desire to dwell in other cultures and do so by engaging in employment overseas. Work is absolutely necessary to establish a life in another culture, for without employment they are simply travelling rather than having an ‘OE’ experience.

The notion that work acts as a means to facilitate a temporary life in another culture has been referred to as ‘dwelling-tourism (Bloch-Tzemach 2005). In her study of ‘dwelling-tourists’ in Japan, Bloch-Tzemach (2005) highlighted this unique form temporary working experience amongst Israeli long-term travelers. ‘Dwelling-tourists’ were defined as individuals who lived temporarily in Japan as part of their long-term backpacking trip throughout Asia (Bloch-Tzemach 2005). She identifies that in contrast to other non-institutionalized backpacking work-stopovers, the dwelling-tourist differs across three dimensions, (1) they have an official visa (either a Cultural or student visa) allowing them to legally live and work part-time in Japan, (2) they chose jobs that enabled them to stay in one place for an extended period of time, and (3) these monetary motivations were coupled with a desire to learn about Japanese culture. Accordingly, this form of dwelling-in-travel suggests that those engaged in a temporary work experiences are often more than just backpackers looking to finance further travel. They are looking to support a ‘dwelling’ experience, where cultural learning, interaction, belonging and acculturation are achieved through remaining in one place prolonged through employment. In this respect, Bloch-Tzemach’s (2005, p. 194) posits that “unlike other forms of tourism, dwelling-tourism does not include dichotomous categories of change versus routine; instead change is found within routine”. It was during this period of motionless travel that these long-term travelers felt were most meaningful. Establishing a localized routine, including work and other instrumental daily practices, constructed what could be perceived as a more genuine cultural experience. In this context, employment served to finance a ‘dwelling’ experience.

On the contrary to the earlier travel-to-work experiences, for these various long-term travelers work served a functional role only in that it aided in prolonging their travels or financing a ‘dwelling’ experience. Although work was certainly a part of their tourist experience, it was first and foremost perceived as a means to extend other tourist pursuits. The ‘drifter’, ‘wanderer’ ‘long-term budget traveler’, and ‘backpacker’ worked only when it was absolutely essential for financial reasons, otherwise it was not a consideration. For ‘WHMs’, ‘OE’ participants and ‘dwelling-tourist’, work was utilized more as a tourist act in that it enabled travelers to live in a single destination for an extended period of time, thereby enhancing their cultural experience. However, in both contexts, work was not identified as being as overriding feature of their tourist experience, but rather a means to prolong their journey.

2.3.6 Work as a Tourist Experience

Contrary to the three previous categories, work has also been shown to be given more significant meaning across certain work-and-travel experiences. Rather than using employment as a means to travel or to prolong travel, there exist forms of work which act as the tourist experience itself (Bianchi 2000; Duncan 2004; Pizam et al. 2000; Uriely & Reichel 2000). Specifically, work has been demonstrated to be a tourist experience unto itself through a variety of contemporary travel experiences including *kibbutzim* workers in Israel (Cohen 1973; Uriely & Reichel 2000), working ‘farm tourists’ (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006; Pearce 1990) and resort workers throughout the world (Duncan 2004; Guerrier & Adib 2003). Conducted as an extension of working holiday research, the above working tourists studies have collectively acknowledged that work plays a central role in a variety of tourist experience and have identified several core motivational factors to partake in a work as a tourist.

Cohen (1973, pp.91) first termed the ‘working holiday’ as a form of travel “in which youths from one country travel into another to work for short-periods, mostly during summer school vacations”. This definition significantly differs from what is currently used today in regards to Working Holiday Makers. Cohen (1973) defines a ‘working holiday’ as a form of travel where the work experience is the tourist act rather than just simply a means to prolong an already existing travel experience. He uses the legions of foreign workers who come to Israel to work in the *kibbutz* system for the summer holidays as an example of tourist who view their work as a significant part of their tourist experience. Indeed, working within a *kibbutz* is well regarded as an experience within itself.

In this context, Uriely and Reichel (2000) illustrated this difference in their study concerning the experiences of three forms of working-tourism throughout Israel, *kibbutzim* (unpaid farm work), *moshavim* (paid agricultural work), and city workers in relation to their approach towards work and their coinciding attitudes towards their hosts. They distinguished two types of working-tourists with respect to their motivations to engage in work, (1) those who perceived their work primarily a means to make money and prolong travel and, (2) the individuals who perceived work as an integral part of their tourist experience (Uriely & Reichel 2000, pp.267). It was

identified that those who worked in the *kibbutz* were less motivated by economic factors than the other two categories. It was shown that *kibbutz* employees were more motivated by the opportunity to socially interact with the host rather than as an economic exchange. Thus, they argued that those who perceive their work as an essential part of their tourist experience were more likely to develop personal friendships and social ties with the host community. Accordingly, Uriely and Reichel (2000) term the experiences of these experiences “working holidays” as employment in the *kibbutz* was perceived to be tourist experience unto itself. On the other hand, the *moshavim* and Tel Aviv city workers were more functional in that they were working in order to finance further travel. Thus, they were termed ‘long-term budget travellers’.

Those who perceive their work as an important element of their tourist experience often have a desire to forge more intense relationships with their hosts than could be achieved through conventional tourist acts (McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006; Pearce 1990; Pizam et al. 2000). For example, Pearce’s (1990) analysis of farm tourism in New Zealand also noted that those who participate in farm tourism often do so in response to the inability of traditional tourist activities to facilitate exchange with local people. Although individuals worked in exchange for room and board, these travelers were predominantly motivated by the desire to engage socially with the local people on a more intense level (Pearce 1990). Likewise, in their quantitative analysis of WWOOF (Willing Workers on Organic Farms) participants in New Zealand, McIntosh and Bonnemann (2006, p. 95), it was also noted that desire for “sincerity in the experience” was mutual for both host and guests and that the non-commercial nature of their encounter fostered a more authentic travel experience. In these examples, work presents the opportunity to live like the local population. Pearce (1990, p. 351) best describes the significance of researching the working tourists when he states “one of the more profound implications of this study of farm tourism is that the ordinary life of others in different countries may be sufficiently extraordinary to international tourists to be a worthwhile attraction in itself”. His analysis of ‘farm tourism’ exemplifies the fact that for those who consider work a tourist experience, quality social exchange with the locals is paramount. Working provides a mechanism for these travelers to escape the institutionalization of tourist traps by accessing the ‘backstage’ of a given country via the farm (Pearce 1990).

However, not all working-tourists are sent to the countryside. Work has also been shown to be a noteworthy tourist activity at resort destinations (Duncan 2004, Guerrier & Adib 2003). Rather than desiring a closer look at the local life, these resort workers are attracted to the possibility to work at a job that is founded on the premise of having a good time (Guerrier & Adib 2002). For example, in her year ethnography of employees in Canada's Whistler ski resort Duncan (2004, p. 9) states that "working in a ski resort is 'fun' in itself" substantiating that employment at this ski resort is considered to be a tourist performance. Indeed, when at 'working' these tourist employees are on the mountain enjoying themselves on the ski field and when the work stops, they remain on the mountain having a good time. In this context, Duncan (2004) stresses that these ski resort workers are just as often tourists as they are workers and at times, one becomes indistinguishable from the other. A similar sentiment was found in Guerrier and Adib's (2003) study of overseas tour reps in Mallorca, Spain. Work, for these tour reps consists of entertaining holiday makers in the daytime and partying in the evenings. Consequently, they suggest that the work of these resort tour reps "has become effectively another type of leisure activity" (Guerrier & Adib 2003, p. 1416). In these instances the boundaries between work and leisure nearly vanish.

2.3.7 Summary

In sum, by uniting these two contradictory terms, these examples demonstrate that work is in fact a tourist performance. The four categories of traveling-workers and working-tourists reveal that many of these individuals attach a variety of meanings to their working practices. Not only is work instrumental in that it supports their livelihood, but for many, it is also a significant part of their unique tourist experience.

This section reviewed both the definition of 'working tourist' and the various motivations for combining work and tourism. In doing so it has demonstrated that the modernist divide between work and tourism has to some extent become blurred. Contrary to sentiment that tourism is the antithesis of work, this section has indicated that work and tourism interact across four key domains; travel-to-work, work-to-travel, work to prolong a travel experience, and work as a tourist experience. This indicates that work is a tourist activity in that many of these experiences are knowingly transitory

and are perceived by these individuals to be uniquely different from the world from which they departed. Moreover, it also illustrated that through merging the worlds of work and leisure, individuals were searching for a greater social exchange with their hosts (Uriely & Reichel 2000), admission to the ‘backstage’ local life by avoiding mass tourism (Bloch-Tzemach 2005; McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006; Pearce 1990), a means for youth-oriented identity construction (Bell 2002; Mason 2002) or a more leisure-oriented lifestyle (Adler & Adler 1999; Bianchi 2000; Duncan 2004; Guerrier & Adib 2002). Furthermore, it illustrated that these travel behaviours are becoming more prevalent in the future as people continue to seek genuine cultural exchanges. Table 1 below summarises the range of research reviewed concerning travel experiences that combine work and tourism, and their unique contribution to literature.

Table 1: Travelers who Combine Work & Tourism

Concept	Author	Contribution to Travel-and-Work Experiences
Sojourner	Sui (1952)	A stranger who spends months or years abroad for the primary purpose of the ‘job’ (typically school or work assignment) and hopes to complete work in the shortest time possible Ethnocentric tendencies
Touristry	Pape (1964)	Work in professional occupations but only for the primary purpose of financing travel
Drifters	Cohen (1972)	Engage in tedious unskilled employment to finance prolonged travel. Work was considered to be an unpleasant necessity
Partial Tourists	Cohen (1974)	Business-oriented travellers who engage in tourist acts while at conventions or on the road for other work-related purposes
Wanderers	Vogt (1976)	Required to work when funds began to diminish
Working Holidays	Cohen (1973); Uriely & Reichel (2000)	Travel for the purposes of tourist-oriented work. In these instances work is the tourist experience
Tramps	Adler (1985)	Worked to travel. A flexible labour market facilitated travel, and this circuit was perceived as a tourist activity
Long-term budget travellers	Riley (1988)	Engage in incidental work to finance extending their travel experience
Farm Tourist Workers & WWOOFers	Pearce (1990); MacIntosh & Bonnemann (2006)	Working or volunteering on farms was perceived as a tourist act that fostered a more genuine encounter with the hosts
Backpackers	Locker-Murphy & Pearce (1995); Sorensen (2003)	Rely on brief spells of work to stretch their budgets, and hence their time overseas
Seekers	Adler & Adler (1999)	Engage in work at resort locations to experience a leisure-oriented lifestyle
Tourist-workers	Lazaridis & Wickens (1999)	Travel and work in tourist destinations in search of a better lifestyle including; a more preferential climate, tastier food, and a relax cultural atmosphere

Migrant Tourist-Workers	Bianchi (2000)	Were mobile resort workers “in search of enhanced life experiences, pleasure and hedonism, prolonged through temporary work which may at times extend into permanent settlement” (p. 131)
Travelling Professional Workers; Migrant tourism workers; Non-institutionalised working tourists; Working holiday tourists	Uriely (2001)	These four categories demonstrate the variation to which tourism can interact with work including; travelling for work, working to travel, work to prolong a travel experience, and work as the tourist experience respectively
The ‘Big OE’	Mason (2002); Bell (2002)	Work overseas as a rite of passage and engage in overseas employment as a journey of self discovery and identity construction, motivated by the desire to experience an alternative way of life
Consumption-led economically active migrants	Williams & Hall (2002); O’Reilly (2003)	Move to amenity-rich destinations for lifestyle reasons but are still income-dependant
Work at leisure & leisure at work	Guerrier & Adib (2002); Duncan (2004)	The division between work and leisure merge, with employment becoming the tourist experience
Working Holiday Makers	Clarke (2005); Hugo (2006)	Gain official temporary working visas that encourages individuals from one country to enter another and are allowed to take part in temporary employment to help fund the primary purpose of tourist travel
Dwelling-tourists	Bloch-Tzemach (2005)	Work facilitates ‘dwelling’ – establishment of a localised routine, including work and normative daily practices - that is perceived to foster a more genuine cultural exchange
Experiential Movers	Conradson & Latham (2005)	This is an examination of the New Zealand ‘OE’ experience and their relationship with work and metropolitan habitus.

2.4 Summary of Literature Review

The literature review began by situating the JET Programme, and similar experiences like it, in the field of temporary mobility. This was followed by a discourse that demonstrated how work and tourism combine to produce many fascinating forms of touristic mobility. Furthermore, it demonstrated that because these experiences are a combination of tourism, sojourning, and temporary migration, the temporary life these individuals live while overseas is neither characteristic of life at home nor representative of the culture of their host destination. This poses an interesting question concerning the relationship those engaged in various forms of temporary mobility develop with their host culture and with their fellow travellers. This study hopes to provide much needed insight into this evolving research area.

The second section of chapter two revealed a diverse range of temporary mobility and working-tourism experiences. Nevertheless, there are many interesting travel practices that are yet to be explored in an academic setting, such as overseas English teaching. This unique travel behaviour in particular, offers the adventurous individual an opportunity to work and live temporarily in a foreign country uniquely different from their own. Although overseas English teaching experience is typically marketed as an alternative to mass tourism, as found at STA Travel, it has rarely (if at all) been explored in a tourism context. Undoubtedly, some English teachers are professionals engaged in their work as a career. It would be unfair to say all English teachers are touristically predisposed. Yet, it is common knowledge that there are many other individuals who use this form of employment as an opportunity to explore the world. Much of the research identified in this chapter revolved around farm stays and working holiday makers in New Zealand and Australia, resort workers in Western Europe, and the kibbutz system found in Israel. Needless to say, there is a need to investigate other forms of temporary mobility which combine employment with touristic motivations. In addition, the methods used to investigate these touristic movements have traditionally been guided by an etic paradigm (Pizam et al. 2000; Uriely & Reichel 2000). Accordingly, there is a need to focus on these types of experiences, specifically in regards to the social dynamics from an emic perspective - *in the travellers' own terms*. Furthermore, the studies investigated throughout the review identified that the opportunity for a more sincere cultural participation is a significant motivator for numerous travel-and-work experiences. However, a detailed analysis of how or if these individuals accomplish this 'greater cultural experience' has not been undertaken. Accordingly, this study attempts to address these deficiencies.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The value, significance, and effectiveness of qualitative research have been passionately debated in the social sciences, such as anthropology and sociology, for decades (Phillimore & Goodson 2004). Being a relatively new field of study, tourism has just recently joined in the quantitative - qualitative debate. Traditionally, tourism has been primarily perceived as an economic activity; a product for consumption (Tribe 2005). The fact that tourism departments across the globe are typically situated within the 'School of Business' rather than in departments of the social sciences exemplifies the economic-driven nature of tourist studies. This has produced a research culture that emphasises the significance of economic and business elements of tourism. Industries whose focus is on economic activity typically demand information perceived to be based on fact/reality. In these instances, 'reality' is often viewed as being objective, scientifically valid and is often supported by numbers, percentages and large sample sizes in accordance to the bottom line. As a result, tourism research has been dominated by a positivist paradigm and quantitative research (Riley & Love 1999), which in modern society, is often taken for granted as the "the only legitimate way of doing science" (Prasad 2005, p. 7). However, tourism researchers have recently started to re-examine their research methods. They are beginning to acknowledge that being quantitatively focused, while still valuable for certain circumstances, offers a "superficial knowledge of travel patterns without really understanding why and how different people travel" (Jordan & Gibson 2004, p. 221).

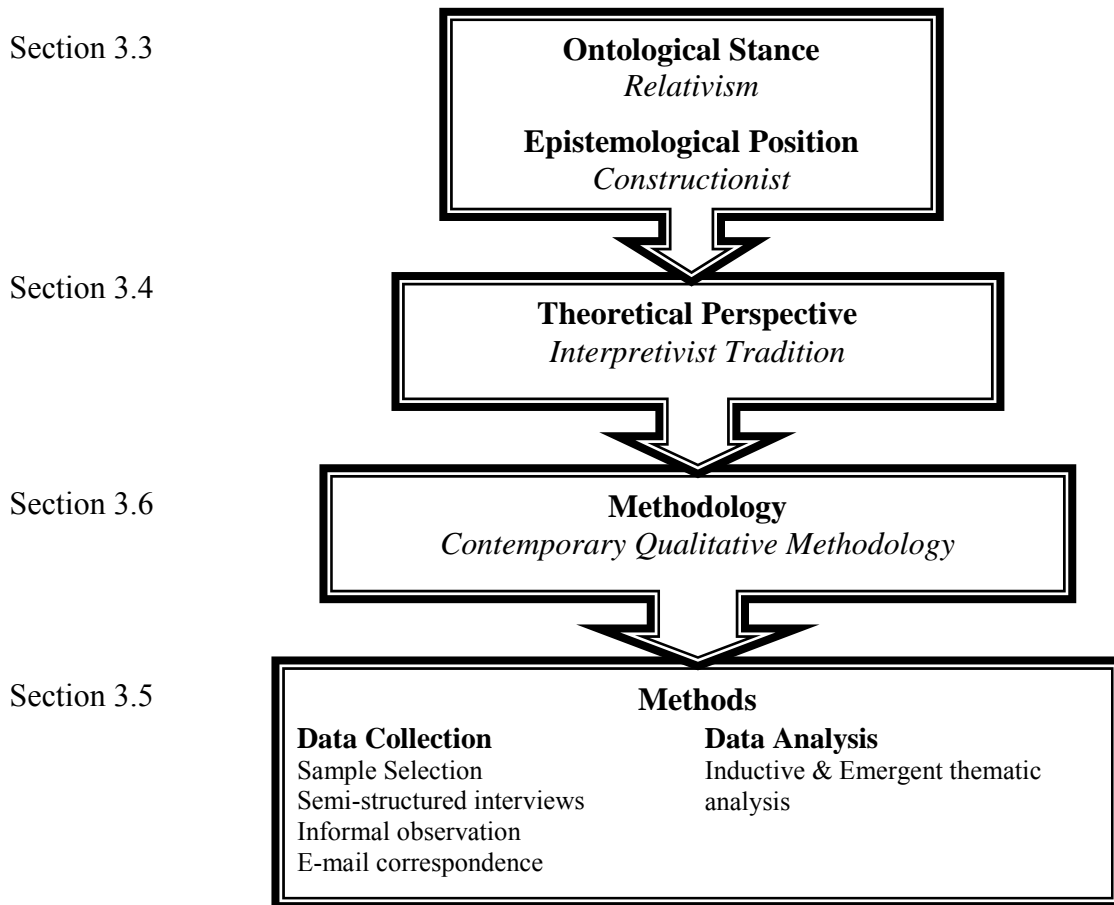
This research is an interpretive investigation centring on motivations and the social situation of living and working in Japan through the JET Programme. Due to the nature of this inquiry a qualitative approach was deemed most beneficial for the study at hand. This chapter begins by outlining the methodological framework which guides this research. There are four basic elements at the core of all research; ontology/epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods (Crotty 1998; Gray 2004). Each element of this framework will be discussed in succession, demonstrating how all four elements flow together to produce epistemological integrity

for the study. The rest of the chapter is dedicated to describing the research methods used in this study. The methods section will consist of the following: (1) a description of the data collection methods; (2) an explanation of the data analysis procedures and; (3) an account of the study's limitations.

3.2 Methodological Framework

Although qualitative research in tourism has been gaining recognition over the past few decades, attention has been drawn to the fact that when *doing* a qualitative study, the ontological and epistemological positions often remain a mystery or do not necessarily link with the methods chosen (Charmaz 2000; Denzin & Lincoln 2003; Jamal & Hollinshead 2001; Marshall & Rossman 2006; Phillipmore and Goodson 2004; Riley & Love 2000). As result, there has been a call for an increase in reflexivity regarding the researchers' ontological and epistemological perspectives in relation to the chosen methodology (Crotty 1998, Gray 2004). Jamal and Hollinshead (2001, p. 70) recognize this concern when they affirm "research and knowledge constructions are obfuscated when the *methodology* (i.e. theory of the method, including its epistemological and ontological assumptions) employed is not explained clearly". It is no longer adequate to simply choose a research design without providing, or understanding, your rationale. Nor, is it acceptable to proceed with a research paradigm without offering an ontological and epistemological background upon which the research is inherently embedded. It is imperative to acknowledge and comprehend how one sees the world before proceeding to examine it; what Marshall and Rossman (2006, p. 55) describe as "epistemological integrity". Figure 3 below, identifies the methodological framework for this thesis which is based on Crotty's (1998) model of the four fundamental elements the research processes; ontological and epistemological position, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods.

Figure 3: Methodological Framework



Source: Adapted from Crotty 1998, p. 4

It is imperative to acknowledge the ontological and epistemological position from which this research is deeply rooted. By providing this clear rationale for the methodological framework of the design and methods, the research and the researcher become open and reflexive. The following discussion demonstrates how all four elements flow together to produce *epistemological integrity* for the study.

3.3 Ontological Stance & Epistemological Position

The research is guided by a relativist ontology and constructionist epistemology. When combined, it composes a world perspective that sees the social world as being locally constructed which rejects the notion of a single knowable truth and gives a voice to multiple realities (Corbetta 2003; Crotty 1998; Gray 2004; Kidd 2002). This

section offers my personal ontological stance and epistemological position as a researcher which have strongly influenced the development of this research.

3.3.1 Relativist Ontology

Ontology has been defined as the “the study of being” (Crotty 1998, p. 10), “the nature of existence” (Gray 2004, p. 16) and “the nature of reality” (Goodson & Phillimore 2004, p. 34). Gray (2004) argues that Western thought is divided into two fundamental ontological stances; *being* and *becoming*. *Being* is described as a reality that consists of “clearly formed entities with identifiable properties” in contrast to *becoming* which is a more fluid stance that centres on chaotic and formlessness of our ever changing world (Gray 2004, p. 17). This ontological duality implies that *being* is static and becoming is fluid and flexible. However, as I will describe in this section, *being* is flexible and constantly changing.

Social philosopher, Martin Heidegger (1971) is one of the more contemporary thinkers on *being* from which this research is based. Heidegger’s (1971, p. 157) *being* ontology is well explained in his conceptualisation of ‘building dwelling thinking’, which states:

To say that mortals *are* is to say that *in dwelling* they persist through spaces by virtue of their stay among things and locations...Even when mortals turn “inward”, taking stalk of themselves, they do not leave behind their belonging to the fourfold.

Dwelling puts ones daily interaction with their socio-cultural and physical environment to the forefront of human existence. We actively interact with our world and do our best at attempting to make meaning from the variety of our experiences. That is to say, subjects *dwelling* in and amongst the objects of the world and the two cannot be divorced. Any and all internal meaning is constructed by the mind attempting to make sense of its environmental influences. A constructionist position unites the subjectivity of self and the objects of world into a continuous meaningful exchange that is constantly evolving throughout our existence. In his study on the experiential perspective of place, Tuan (1975) emphasises that the very nature of experience is a constructed activity. He uses the metaphor “seeing is thinking”, which suggests the notion that we actively

participate and discriminate amongst our environment which shapes and influences our human reality (Tuan 1975, p. 152). In this sense, knowledge is cooperatively constructed through our interactions with the world. Everyone has different experiences and influences and therefore has a different story to tell or 'knowledge'. This philosophy places the human and physical world in a steady dialogue. To *dwell* means we must consciously and actively engage with the surroundings in which we live, and through this dwelling, we exist. Thus, the process of social construction is made possible through this philosophy since, by our very existence on earth, we are destined to interact with our environment. This ontological stance, then, implies that we construct meaning from our social and physical interaction with our surroundings.

However, that is not to say that being is neither static nor homogeneous. From a Heideggerian (1971) perspective, it is viewed that our world always surrounds us, but that world has no meaning without a mind to give it significance. So, although we are embedded in this world, it is through our conscious interactions with the world that we derive meaning. Reality is relative. The constant interactions between self and world enable the *being* ontology to be more relative in the way that each individual's reality is constructed through a series of personal experiences with the environment that surrounds us (Crotty 1998). In this sense, *being* is highly subjective as the self remains strongly shaped by one's sociocultural influences. According to Lincoln and Guba (2003), this is a *relativist* ontological stance based on the premise that reality is localised and specifically constructed from a multitude of cultural, social, and political forces.

Relativist ontology perceives reality as not only varying among individuals, but often these realities are shared across individual groups and cultures (Corbetta 2003). Parekh (2006, p. 122) articulates this relationship between cultural differences and *being* by stating "different cultures, then, define and constitute human beings and come to terms with the basic problems of human life in their own different ways". Thus, it could be contended from this pluralistic approach that one's culture constitutes a significant part of one's essential being. As such, multiple realities exist and are dependant on socio-cultural influences from which we dwell. From this relativist ontology it is clear that the research is also based on the philosophical notion that cultural differences exist, and that these differing realities create variety in the world which are, as Usunier (1998, p. 104) exclaims, "the main riches in the fabric of reality".

In summary, this research is founded on a relativist ontological stance that believes there are multiple, locally created realities, and that human nature, the physical environment and cultural influences combine to develop our unique ‘being-in-the-world’. Indeed, experiencing these culturally derived ontological diversities can be an enlightening affair.

3.3.2 Constructionist Epistemology

Epistemology is closely related to one's ontological stance (Crotty 1998). Epistemology is defined as “the theory of knowledge, and is interested in the origins and nature of knowing and the construction of knowledge, and the claims and assumptions that are made about what the nature of knowledge is” (Phillimore and Goodson 2004, p. 34). Whereas ontology is about the nature of reality, epistemology describes how that reality can be known and understood. The research process is innately immersed in epistemology, influencing its conception, choice of research subject, questions being asked as well as the preference of methods and methodology (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2004). As such, one's epistemological position is pivotal in understanding the research, the researcher and the outcomes of the study. However, for novice researchers, an epistemological position is more often than not either assumed or taken for granted rather than questioned and identified at the beginning of the research process (Gray 2004). To situate one's epistemological position takes serious contemplation into questions as fundamental as what is research? Why do we do research? What kind of knowledge can be discovered by doing research (Crotty 1998)? What does it mean ‘to know’ something (Gray 2004)? What can be ‘known’ (Phillimore & Goodson 2004)? And, how can we know what we know (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2004)? This section offers a discussion regarding the epistemological position embedded in this research. Furthermore, it serves as a forum to identify how this epistemological position links to the research theoretical perspective, methods and research questions.

Phillimore and Goodson (2004) suggest that one of the principal strengths of tourism research is that it is not bound to the fixed epistemological tenets of a specific academic discipline. Subjects such as anthropology, sociology, geography, psychology

and business are epistemologically partial to certain 'ways of knowing' - methods, that are deemed to be appropriate for their field of study. Tourism researchers, on the other hand, are free to combine approaches, methods, and research paradigms. As a result, the multidisciplinary nature of tourism research has tremendous potential to establish new and creative epistemological stances (Phillimore & Goodson 2004). However, for new researchers, and specifically inexperienced master's students looking for epistemological guidance, this lack of disciplinary direction can be a significant area of struggle as they try to find their niche within the field.

Although my educational background is an eclectic fusion of several disciplines, epistemologically, I remain firmly grounded in a constructionist paradigm. Accordingly, this research takes a constructionist epistemological stance which is closely linked to the *relativist* ontology. While there are many factions of the constructionism (see Phillips 1995), Crotty (1998, p. 8) asserts that this epistemology posits there "is not objective truth waiting for us to discover it. Truth, or meaning, comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world. There is no meaning without the mind. Meaning is not discovered, but constructed". From a constructionist position, there is no universal truth, but rather realities are uniquely constructed by each individual which is influenced by their socio-cultural influences. Each personality can produce diverse meanings from the same phenomenon and can do so in many different ways (Crotty 1998; Gray 2004).

For research inquiry, then, knowledge is not only constructed by the participant and the experience, but also through the interaction between the participants and the researcher. What can be 'known' is constructed through an active engagement between the researcher and the object of study (Corbetta 2004; Crotty 1998; Silverman 2006). Denzin and Lincoln (2003) consider all research constructionist in that we all understand the world grounded from our gendered and socioculturally derived perceptions. Of course, my own position as a middle-class, well educated, English speaking Canadian not only lead me to the research (as teaching English overseas heavily dominated by these homogenous demographics) but it will also influence the construction of the research and its results. I have acquired extensive knowledge on teaching English overseas, and particularly in Japan, through my interpretation of numerous literatures and theory on the subject, as well as through my own experiences

as an English teacher in Asia. Thus, the research will be developed through a constant construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of interpretations between theory, the object of study and through a continuous reflection of how I am inherently involved with the research process. Another example of how this research is constructed by our social environment would be to think of the research findings of a similar study regarding JET conducted by a Japanese national master's student. Questions posed would be uniquely different, the dynamics between the researcher and participants would be significantly altered, which would consequently produce different findings of the same phenomenon.

One can not remain an outside objective observer when examining our social world. A constructionist inquiry produces findings which are a combination of both the researchers and participants constructed realities and the suggestion of an objective result is rejected (Kidd 2002). In this sense, a constructionist perspective is a cooperative search for meaning between the researcher and the researched, contesting the fact that a 'lived experience' can ever be captured (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). As a result, the methods used to collect data are "treated as *topics* rather than a research *resource*" (Silverman 2006, p. 119). This study takes the position that the meaning of any experience is mutually constructed and knowledge gained from research is a cooperative effort between the researcher and the researched. This epistemological stance emphasises the influence of interpretation as we humans cannot be culturally, socially or physically removed from the world we interact. It is from this perspective that Schwandt (2000, p. 197) argues "we are all constructivists if we believe that the mind is active in the construction of knowledge".

3.4 Interpretivist Tradition Theoretical Perspective

A theoretical perspective is the underlying philosophy providing a context for the research process (Crotty 1998). It is the theoretical stance that links ones ontological and epistemological beliefs with the research methodology. The interpretivist theoretical paradigm is closely linked to a relativist ontology and constructivist epistemology (Corbetta 2003; Gray 2004). Ontologically, the research perceives reality as being relative which is locally enacted through our relations with

our social, cultural and physical environment. As a result, epistemologically, any knowledge of a specific ‘reality’ is constructed through an interactive process between the participant and the experience as well as co-constructed by the participant and researcher. Therefore, to gain knowledge of any subject matter requires interpretation. Accordingly, this research is guided by an interpretivist paradigm. A review of literature regarding the interpretive traditions reveals there are some central characteristics common to all interpretivist research. Table 2 below identifies the characteristics of the interpretive traditions as well as illustrating the role of interpretive research.

Table 2: Characteristics of the Interpretive Traditions

Interpretive Research
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “human interpretation as the starting point for developing knowledge about our social world” (Prasad 2005, p13) • “there are multiple realities” (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, p. 21) • “each persons ‘reality’ is formed as she or he interprets her or his world” (Kidd 2002, p.128) • and that this reality is “culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (Crotty 1998, p. 67)
Interpretive Researchers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focus on meanings (Gray 2004) • develops an understanding of meaning through an interactive process between the researcher and the object of study (Corbetta 2003) • to further their understanding of meaning “there is an open, interactive relationship between theory and research” (Corbetta 2003, p. 38) • as a result, “interpretation aims to bring to light an underlying coherence or sense” (Taylor 1987, p.33)

Through these fundamental characteristics, researchers are able to take a more interpretive role. Rather than being an outside expert, an interpretive philosophy embeds the researcher in the object of study, nurturing a co-created meaning of a specific social experience. This approach echoes Hall’s (2004, p.139) outlook on social research which states “that intellectuals should accept a more modest role, that of interpreters and brokers of civil societies and cultures”. By utilising a more modest,

interpretive approach, the study becomes more reflexive, with multiple realities of the object of study emerging from a constant dialogue between theory, participants and the researcher. The research is deeply rooted in the interpretive tradition and accordingly, uses a qualitative methodology and methods to explore the experiences and meanings given to participating in the JET programme.

3.5 Contemporary Qualitative Methodology

Crotty (1998, p.3) describes *methodology* as the “process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes”. It is the guiding framework from which researchers structure the nature of their inquiry. Identifying the methodological approach for this research serves to link the ontological and epistemological positions, the theoretical position, and the choice of methods, thereby establishing epistemological integrity for the study. Given the exploratory and multifaceted nature of inquiry the study requires a qualitative investigation. This research subscribes to the fundamental values of modern qualitative investigation. For the sake of description I have termed this approach a *contemporary qualitative methodology*. In its most rudimentary form, this methodological approach is the common activity of examining an interesting experience or phenomenon using the basic tenets of the qualitative investigation. The *contemporary qualitative methodology* used for this research is founded on four fundamental interpretive and qualitative principles, all of which are in alignment with the ontological and epistemological position identified earlier.

It is not the intention of this section to join the debate concerning the benefits of qualitative over a quantitative research or the differences in these methodological approaches, as there are many texts which discuss this (see Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Jamal & Hollinshead 2001; Phillimore & Goodson 2004; Marshall & Rossman 1999; Riley & Love 2000; Seale 2002; Walle 1997). However, this section will refer the key qualitative perspectives, stemming from these quantitative versus qualitative debates, which constitute the guiding methodological framework for this research. Table 3 below summarises the critical literature on contemporary qualitative research from which the five fundamental tenets of this methodological framework originated.

Table 3: Essentials of Contemporary Qualitative Research

Authors	Source	Characteristics of Contemporary Qualitative Research
Phillimore & Goodson	Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontology, Epistemology & Methodology (2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • takes place in natural settings • interpreting phenomenon in terms of the meanings given by the participants • humanising problems • gaining an emic 'insiders' perspective
Jamal & Hollinshead	'Tourism & the Forbidden Zone: the undeserved Power of Qualitative Inquiry' (2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'messy' texts from multidimensional & complex social situations • engaged interestedness • locality or local knowledges • reflexive approach to research design
Denzin & Lincoln	Handbook of Qualitative Research 2 nd Edition (2000)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • acceptance of postmodern sensibilities • capturing the individual's point of view • examining the constraints of everyday life • securing rich descriptions
Riley & Love	'The State of Qualitative Research' (2000)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emergent design • inductive analysis • multiple realities • negotiated outcomes resulting from interpretation
Marshall & Rossman	'Designing Qualitative Research' (1999)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • views social phenomenon holistically • reflects on who the researcher is in the inquiry • sensitivity to the personal biography of the researcher and how it influences the study • uses complex reasoning that is multifaceted • emergent and interpretive analysis
Walle	'Quantitative versus Qualitative Tourism Research' (1997)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emic (insider) approach to understanding knowledge • Insight, intuition & instinct are required for qualitative research

The essential methodological philosophy of the *contemporary qualitative research* design centres on the relationships that we as researchers have with our social environment. It gives recognition to our constructive and interpretive relationship with all aspects of the study, from the inception of the research questions, to the co-construction of meaning developed in the data collection process, and even with writing of the thesis. As social beings, researchers shape the research. Therefore, the position of the *contemporary qualitative methodology* used for this research centres around four guiding principles stemming from the literature above, which include;

- 3.5.1 - Embracing the postmodern
- 3.5.2 - Portraying an emic perspective
- 3.5.3 - Holistic examination of the social world
- 3.5.4 - Securing rich descriptions

These four principles of qualitative research guide the methodological framework of this research. Each will be discussed in detail below.

3.5.1 Embracing the Postmodern

Another significant aspect of qualitative research is the acceptance of the postmodern sensibilities (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Prasad (2005, p. 219) describes postmodern thought as a viewpoint that “rejects modern assumptions of social coherence and linear causality in favour of multiplicity, plurality, fragmentation, and indeterminacy”. Modernism, on the other hand, is a moment where separate social spaces, like work and leisure, are seen as separate entities and interact less and less with each other (Prasad 2005). Due to its focus on the individual perceptions of reality, postmodern thought is primarily found in qualitative research, while more modern/structure thought is typically found in quantitative research.

Although far from being a postmodern study, this research welcomes the idea that all research has some individual bias and that subjectivity is embedded in the entire research process (Lincoln & Guba 2003). All decisions and knowledge involve a chaotic amalgamation of intuition, feelings, and emotions, as well as the mind - logic, judgement and reasoning. Modernity often disconnects these elements from the entirety of our being. However, if we reflect on our own thought process, it becomes obvious that we cannot and do not process things in such a logical manner. So why conduct research that way? The postmodern philosophy allows researchers more freedom for conducting and evaluating their work. Adopting this attitude towards research produces comprehensive information containing “verisimilitude, emotionality, personal responsibility, an ethic of caring, political praxis, multivoiced texts, and dialogues with subjects” (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, p. 10). This generates highly personalised and context specific data. For this reason, findings are described as localised meanings and

acknowledge that it is only possible to capture a moment in time (Phillimore & Goodson 2004). It captures the moment in an effort to build for a better future. This allows for multiple realities to be constructed which is in alignment with the ontological and epistemological position of the research. Therefore, the *contemporary qualitative approach* to this research embraces the postmodern as it enables the research to capture the multiple realities of individuals in a world which I perceive reality to be rich in colour rather than black and white.

3.5.2 Portraying an Emic Perspective

It could be argued that quantitative research is concerned with large sample sizes in effort to categorise people in to manageable descriptions, thereby relegating their individual experiences into groups. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) highlight that even though all researchers are concerned with the individual perspective; qualitative research has greater potential to embody the individual's viewpoint. That is to say, that interpretive qualitative research should centre on the emic perspective of the individual's experience (Jennings 2005; Walle 1997).

An etic method of investigation is based on the researcher's conception of the social world as an outside observer (Silverman 2006). It is a scientific and positivist framework. Walle (1997, p. 531) identifies that an etic approach to tourism research "is characterised by placing high priority upon methodological exactness and a tendency to quantify". This position is structured around formality, structure, and measurement through the use of mathematical models and statistical techniques in an effort to make the research scientifically valid and replicable. Westwood (2005) suggests that another etic technique is the use of third person that places the researcher outside the research in order to provide an objective and authoritative stance. I am not an authoritative expert on other peoples experience; they are. However, that is not to say an etic approach has no value to tourism. The etic framework is highly valuable for tourism research as academics are often required to report on the economic impacts of tourism, especially when dealing with business and government stakeholders. However, an etic approach to social sciences cannot adequately investigate the complexities of many social and/or cross-cultural phenomena (Walle 1997).

On the other hand, an emic approach to research derives meaning and conceptual framework from the participants's personal viewpoint (Jennings 2005; Marshall & Rossman 2006; Prasad 2005; Silverman 2006). Walle (1997) describes the emic approach as less structured, utilizing intuition and insight to explore specific research questions. However, Walle's definition does not completely encapsulate the nature of an emic approach. An emic approach is closely linked to the constructionist epistemology as it requires the researcher to go 'inside' the social setting of the research. Marshall and Rossman (1999) expand on this concept stating that an emic researcher has a holistic view, is reflective about their relationship with the research, and is able to examine the research from multiple points of view. This approach has tremendous value for tourism research in that it allows academics to analyse the field of tourism from a crucial perspective, the traveller's.

While there are unarguably benefits to using an etic approach in some circumstances, quantitative analysis cannot account for the individualistic nature of our human experience. This is especially true when studying a social experience like tourism. Jennings (2005) asserts that an emic approach is the best method to explore our social world. A qualitative approach, she suggests, is better able to explore these more individualistic phenomena. In her examination of doing research on cultural studies, Saukko (2003, p. 64) describes this as polyvocality or "studying the lived experience or voices in plural, rather than in singular". This viewpoint allows the qualitative researcher to examine the meanings of an experience from an individual perspective. Yet, if only one researcher is contributing to the study how can it be polyvocal? Saukko's (2003) notion of polyvocality enables the researcher to view the social world as having shades of grey, rather than black and white. It is polyvocal in the fact that individual experiences are given priority over grouping, labelling, or categorising. It is an ideal to represent diversity and humanistic individualism on paper.

The *contemporary qualitative methodological* approach recognizes that social reality is extremely complex and that 'truth' is subjective, non-absolute, and heavily influenced by one's environment. This position acknowledges that all research is intrinsically influenced through our relationships with others and our environment. We can never fully reveal an absolute truth or make sweeping generalisations of our social world. To do so would be to disregard the diversity of the human experience. The

interpretive qualitative researcher does not limit their exploratory capacity simply because of the possibility of not being able to scientifically measure the results using the restrictive concepts of reliability and validity. A qualitative approach does not capture reality, it endeavours to navigate through a multiplicity of socio-cultural influences to “capture as much of reality as possible” (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, p. 9). Giving voice and meaning to each individual, as opposed to only the collective, serves to enrich the research process and deepen the data collected. Thus, the emic method is a principle methodological tenet of this research.

3.5.3 Holistic Examination of the Social World

Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p. 10) identify that qualitative researchers “see the world in action and embed their findings in it”. In other words, qualitative researchers perceive they are intricately involved with the society they are researching, and therefore, can not be objectively situated outside the research as is the case with the quantitative approach. They take into account their ontological and epistemological stances when conducting research which form an “engaged interestedness” of the research topic (Jamal & Hollinshead 2001, p. 72). Since we are ‘in-the-world’, we can not remove ourselves from it. Interpretive qualitative researchers should reflect on how they see the world, their place in the world, and how knowledge can be gathered. By placing themselves ‘in’ the study, they are become more cognisant of the social environment they are investigating (Denzin & Lincoln 2003; Jamal and Hollinshead 2001). A critical aspect of being more aware of your social surroundings is reflexivity. By continually going ‘in’ and stepping ‘out’ of the research one becomes more conscious of what socio-cultural factors may be influencing the research, thereby fostering a more holistic comprehension of the specific occurrence. This type of reflexivity is a critical element in qualitative research.

Being reflexive is essential when examining the social world. Tribe (2005, p. 5) defines reflexivity as “looking and reflecting inwards upon themselves as researchers, and outwards upon those that they research”. By incorporating reflexivity, qualitative researchers are once again become more intimately involved with the research process. A qualitative researcher does not separate themselves from the social world in contrast

to quantitative researchers who take an objective ‘outsiders’ position. Thus, a fundamental distinction between qualitative and quantitative researchers is that the former identify who they are, how they are involved and how they influence the research (Tribe 2005). In Hall’s (2004, p. 139) commentary on reflexivity in tourism research, he highlights that today’s modern societies have become more uncertain, with “no absolute rules and standards for society”. In an increasingly fragmented world, the need for a reflexive approach becomes even more critical. By placing the researcher ‘inside’ the object of study and through continuous reflection of the social environment, one can develop a more holistic perspective of the social world. Consequently, being placed in the environment under investigation enables researchers to get a holistic comprehension of the social phenomenon being studied.

3.5.4 Securing Rich Descriptions

The previous tenets of the *contemporary qualitative research* all serve to enhance the richness and detail of the information collected. Qualitative researchers place great significance on detailed descriptions of the social world whereas quantitative researchers “are deliberately unconcerned with rich descriptions because such detail interrupts the process of developing generalisations” (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, p. 11). To the quantitative researcher, the ‘extra’ detail does not provide any further insight into the research problem. However, in order to better ascertain the thoughts, emotions and meanings of individual experiences, a researcher must gather rich data through the voices of the individuals themselves. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) argue that even though all researchers are concerned with the individual’s viewpoint, qualitative research can potentially obtain more detailed analysis of the individual’s emic perspective. The richness of information collected by a qualitative approach provides additional information, insight, and feeling which quantitative methods could not easily achieve (McIntosh 1998).

Offering rich detail not only offers additional information and insight to the data, it enhances the research by involving emotions and colour to the subject matter. If the world is not black and white than it must have colour. The richness of the descriptions found in qualitative research provides ‘colour’, feelings, emotions, varying opinions,

and individualism to the research process. The depth and colour of the qualitative approach offers researchers the ability to capture our experiences with the social world on a deeper level. This perspective is a fundamental differentiation between qualitative and quantitative research. It is a commitment to provide quality, in-depth and rich narrative descriptions in an effort to construct a more emic, emergent, and deep understanding of the JET experience.

3.5.5 Summary

The *contemporary qualitative methodology* is ideal for examining the complexities of the social world as it centres on social relationships. It is a reflexive methodology that is sensitive to fact that the researcher is inherently embedded in the research process and therefore rejects the notion of an objective outside observer. In order to gain knowledge of a particular subject, the researcher tries to get close and in-depth with the object of study. Knowledge obtained is viewed and analysed as being constructed through the interaction between researched and researcher which serves to provide a detailed emic understanding focusing on personal interpretations of a specific event. This approach encourages multiple realities of truth that are often highly localized and case specific. However, the complexities of the data are embraced as interpretive research does not claim to be outside the research searching for an objective reality. Thus, rich, detailed descriptions are required to build a holistic and in-depth understanding of a specific case. To assemble such comprehensive knowledge, an emergent qualitative approach is required. In doing so, the research process is less authoritarian and allows the researcher more flexibility when exploring complex social situations. This research is fundamentally based on these four fundamental characteristics of *contemporary qualitative research*, which constitute the guiding methodological framework for the method of data collection and analysis chosen for this research.

3.6 Study Methods

3.6.1 Data Collection

Rossman and Rallis (1998) maintain that qualitative research often requires multiple data collection methods to gather information. For this study, three data collection methods were utilised. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were the primary method of data collection, with e-mail correspondence and informal observation providing supplementary information. The data collection process occurred over a seven month period commencing with the initial e-mail correspondence in mid-October, 2006 and concluding in May, 2007 when the analysis was completed. This section will validate the use of a small sample size which will be followed by a review of the three data collection methods used for this study; semi-structure in-depth interviews, informal observation, and continuous e-mail contact.

Sample Size

Gray (2004) posits that a limited population that can be researched over an extended period of time is the most appropriate sample size when the study is attempting to understand the meanings of a given experience. Accordingly, due to the nature of the research questions combined with the time and economical limitations of the study, a small sample of JET participants was deemed to be most suitable for this study. This decision was a conscious effort to choose quality and depth over quantity and numbers. A quantitative analysis could have provided a detailed descriptive analysis of travel behaviour and some behavioural patterns of JET participants, but would have controlled the voices of the participants themselves. Utilising a small number of participants allowed me to gain greater in-depth knowledge of their experiences in the participants own terms. Study participants were asked to volunteer their time to participate in the study. In this manner, the sample was one of convenience in that interviews were conducted with those who were interested in the project and with whom a mutually agreeable time and location for the interview could be arranged. However, the qualitative approach adopted in this study does not require a representative sample of the population under study and it was felt that after nine

interviews there was an ample amount of information gathered to address the research questions.

Semi-Structured In-depth Interviews

The principal method of data collection for this research was semi-structured in-depth interviews. Interviews took place over a three week period, from November 17 to December 10 2006, and took place in the city or town where participants were currently residing. This was deliberate on my part as I wanted to put into context the setting in which their experiences unfolded. Most of the interviews transpired in public spaces such as restaurants or cafés and were held at a time and place of the participant's convenience. Only the interview with Amber, took place at her apartment which undoubtedly made for one the most comfortable, open and insightful interview. Jeff took this opportunity to reveal the beauty of his small Japanese village. His interview was conducted at the local historical castle, which provided a surreal backdrop to discuss his feelings and experiences living and working in Japan. The only stipulation concerning the interview location was that the interviews could not transpire in the place of their employment. Conducting the interview outside of the work space would enable them to talk more freely about their experiences without the presence of their employers or co-workers. The interviews ranged in duration from 45 minutes to just over two hours. In all cases the interviewees were eager to talk about their experiences of living and working in Japan and did not appear apprehensive talking about personal issues such as intimate relationships or personal feelings about their families, friends or themselves. All the interviews were digitally recorded and written consent was obtained prior to the interview.

The conversations were semi-structured and followed Seidman's (1996) approach to qualitative interviewing. Seidman (1996, p.12) posits that through a "combination of exploring the past to clarify events that led participants to where they are now, and describing the concrete details of their present experience, establishes conditions for reflecting upon what they are now doing in their lives". He outlines a three phase in-depth interview process used to allow the participants to put their immediate experiences into their life context in an effort to gather in-depth meanings.

The first phase of the interview centred on a conceptually focused historical context that was used to explore what factors may have fostered a desire to live and work in Japan. Questions in this phase revolved around work and educational background, previous travel experience, and reasons for wanting to participate in the JET Programme. The second phase explored the social experiences of the participants. This phase investigated narratives on what life was like as a JET participant living and working in Miyazaki as a JET. Conversations naturally gravitated towards their relationships with their host community, fellow JETs and their feelings about being a foreigner in Japanese society. In addition, topics regarding cross-cultural interaction, cultural awareness and cultural learning were also investigated in this phase. The third phase centred on meanings attached to their experience in Japan. They were asked to reflect on what living and working temporarily in Japan meant to them and how it fit into their lives. Questions in this phase revolved around how this experience relates to the larger social processes of the participants' lives. They were asked to describe what they have learned from living and working in Japan, how they have changed, in what ways will this experience impact their future decisions, and how it has affected them as a person.

An interview schedule was utilised which acted as a guide for the interview process (see Appendix 2). In this study, the interview was initially guided by this predetermined list of questions and probes. The interview schedule contained a list of potential areas that might emerge during the each phase of the interview, along with a selection of probes, follow-up and exploration questions. The specific questions were established as a result of reviewing relevant literature on working tourism in combination with my own experiences as English teacher in Asia. This list was utilised as a *guide* rather than as a strict interview template. If the interviewee did not indicate that a specific part of the experience was significant to them, there was be no effort to consciously persuade them into that line of thinking. As I gained more confidence, knowledge, and experience with the interviewing process, I relied less on the interviews schedule and was able to concentrate more on the quality of information of the interview rather than the structure. Additionally, as qualitative research is emergent in nature, appropriate alterations were made to the interview schedule as the newly identified themes emerged.

Semi-structured in-depth interviewing was chosen as the primary method for several reasons. First, interviews create an atmosphere which facilitates the telling of stories and sharing of personal experiences from an emic perspective. Kvale (1996) posits that in all in-depth interviews people naturally tell stories about themselves and their lives. Through a naturally occurring conversation, participants express themselves through story telling in interviews. Secondly, in-depth interviews offer the best opportunity to explore the meanings of experiences. In this regard, Seidman (1998, p.3) comments:

The purpose of in-depth interviewing is not to get answers to questions, nor to test hypotheses, and not to 'evaluate' as the term is normally used. At the root of in-depth interviews is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience.

In-depth interviews offer a tremendous opportunity to gather and expand on rich descriptions and meanings as they emerge. Third, interviews provide 'depth'. Wengraf (2001, pp. 6) describes 'depth' (as in 'in-depth') as to get the sense of how something that seemed apparently straightforward is more complicated than it first appeared, "of how the surface appearance may be quite misleading about the 'depth realities'". What may seem as a simple adventure into experiencing a foreign culture may in fact conceal complex sociocultural narratives that extend beyond the scope of simply teaching English overseas. As a result, an in-depth interview method allows for an emergent design, fosters an insider (emic) perspective, views the researcher as reflexive, and the interview as reciprocal interaction between the researcher and participant which all combine to provide thick descriptions of their personal experience. For these reasons, in-depth interviews were used as the primary data collection to for this research.

Jordan and Gibson (2004) describe two additional advantages of using a semi-structured approach. They posit that a semi-structured approach offers comparisons across interviews. This approach allows the researcher to compare the meanings that emerged from the data collection and to uncover similar themes across interview participants. In addition, they sight a semi-structured approach of being particularly beneficial for inexperienced researchers. They posit that this approach offers the novice interviewer some form of structure while at the same time enabling them to explore their own unique interview style. I found this a strong advantage of the semi-structured approach. As a novice researcher and not 'all-knowing' of the subject, a semi-

structured interview gave me the security and confidence to proceed throughout the interview with a continuous flow. For these reasons a semi-structure interview method was deemed to be the most effective way to elicit information for this study.

Informal Observation

Greater insight into the experiences of participants was collected through informal observation. Inherent in any interview process is informal observation (Kvale 1996; Marshall & Rossman 2006; Silvermann 2006). In his analysis of qualitative interviewing, Denzin (1970 in Silverman 2006, p. 133) states “I wish to treat the interview as an observational encounter. An encounter...represents the coming together of two or more persons for the purpose of focused interaction”. Furthermore, Marshall and Rossman (2006, p. 99) accentuate the fact that “observation is a fundamental and highly important method in qualitative research...Even in studies using in-depth interviews, observation plays an important role”. As the researcher in this study, I was welcomed and invited into the lives of these participants. I went to their homes, communities, places of employment and participated in their social world, all of which provided valuable insight into the experiences of these individuals. To make the most of this information a field note journal was used to record relevant events, interactions and observations.

E-mail Correspondence

Computers have long been used in quantitative studies as a means of data analysis. More recently, qualitative researchers have also started to embrace the use of technology for data analysis. Somewhat surprisingly, however, is the minimal use of computers and other technologies as the means of data collection and communication between interviewer and interviewee (Brampton & Cowton 2002). This is even more remarkable considering that the tourism discipline is centered on the notion of being mobile, ‘away’ and inaccessible. The use of the computer as a data collection method is of tremendous value to tourism. Traveling to conduct interviews can be very time consuming and a financial burden to researchers on a limited budget. Brampton and Cowton (2002) posit that use of e-interviews in particular can help to alleviate some of

the time and financial pressures of conducting research of groups in remote locations. Furthermore, they suggest that e-mail offers researchers an excellent opportunity to gain access to previously unattainable or geographically isolated participants.

Accordingly, due to the time and economic limitations of the research at hand, and geographical distance between the researcher and participants, the use of e-mail played a vital role in the entire research process. First, it enabled me to locate the participants, who were living in Japan, while I was in New Zealand. Thus, the data collection process for this study began with the first e-mail contact with the participants. At the interviews, participants were asked whether they would be prepared to answer any further questions through email contact. All participants enthusiastically agreed. Brampton and Cowton (2002) suggest that qualitative research often requires participants to be interviewed on more than one occasion and that e-mail offers an excellent means of follow-up once the main interviews are completed. Following this suggestion, e-mail correspondence was utilised when more detail was required or if clarification was needed on a specific topic. On several occasions e-mail questions were necessary and in all instances the participants provided a response. In fact, most interviewees were eager to continue talking about their experiences and took time to provide well thought out e-mail responses. This continuous communication allowed me to go back and forth between the literature and theory, their interview transcriptions, and my field notes as themes emerged. It is important to note that the e-mail correspondence was a complementary method to the semi-structured interviews. No new topics were introduced through e-mail, only clarification or discussions on issues already addressed in the interviews.

3.6.2 Participant Profiles: The Miyazaki 'JETs'

Individuals participating in the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme are referred to simply as 'JETs'. In 2006, there were 97 JETs in the Miyazaki Prefecture (CLAIR 2006) of which I had the pleasure of getting to know nine. The approaches used to locate these participants and the reasons why a small sample size was appropriate have already been discussed. At this point, I simply would like to introduce the participants of this study, their placement locations, positions in the programme,

and some relevant background information before proceeding to analysis. Participant profiles are displayed below in Table 4. For anonymity, all names used are pseudonyms.

Table 4: The Miyazaki JETs

Pseudonym	Nationality	Gender	Age	Position	Location	Time in Japan
Hank	American	Male	29	CIR	Urban	3 rd year
Jeff	British	Male	21	ALT	Rural	1 st year
Mark	American	Male	31	ALT	Urban	2 nd year
Andrea	New Zealand	Female	27	ALT	Rural	4 th year
Alyssa	American	Female	22	ALT	Urban	1 st year
Mary	American	Female	22	ALT	Urban	1 st year
Hailey	American/ Canadian	Female	23	ALT	Rural	2 nd year
Amber	New Zealand	Female	25	ALT	Rural	2 nd year
Jackie	British	Female	21	ALT	Urban	1 st year

The Miyazaki JETs who volunteered to participate in this study represent a diverse group of individuals. The ages ranged from twenty-one to thirty-one and consisted of three males and six females. Just over half had entered the programme straight out of college while the others had prior work experience and one had completed post-graduate studies before moving to Japan. In terms of nationality there were four American participants, two British, two New Zealanders and one had dual citizenship for both Canada and the USA. However, in Japan these nationality differences all but dissolved in the eyes of their hosts and the group, as Hank described it, becomes united as “a group of outsiders”. In addition, these participants also represented an assorted range of cultural traditions. The ethnic and cultural diversity of the study participants are much more diverse than the term nationality would suggest. Although all participants held citizenship of Western nationality, they were quite ethnically diverse consisting of Filipina, Chinese, Indian, and Italian heritage. The practice of English language teaching in Japan has often been denigrated as having discriminatory or even racist hiring policies with a focus on employing the stereotypical white-skinned English speaking North Americans (Lummis 1976,

McConnell 2000; Pennycook 1998; Qiang & Wolff 2005). Lummis (1976, p. 4) even goes so far as to suggest that “the expression ‘native speaker’ is in effect a code word for ‘white’”. However, the ethnic diversity and cultural backgrounds of this small sample of JET participants provides evidence to the contrary. This group truly represented a diverse range of individuals whose backgrounds are a cultural mosaic - an international community unto themselves.

Furthermore, they were in varying years their contracts with JET. Four participants were in their first year in Japan, three were halfway through their second year, and there were one third and fourth year participants. This factor is an especially important consideration as their language skills and cultural awareness grows with time spent in the host destination which directly impacts their experiences and perceptions of their circumstances in Japan (Murphy-Shigematsu 2002). In terms of educational background and experience, only Hank, Jackie, and Mark had relevant English teaching credentials prior to participating in the JET programme.

In terms of location, participants’ were placed throughout Miyazaki Prefecture with both rural and urban locations being represented. The location, whether rural or urban, is also perceived to be a significant influence on their experiences. In regards to work placement, Hank, Mark, Mary, Alyssa, and Jackie, were located in the urban centre of Miyazaki City while Jeff, Andrea, Hailey and Amber were situated in the small towns and villages of Aya, Miyakonojo, Kadogawa, and Saito, respectively. Being placed in a rural or urban location significantly influences one’s experience as those in urban areas have more opportunity to relate with other foreigners. On the contrary, participants placed in these more remote rural areas were often one of only and two or three foreigners in their areas. In the case of Andrea, Amber and Jeff, they were the only foreigners working as JETs in their respective municipalities. To put the area of study into context, Figure 4 illustrates Miyazaki prefecture in relation to Japan and identifies the host communities of the study participants.

Figure 4: Miyazaki Prefecture & Location of JET Participants



Source: Miyazaki Prefecture of Japan [Image] 2003

3.6.3 Emergent Thematic Analysis

To ascertain the emic perspectives of the participants' experiences required the use of an emergent thematic analysis. Thus, this study did not adhere to any particular analytical method, such as grounded theory or phenomenology. Several analytical methods were considered for this study, but no one particular approach was deemed appropriate to handle the involvedness of the research process. As a result, the research followed a less rigid and more flexible emergent approach. An emergent analytical method was considered the best approach to allow for participants' emic categories to emerge. This decision was the result of a desire to pursue an honest analytical method, bringing to the foreground personal integrity between the research conducted and final

the written documentation. Concerning this candour, sociologist Clive Seale (2004, p. 299) states:

Students doing qualitative projects feel obliged to identify and name the analytical method that they use; without this they feel they have no firm justification for the approach they have adopted...Some insecure researchers feel this obligation to name their analytical method too. I often see researchers claiming to have done 'phenomenological analysis' or 'grounded theory' when in reality, once again, they have just done what the students do: looked for interesting themes, usually in some text they have generated.

I too felt the pressure to 'legitimize' the study by adopting a well known and frequently referred to means of analysis for this study. However, it soon became evident that adapting a specific analytical approach would only have been superficial, limiting, and would not have sincerely represented the true nature of the inquiry. Thus, the analytical procedure used for this research is best described as an emergent thematic analysis.

This research takes the interpretive and humanist position that findings should not be predicted or hypothesised prior to talking to the research participants. Instead, realities constructively emerge during the entire research process. Being emergent requires that the researcher purposefully does not develop theories prior to conducting research as doing so may bias the results and limit the scope of what can be discovered (Charmaz 2000; Corbetta 2003; Corbin & Strauss 1990; Riley & Love 2000; Strauss 1987). Instead, the research will unfold as an interrelated process as the researcher constructs themes and theories by simultaneously collecting data, analysing the information and reviewing appropriate literature (Charmaz 2000; Lindlof 1995; Stauss & Corbin 1990). Similar to grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1990), an emergent approach begins with research questions which identify the phenomenon being studied and provide an orientation to the focus of the study. Thus, the initial research questions are open and flexible which offers the researcher the freedom to explore the object of study in more depth (Strauss & Corbin 1990). However, unlike the positivist grounded theory initially developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 2), in which theory is developed "from data systematically obtained from social research", this study draws upon the less restrictive constructivist grounded approach.

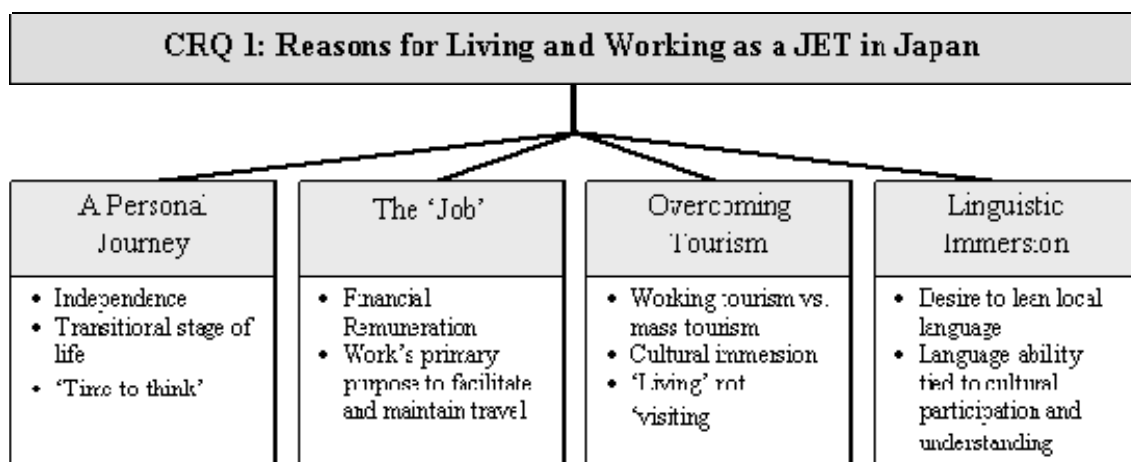
Charmaz's (2000, p. 510) version of grounded theory recognises that we do not have to be so "rigid and prescriptive" when using grounded theory. She continues by arguing that we must go beyond the inferred surface meanings fostered by the positivist grounded theory approach. A constructivist grounded theory approach must look beyond identifying mere categories found in the 'data'. Instead we must strive to challenge the meanings produced by the data collection process in order to obtain a holistic comprehension of a phenomenon (Charmaz 2000). This constructivist emergent approach enables us to use a grounded method for data collection while at the same time recognising our influence in the co-construction of our findings. Thus, the analytical method for this study is founded on this emergent paradigm.

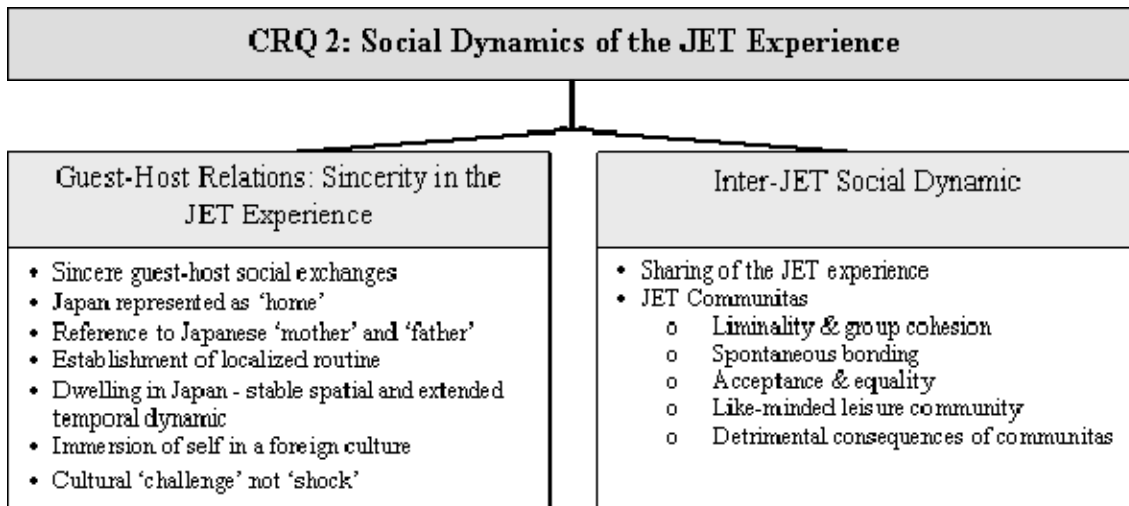
This research began with two broad research questions; (1) to explore the reasons for voluntarily choosing to live and work in Japan for an extended period of time and, (2) to investigate the social dynamics of the JET experience. These research questions were deliberately broad in scope so as to allow themes to emerge from the participants themselves, but were also specific enough to direct the investigation to these two areas of study. They acted as a starting point from which the themes and theories emerged. Thus, the study findings were not developed in stages, but by simultaneously collecting data, analysing the information and reviewing appropriate literature. It was an on-going process which transpired over the entire study; from the conception of the research proposal, to the interviews and their transcriptions and to the final write-up of the thesis. It involved a constant back and forth between the literature, the data collected and my own personal reflections on the subject. For instance, the analytical process began with the first interview. Wengraf (2001, p. 209) argues that an "instant post-interview debriefing" enables the researcher to capture as much interview exchange as possible. Following this suggestion, immediately succeeding each interview topics that were most discussed and appeared to be most significant to the participant were recorded. These notes were not final conclusions; rather, they provided direction when it was time to sort through the abundance of interview data and relevant literature.

Following Seidman's (1998) suggestion, the analysis of this study did not begin with preconceived categories for which I was trying to 'find' excerpts for. The analysis was emergent in that the themes and categories stemming from the analysis came from

the data itself. Besides the two broad research questions that provided direction for this study, all other categories materialized out of the transcript passages. To assist in reducing the data, all fourteen hours of interviews were transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions were read over on several occasions and were constantly compared and contrasted to relevant literature. Passages of interest were marked and notes were made concerning existing literature that pertains to each excerpt. Initially, the marked data was sorted into two separate computer files, one for each research question. Next, each file was read through again and categories for each research question were established. These categories were considered significant across all interviews and were frequent topics of conversation in all interviews. Again, these categories were assigned a computer folder, the passages were re-read once more, marked, and then organised into their respective folders. It was at this level that any negative instances were marked and placed into the category for which it provides contradicting evidence. In each category, there were several subsequent themes that provided details and evidence to support the discussion and findings of this study. At this point, the data was sorted into three tiers; research questions, their respective categories and the pertinent themes within each category. It quickly became evident that for the first research question there were four broad categories and for the second, two categories emerged. Each category contained several themes that provide the basis for discussion. Figure 5 depicts the primary categories and themes that emerged from the data in relation to the two central research questions (CRQ).

Figure 5: Mapping Data Analysis





The study findings are considered a continuous construction of meaning by both the researchers' and respondents' meanings. The themes were constantly compared to existing literature as well as my own evolving thoughts concerning the study. Some excerpts immediately connected with literature on the subject while others remained independent from other studies, yet remained relevant to the research at hand. Accordingly, the chapters following methodology are the findings of the research and contain an eclectic mix of relevant published literature, analysis, and discussion that centre on the specific themes that emerged from the participants themselves.

3.6.4 Research limitations

There are inherent limitations in all research and this study is no exception. Due to the lack of time and financial resources, the study consisted of a relatively short period of investigation with a small number of JET participants. A longer ethnographic examination in Miyazaki would have been ideal for this study, but not plausible due to the time and resource constraints of a Masters thesis. An ethnographic approach would have also provided the opportunity to explore the hosts' perspective concerning the guest-host dynamic. Additionally, although relatively diverse for a small sample size, the group of participants used for this study was one of convenience. By one way or another, all interviewees knew one and other and half considered themselves to be a tight group, which indicates that perhaps the group was more homogeneous than would be ideally desired. It could be that the chosen group were significantly unique of the larger JET population in Miyazaki. Given additional time and resources, a larger

sample size containing more ‘hard-to-find’ participants would have been of value to this research. However, it was never the intention of the investigation to a representative study. Rather, by concentrating on a small group of JET participants it was hoped that a more in-depth understanding of each individuals experiences would emerge.

Additionally, the research focused on participants, who at the time of the interview, were engaged in the JET experience. While this is an excellent way to gain insight into what is going on and how participants feel about these topics at a certain time period it has does not allow for a heuristic view of the experience. Conducting interviews prior and subsequent to the experience would have provided additional insight into the social dynamics of the experience. Of particular interest would be to see if and how the social networks gained from these work-and-travel experiences are maintained. Although a discussion with participants who have completed the JET Programme would provide some good reflective information, it would have also been limiting. For example in the case of Mason’s (2002) analysis of the ‘Big OE’ it was recognised that by interviewing people who had returned they were not able to explore the experiences of those who chose to remain overseas. When dealing with temporary mobility we need to study both those who are ‘at home’ and those who are ‘away’. Thus, this research focuses solely on those who are ‘away’.

Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge my personal limitations as an academic researcher. As a novice interviewer, there is much to learn about interviewing technique. At times I felt the interviews were too much of a friendly conversation rather than an interview. This meant that often the interviews would often go off in a direction irrelevant to the study. Having a more focused interview technique may have made for more effective use of the interview time and as a consequence may have yielded more directed results. However, the friendliness may have also lead to responses otherwise not revealed. As a consequence of these limitations, the study should be considered case specific and indicative of this small group of participants rather than absolute and generalisable over all travel-and-work experiences.

3.7 Summary

This research is an interpretive investigation centring on the meanings and experiences attached to living and working in Japan as stated by the JET participants themselves. This chapter has argued that meanings and experiences are best understood from the emic perspective of those involved. Accordingly, the data collection and analytical methods were chosen for their suitability to the type of inquiry involved. The contemporary qualitative design for this research engages the researcher with the research in a constructive and interpretive manner. Accordingly, the interpretive and qualitative methodological framework for this study was best suited for the goals and objectives of this study, as well as with my own ontological and epistemological position as a researcher. The harmonious relationship between the theoretical perspectives, methodological framework and methods of this study produce an epistemological integrity which serves to enhance the trustworthiness and reliability of the study.

Chapter 4: JET(ing) to Japan - Reasons for becoming a JET

For what reasons do participants voluntarily choose to live, work, and immerse themselves in Japan as a JET? Are they seeking an alternative lifestyle as research on other travel-and-work experiences have suggested (Adler & Adler 1999; Lundmark 2006; Lazaridis & Wickens 1999; O'Reilly 2003) or is it something more akin to a tourist experience (Bianchi 2000; Duncan 2004; Pizam et al. 2000; Uriely & Reichel 2000)? Undoubtedly, there are a wide range of reasons for taking part in an exchange programme such as JET. Nevertheless, from this small sample four interrelated themes for becoming a JET emerged, including; personal, financial, cultural and linguistic. As a result, living and working in Japan was perceived as an opportunity to explore meaningful relationships with themselves and an unfamiliar language and culture, while simultaneously getting paid, travelling, and gaining skills that look good on a resume.

Chapter four will explore how participants found their travels personally meaningful in that it offered an opportunity to experience physical and emotional independence, as well as providing 'time to think' about their futures. It will then investigate the role that the 'job' plays in their reasons for working in Japan. Next, the chapter examines participants' desire to become immersed in Japanese culture. It will discuss the relationship between this travel-and-work experience and typical tourist behaviour. Using Corrigan's (1997) notion of the 'untourist', it will demonstrate how this experience was expressed as an attempt to be freed from what participants perceived as a disingenuous tourist industry through overseas employment. The chapter will finish by identifying the emphasis the majority of participants placed on becoming immersed in Japanese society as a means for linguistic development.

4.1 The Personal Journey

To tell you the truth I didn't really think about giving anything back. It was really selfish. Well it is! You need to be getting something out of it don't you think? - Andrea

I think people come here for way too many reasons, but in the end they just learn a lot about themselves. - Hailey

These passages illustrate the personal journey of living and working in Japan. Indeed, many who have experienced life overseas say that in the end they learn more about themselves than of their host culture. In modern Western society, the journey of self development has become synonymous with travel. Ryan (1991), for example, asserts the psychological determinant of self-fulfilment is an essential component of modern travel. He maintains that this search for self discovery may be a primary objective of the traveller "or it might come unsuspecting as a thief in the night" (Ryan 1991, p. 28). However, tourism literature has habitually presented a somewhat mystical and esoteric representation of the self and travel. Present-day tourism has been depicted as a starry-eyed passage to self-transformation (Noy 2004), a sacred journey from the profane (Jafari 1987; Graburn 1989, 2001; Sharpley & Sundaram 2005), or even as the search for an 'authentic self' or true self (Wang 2000). However, these interpretations of travel tend to excessively romanticise an overly idealistic phenomenon, when in fact, the meanings attached to travel are often much more pragmatic than existentialist. Themes of personal growth were paramount across all interviews, yet these were not ontologically deficient individuals seeking to experience an existentially authentic self as described by Wang (2000). Rather, they expressed a sentiment of seeking self improvement the one way they knew best; through travel. Specifically, participants found their travels personally meaningful in that it offered an opportunity to experience physical and emotional independence and 'time to think' during various transitional stages in their lives.

4.1.1 Independence

Travel as a journey of female emancipation has recently emerged in tourism literature as fundamental characteristic of independent women travellers (Butler 1995; Jordan & Gibson 2005; Obenour 2005). One of the first representations of this empowering role of travel for women was anthropologist Kathleen Butler's (1995) review of traditional and contemporary travel writings concerning women's travel experiences. In her analysis, Butler (1995, p. 489) maintains that for women across generations "tourism was and remains a significant method for Western women to gain independence from their domestic environments". Empirical studies on contemporary independent 'solo travellers' (Jordan & Gibson 2005) and female backpackers (Obenour 2005) also point to the empowering affect that travel has for these women. Obenour (2005) maintains this liberating independence encourages a self-making journey otherwise not possible at home. Whereas home is embodied by specific roles and domestic responsibilities, travel provides the independence to transcend these traditional social mores and constraints.

For several women of this study, being a JET also proved to represent a desire for autonomy. For instance, Hailey and Jackie both identified experiencing independence as the *most* meaningful component of their experiences. Both expressed feelings of intense family commitment and responsibilities that were derived from sociocultural backgrounds. For these women, their time in Japan offered a degree of independence from these structured familial roles and responsibilities. Hailey comes from what she describes as a traditional Chinese family. She had never lived on her own prior to coming to Japan and expressed concern with the fact that at the age of 23 she had never truly been independent from her parents. As Hailey states:

I've never lived on my own. Coming from a very Asian family, when I lived at home my mom pretty much took care of all my laundry and pretty much like everything. My dad and her would cook together, so I never had to learn how to cook either. So basically I was living at home for free, being a total lazy person, and not really being able to take care of myself. I even screamed for my dad when ever I had a bug in my room. So that's how bad it was. So now coming here I have to deal with cockroaches. I mean, like trivial things to other people, but to me it's something that's very important. I have to learn how to live on my own, especially someday before having my own family... it is really just to get away from my parents who have been babying me my entire life.

The opportunity to establish personal independence was a significant development in Hailey's life. She wanted to experience self-sufficiency which was something she felt was not possible living near her parents. When asked why she had to travel such a great distance to achieve this feeling of independence Hailey simply replied that a move "anywhere in the United States or Canada would still to be too close to them, to my parents, because it's too easy to ask them for help".

Jackie also felt that as young women she needed to gain the skills needed to be more independent later in life. She told me of her upbringing and her aspirations of independence that she hoped to achieve from her time in Japan:

Well, I come from an Indian family. I don't know if you anything about Indian culture. The Indian culture is very strict, especially when it comes to girls. You're not really allowed to do very much. Well my parents are quite liberal compared to other Indian parents, but there were still all these unwritten rules. Like I wasn't allowed to go out late at night, I wasn't really allowed to stay over at friend's houses, and this is while I was living at home. And when I went to Uni it kind of got better because I was living on my own, but I still had to go home once a week to see my parents. I was also in a long term relationship, well I'm still in a long term relationship, but I was with my boyfriend before I started Uni. So, we were together for three years and we lived 5 minutes from each other so everything we did we kind of did together. Um...and he was already at Uni before I got there. So when I got there I already had a set of friends and I didn't really have anything that was my own. So coming to Japan was something I did without anyone. None of my friends from England are here, no family, nothing, so I have to be independent. I can't phone my boyfriend and tell him to pick me up or check that my parents are ok and stuff. So in that respect independence is a huge part of my experience here.

This was her year, her experience, and no one else's. She described this year in Japan as "my present from my family". It represented a once in a life time opportunity to truly be self-reliant and to make a difference in her life. By setting off on her own she was attempting to distinguish herself from her cultural upbringing; becoming more of an individual and less of one member in a large family. In doing so she felt as if she was setting an example for her younger family members. She particularly liked the fact:

That all the younger kids, um...my mom has 9 brothers and sisters, and they're all like telling their kids that this is what they should do. They should live life and go places and get experiences and not sit around at home doing nothing.

She was the only member of her family who had moved to another country. Although this experience was an attempt to be independent, she had also hoped that in being autonomous she would be demonstrating to her younger family members that there is a world beyond England. However, Jackie knew that eventually she would have to return home and fulfil her family commitments, but felt satisfied that she would be able to go home with some good stories to tell, a stronger sense of independence, and an experience that would forever be her own.

4.1.2 Transition, Liminality & Time to Think

Long-term travel often transpires during periods of transition in people's lives; be it a transition from youth to adulthood, university to employment, between careers or jobs, or through a variety of significant life events such as divorce (Elsrud 2001; Graburn 1989; Lett 1983; Noy 2004; Urry 1990a). Cohen (2003, p. 101) suggests "few see in travel an alternative to a 'normal' career or seek an 'elective centre' abroad". Rather, upon completion of their exciting adventure the vast majority eventually return to the place from which they came. As Bell (2002, p. 144) observed in her study of the 'Big OE' "they are making an open-ended trip, but do not intend being away permanently". Although their stays lasted anywhere from one to four years, all the interviewees acknowledged the ephemeral nature of their travels and did not consider this experience as a lifestyle change or permanent immigration. Instead, it was perceived to be a transitional stage that offered them 'time' for self development and personal growth. For this reason, this unique travel experience strongly resembles what is often referred to as a present-day *rite-of-passage* (Bell 2002; Cohen 2003; Graburn 2001; Noy 2004).

Tourism as a *rite-of-passage* derived from Turner's (1969) 'The Ritual Process' in which he discussed the rite-of-passage found within tribal communities. He depicts these rites-of-passage process as involving three phases; (1) separation from the ordinary (2) entry into a phase of 'liminality' and (3) aggregation or re-establishment of structure and everyday existence. In the first phase, the individual departs physically and socially from a stable social structure. In reference to tourism, Graburn (1989) refers to this departure as distancing one's self from the 'profane' or ordinary. In the

second phase, the individual enters a state of 'liminality'. According to Turner (1969, p.95) this is a transitional state described as "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between". In this manner, liminality is not a complete removal from a structured society. Rather, as Turner (1973, 1974) suggests in his later works, liminality works in contrast to and on the margins of social structure; they are interdependent on one another. Thus, the phase of liminality is perceived as a period of anti-structure where individuals are temporarily freed from the social restraints and mores of everyday life but remain knowing that societal structure still exists (Turner 1982). In the third phase the ritual process is completed and a state of stability is restored (Turner 1969). In a tourism context, this third phase is typically defined as a return to the structured everyday existence of home, usually at a higher social level (Graburn 1989, 2001; Jafari 1987; Sharpley & Sundaram 2005; Urry 1990a).

The notion that this experience was a liminoid transitional phase - 'betwixt and between' - was a common theme amongst all participants. The majority of JETs described this experience as an existing of the periphery of what they considered to be 'normal life'. Jackie expressed the liminoid nature of her time in Japan best when she stated that this experience offered her "a break from life". Likewise, Alyssa emphasised this point by describing her time in Japan as a "chunk of time unrelated to my life before and my life after". It was perceived as an interim phase prior to re-entrance to the 'real world'. The majority of those interviewed moved to Japan directly following university graduation and perceived this experience to be a passage from university graduation to the workforce or continuing on to graduate school. For Hank, this was a transition between jobs. When asked how he would define his time in Japan he asserted that he "always sort of saw the programme as sort of a transition point. Get some experience working in a Japanese office, improve my Japanese um...and figure out where I wanted to go next." Likewise, Mark also described his time in Japan as being at a slight remove from 'normal life'. As a special education teacher in the America he reported working extremely hard prior to moving to Japan and described his life at home as being extremely stressful. Paradoxically, he came to work in Japan "for a break". He reported knowing that the job was easy and saw JET as an opportunity to think about what direction his life was heading. The JET participants felt slightly removed from their 'ordinary' lives and consequently indicated being in a state of tourist anti-structural liminality (Jafari 1987).

Yarnal and Kerstetter (2005, p. 373) suggest that these touristic states of liminality offer individuals “time not to think”. Moreover, tourism literature has also maintained that when individuals are engaged in tourist liminality they behave unconsciously, in ways they would not even consider at home (Kim & Jamal 2007; Lett 1983; Selanniemi 2001). Liminality in short-term holidays is often portrayed as bordering temporary psychosis, often devoid of moral values and certainly lacking mental exertion. However, for those experiences that combine work and tourism it has been shown that this liminoid phase represents ‘time to think’ and reflect rather than as a complete abandonment of their mental capacity. For instance, in McIntosh and Bonnemann’s (2006) study on New Zealand WWOOF participants indicated that ‘time to think’ about the future was an essential element of their travel and work experience. Similarly, for this group of Miyazaki JETs, distancing themselves from the ‘ordinary’ was also particularly meaningful in that it offered time for self reflection. As Alyssa said of her time in Japan:

I thought that it would be a chance to *think*. It was free time, that’s another great thing...It’s time to just make money and not worry about finances and get a sense of what for I want to do either in my professional life or graduate work.

Being removed from everyday life provided her the opportunity to think about her future options while simultaneously offering an opportunity to travel. The idea that this experience was a ‘time to think’ was a prevalent theme across all interviews. Hailey, for example, explicitly stated that this was an opportunity “not to avoid life, but mainly I needed time to *think* about what I wanted to do”. Regardless of their transitional life stage, the notion that this experience was a period of time dedicated to thinking about the future was paramount. Both Mark and Hank were in a stage in their lives where they felt a decision needed to be made concerning future career choices. Mark described this process:

I guess what I’ve learned here was what I want to do with myself and my life. I got a great idea, I had time to *think*, it gave me a lot of time to think, and ah...do a lot of self exploration and I found a lot of love and ah...there’s like this huge puzzle piece that was missing and now I have it and I’m ready to go. I’m ready to just continue my life, to do so much more. I got direction. I got stuff I want to do now.

Being in Japan gave him the time he needed to reflect. Both Mark and Hank expressed that the opportunity to live and work in Japan was significant in that it gave them the opportunity to reflect on the future direction of their lives. As a result, both had said they found the future path they were looking for and felt confident in proceeding on to their post-JET lives when this year's contract was complete.

This research finding provides evidence to suggest that a common differentiating characteristic of travel-and-work experiences from non-working tourism is the idea that this was a 'time to think' rather than a phase of unconsciousness. Although still engaged in a form of 'travelling', these tourist experiences that involve employment also maintain a certain element of stability-in-mobility. Bloch-Tzemach (2005, p. 194) describes this as "the element of *dwelling*...which is strengthened by work". By having an element of stability as opposed to constant movement and excitement, the Miyazaki JETs reported they had time to stop and reflect. This distinguishing feature of travelling-stability is lost in many tourist experiences which are often founded on the premise of continuous movement, excitement, and adventure. For all participants, their time 'dwelling' in Japan was particularly meaningful as it bought them 'time'; time to think about the future, time to travel, and time to learn about themselves and others. As Jackie stated "I felt like I never had time to sit and think...so now that I have time do just that; sit and just think". Being 'betwixt and between' in a Turnarian (1969) sense allowed these individuals to take a time-out of their daily lives and to self reflect on what it is they wanted out of life. Some got the answers they were looking for while others were left deliberating whether or not to continue on to graduate school or to join the 'real world'. In either case, becoming a JET gave them time they needed to contemplate their future options while at the same time experiencing life as a foreigner in Japan.

4.2 The 'Job': Financial Remuneration & Travel

Most people don't see JET as 'I'm going to get to go and teach children'. Most people see JET as 'I'm going to get to live in Japan and all I have to do to do it is teach children'. - Jeff

I would say it's more of a holiday that I get paid to do. - Jackie

The 'job' was cited by all participants as being an essential component of their travel-and-work experience, but only in a secondary sense that it facilitated and maintained a travel opportunity. Tourism literature has demonstrated that for those who combine work with touristic motivations, the 'job' is often considered secondary to the travel experience (Bloch-Tzemach 2005; Pizam et. al 2000; Uriely & Reichel 2000). Although the JET participant's stays were relatively long, ranging from one to four years, these were not typical 'sojourners' as Sui (1952) originally defined. In contrast, those interviewed for this study were not simply in Japan to complete a 'job' in the shortest amount of time as Sui's (1952) sojourners are defined. They were not in Japan to simply complete a specific work assignment or a university degree, but rather to travel, and experience life in foreign country. Participants described their time in Japan as being the best of both worlds; practical experience/financial remuneration and an opportunity to travel. When asked why they wanted to teach English in Japan several interviewees commented:

I need money to travel. So, instead of me getting a crappy office job for a year and then travelling, if I can incorporate work and travelling at the same time then I have the best of both worlds. - Jackie

I decided that it would be a good idea after college because they [JET] pay you well and it allows you to travel. I would also be doing something kind of along the lines that I had been studying at University. - Alyssa

I didn't really have any reason to come here except that I wanted to go somewhere, pay off my student loan and do something that was fun and interesting. - Amber

...this is where the money comes in and the travel time, it gives me travel time. I'm able to go and do things I want to do. I've always wanted to travel the world. - Hailey

Part of the reasons has got to be because of the money. I mean for what we get paid for the enjoyment factor and everything. I can't imagine being paid what we get paid at home for what I do now. You know I get paid to have fun with kids. It's not all that strenuous. - Mary

These excerpts highlight that the job of overseas English teaching, and perhaps others like it, strongly resembles what Pape's (1964) notion of 'touristry'. By using their job primarily as a means for mobility, these JETs were able to travel during a phase of their lives when they were otherwise financially limited. Thus, the coalescence of practicality and adventure was a leading factor for the study participants' reasons for becoming a JET. In this instance, employment facilitated, maintained and was a central facet of their travel experience, thus uniting the modernist work/leisure binary. Similar to Bell's (2002, p. 155) analysis of the 'Big OE', the JET Programme was perceived as a "chance for adventure and travel: to go somewhere far away and exotic, without the great obstacle of saving for the journey". The majority of respondents came to Japan directly out of university and had little money to set off on a round-the-world backpacking trip. Teaching English offered them the opportunity to travel directly after graduating as they knew they would be stepping into a stable, well-paying job in an established programme.

It should be stressed here that for the majority of the participants it was the 'job' rather than the location that motivated them to participate in the JET Programme. For the most part, they desired to live abroad and were open to nearly any country. While Japan held particular interest for three of the nine interviewees, the other six reported that Japanese culture played a modest role in their decision to become a JET. The job could have been anywhere as long as it was overseas; a sentiment expressed through numerous comments made by the participants:

It [Japan] fascinated me, but only in the way any culture that wasn't England fascinated me. It could have been Africa, it could have been NZ, it could have been India, it could have been Antarctica, it could have been anywhere. I didn't really think 'ah god I want to go to Japan'. - Jeff

I wanted to go somewhere where the culture was completely different...I could have gone to a European country and taught English, but you might as well go somewhere *different* if you're going to go somewhere different. I mean I did want to go somewhere else other than New Zealand. - Amber

To be honest, I never disregarded Japan. I never said, 'I will never go to Japan', but I never really thought about until the JET programme. It was kind of like 'oh why not'. - Mary

These excerpts further suggest that their reasons for coming to Japan had more to do with an opportunity to live and *be* anywhere abroad than with Japanese culture itself. Being that these participants voluntarily chose to become immersed in Japan ranging from one to five years, one could easily come to the misguided conclusion that these young adults were on a quest for an alternative ‘centre out-there’ (Cohen 1979). However, what becomes evident from these interviews was that for this period in their lives their goal was simply to remain mobile - to be *anywhere* ‘out-there’ as opposed to somewhere (Lengkeek 2000). In this context, working as a JET fulfilled their desire to remain mobile; travelling to work to fund further travel.

Accordingly, financial remuneration was seen as vitally important as fulfilled three practical needs. First, the job and the resulting pay check enabled them to travel at a time when their financial resources were limited. Fresh out of university, participants reported that they would not have been able to travel if it were not for the steady pay check that JET provided. Secondly, it was noted that the JET Programme pays relatively well for an entry level position. As a result, several participants reported saving a significant amount of money and that a portion of the money saved was allocated to the pragmatic purpose of repaying their student loans. Thirdly, a common theme across all interviews was the fact that teaching English allowed participants to save money to fund further travel. Jackie explained how this was her goal from the beginning when she commented; “I wanted to travel and work at the same time you know. I knew JET pays pretty well so I felt like I could save quite a bit of money and still carry on travelling after the contract is finished”. Saving money to fund further travel was a significant reason for participating in the JET Programme. Without exception, everyone interviewed had plans to continue travelling after their time in Japan was finished. In this manner, becoming a JET was perceived as practically beneficial and adventurous; simultaneously allowing them to pay off student loans, to start and remain travelling, in addition to gaining valuable language skills and international work experience. However, as the rest of this chapter will demonstrate, their reasons for working in Japan were not only instrumental.

4.3 Overcoming Tourism: JET as an ‘Untourist’ Experience

Some scholars have suggested that tourism is undergoing a post-modern progression consisting of two contrasting philosophical approaches; simulational and ‘other’ postmodern experiences (Corrigan 1997; Munt 1994; Uriely 2005; Urry 1990a, 1990b). Urry (1990a) posits that the contemporary ‘post-tourist’ has come to the realization that an authentic experience through tourism was an illusion, but that did not stop them from enjoying themselves. These post-tourists celebrate the inauthentic nature of their travels, enjoying the experience for what it was, a fleeting joyful moment in time in a simulated space (Feifer 1985; Urry 1990b). However, not all individuals embrace this disingenuous environment. In contrast, some authors have suggested that there are other possibilities of postmodern tourism that are reminiscent of the traditional romantic search for an authentic intercultural exchange (Corrigan 1997; MacCannell 2001; Munt 1994; Uriely 2005). MacCannell (2001, p. 382) refers to this phenomenon as “a kind of anti-tourism, which promises *real* as opposed to *tourist* experiences”. These ‘other post-tourists’ desire a more natural cultural exchange with their hosts, and attempt to do so by engaging in non-institutionalized travel that is perceived to be outside the realm of the traditional tourist experience.

Corrigan (1997) termed these other post-tourists ‘untourists’. Untourists are not post-tourists as traditionally defined by likes of Feifer (1985) and Urry (1990a). Whereas the post-tourist appreciates the playfulness of inauthenticity the ‘untourist’ has faith that once liberated from the inauthentic grasp of the tourism industry a more sincere cultural exchange can be experienced. When travelling, they are motivated by a desire to experience the everyday lifestyle of a particular destination and to socially engage with local people based on equality, reciprocity, and sincerity (Corrigan 1997; Hall 2003; MacCannell 1973; Rehberge 2005). The ‘untourist’ phenomenon has been most prominent among various ‘alternative tourist’ experiences. For example, ‘greater cultural immersion’ has been shown to be a primary purpose of the majority of non-institutionalised forms of travel such as volunteer tourism (Brown & Lehto 2005), long-term budget travellers (Cohen 1973; Richards & Wilson 2003; Riley 1988), cultural tourists (McKercher & Du Cros 2003), and also amongst various forms of working tourism (Bloch-Tzemach 2005; Pearce 1990; McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006; Uriely & Reichel 2000). These activities involve hands on involvement, including various forms

of work or volunteering. Indeed, is there a better way to 'not be a tourist' than to live and work in the host destination?

In the same way, the interviewees expressed an 'untourist' approach to their travel experience, describing their time in Japan in dialectical opposition to tourism. They did not consider themselves tourists, yet still regarded themselves to be travelling for the purpose of 'experiencing' a foreign culture. When asked how they would define their time in Japan they described their experience as 'an exchange student', 'a year long holiday', 'an adventure' and 'an opportunity for cultural immersion'. These were neither potential immigrants nor were they sojourners who came to Japan to complete a 'job' (Sui 1952). They were on a worldly adventure; travelling for pleasure, novelty and excitement. The underlying connotation of their representations was that they perceived themselves to be travelling but not as tourists, and by 'living' in Japan rather than 'visiting' they believed they were able to gain a greater understanding of Japan.

On several occasions throughout the interviews participants explicitly expressed their 'untourist' identity. For example, when questioned about why she wanted to teach English for her 'OE' as opposed to a backpacking trip Amber stated:

I think that you only get a very small experience from travelling and backpacking around the world. I kind of like the idea of sticking some roots down somewhere other than just floating around and kind of skimming the surface of every country. I think it's better to have a life somewhere instead of just looking in all the time from the outside. I kind of feel like just backpacking around is just a little bit selfish because you don't really get to give anything to the people that you're always gawking at and taking photos of and whose lives you're going 'oh this is what Spain's about' or this is what this country's like.

Amber perceived this opportunity as uniquely different from that of a tourist, who as a transient, could only superficially 'gaze' upon Japanese culture with an outsider's eyes. Tourism was something fleeting and contrived whereas her time in Japan was described as more intimate and sincere. Similar to Corrigan's 'untourist', Amber felt she could gain a better understanding of Japanese culture and make a more sincere connection with her host community by living and working in Japan. The opportunity to be located in a rural community was a strong incentive for her to participate in the JET Programme. For instance, Amber had initially thought of going to teach English in

Korea or China because “so many people go to Japan and have this Japanese experience”. However, what she particularly liked about the JET Programme was “the fact that you were pretty much guaranteed to go to a rural area...I didn’t really feel like living in a place where there were heaps of other foreigners”. The opportunity to live in a rural location meant that there would be a greater opportunity to interact with her host community.

A similar sentiment was described by Jeff who spoke of how he had a strong desire “to *really* live in a place” and “feel like a part of the community”. Accordingly, Jeff felt that JET was an “opportunity” to be a part of Japan on a more intimate level. Through employment he felt he would be able to develop a more personal connection with his host community; an experience beyond the capabilities of a tourist structure. He commented:

You can really get into a community if you work at it. That’s why I’ve been so lucky here you know, the opportunity to do that. You can live and work in a country. You’re not a *tourist* and you’re not seen as a *tourist*, you’ll always be an outsider, but it’s not the same. People will respect you and involve you as part of a community, you know.

One of the ways that Jeff felt this experience was differentiated from other forms of tourist travel was the fact that through employment he felt he would be treated as an equal and would consequently be more intimately involved with Japan. Once again the desire to be ‘involved’ rather than a passive observer was a significant reason for becoming a JET.

All participants expressed a desire to work in Japan in order to experience life as a member of a different society and to foster relationships with Japanese people as colleges, friends, neighbours and teachers. Those interviewed perceived working as a JET as an opportunity to move out of the world of the tourist and to achieve a more meaningful relationship with their host community. Through ‘living’ as opposed to ‘visiting’, they felt they would be better able to achieve a greater understanding of life and culture in Japan. It was felt that remaining in one place for an extended period of time would allow them to achieve the cultural familiarity of Japan that they desired. This suggests that similar to other types of travel-and-work experiences, these JET participants gave additional meaning to their employment (Bloch-Tzemach 2005;

Pearce 1990; McIntosh & Bonnemann 2006; Uriely & Reichel 2000). They did not only desire to work to travel. It was also a means to realize a greater familiarity with their host destination and achieve a more sincere cultural exchange.

As individuals continue to feel unsatisfied with the cross-cultural encounters achieved through typical tourist activities, these ‘untourist’ behaviours will become as Corrigan (1997, pp.145) maintains “the elite tourist categories of the future”. Indeed, an outright rejection of tourism does not imply that people will stop travelling. Rather, as with these JET participants, this finding provides evidence that individuals will strive to find different and unique ways to make their travel more meaningful, be it as a JET participant, an international student, exchange student, a volunteer, an English teacher, or through other ‘touristy’ forms of occupational mobility.

4.4 Linguistic Immersion

Tourism research has indicated that regardless of the motivation, opportunity, and nature of intercultural social contact, not knowing the language of the hosts can severely inhibit cross-cultural social exchange (Church 1982; Cohen 1972; Nash 1996; Pearce 1982; Reisinger & Turner 2003). This particularly holds true when the cultural and linguistic background of the guests and hosts are markedly different (Sutton 1967). Accordingly, literature suggests that the most obvious tool available to establish meaningful intercultural contact is second language acquisition (Cohen 1972; Dornyei & Csizer 2005; Nash 1996). In this context, Cohen (1972) suggests there is a significant difference amongst types of travel in terms of both cultural and language acquisition. More than any other factor previously mentioned, Cohen puts forth that because institutionalised tourists often have very limited second language skills of the places they visit, their ability to form meaningful relationships with host nationals is extremely restricted. Thus, social interactions with locals are often limited to the tourism industry. Furthermore, Nash (1996) suggests that in these cases guests and hosts engage in ‘tourist language’ rather than a foreign language. A ‘tourist language’ allows guests and host to socially interact, however, the linguistic exchange is often oriented towards catering to the tourists’ needs and interests. As a result, the foreign

language deficiency of institutionalised tourists ensures that they come and go “without any real feel for the culture or people of the country” (Cohen 1972, p. 173). They remain segregated from the culture and people of the country they visit. On the other hand however, Cohen suggests that non-institutionalised tourists tend to make a concerted effort to acquire the language skills necessary to develop lasting friendships with the host community. These tourists, he suggests, are more apt to remove themselves from their ‘environmental bubble’, make a sincere attempt to learn the foreign language, and consequently are able to gain a deeper understanding of the host country.

The participants of this study came to Japan with the hopes of removing themselves from their ‘environmental bubble’ in an effort to gain a better grasp of Japanese culture and language. They wanted to communicate in Japanese rather than a manufactured ‘tourist language’. Most of the participants interviewed had some previous exposure to Japanese language prior to joining JET. As a coordinator of international relations (CIR), Hank was the only participant to have a high level of Japanese fluency. Several others, including Alyssa, Hilda, and Jackie have had some exposure with the Japanese language in university but still considered themselves to be in the early stages of their language development. Just under half, Mark, Jeff, Mary and Amber had no previous experience with the Japanese language until they came to Japan. However, a common theme across all interviews was a desire to further their Japanese language abilities.

In order to quote unquote really live in a place and to communicate effectively with host nationals unquestionably requires knowledge of the local language. Literature has clearly demonstrated the relationship between language and culture (Brown 1994; Jiang 2000; Murphy 1988). Language is an integral element of any culture; the two are inseparable. Using an anatomical metaphor, Jiang (2000, p. 328) articulates how “language and culture makes a living organism; language is flesh, and culture is blood. Without culture, language would be dead; without language, culture would have no shape”. The idea that language learning is an essential component of cultural learning was a sentiment that all participants of this study clearly acknowledged. This relationship was made evident by both Andrea and Alyssa when they commented:

Well, I mean, for me I found moving around a lot of different countries you couldn't just learn the culture. It didn't work. You need to learn the language and the culture at the same time in order to make it work. Like for me, like I said to you earlier about the party thing, if you just learned 'no I don't want to' in Japanese it's extremely rude. So you need to know how they use the language and through the culture you can learn that. - Andrea

I think an appreciation for your surroundings and culture is heavily bound up in your ability to understand the people around you. And like, as that increases, so does my comfort level and my appreciation for where I am right now. That's another reason why I think it's important to learn the language. - Alyssa

Prior to becoming JETs several participants had recognised that in order to better understand Japanese culture they would need to become immersed in the language and make a concerted effort to further their linguistic abilities. As a result, in combination with their desire to experience life in Japan was a keen interest in learning Japanese language. In fact, several participants regarded learning Japanese as one of the more significant reasons for becoming a JET. For example, Hank described himself as an exchange student. He commented:

I mean not formally studying. I am not a student in the sense that I'm not enrolled in a study programme, but if you were going to characterise what I am doing here, you know, I think of myself as an culture and language exchange student. - Hank

Alyssa also stated that her main reason for becoming a JET was to "learn the language". She felt that being 'immersed' in Japan was the only way to properly learn a language. She commented:

It [JET] was a chance to study a language and be in an atmosphere where you can study it *properly*. Um...English and Japanese are just too dissimilar to study it outside of its natural environment. - Alyssa

The idea that one needs to be immersed in the culture to gain a better understanding of Japan was also mentioned by Hailey and Andrea who stated:

To learn it [Japanese] I have to use it or at least be submerged into it...So I decided that I needed to come back and actually live here so I could actually use the language and learn it that way. - Hailey

I lived in Japan for a while when I was a kid and I wanted to come back and learn the language *properly* this time. I didn't really learn it last time, so that's why I came to Japan. That was my goal right. - Andrea

Learning via immersion meant being surrounded by people with whom you interact with in Japanese in an everyday environment, something that the passages demonstrate was a significant reason for becoming a JET. In her study of linguistic development in an immersion context, Liskin-Gasparro (1998) maintains that second language learners perceive 'real-life experiences' to be an integral, if not the foremost strategy of linguistic development. Linguistic immersion requires more than language ability; it requires communication skills. It includes facial expressions, mannerism and visual cues that are not readily available in a classroom (Liskin-Gasparro 1998). The participants expressed a similar attitude towards learning Japanese. The majority were taking some sort of official or casual Japanese class but noted that the opportunity to become linguistically immersed was a fundamental reason for becoming a JET.

The excerpts above illustrate the participants' belief that an immersion experience is the only way to really learn a language well. Being 'submerged' in the language offered an opportunity to listen to the native pronunciation, to deal with the language in everyday settings, and almost absorb it through a sort of linguistic osmosis. Consequently, they desired to live in Japan in order to become surrounded by Japanese language on a daily basis and as a result, felt that one of the primary reasons for participating in the JET programme was that it offered an opportunity for linguistic cultural immersion. In sum, the majority of participants desired to gain a better grasp of the language and culture of Japan; something that was thought to be beyond the capabilities of an institutionalised tourist experience.

4.5 Summary

This chapter revealed four interrelated reasons that participants' cited as most pertinent in their decision to become a JET, including; personal, financial, cultural and linguistic incentives. The chapter first highlighted that participants found their travels personally meaningful in that it offered an opportunity to experience physical and emotional independence from social structure of home and 'time to think' during various transitional stages in their lives. Furthermore, it noted that the 'job' was perceived to be secondary to their desire to travel. Thus, working as a JET acted a means to facilitate, maintain, and foster a more sincere travel experience. These were

combined with a desire to explore a foreign culture. The chapter has also illustrated the dynamic relationship between tourism and these forms of travel-and-work experiences. It provided evidence to suggest that many categories of temporary mobility, including JET, can be appropriately conceived as a form of ‘untourism’ (Corrigan 1997). Accordingly, this experience was expressed as an attempt to be liberated from what participants perceived as a disingenuous tourist industry by partaking in overseas employment. In addition, linguistic immersion was also considered to be a significant reason for becoming a JET. Closely tied with their ‘untourist’ intentions, being immersed in the Japanese language offered them an opportunity to better communicate with their host nationals in the hopes of establishing more sincere relationships with their host community. When we consider these four primary reasons for becoming a JET we can start to concede these categories of travel-and-work mobilities as the tourism intended acts that they truly represent.

Chapter four clearly demonstrated a desire amongst JET participants to experience ‘life’ in Japan rather than ‘tour’ it. Chapter five will elaborate on this theme by investigating the experiences of these JET participants in regards to guest-host participation and social interaction. Specifically, it will provide insight into how one goes about attempting to experience ‘life’ in a foreign culture and whether or not these JETs felt they accomplished this objective.

Chapter 5: Guest-Host Relations - Sincerity in the JET Experience

Experiencing a different culture is a cornerstone upon which today's tourist experience is built. Tourists and travellers alike are increasingly travelling in search of less contrived cross-cultural exchanges with the people of the places they visit (Reisinger & Turner 2003; Hottola 2004; Walle 1996; Besculides, Lee & McCormick 2002). In this regard, there has been a significant amount of literature concerning the relationships between guests and hosts in a variety of travel contexts. It has been suggested that engaging socially with members of host communities has proven to be a formidable challenge for anyone who enters a foreign country whether as a tourist (Boniface 1998; Cohen 1972; Fagence 2001; MacCannell 1973), a temporary sojourner such as an international student (Bochner et. al 1977; Church 1982; Tsai 1995; Murphy-Shigematsu 2002) or through immigration (Berry et. al 1987; Berry 2001; Brody 2003; Onishi & Shigematsu 2003). Nonetheless, it is human nature for individuals to seek honest, reciprocal, and meaningful communication and companionship with their hosts regardless of their visa category.

It is acknowledged that to achieve an understanding from both the JETs' and their hosts' perspective would have been extremely valuable in analysing the guest-host dynamic of the JET Programme. However, to do so was beyond financial, temporal and linguistic capabilities of this study. Accordingly, chapter five will focus on the JETs' perspective on their relationship with their host community. It will delve into the attitudes, interactions, and perceptions that the participants expressed towards Japan. In the previous chapter, it was recognized that one of the primary reasons for becoming a JET was to engage in a more in-depth cultural experience. This chapter will continue where the last one left off and address how the participants perceived and expressed this 'depth' of experience as sincerity. The chapter will begin by clarifying what is meant by sincerity in travel. It will then explore how participants articulated an element of sincerity in their experiences through the use of imagery associated with 'home' and 'family'. These metaphorical references were used to express an element of emotional attachment with their host community; offering a view into the intense meanings given to their time in Japan through their language use. Furthermore, two additional

characteristics of the JET programme were identified in the interviews as being integral to fostering the sincerity of their experience including the construction of a localised daily routine and an immersion of self in a foreign culture that provided an opportunity for personal challenge/growth.

5.1 Articulating Sincerity

The social dynamics of guest-host encounters have received a tremendous amount of attention in tourism literature (Hottola 2004; Pearce 1990; Reisinger 1994; Reisinger & Turner 2003; Smith 1977, 2001; Krippendorf 1987). These ‘encounters’ have been most often characterised as fleeting, superficial, and subject to deceit and self interest by both parties (Chambers 1997; Cohen 1984; Krippendorf 1987; Sutton 1967). In contrast, some authors have suggested that guest-host relationships have the potential to be meaningful (Harrison 2001), involve a degree of sincerity (Damer 2004; McIntosh & Bonnamenn 2006; Prentice & Anderson 2003; Taylor 2001) and, in regards to working-tourism, have an element of reciprocity (Hueman 2005). In these instances, interactions between guests and their hosts are much more than ‘encounters’; they are relationships.

Prentice and Anderson (2003, p. 15) maintain that the desire to meet new people and to meaningfully interact with hosts is a “proxy for sincerity”. In this context, Damer (2004) suggests that sincerity necessitates ‘doing’ in contrast to ‘seeing’. Moreover, in his thesis ‘Authenticity and Sincerity in Tourism’, Taylor (2001, p. 23) describes sincerity in the tourist experience:

By introducing the notion of sincerity, experiences in culture may be stripped of the temporal connotations implied by the concept of authenticity. Instead they become tied to selves in the present, both local and tourist. Sincerity demands a shift away from objectification, towards negotiation.

The host and guest social dynamic frequently requires much more than just ‘being there’ and mutual observation. It often involves communicating in a second language, becoming intimately involved with the host community and, as Taylor states above, negotiating the outcomes of these cross-cultural interactions. It entails social

engagement and reciprocity by both guests and hosts thereby fostering a relationship rather than a fleeting encounter.

The manner in which the participants of this study expressed their feelings towards their time in Japan and their Japanese hosts are best described as ‘sincere’ (Damer 2004; Prentice & Anderson 2003; Taylor 2001). Similar to Taylor’s (2001) position, the participants of this study did not express an essentialist attitude towards seeking out and observing an ‘authentic Other’. Rather, interactions with people and places were reported as being more humanist with a focus on developing honest, reciprocal, and heartfelt human connection with their host community. For example, Amber describes how seeking to understand what Japanese culture ‘is’ or ‘is not’ seems trivial.

I think there’s not much to be gained from deciding how Japanese people are or what they are or how they typically behave. You know, it just creates just silly expectations and proves you right about really negative stuff.

Amber was not seeking to understand an ‘authentic Japan’. She believed that to attempt to do so just results in highlighting preconceived negative stereotypes. Instead, her focus of attention was on living a routine life and developing relationships based on mutual exchange. Amber identified this reciprocity when she stated “I get so much joy out of my interaction with people here and they constantly say the same thing to me”. A similar element of sincerity towards Japan was repeatedly expressed by participants throughout the interviews and several described this sincerity through the metaphorical use of ‘home’.

5.1.1 Japan as ‘Home’

To “feel at home”, according to Schuetz (1945, p. 370), “is an expression of the highest degree of familiarity and intimacy”. In this manner, participants of this study frequently expressed the sincerity of their relationship with Japan using the metaphor of ‘home’. Home, however, is an illusive word. It contains a wide range of meanings from a relationship to a physical house, a longing for a ‘dream home’, to where one usually lives, an emotional space of family, or a specific country (Ahmed 1999, 2000; Mallet 2004). Home is just as much about emotional attachment as it is about a physical place.

Consequently, we can also have an ‘emotional home’ where ones’ heart resides (White & White 2007; Williams & McIntyre 2001). However, home has also been shown to be more fluid, mobile, and permeable. Clifford (1997), for instance, contends that our roots and routes have always been intertwined which he poignantly articulates as ‘dwelling-in-travel’ and ‘travel-in-dwelling’. As a result, he maintains, it may be more appropriate to consider the places we are between rather than attempting to define one particular ‘home’ place. Further to that point, Ahmed (1999, p. 330) suggests that home is “not a particular place that one simply inhabits, but more than one place: there are too many homes to allow place to secure the roots or routes of one’s destination”. As Ahmed and Clifford suggest, one may in fact have multiple homes or no one specific place to call home. This makes attempting to define which place is more home than another a futile endeavor to form a stable identity in an ever mobile world.

A notable characteristic of this small group of JETs was that for the majority of those interviewed mobility and travelling had long been a significant part of their lives. For several participants this mobility was expressed as *dwelling-in-travel* (Clifford 1997). Alyssa, for example, had a very mobile childhood. Born in Turkey to a first generation Italian-American father and a New Zealander mother, she had spent her early childhood in Turkey and Cypress before moving to the United States. Although she was essentially raised in America, she made annual trips to the Middle East to visit her father. In a sense she had been travelling since the day she was born. Hank was born and raised America but had lived in Asia for a good part of his adult life. He had lived in Japan a few times before coming as a JET participant and had also spent a few years living in Taiwan as an English teacher. He had many close friends across Asia who were “an essential part of his life” and “traveling back and forth between those places is one of the most important ways of maintaining those connections”. Andrea was a self proclaimed ‘Navy brat’ who “moved all around the world all the time” as a child. Her birth father was from the Philippines, her step dad was Japanese and her mother was from New Zealand so she had lived in a number of places growing up including Japan, U.S.A., the Philippines, and New Zealand.

Mary and Jeff also described their early adulthood years as *dwelling-in-travel*. They were first exposed to life overseas after having spent time abroad as exchange students. Mary had spent a semester living in Australia and Jeff had spent a year in

Mexico to which he still felt strongly attached and one day hoped to go back to. The significance of travel in Jeff's life was emphasised when he commented "travelling has shaped the way I've come to see and interact with the world around me." In Heidegger (1971) terms, travel was Jeff's way of 'being-in-the-world'. It played an essential role in shaping his identity in a globalised world, a point emphasised when he stated "I definitely view my life in stages I think and they're usually defined by *where I am*, like Blackpool was a stage, Warwick was a stage, Mexico was a stage and now Japan's a stage". The narrative of his life was divided into chapters of place with a plot based on the locations in which he dwelled.

Conversely, two participants reported being 'untravelled' yet had always been strongly influenced by human mobility. These were exemplary instances of *travel-in-dwelling* (Clifford 1997). Although less 'travelled' than the aforementioned interviewees, Jackie also felt strongly attached to multiple places. She was born and raised in the United Kingdom, but remained strongly influenced by her Indian heritage and culture. Although she had little travel experience prior to going to Japan, she had always been exposed to both her Hindu traditions and British culture. Hailey, likewise, was of Chinese descent whose parents remained strongly tied to their Chinese heritage. She also reported having limited travel experiences, having been only between Canada and America. Yet, though she had never travelled to China while growing up, she also felt as though her life had been lived between two uniquely different worlds; China and North America. Although North America had always been her actual place of dwelling, metaphorically speaking she had been a cultural traveller since the day she born.

Consequently, travel was considered an integral element in all the participants' lives. For them, 'home' was not fixed place. These were mobile individuals who considered the concept of home to be portable. Mary's idea of home, for instance, had little to do with a physical location:

I don't see home as a physical place. Home is people. We talked about the phrase "home is where the heart is". Heart is people. The reason we have attachments to places is because of the memories associated with them. Those memories are usually because of the people there. Home is people and I can find that sense of "home" in many different parts of the world.

Andrea expressed a similar attitude using the cliché of home being where her “bum rests”. She commented:

I don't really have that much of an attachment to one particular place. I love New Zealand, you know where I'm from, but I don't have any draw to one place. Home is where I am I suppose. That is an honest answer. I can make anywhere feel like home. When you have a routine and friends, home is where the bum rests as they say.

Constant mobility had directly impacted how they perceived home. For Andrea and Mary, they were never attached to one particular place long enough to call it more home than another. Others, however, came from a stable home where they grew up as children. Yet, in spite of these childhood differences, they too considered travel a significant influencing force in their lives. At this stage in their lives they placed more significance on being mobile than on remaining stable. Mary summarised this complex relationship of being at home and being away when she stated “travelling has and always will be a significant part of my life and because of that I can find that sense of ‘home’ in many different parts of the world”. Consequently, home could be just about anywhere; including Japan.

Paradoxically, it was well established that this was a temporary ‘travel experience’ - a state of liminality, yet on several occasions participants referred to Japan as ‘home’. Associating Japan with ‘home’ highlights the intense emotional relationship that participants were able to establish with their host communities (Schuetz 1945). Some had desired to feel this sense of home prior to their arrival in Japan. Jeff exclaimed “I always had in my mind the idea that Japan could become a second home if I loved it here”. He was partially driven to travel in search of a new home. Andrea provided a similar example. When speaking of her arrival at the Tokyo airport she articulated her emotions towards coming to Japan:

I felt like I was coming home. I really did. I say that a lot. They have a word in Japanese called *tadaima*. Do you know what that means? *Tadaima* means ‘I'm home’. I really did feel when I was walking off the plane in Tokyo. I felt like ah...*tadaima* - I'm home!

She had spent a few years in Japan when she was younger and, although it had been years between her return, still felt a sincere sense of ‘being-at-home’ in Japan.

Others, too, felt this sincere sense of place attachment with Japan. For several participants this epiphany came when they left Japan for vacation and upon return, came to the realisation that this strange and foreign place had become 'home'. For example, upon returning from a recent vacation Amber commented:

I felt like I was coming home. Like obviously not how I would feel if I was going back to NZ, but I was just so relieved to get back here. I just felt like ok I know how things go here you know. I know how to act, I know how to behave and I have a place here and I'm doing something worthwhile here and this is good.

Likewise, coming back to her little apartment in Japan after touring parts of South-East Asia, Jackie stated, "it did feel a little strange and nice coming back to Japan, because to me Japan is still a holiday, but it kind of felt like I was actually going home". A strong feeling of attachment and sincerity in the experience is evident in the participants' comments. Japan had become a familiar place; a place they called home. Although all participants stated that "you'll always be an outsider in Japan" (Hank) as a result of communicative and cultural differences, it still felt like home to them. MacCannell (2001, p. 389) contends that what the tourist eventually discovers "is that 'home' is deeply arbitrary". The findings of this chapter suggest that these participants have achieved insight into the subjective nature of what it means to 'be-at-home'. Indeed, several participants expressed that their experience as a JET had given them the 'cultural confidence' to be able to be-at-home anywhere in the world (Graburn 1983). This was a skill participants felt was essential in an increasingly globalised society.

Kokoro no furusato is a Japanese expression used to convey a special meaning to a particular place that is dear to one's heart - literally 'home of the heart' (Masuda 1974). It exemplifies an emotional attachment towards a particular place that is not considered to be one's physical home or where they originally come from. For these JET participants Japan became a *kokoro no furusato* or emotional home. They had developed a sincere relationship with their host community rather than simply viewing it through a tourist gaze. They did not discover an 'authentic' Japan trapped in history; rather they were able to negotiate a sincere connection with its people and places. Japan was a present 'home', not an authentic past. As 'untourists', who were hoping to be moved out of the tourist world and achieve a less contrived and more natural cross-cultural experience, their time in Japan had more than met their expectations. It became

an intimate place - a 'home'. Consequently, their time living and working in Japan was particularly meaningful in that it offered a chance to explore alternative 'home' spaces, to develop cultural confidence for future travel, and a chance to feel a sincere sense of home abroad. It allowed participants to explore the meaning of 'home' and potential alternatives without becoming completely displaced.

5.1.2 'My Japanese Mother'

Whether defined as emotional or physical, 'home' consists of family. Mallet (2004, p. 74) maintains "without the family a home is 'only a house'. Home is about people; a sentiment clearly stressed by participants in the previous section. The emotional attachment to their hosts further manifests itself through the use of 'family' as a metaphorical device. On several occasions participants described their relationships they established with host nationals as family members. Andrea, for instance, had what she considered a Japanese 'mother' and 'father'. Her "Japanese father" was her Karate instructor. This father figure represented someone who she felt looked after her best interests, giving her advice on everything from relationships to work. Andrea was the only foreigner in her small town and her Karate instructor fulfilled the role of a guardian. She trusted him and felt that he was looking out for her. Andrea also had a middle-aged female companion who was given the endearing title of her "Japanese mother". Andrea described how they would talk about "everything", things that were not typically topics of discussion with her other Japanese friends. In coming to Japan, Andrea put herself into a vulnerable position where she was required to depend on people. Thus, establishing relationships based on trust and openness was essential for successful cultural adjustment. She told me of how when her parents came to visit they were ecstatic to see that she had developed such caring relationships. She commented:

My parents were really stoked at how cool of a support system I had and how cool it was that their girl was being looked after cause its kind of scary when you go off to a country and you don't know the language. You kind of trust your most precious thing - your child - to something they don't know, right. So, they were just really stoked to see like 'Ok cool. She's eating well and she does have nice friends, you know people are thinking about her best interests.

A similar relationship was expressed by Hailey who described her relationship with a Japanese national who she described as “kind of like my Japanese mom”. She was placed in a small town and had established a close relationship with a Japanese woman in her late 40’s who also looked after “her best interest”. In the same way, Mary described her connection with one of her female co-workers as “like my mother”. In fact, she spoke of how this co-worker called herself Mary’s Japanese mother illustrating the reciprocal emotional bond that was made evident throughout the interviews. These excerpts illustrate that the JET-host interactions were not perceived to be just encounters but rather relationships based protection, equality, and reciprocity (Hueman 2005). The metaphorical use of ‘family’ by both guests and hosts highlights the sincere nature of these relationships.

Tourists and travellers alike prefer social contacts with host nationals where they are not treated as outsiders but rather as equals (Cooper 2002; Pearce 1982). The findings of this study suggest that these working-travellers perceived they had established sincere and reciprocal relationships with their hosts, based on trust, openness, and equality. It was evident there was an element of sincerity in their experience, but how was this sincerity constructed? Which activities helped to foster a more sincere experience than available in other tourist experiences?

5.2 Dwelling in Japan

Emotions of ‘home’ and ‘family’ do not derive from contrived experiences. It involves daily interaction with people and familiar knowledge of place (Schuetz 1945; Tuan 1974). That is to say to achieve any degree of emotional attachment requires an element of ‘dwelling’ (Bloch-Tzemach 2005; Heidegger 1971; Seamon 1985). The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (Thompson 1995, p. 423) defines the verb *to dwell* as to “live or reside”, and a *dweller* is described as to “continue in a place”. It is argued that ‘to dwell’ involves much more than residence in a place (Heidegger 1971, Seamon 1985). The term ‘to dwell’ first became widespread by philosopher Martin Heidegger (1971) when he described the importance of ‘building dwelling thinking’. To Heidegger (1971, p. 157), dwelling involves “man’s relation to locations”. Seamon (1985, p. 227) conceptualized this relationship as including “a

lifestyle of regularity, repetition and cyclicity all grounded in an atmosphere of care and concern for places, things, and people”. For both Heidegger and Seamon, meaningful dwelling requires routine.

5.2.1 Establishing a Localised Daily Routine

On numerous occasions JET participants expressed how the establishment of a local everyday routine enhanced their travel experience and fostered a sincere relationship between themselves and their host community. It was through routine that JET participants were able to feel at ‘home’ in Japan. In the interviews I asked participants to elaborate on what they meant by ‘being-at-home’ in Japan. Jeff answered:

I have a routine now. I have a physical home and it feels like a home. I have a school which I go to everyday, I know the people, and I’m starting to get to know the kids, you know even though the language barrier’s there. Ah...to be into a place means to feel like you’ve made a home there, you’ve got friends there and it’s not just some transient place, but somewhere you are for the foreseeable.

As Jeff so aptly suggests, ‘home’ must also consist of routine. At the heart of this routine is their daily interaction with their physical environment. Whereas intercultural contact in tourism occurs primarily in the realm of recreation (Ooi 2002), for the Miyazaki JETs interactions with their hosts was a daily reality. Several participants stated that it was the characteristic of routine, a commonplace day-to-day engagement within their community that created an endearing feeling of home. It allowed participants to feel and embrace the intricacies of a place, a characteristic often missing in other forms of tourist travel. Amber commented on the fact that ‘being-at-home’ involved more than just having an apartment; it involved routine. “I guess part of it is physical because I have an apartment here and that is my space, but that’s certainly not all of it”, she remarked:

I have normal and daily interactions with people whose families have lived here for centuries. I have a daily life here and I think that has a big impact. I do things that you do when you're living somewhere...I go to the shops and I go plant flowers in the park and I participate in local festivals and I man the information desks and I get books out of the library and um...teach the kids and know the people who work in the places around me. I give and receive hellos and goodbyes in the mornings and greetings on the street. There's a real sense of community here.

In her study of thirty-three middle-class Canadian travellers, Harrison (2003) cited that for her travel enthusiasts 'meeting real people' meant interacting with people outside the tourist industry. By meaningfully interacting socially with the general population, she argues they were able to gain greater insight into how ordinary people live in their destinations. This was expressed to be of great importance to her participants. Similarly, in his analysis of tourists' perceived culturally authentic experiences in Amsterdam and Singapore, Ooi (2002) discovered that tourists attempt to gain an authentic experience by partaking in the daily practices of the host. Termed "going native", Ooi (2002, p. 168) contends that there are activities that locals do on a daily basis that tourists may also choose to take part in. These are ways to interact with locals from a more equalised position and include daily routines, religious festivals, shopping areas, living heritage sites, and eating-places; essentially all areas that are believed significant and meaningful to the host nationals (Ooi 2002). These are activities performed regularly by the local population, and thus, were perceived not to have been corrupted by commercial motives and are therefore argued to be more naturally occurring social interactions (Ooi 2002; Yamashita 2003). Likewise, for Amber and Jeff, these quotidian encounters were an essential part of 'being-at-home' in Japan. Although casual, these interactions were considered to be ordinary, common place, and something the everyday Japanese person did. Thus, they perceived their interactions with their hosts to be less contrived and more sincere as they transpired in a quotidian and casual atmosphere.

In addition to these conventional daily exchanges, participants described their routine as a combination of two additional interrelated elements; work and leisure. Through this routine they were able to have direct, unmediated social participation with their host community with each element serving to foster a sense of familiarity and belonging. For a few participants, work was seen as an indispensable means to establish

a connection with their hosts. Hank in particular noted that his office played a central role in defining his belonging to his host community. He commented:

For me work is what makes me feel connected to Miyazaki...I think that work is really where I have my close connection with people in Miyazaki, you know people I see every day, people who I've known for almost three years now, who understand and like know me, and who I've gotten to know. I'm fortunate that I feel quite satisfied with my work and get a lot out of it and you know fulfilled.

Through employment Hank felt like he was contributing to his adopted community which enhanced his sense of belonging. Furthermore, he commented on how his working environment was integral in developing a greater understanding of Japanese language and culture. "At work", Hank observed:

I've learned a lot about the way the Japanese people work and you know which is a huge part of any Japanese persons' life...I've really learned a lot about this huge aspect of Japanese peoples' live and their attitude towards work and how that fits into peoples' lives and for a lot of people dominates their social life as well. I think your general impressions of Japan were probably formed prior to coming here, but I think that my understanding of the Japanese work place and rural Japan has definitely grown.

For the most part, work served as a means to gain a greater understanding of a part of Japanese culture that most people do not get to experience. Similarly, Jeff also described work and in particular "the staff room" as his "main cultural reference point in Japan, and it's not always good". Jeff told me several stories of discrimination and confrontation with his bosses and other co-workers resulting from cultural misunderstandings. However, he believed that a greater understanding of Japanese society was made possible through these negative instances. For Jeff, school was very much about being exposed to Japanese culture and reported that his employment in Japan has given him insight into "Japanese work ethic, Japanese motivations, and Japanese moral values". Similarly, Mary called work "her window into the *Japanese world*". It was through her employment that she had developed most of her post-work friendships. She valued these relationships immensely. She emphasised this sentiment when she said of her office companions; "I can't imagine leaving this place, I get that warm fuzzy feeling in my heart when I think about it...I can't imagine leaving the students, I can't imagine not waking up and not going to my job or not talking to Sensei the next day in the morning". For Hank, Mary and Jeff work was undoubtedly their

means to feel attached to their community, to socially engage with host nationals, and to gain insight into an area of life in Japan that most people are not exposed to.

However, participants' routine consisted of more than just work. Several interviewees stressed the significance of their leisure activities as being one of the most important characteristics that fostered a sense of belonging in their community. Participants reported being involved in a wide variety of cultural practices in Japan including *shodo* (Japanese calligraphy), volleyball, gardening, and general socialising. However, the most common and meaningful of these extra curricular activities was martial arts. Four of the nine interviewees were currently participating in some form of martial arts, including Karate and mixed martial arts (MMA). Joining a martial art programme was perceived as a means to establish an even closer bond with their host community. Jackie, for example, stated that she joined Karate not only learn practical self defence skills, but she also wanted "to get more involved with her Japanese community". Andrea also stated that her interest in Karate stemmed from her desire to expand her knowledge of Japanese culture. Talking of her plans prior to arriving in Japan she stated "when I came to Japan I knew I wanted to study Japanese and Japanese culture so that meant learning martial arts of some form". Andrea perceived martial arts culture and Japanese culture to be intimately connected. She continued:

I mean like the Dojo, I always bring it back to the Dojo because I learn a lot about Japanese culture that way, but when you enter the Dojo you bow, and then you walk over to Sensei and you greet him and bow, then you go do you're warm up and bow you know that kind of thing. I mean like you've got to learn the culture to do Karate.

Beyond these essentialisations of Japanese culture as martial arts was the fact that most of her free time - outside teaching- was spent at the Karate dojo (school) or with her Karate friends. She perceived her leisure time as being integral in helping to establish close relationships with her host community. She commented:

Before it used to be like, the conversation used to revolve around me. Whereas now they are talking about things back home and we can talk about 'oh, you know Joe that works in the Butcher, he just had a baby mate, like they named this kid this weird name'. You know, that kind of thing. I really enjoy that. And like um...before when I did Karate, it was like 'ah why did you choose to do Karate?' and now it's like wow you know it's just normal now, I'm just one of the team now. It's pretty cool.

While some of the participants saw their martial art training as an addition to an already fascinating experience, for Mark and Andrea it played a more central role. Mark noted “that’s been my main goal, my reason to stay here in the first place” and Andrea stated “my martial art is the main reasons I’ve stayed as long as I have”. For Mark and Andrea, their martial art enabled them to become embedded with in their Japanese community. Furthermore, in the dojo they felt as an equal. They were able to experience an element of traditional Japanese culture and fostered friendships that created a sense of ‘being-at-home’ in Japan.

5.2.2 Extended Temporal Dimension & Fixed Spatial Location

What is somewhat implied in this discussion concerning the establishment of a normalized day-to-day routine is that to achieve any degree of belonging of place takes persistence. Tuan (1975, p. 164) emphasizes this point when he comments:

Experience takes time. Sense of place is rarely acquired in passing. To know a place well requires long residence and deep involvement. It is possible to appreciate the visual qualities of a place with one short visit, but not how it smells on a frosty morning, how city sounds reverberate across narrow streets to expire over the broad square, or how the pavement burns through gym-shoes soles and melts bicycle tires in August.

In this passage, Tuan suggests that a sincere sense of place and place attachment is not possible through typical tourist practices. To achieve a sentiment of belonging or a familiarity of place requires more than mere observation. For Tuan, it also means an emotional and physical embodiment of place and space. Here in lies one of the major differences cited in literature between short-term tourist activities and how participants described their JET experience. In her study of Israeli long-term travellers, Bloch-Tzemach (2005, p. 189) found that the most meaningful travel experiences “were associated not with periods in which they actually travelled or backpacked, but rather with periods in which they took their backpacks off their shoulders and remained in one place”. Moreover, she maintains that some contemporary forms of temporary dwelling are in fact a tourist experience. Termed ‘dwelling-tourists’, she argues that for these temporary workers the ‘experience’ is not escape from routine, but rather “change is found within routine...the encounter with the different and nonconventional takes place while dwelling in a fixed location and living a completely routine life” (Bloch-Tzemach

2005, p. 194). The idea of dwelling-as-tourism adds a unique spatial and temporal dimension to travel. Spatially, one remains in a fixed location and temporally, their stays are of longer duration. These two factors combine to create an opportunity for these individuals to develop a new routine, thereby, fostering a more sincere experience of place.

Participants frequently referred to the extended temporal dimension and fixed spatial location that the JET Programme facilitated. For example, Jeff acknowledged that for him to “really live in a place would take a long time”; time that tourists simply do not have. JET was considered to be particularly meaningful in that it afforded Jeff time to more intimately experience life and culture of Japan. The JET programme provided an extended temporal dimension and an anchored spatial dynamic which they felt helped to foster an element of sincerity of their experience. This dichotomy of travelling versus dwelling was highlighted by Jackie:

When I think of travelling I think of backpacking and not really having a secure plan and moving around a lot. Personally, I think the JET programme is kind of strange in that you're travelling, but at the same time you have a base for a year, so you are settled.

For Jackie working as a JET facilitated this sense of ‘dwelling’; of travelling yet remaining settled. Several participants identified these temporal and spatial characteristics of JET as vehicle to establish a greater sense of sincerity in their cultural experience. Consequently, they reported moving from a romantic idealisation of Japan to a more meaningful familiarity. Mary commented:

I think the romance is starting to wear off now and it's starting to feel more like life rather than a vacation, but I like that, I like that. It's life now, so I feel like I'm actually living here and I'm not just backpacking. It's also to the point now where I'm not a novelty to people here.

Hank highlighted the same feelings towards his experience in Japan:

You know, a lot of the shimmer and exoticism of being in Japan kind of wore off which was replaced with a kind of familiarity and understanding. I'd gladly sacrifice that excitement of new and exotic Japan for this is a place I really understand now and am familiar with.

Through JET, participants reported being able to ‘dwell’ in Japan for an extended period of time. The localised routine was essential to this sentiment of dwelling. Participants felt they were able to achieve unmediated direct contact with

their hosts, there by establishing relationships based on reciprocity and equality. Participants articulated ‘Japan-as-home’ which was made possible through their social relations with their hosts in their community, at work and through leisure practices. These guest-host relationships were considered to be sincere and reciprocal. They referred to their hosts as ‘mother’, ‘father’ and ‘sister’ as if adopted children of Japan. Through establishing these relationships with their hosts over a significant period of time, the exoticism of living in Japan had been replaced with feelings of intimacy, familiarity and local knowledge becoming something more akin to pseudo-local vision than a tourist gaze (Urry 1990a). An aspiring writer, Amber perhaps best articulated this intimate familiarity of her adopted home. Similar to the embodied experience of place portrayed by Tuan (1975), she commented:

You know what makes me feel the most at home when I think about Kushima? It’s when I think about walking home from school, walking over a bridge and it’s late afternoon. There’s a guy, who lived in a little house by the port on the edge of the road, and he would play his flute, his little *shamisen*, at night. So, walking over the river you would have all these boats on one side and these herons and the water on the other side and the sun setting over the hills and this guy playing this flute and ah yeah. He was really good. I used to go and watch him sometimes. He just sits, just like out in his nets or turns his boat upside down and sits on that, or sits on the roof of his truck which was all completely overgrown with plants and stuff. It was totally an everyday experience, but he was just amazing...yeah. That’s what I think about when I think about Kushima, just those late afternoons that I had there.

5.3 Immersion of ‘Self’ in a Foreign Culture

Mallet (2004, p. 79) contends that “being at home involves the immersion of a self in a locality. The locality ‘intrudes’ upon the self...Equally the self penetrates the locality”. In other words, a defining characteristic of ‘home’ is that a place becomes a part of you and you a part of that place. It entails an intimate, meaningful and often challenging negotiation with a destination which eventually becomes an ingrained in your being and changes you as a person. The majority of participants expressed that this type of sentimental attachment was a direct result of becoming immersed in a culture uniquely different from what they are accustomed. Through immersion of self in an unfamiliar cultural landscape, participants described an element of personal growth.

As a result, several participants reported that Japan had become “a part of them” and thus, an element of sincerity was also expressed as personal challenge and acculturation.

Amber, for example, had a unique JET experience in that she had the opportunity of living in two different rural locations. She described both locations as home, and when asked what was it about these places that fostered such an emotional attachment she stated that home was:

Somewhere that changes you and...with both places I kind of feel a little bit like they've somehow gotten into me, they've gotten into my blood or something. You know I can just be back there in a second if I just want to think about it you know. Yeah Saito and Kushima have had a really large impact on me, the people and the places as well.

As Mallet (2004, p. 79) poignantly suggested, Amber's emotional sincerity towards Japan was linked to the 'locality intruding upon the self'. Being in Japan for a good part of her early adulthood, Amber felt her time there transpired during a crucial transformative life stage. Accordingly, certain elements of this experience and her adopted home will always be a part of her personality. Amber was not alone in this sentiment. Andrea also commented that Japan was also having a significant impact on the person she was becoming.

My time in Japan will always be very, very dear to me. The things I've learned and that kind of thing. Especially being here the time I have been, 23 to 27, I'll be 28 when I leave, that's a big chunk of growing life years anyway no matter where you go right. You learn a lot about yourself and learn about the world you know and to have done it in Japan is just amazing.

To a lesser extent Mary also commented how Japan had affected her. She stated:

I think that Japan is starting to become a part of me. Even in little things like picking up with the little tiny social tendencies like I cover my mouth when I laugh and stuff like that now... I pick it up because I'm used to it everyday. But, in little things like that it has started to become a part of me.

For many of the participants Japan was a place of personal growth, whether as small as Mary's mannerisms to Amber's strong emotional bond to her rural communities. Japan had become a part of their early adulthood identity. These personal behavioural shifts were not the result of gazing upon their hosts, but were rather attributed to the hard work of living in a foreign culture. Change was the result of being challenged.

5.3.1 Challenge or Shock?

The things that I've learned in the past were enriched or maybe challenged a little bit more because I was in a situation that challenged my every thought, my values, my everything up until the point I came here. - Andrea

The extract above emphasizes that the movement into a new social world, particularly one that speaks a foreign language and whose cultural practices seem unfamiliar and strange, is undoubtedly challenging. When we move across cultures we take with us our values, assumptions, and beliefs that our previous experiences and upbringing have instilled in us. When we become immersed in a foreign culture many of these sociocultural influences, which have often been taken for granted, are challenged. For immigrants (Berry et al. 1987; Oberg 1960), sojourners (Adler 1975; Church 1982), and tourists (Furnham 1984; Hottola 2004; Pearce 1982) alike the venture into a foreign environment has been most often characterised as the harrowing ordeal termed 'culture shock'. Cultural psychologist, Austin Church (1982, p. 540), describes culture shock as "cultural stress involving such symptoms as anxiety, helplessness, irritability, and a longing for a more predictable and gratifying environment". These cultural experiences have been interpreted as occurring in specific stages. Adler (1975), for example, claimed that individuals experience culture shock in a u-shaped manner, at first feeling elated about their situation, then succumbing to tension, confusion, and general dislike of their foreign environment, which is followed by a stage of reintegration, accommodation, and general acceptance of and comfort with these cultural differences. However, for many travel experiences these stages of shock are often non-sequential and less dramatic than literature would suggest. Alyssa told of how in the pre-departure orientation all JETs are made aware of the various stages of 'culture shock'. However, rather than experiencing them in isolation she describes how she felt each stage on a daily basis:

I think that we're only able to say that we're in certain stages of living here because we were told about them before we came here. I have no idea how I would have defined what I have gone through if had I not been shown the emotional cycle in the JET graph of your first year in Japan. I'd say that all these stages enter my mind on a daily basis, like how do I feel about Japan today...I'm constantly in this phase of evaluating my relationship with Japan.

As Hottola (2004) asks, can we reasonably concur with the theory of culture 'shock' in situations where individuals desire to experience both the positives and negatives

outcomes of these cultural differences and where the various stages coalesce into one cultural experience? And, from an emic perspective, are these experiences truly representative of ‘shock’?

Greenbalt and Gagnon (1983, p. 99) maintain that travellers, or as they describe ‘temporary and voluntary strangers’, seek out strangeness and unfamiliarity. They suggest that “the decision to travel brings with it all of the dilemmas and delights of dealing with a new environment that is in many ways unfamiliar”. As Cohen (1972, 1973) illustrated in his analysis of ‘drifter tourism’, many travellers often desire complete strangeness and take pleasure in both the desirable and disagreeable characteristics of the host culture. Amber and Mary described their desire to feel this uncomfortable strangeness:

I guess in a way I did sort of want to do feel like an immigrant. That was one of the reasons why I wanted to go somewhere where everyone wasn’t ‘whitey’ you know. Like um...it seemed like a good opportunity to really challenge any kind of prejudices that I had about people. - Amber

It’s the first time in my life I have ever really have gained a small understanding of what it is like to be a minority. I guess that’s something that I wanted to experience. Yeah, it’s the first time I’ve ever really felt and looked different and have been treated differently. - Mary

Social psychological studies on travel often underestimate this desire for strangeness and unfamiliarity. Such studies tend to focus solely on the instrumental nature of overcoming this strangeness (Bochner et. al 1977; Tsai 1995; Murphy-Shigematsu 2002), but do not often express participants’ feelings of their experiences on their own terms. These JET participants were not travelling for the instrumental purpose of completing a work assignment or course of study (Sui 1952). In contrast, they had a primary desire to experience and learn about their host culture; the ‘job’ was considered secondary. Their experience was an emotional travel practice, where both adversity and pleasure as a result of intercultural immersion were celebrated as being part of the experience. Cultural discomfort was not a shock, but rather a challenge embraced by these JET participants.

Journeys into unfamiliarity challenge these travellers which provide “occasions for both personal triumph and failure” (Greenbalt & Gagnon 1983, p. 99). The JET participants I interviewed perceived moving to Japan to be a formidable test of character. Mark told me of this challenge:

When you first get here you're left with nothing, you don't know how to speak the language, I mean I didn't. I couldn't speak the language, I didn't know where to go, I didn't know anybody, so I mean you have nothing. You're totally stripped down and you have this idea of who you are and then you're just stripped down to your bare bones and you have nothing. You have an image of yourself; you do things like this and that at home. But being in Japan was really humbling, like holy shit I'm an idiot.

Although all participants experienced moments of cultural discomfort, it was by no means considered to be a ‘shock’. It was expected, anticipated, and often embraced as an integral aspect of their cultural experience. In our conversations, Amber repeatedly talked about her desire to be challenged by living in Japan. She remarked:

Easy is kind of boring. I think if you want to be alright in a new country maybe you have to admit to the part of your personality that is uncomfortable with things. The more of a challenging and uncomfortable situation I'm in the more I enjoy it and enjoy thinking about it afterwards.

Mary offered a similar positive perspective on what is often termed ‘culture shock’:

You know it's just tough to deal with sometimes, to know that you're just that much different and you're stared at sometimes. And some days its cool, the shock value is fun.

Thus, despite experiencing elements of culture dislocation, it was exactly this uneasiness that rendered this experience particularly challenging, meaningful and beneficial. So although these participants noted that there were significant cultural and linguistic complications with their lives in Japan, they described these obstacles as one of the more attractive characteristics of their JET experience.

Life at home was expressed as being too familiar. There was no challenge in their daily lives, which is exactly what made life in Japan so exhilarating and meaningful. Everyday was a test, requiring strong character and continuous self reflection. Jeff described how his previous values, beliefs on life, and basically “everything that I know” were persistently challenged in Japan. When asked if he could

‘challenge’ what he knew at home with out moving, he replied “you can but it’s harder because you’re in a world you know”. He continued:

In England I’m so familiar with everyone and everything around me...like University I knew that was my life, I knew every facet of it that I was involved with. Um...therefore new and difficult situations, cultural situations, didn’t arise that often. Or, if they did, I generally knew they were coming and I knew what to expect and I could speak in a language where I could deal with them. That’s not to say that all life in England everyday is the same. It’s not, far from it. But, you’re equipped to deal with it because you’re in familiar surroundings. In Japan you’re not and that’s why it’s great. It requires that you give more of yourself I think and I found myself thinking about that all the time, consciously or not, it’s always going on in my head. And that’s a great thing to learn, that’s a great thing to have in the future I think, to think those kinds of thoughts which are tough.

Japan became a part of the participants because it forced them to challenge their previous beliefs and in doing so, open themselves up to new ideas, perspectives and ways of living. Participants embraced the experience of ‘culture shock’. The idea of cultural discomfort was instead perceived as a challenge and something that was considered to be essential for them to grow as individuals.

5.3.2 Personal Acculturation

In regards to immersion of the self, all nine participants had indicated that this experience tested their personal character and fostered personal growth. Cross-cultural psychologist John Berry (2001) suggests that when one becomes emotionally involved with another culture there is a strong potential for personal adaptations and acculturation to occur. He describes these adjustments as ‘behavioural shifts’ which are “a psychological change resulting from cultural contact” and that “virtually every behaviour in a person’s repertoire is a candidate for change” (Berry 2001, p. 621). In acculturation, personalities can alter, daily routines modify, language skills evolve, attitudes may change, and old habits may cease (Berry 2001). In a tourism context, literature concerning behavioural shifts is most often studied in the framework of changes in attitudes between host-guest as a result of cultural contact (Amir & Ben-Ari 1985; Brewer 1984; Pizam et al. 2000; Uriely & Reichel 2000; Reisinger 1994; Ryan & Pike 2003). In this study all interviewees had a positive attitude towards Japan prior to their arrival in Tokyo and, although they did experience some disagreeable cultural

differences, have maintained an overall positive attitude towards their host community. However, from an emic perspective it became obvious that any behavioural learning from this experience was more about themselves than of their attitudes towards the host culture. When asked what they felt they have learned from their time living in Japan the unanimous response was that they had gained patience. Amber told me of how she felt she was an aggressive person prior to coming to Japan and through this experience felt she gained a sense of patience and tolerance. Amber commented:

Being ok with pretty much everything is pretty much a new thing for me. At times in my life I've been...I guess even a slightly aggressive person. Not in a mean way, just kind of aggressive and making things a lot more complicated than they need to be. Um...and I've kind of learned just not to fucking worry about stupid bullshit here. The little things are the best things and also the small shit doesn't matter you know. I've learned that since being here. I think Japan is good for becoming more of an empathetic person.

Mark described a similar acculturative experience. A self described “dick” prior to coming to Japan, he felt that this time there had mellowed his aggressive temperament. When asked what he had learned from living in Japan he remarked:

Patience...I was kind of an impatient dick when I came here. Like, just driving in traffic or just waiting in line, anything would drive me mad...just as an example these kinds of things happen in daily life, so you have to be patient or you're going to go freak'n nuts. So I've been completely calmed down. So I've learned how to just be more patient and take my time doing things and maybe treat people with a lot more respect. The way people treat each other here, I mean is priceless. You know in America, growing up in Jersey most people are kind of just dicks on a day-to-day basis. And not meaning to be, but its how they interact. I mean you're rude and you're short and you don't give a shit and people litter all the time. I wouldn't even think about doing things like that like being rude to somebody, not on purpose. So maybe I have learned patience and maybe better manners.

Similarly, when I asked Andrea what she felt she had learned from her time in Japan she remarked:

It's patience. Because Japanese people don't want to make mistakes they think about things and they sort of like make sure they take their time before speaking. I think that's really cool. I would have sort have blurted out the first answer I thought before, so now I sort take time, think about it and instead of just talking for the sake of talking actually having something worth while to say.

Comments like these reveal that their time spent living and working in Japan did in fact result in a certain degree of personal acculturation. These excerpts suggest that the most meaningful personal quality gained from this experience was patience. This particular behavioural shift was the result of having to live and work in a community where communication is severely limited due to cultural and linguistic complications. In these cases, patience was a necessary to enjoy their life in Japan. For some, this was a major evolution of their personal character as in Mark's example who observed that "my whole view on life and how I go about doing things has done a 180". As such, their experience of living and working in Japan was particularly meaningful in that they felt it helped them to see things from a different perspective and to grow as individuals. It was suggested that Japan had become part of their identity and altered persona. As a result, an element of sincerity in the JET experience was also expressed through their personal relationship with Japan.

5.4 Summary

This chapter provided evidence to suggest that these categories of temporary mobility are not just important to tourism discourse, but are also significant to discussions concerning belonging, place attachment, and the definition of home in contemporary society. Specifically, it illustrated that even though the JET experience was knowingly temporary and participants were by no means completely integrated into Japanese society, they were still able to establish a sincere connection with their host community. For the most part they felt 'at home' in Japan, a fact emphasised through the metaphorical use of 'family' and 'home' to describe their relationship with their hosts. Furthermore, the chapter identified two factors that were integral in fostering this sense of familiarity and belonging; an extended temporal dimension and a fixed spatial location. As a result of these characteristics of the JET experience, participants were able to establish a routine which was perceived to be the defining characteristic that facilitated a sense of 'being-at-home' in Japan. A consequence of this dwelling routine was that the self was immersed in a foreign culture which resulted in personal behavioural shifts for several participants. The challenge of living and working in Japan provided an opportunity for personal development. As a result, Japan

had 'become a part of them' which exemplifies the sincerity of their relationship with Japan. However, although participants reported a sincere relationship with their hosts, they also reported significant cultural and linguistic differences which fostered a communal feeling amongst the JET participants of being on the outside looking in. Accordingly, to holistically address the social situation of the JET experience chapter six will investigate the inter-JET social relationships and its significance to this unique travel and work experience.

Chapter 6: The Inter-JET Social Dynamic

Chapter five demonstrated the strong emotional attachment that these JET participants exhibited towards their adopted communities in Japan. Although that chapter painted an overtly positive picture of the relations between JETs and their hosts, living and working in a Japan was not always easy. Participants repeatedly stated that one of the greatest difficulties of the JET experience was finding an appropriate balance between adhering to Japanese customs and maintaining their own cultural identities. As Mary commented:

Especially here in Japan, how do you know when you're supposed to be proper and polite, and you know extend your bow enough to somebody who's superior to you. Then, how do you know when you can just laugh and goof off and just be yourself? It's finding that balance of being 'you' and being 'me'...I think it's something a lot of us struggle with everyday here because you don't want to offend people. But at the same time sometimes you're so sick of walking on eggshells you just want to laugh you know.

Berry et al. (1987) term this constant battle between cultural maintenance and intercultural participation, *acculturation*. They maintain acculturation theory is highly applicable to most intercultural exchanges, from permanent migration to tourism. Furthermore, they posit that acculturative strategies are established as a result of an individual's orientation towards two issues; their desire to have contact with and participate in the host culture and the degree to which they wish to maintain their own cultural identity (Berry et al. 1987). Empirical studies on acculturation have indicated that the foremost strategy for maintaining one's cultural disposition is through social interaction with others undergoing a similar experience (Adelman 1988; Caligiuri & Lazarova 2002; Schuetz 1945). These collective groups have been referred to as 'comparable others' (Adelman 1988) and 'primary groups' (Schuetz 1945). Social interactions within these collective cohorts not only have the potential to act a social support for cultural adjustment, but can also hinder intercultural relations (Adelman 1988). This will be addressed at the end of the chapter. Consequently, literature suggests that any intercultural experience is comprised of social engagement with both hosts and 'comparable others'. The JET experience is no exception.

Yarnal and Kerstetter (2005) contend that literature pertaining to the social dynamics of tourist mobility has centred much of its attention on the relations between

guests and hosts rather than amongst fellow travellers. They note that this gap in research is surprising considering such relationships are repeatedly referred to as being one of the most meaningful aspects of the tourist experience. Anyone who has taught English in Asia is well aware of the unique social dynamic that exists amongst their fellow expatriates. Some celebrate this international community and others strive to separate themselves from these foreigner enclaves. However, in most cases, the relationships built amongst fellow expats are often powerful, immediate and are a significant characteristic of their overseas experience. These international communities offer a sense of constant travel companions, an instant group of friends, and someone with whom to share their travel experiences (Bruner 1995).

Chapter six will investigate the social dynamics of these JET participants. It will first identify the significance that participants expressed towards the social interactions with their fellow JETs. It will then explore Turner's (1969) concept of 'communitas' - the intense bond formed by people sharing a liminoid experience - and its relationship to the social dynamic amongst JET participants. Specifically, the powerful and somewhat magical sense of 'JET communitas' was evident through four characteristics; liminoid group cohesion, spontaneous bonding, an atmosphere of acceptance, and the coming together of like-minded individuals. However, the bonds of communitas also produced the negative consequence of acting as a form of 'cultural safety' which limited intercultural interaction (Cooper 2002). Thus, the chapter will conclude by exploring the less desirable outcomes of 'communitas'.

6.1 Sharing Experiences: Each Other not just 'Other'

Tourism research frequently gives emphasis to host-guest relations, which in turn, often downplays the significance and meanings tourists place on the friendships developed with their fellow travellers. In his analysis of modernity, tourism and motivation, Wang (2000, pp. 68) posits;

Tourists are not merely searching for authenticity of the Other. They are also looking for the authenticity of, and between, *themselves*. Toured objects, or tourism, can be just a means or medium by which tourists are called together.

Travel offers individuals the opportunity re-establish a feeling of common humanity, a sense of togetherness, and a powerful social bond which is understood by Wang (2000) to be a scarce commodity in highly industrialised societies. Social psychological studies of mobility have indicated that interactions amongst fellow sojourners have frequently been identified as one of the most salient aspect of an overseas experience (Bochner et. al 1977; Church 1982; Sui 1952). This form of social interaction amongst fellow travellers has proven to be a significant motivator for many tourists (Bruner 1995; Cohen 1972, 2003; Harrison 2003; Murphy 2001; Quiroga 1990; Tucker 2005; Yarnal & Kerstetter 2005). The magnitude of these guest-guest relationships was highlighted in Tucker's (2005) review of packaged coach tours across New Zealand. Tucker (2005, p. 279) identified that for the young tour group she travelled with "the social experiences had within the tour group appeared to outweigh the importance of the toured place". Indeed, several empirical studies on tourism have suggested that social engagement amongst fellow travellers is a significant, if not the most important element of numerous tourist experiences including; backpacking (Cohen 2003; Murphy 2001), group tours (Bruner 1995; Quiroga 1990; Tucker 2005), festivals and special events (Kim & Jamal 2007), cruise ship vacations (Yarnal & Kerstetter 2005), wilderness adventure retreats (Sharpe 2005), and charter yacht tourism (Lett 1983).

Even when tourists are travelling 'alone' and 'independently', they frequently tend to seek out friendships with other travellers rather than with host nationals (Cohen 1972, 2003; Murphy 2001). Such was the case with the Miyazaki JETs. Without exception, all participants interviewed identified a fellow JET, a specific group of JETs, or in Hanks case, a contingent of ex-JETs as their closest companions in Japan. Even when participants were located in the more remote rural areas, they made a concerted effort to have regular contact with their fellow JETs. In many ways they depend on one another, making the JET experience much more collective than individual. It was noted that one of the main reasons for becoming a JET was a desire for independence, yet what these individuals discovered was that in Japan you need to depend on people. Hailey's journey to Japan was driven by the desire to be independent from her familial ties, but what she quickly learned was that due to the cultural differences and language difficulties, she became more dependant here than at home. To this point, Hailey said "I think you begin to depend on the others for that support. So in some ways you become even more dependant again because you're so isolated." A similar sentiment was

expressed by Mary who commented “we’re all somewhat dependant on each other here...I am more dependant on other people then I ever have been in my life here, which I do and don’t like, but at the same time I’m really independent because I’m on the other side of the world just kind of making things happen when I need to”. This strange balance between dependency and independence was a repeated theme in several interviews. Yet, underlying these discussions was that this was a collective experience as they experienced life in Japan together. The experience became ‘we’ instead of ‘I’.

Although participants had come to Japan ‘on their own’, they frequently expressed their experiences as a group. During several interviews participants spoke of their time in Japan using the subjective personal pronoun ‘we’ to illustrate the collective nature of the JET experience. For example, when asked “have *you* travelled much in Japan?” Jackie replied, “Yeah, *we’ve* done a few places. *We’ve* done some Kyushu. *We’ve* been to Fukuoka. *We’ve* been to Kumamoto. *We’ve* done bits of the south. Most of them have been JET parties though”. For the most part, any free-time beyond work and cultural leisure practices was spent with other JETs. Three of the nine interviewees were in an intimate relationship with a JET counterpart with whom they spent the majority of their free-time. For these individuals, their relationship with their JET partner was a large part of their decision to re-contract and stay in Japan for another year. In addition, all participants identified that most of their leisure and weekend time was spent with other JETs with whom they felt a particular connection. Weekend travel and partying with their JET colleagues was significantly meaningful to their experience.

For many participants, it was exactly these weekend adventures that helped foster a sense of a shared experience amongst JETs. “Weekends are amazing” Mary recounted, “because *we’re* always travelling somewhere, going somewhere, seeing something, lots of sight seeing so I don’t sleep much on the weekends”. As Mary suggests, they were working but still made the most of their free-time with each other. They remained ‘travelling’ by taking advantage of exploring Japan as weekend tourists. Alyssa expressed a similar situation, “the weekends are...interesting. Um...you never have the same weekend in Japan, not for your first year anyway. Maybe Monday through Friday gets a bit calmer, but the weekends are like *let’s* get up and go some where.” Being in a ‘travelling mindset’ meant that they wanted to explore Japan as

much as possible as they knew their time there was temporary. Thus, in most cases weekend adventures involved other JETs who had the time and motivation to partake in these experiences.

In addition, inter-JET communication was reported as being an essential means of social support. Jeff, who lived in one of the more remote areas of Miyazaki, stated “it can be tough here, at first and so having a support base in foreigners who I can just be myself with, who I don’t have to worry about what I’m saying and if I didn’t have it I would be insane by now I think”. As with most JETs, Jeff also struggles with know when to maintain his own cultural identity and when to act according to Japanese customs. Being the only foreigner in his small town he described the opportunity to meet with his JET colleagues as vital for his mental health. Relating with other JETs offered him a space where he can “be himself” and not have to think about every word and action. Accordingly, he goes out of his way to make opportunities to meet with his JET counterparts. He remarked:

If I didn’t I would go stir crazy. Yeah every weekend usually we’re off and away, travelling somewhere or chilling out. There’s a really good group of people around here. I’m always within an hour of somebody and plenty of people who drive and come get me.

These participants placed tremendous value on not only being able to depend on each other for social support, but also to be someone to share their fascinating travel experience with. As Bruner (1995) suggests, what fun is travelling if you have no one to share stories or remember the ‘good times’ with?

Accordingly, most of the interviewees pointed to a powerful feeling of camaraderie amongst their JET colleagues. Not all JETs were best friends, but everyone indicated that they had a group of “good people” with whom they were sharing their time in Japan with. They were integral in helping each other to adjust to their new culture and also essential in the construction of their travel narrative. Every story needs characters, and for the most part, their JET counterparts were the small group of united protagonists around which their journey revolved. Accordingly, the intense social bond amongst their fellow JETs could be best described as powerful moments of ‘communitas’ (Turner 1969).

6.2 JET ‘Communitas’

My community is the JET community; it’s not where I live. - Alyssa

Some authors point to the fact that travellers often feel an intimate, emotional, and almost inexplicable sense of kinship and camaraderie with their fellow journeymen (Graburn 2001; Harrison 2003; Jack & Phipps 2005; Kim & Jamal 2007; Lett 1983; Nash 1996; Urry 1990a; Wang 2000). For example, in her study concerning the meaning of pleasure travel of thirty-three middle class Canadians, Harrison (2003, p. 72) illustrates how several of her participants told stories of “fleeting moments that could be described as intimate”. These intense bonds, she contends, arose out of moments of mutual disorientation, freedom, and excitement. Likewise, the majority of participants of this study expressed a similar emotion of powerful bonding that existed amongst their chosen group of JET companions. What characteristics of the experience foster such a feeling of instantaneous camaraderie? What exactly makes this experience ‘we’ instead of ‘I’?

Turner (1969) termed this intimate, spontaneous, and emotional social bonding as ‘communitas’. As described earlier in chapter four, Turner’s (1969) theory of rite of passage involves three phases; (1) separation from the ordinary (2) entry into ‘liminality’ – the phase of ‘communitas’ and (3) aggregation or re-establishment of structure and everyday existence. This chapter centres on the phase of liminality and the subsequent communitas that develops under such circumstances. According to Turner (1969, pp.95) this liminoid phase is a transitional state described as “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between”. It is perceived as a period of anti-structure where individuals are temporarily liberated from the social restraints and mores of everyday life (Turner 1982). It is in from within this phase of liminality that communitas transpires. Turner (1973, p. 216) defines communitas as “a spontaneously generated relationship between levelled and equal total and individuated human beings, stripped of structural attributes, together constitute what one might call anti-structure”. Thus, he suggests liminality fosters the optimal conditions for individuals to step out of normal roles and structures of society allowing them to forge relationships based on equality, acceptance, and common humanity. This produces communitas, the profound sense of unmediated camaraderie, togetherness, and social cohesion between

individuals undergoing a similar phase of liminality (Lett 1983; Nash 1996). Thus, spontaneous *communitas* found in travel and tourism has been shown to be a liberating, yet temporary bond among individuals sharing a comparable experience in a state of liminality (Kim & Jamal 2007; Lett 1983; Nash 1996). A powerful sense of ‘JET *communitas*’ was also evident amongst the participants of this study through four characteristics; liminoid group cohesion, spontaneous bonding, an atmosphere of acceptance, and the coming together of like-minded individuals.

6.2.1 Liminality & Group Cohesion: The Foreigner Identity & “Travelling Mindset”

The state of liminality in the JET experience was briefly explored in chapter four, but deserves further attention here. It was identified that the JET experience transpired during a transitional phase in participants’ lives and was considered to be on the peripheries of their ‘real lives’ at home. However, a sense of liminality was further accentuated by the fact that these guests also felt on the margins of their host society. Although participants expressed an emotional sense of belonging and familiarity with their host community, there was a constant underlying sense that as a foreigner, one can never truly integrate with Japanese society. Being situated on the margins of their host society gave rise to a sentiment of group cohesiveness amongst JET participants. Thus, the emergent theme of ‘*communitas*’ in the interviews was largely founded on a combination of two features which reinforced a sense of liminality in Japan; a mutual *gaijin* (foreigner/outside person) identity and the “travelling mindset” of JET participants which further segregated them from their Japanese hosts.

The first characteristic of the JET experience that accentuates a state of liminality in Japan was the fact that the majority of participants stated that regardless of how hard you try “you will always be an outsider in Japan” (Hank). The notion that foreigners in Japan exist on the peripheries of Japanese society is a topic of frequent discussion in academic literature (Bloch-Tzemach 2005; Brody 2001; Tsuneyoshi 2004; Yoshida 1981). In a similar manner, participants stated they were also ‘betwixt and between’ real life within Japan. Hank’s description of his experience in Japan illustrates this point:

I think with Japan you are an outsider. It's hard to integrate you know. You can break in if you get involved in certain groups and things like that, and you know some people do manage to integrate. But um...I think for most people you have to push yourself outside your comfort zone to do that and I think a lot of people kind of are dealing with enough, you know 9 to 5. So, it's just natural that when they have time off they want to relax, they want to enjoy themselves, and sort of fall in with people who are accepting - other foreigners.

All participants expressed a feeling of being on the peripheries of mainstream Japanese society. As Amber commented "people kind of treat me like an outsider, but I am an outsider. I'm a visitor. I live here now but here but not forever". The explicitly transitory nature of JET Programme makes becoming fully integrated into their host society an impossibility. To this point, Aspinall (2006. p. 270) contends that "the social norms of Japanese groups place a heavy emphasis on long-term relationships" which consequently acts as a cultural barrier to integrating with their host society as the host know "that the foreigner will not be around very long". Similarly, several participants identified difficulties in communicating with their Japanese friends on a level that they are used to in Western cultures. This sentiment was verified by Mark when he told me of his relationships with his martial art companions; "they don't get too personal. I mean we talk about girlfriends, but um...I'm not as good of a friend as with my JET friends...I can say that it's not too, too personal". This sentiment was shared across most interviews. Andrea, for example, had been in Japan for four years and had several close friends who were Japanese. Yet, during the interview she recounted a similar cultural barrier to fostering long-term friendships in Japan:

With your foreign friends your probably talking about sex in the first, oh I don't know ten minutes. The conversation always gets to sex right. But with your Japanese friends it never really gets there with them. I feel very close to them, but I feel very distant to them as well at the same time. Does that make sense? I don't feel like I ever get... um, I could probably get closer to *you* in an hour than I could to most Japanese people in a year because they don't do that in Japan, it's not their culture.

The difference in attitudes toward communication with Westerners and Japanese reflects the cultural distance concerning what constitutes 'friendship'. Indeed, the very notion of 'friendship' is culturally specific (Church 1982). So, while participants expressed an element of closeness in their relationships with their Japanese hosts, the bond amongst their JET counterparts was often reported as being much more intimate.

A sense of ‘outside-ness’ was a prevalent theme across all interviews, however, this was not always seen as a negative experience. Furthermore, although Andrea also felt a strong attachment to her rural community she also mentioned that she was ultimately treated differently. She described this as a paradox between being a glamorised as a foreigner in Japan while simultaneously feeling derogated to a lesser social status. “We’re rock stars here, we really are” she remarked.

That’s another paradox. Sometimes you’re a superstar and at others you’re lower class and treated as an outsider. Sometimes you’re like up here and held on a pedestal and other time you’re like right down here, you know, not even worth talking to.

Whether treated favourably or disdainfully, the outcome was inevitably the same; they perceived themselves to be a group of ‘outsiders’. This served to elevate the sense of liminality and group cohesiveness as described by the JET participants.

Secondly, several JETs described their psychological disposition towards their time in Japan as a ‘travelling mindset’. When asked what she meant by a “travelling mindset”, Mary replied:

Travelling mindset is just like...you are always looking for something to do on the weekends and so you keep your weekends open for that reason. I may not necessarily spend money on like things for my apartment because I’d rather be spending it on a trip somewhere or seeing something.

Likewise, Jackie also came to Japan with a “travelling mind frame”. For her, these moments of travelling throughout Japan and having weekend adventures together were of primary importance to her experiences. A similar psychological perspective was also cited in the interviews with Alyssa, and Mark who considered their “travelling mindset” as the glue that bonded the JET group together. Accordingly, the feeling of liminality was furthered through a psychological difference between these ‘travellers’ and their hosts. To this point, when asked what fosters this sense of togetherness Mary provided a potential reason.

Usually when *we* go on trips it’s with other JETs because...like the natives don’t really want to go travelling with you because they live there. I just look at it like when study abroad students were in the U.S. They were like ‘let’s go to Boston this weekend, let’s go to Philadelphia, let’s go to New York’. And I’m like ‘I don’t have any money, no. I’m going to do that’. So usually the travelling we go with other JETs.

Although in the same physical location, JETs and their hosts had contrastingly different attitudes towards their locality. Returning to the *rites-of-passage* theory, JETs were in a liminoid ‘travelling mind’ state, where in contrast their hosts existed in an quotidian structure, the ‘profane’ or ordinary world (Graburn 1989). An observation by Alyssa illustrates this point.

We JETs have really different lives from the Japanese. We don’t work 12 hours a day, which is a huge difference. And yet, we make more money than them which most of them are aware of. That’s possibly another reason why a lot of us will never feel totally at integrated or welcomed here...Another example is my neighbour. She leaves her apartment before 7 am and doesn’t usually get home until 10 pm. I’ve seen her one time and was shocked because for a long time I didn’t think anybody lived there and then I started like noticing when I heard her door open and shut. So, to not even see your next door neighbour *ever*, I mean I think that says a lot about how well you’re integrated within the community. My community is the JET community. It’s not where I live.

So although they were living and working in Japan, most participants considered their day-to-day existence to be slightly removed from their host society. They were treated differently as a foreigner, be it with respect or contempt, and were thus kept on the ‘outside’ looking in. Consequently, the participants established a ‘mobile’ community, where these travelling individuals congregated in a temporary place of dwelling before moving on to another location.

Thus, the emergent theme of ‘*communitas*’ in the interviews was largely founded on a combination of two features which reinforced a sense of liminality in Japan; a mutual foreigner identity and the “travelling mindset”. Both of these characteristics created a communal feeling of being on the ‘outside’ together that allowed for bonds of *communitas* to arise. As an outsider in Japan, participants often reported feeling they were often not subject to the same rules of conduct and therefore had an element of freedom in their daily behaviour. To this point, Hailey told me of how “you do have to keep in mind that you are judged as a foreigner and therefore not always rule abiding”. There was a certain liberty in being a foreigner in Japan. Participants explicitly indicated that they had no clearly defined role and identity in Japanese society and were to some extent free to develop their form of leisure community. They occupied the margins of both the society from which they came from and their adapted community. Societal structure and obligatory norms were essentially non-existent. They were welcomed in Japan, but were received as outsiders and were

consequently given leniency in their social and cultural behaviour. Thus, as a collective group of foreigners, they were able to temporarily transcend the societal structure from which they departed and were left to their own devices in a realm of 'anti-structure'. Thus, the group was 'levelled and equal' in a Turnerian (1969) sense. They were stripped bare and were placed into a similar foreign environment together, as outsiders. As a consequence, their life in Japan was neither representative of their own culture nor was it like that of their host community. This created a powerful sentiment of liminality from which the bonds of *communitas* were derived. The liminoid group cohesion was furthered by their foreigner identity and their 'travelling mindset'.

6.2.2 Spontaneous Bonding

Another defining characteristic of *communitas* is the spontaneous and almost mystical bonding that occurs amongst those undergoing a similar experience (Turner 1969). Being placed into a foreign environment can be stressful. The development of a group of people united through a comparable experience was essential in helping to cope with this cultural stress. Consequently, an element of *communitas* and the subsequent sense of an instant foreign community were expressed by several participants through a description of the spontaneous bonding process. Several participants spoke of how there was an immediate bond with their fellow JETs shortly after arriving in Miyazaki. Hank, who had lived in various parts of Asia for several years, highlighted that in Japan "there's a ready-made sort of friend group network". He continued:

People you come in with at the same time are going through the same experiences. You can relate to them and I felt the same way. Um...one of my closest friends is the person who is working with me in the prefectural government and you know we talk a lot about it, and that was one of the things people bond over. And being an expat, you know, when I've lived overseas in the past a lot of my good friends have been other expats it's just part of the experience I think.

The sense of *communitas* was largely the result of striving for a common goal and the necessity to work together in order to survive and have a good time in Japan. In their analysis of cruise ship tourists, *communitas* was fashioned as a result of "having fun together" (Yarnal & Kersetter 2005, p.376). The notion of communal fun as a means to foster intimate social bonds was strongly evident amongst the interviewees. Thus, in

spite of varying personalities and reasons for coming to Japan, they were immediately united by the sense of having fun in Japan - together.

Hank had been in Japan for three years and was more reflecting on his past experiences. However, even those who had more recently moved to Japan expressed a sentiment of spontaneous inter-JET bonding. Jeff, for instance, had only been in Japan for four months at the time of the interview, yet this spontaneous bonding process was evident. He comments: “you know I feel like I’ve made connections with other JETs here already after four months with people who I’m incredibly, incredibly close to and who I’d like to think would remain in my life for a long time”. This spontaneous bond was even fostered by a sense of equality and being able to communicate openly within the group. Although knowing his fellow JETs for only a short period, he compares these relatively new relationships with qualities of a well established long-term friendship. He remarked:

I don’t know sometimes it’s...it’s difficult to explain, but these are new people in your life and it’s easy to trust what they’re saying is real because what have they got to gain by lying to you. You know it’s like in relationships that have lasted years and years you can either be brutally honest or you can get away with a white lie because you know how the other person is, you know how they feel, you know them.

This excerpt exemplifies the intense emotional qualities of these spontaneous relationships. Being in ‘liminoid Japan’ fostered an immediate sensation of openness, trust, and camaraderie amongst fellow JETs. Quoting Huizinga (cited in Lett 1983, p. 44), this emotional social cohesiveness can be understood to be the product of “feeling of being ‘apart together’ in an exceptional situation, of sharing something important, of mutually withdrawing from the rest of the world and rejecting the usual norms.” For these Miyazaki JETs, coming together based on common ground (liminoid Japan) and interest (travelling mind set) fostered bonds of *communitas* that were direct, immediate, and spontaneous.

6.2.3 Acceptance

In his later works, Turner (1982) identifies acceptance as another distinguishing feature of *communitas*. Whereas society in everyday life is characterised by exclusivity and in-group tendencies, *communitas* is defined as being more inclusive. In-group and out-group become less distinct and an attitude of acceptance becomes a common feature of the social dynamic. As a result, a sense of community is developed, even among individuals who would not have otherwise socially interacted with each other. Thus, Turner (1969) contends that liminality fosters the optimal conditions for individuals to step out of normative social roles and structures of society allowing them to forge relationships based on common humanity. The removal of structure means individuals are not segmentalised into specific societal roles, but rather approach one another as ‘brother’ rather than ‘other’ (Turner 1973).

The JET programme consists of an eclectic mix of persons of all ages, personality types, and personal motivations for being in Japan. Yet, despite these differences, powerful friendships were forged even amongst these divergent personalities. Confronting each other on equal ground in Japan fostered an atmosphere of acceptance. The majority of participants reported that they were friends with people in Japan, whom under normative social circumstances at home, would not have socially interacted. Mary describes this phenomenon:

With the JETs it's interesting because you group these people together; most of them have very strong personalities, very different personalities. So, if you were at home, like you'd probably never be friends with most of the people because like wow, what a common thread - we both speak English. It's not like some cosmic force brought you together to be friends. Like you just live next to each other or you just both come from the same cost line from your country. But that being said I'm really happy because some people who have become very close friends of mine, I probably would have never looked twice at if I were at home.

A similar experience was described Hailey. She reported quite simply:

My friends are mainly other JETs because it's sort of a community. There's a lot of people that if we were back at home we wouldn't be friends with...but because they're in the same boat as we are we become friends. That's quite interesting. It's like university life, but you don't exactly hang out with people who are exactly like you.

The inter-JET social dynamic is fascinating in that such an atmosphere of acceptance makes it relatively easy to forge friendships with a diverse group of individuals. As a temporary guest in Japan, a sense of community was forged amongst individuals who would otherwise not socially interact. Thus, a sentiment of ‘JET communitas’ was achieved through this feeling of acceptance and equality that existed amongst their fellow JETs.

For the most part, participants highly valued this unique communal characteristic of the JET experience. They took pleasure in the fact that they were able to meet such an interesting and diverse group of “worldly” people. However, not all interviewees revelled in this atmosphere of acceptance. Although all participants reported an element of communitas with their JET colleagues, there were also moments that illustrated a certain dissension for other foreigners in Japan. Certainly, anyone who has lived and worked in North East Asia as an English teacher can attest to the awkward social dynamic that transpires when you meet another foreigner in passing. Should you say ‘hi’ or play it cool and pretend that you did not notice there was another foreigner in your new world? Are you supposed to be friends simply because you are both foreigners? “I see another foreigner and it’s like ‘don’t make eye contact’” Mark exclaimed. He continued, “it’s stupid because they think just because we are both foreigners I should say ‘hey how are you doing, I’m a foreigner too eh?’”.

Similar encounters were repeated in the majority of interviews. Some expressed an outright disdain for other foreign nationals while others, like Mark, felt confused over the idea of instantaneous acceptance that is evident amongst fellow foreign nationals in Japan. So although there was an atmosphere of acceptance amongst JET participants, this characteristic of communitas was not extended to all foreign nationals or even to all JETs. It was typically limited to a specific group of JETs who were either bound together by a common geographical isolation/location or the year with which they came to Japan. According to Hailey, there is a significant difference between first year and second or third year JETs. She commented:

I just want to use the rest of my time to be with the friends that really matter to me. Not that the new JETs don’t matter, but it’s the people that I’ve been with for this whole time and I want to use the rest of the time that we have wisely. That’s why the second and third years are very strange I think

because they have to cut back and just do the things that they came here to do. But first year JETs are usually always partying together.

The emotion of spontaneous bonding and acceptance transpired early in their journey, typically at the beginning of the stay in Japan. Following this immediate *communitas* bond, the collective group became extremely close and was often reported to remain cohesive social unit throughout the duration of their stay. Thus, once *communitas* was established amongst a particular group the characteristic of acceptance slightly diminished. The immediate, spontaneous, unmediated friendships formed what Turner (1982) termed ‘normative *communitas*’ where a set of social roles and status were developed thereby becoming a temporary community.

6.2.4 “A Little Bit of Crazyiness’: Like-minded Travellers

In his ethnography of an American tour group visiting Indonesia, Bruner (1995) maintained that often tourists’ interest in the places they were visiting, and of travel in general, is mostly shared with other travelers rather than with their significant others at home. He maintained that traveling stories lack a home audience. In this context, Bruner (1995, p. 229) posits that travelers share a common passion, their love of travel, and that “one way to find a meaningful social group to share their interest was to go on another tour”. He points to the fact that the fascinating characteristic about travel as a leisure pursuit is one has to be ‘traveling’ in order to share their leisure activity with a like-minded cohort. In this case, social interactions with other travelers are paramount in that it offers like-minded individuals a chance to find each other, share similar interests, and feel an intimate form of social cohesion that occurs in leisure communities (Sharpe 2005). Thus, there is an element of what Harrison (2003) termed ‘like finding like’ in the development of *communitas*.

Throughout the interviews participants repeatedly expressed how these intense social bonds formed as a result of the perception that they were compatible in their philosophical approach to life. There was something that attracted them all to living and working in Japan. In this regard Alyssa stated “I mean it is just like this bit of crazyiness in you I think and independence and a worldly outlook on life”. She continued “it’s like we’re all diverse, but we’ve got this one things about us that makes us come to Japan.

We kind of respect that about each other”. Although the backgrounds of the interviewees were quite diverse, there was a mutual respect built around the qualities of openness, an easygoing disposition, and a sense of adventure. Jeff described these personal qualities that helped to foster a sense of *communitas* amongst the group:

Again not blowing my own horn, but it’s a pretty big deal for anyone to move to a country where you have no experience and to leave everyone and everything. It’s tough you know. We’re all kind of similar in the respect...It blows me away when I look at how many different kinds of people there are here. What’s the one thing we have in common? I think it’s that like-minded, open, and willing attitude to explore other cultures.

The personal characteristics of adventure and open-mindedness were often associated with the underlying theme of anti-structure. A common social psychological characteristic of the Miyazaki JETs was an aversion to stability. For the most part the group favoured mobility over stability which acted as a uniting force that brought them together. Participants of this study perceived mobility as “doing something with their life”, in contrast to stability - described as staying at home, getting a job, committing to marriage, and becoming part of a normative societal structure - which was seen as prosaic. This sentiment was expressed on several occasions.

I’m pretty sure that I would not be happy like living with my boyfriend in an apartment as a temp kind of sort of figuring out a grad programme that I might be interested in. I’d much rather be here. - Alyssa

I think when I grow old it’s going to definitely be an experience that I can use to look back on and say that I didn’t waste my life. I did something and I didn’t just go straight into a job like other people. I actually just went and saw the world before you know I had to think about ok now I have to save money, get married, buy a place, that kind of settling down. I don’t think I’m ready to settle down yet. I’m more of an explorer. - Hailey

I’m one of the few people whose very ambitious and just wants to not fall in the same trap that everyone else has where you live at home, you get a job, you settle down, get married. I just want something different. I don’t want to be 90 and on my death bed and be like I wish I had gone on that one trip, I wish I had travelled a little bit more, I wish I had seen the world. - Jackie

For me I think, I feel like I want to accomplish something with my life. I want to see the world. I can’t stay in one place you know, I need to travel. I have that spirit where I want to see and meet people and experience other cultures. I think to live in this world now where it’s so easy to travel; the world’s getting smaller it’s true, there’s still so much of it to see, but it is getting smaller. Any one of any means, in the developed world at least, can travel now and yet people don’t. But I don’t understand that. The fact that people don’t do it [travel] is something I can’t really understand. - Jeff

This sentiment of anti-structure, of being worldly free-spirited individuals brought a communal sense of togetherness. Through JET, these individuals were brought together and were provided with a stage to temporarily forge a community of like-minded individuals. Through travel and mobility they were able to meet individuals with the same 'worldly' perspective on life. This feature of like-mindedness was integral in developing the bonds of *communitas* amongst the Miyazaki JETs.

6.2.5 Detrimental Consequences of *Communitas*

The sense of *communitas* was perceived to be one of the most interesting and amiable characteristics of their JET experience. Yet, this is powerful group cohesiveness was also reminiscent of Adelman's (1988, p. 192) notion of "dysfunctional outcomes of social support" in international student sojourns. She suggests that the formation of these strong groups can also serve to hinder intercultural and inter-group relations by becoming a highly interdependent group "that remain fortress-like from those outside the social unit" (Adelman 1988, p. 102). In some instances, she argues, this may produce an unhealthy mutual dependency that has the potential to "intensify stress rather than solidify relational bonds" (Adelman 1988, p. 192). In this regard, several participants felt that their fellow JETs provided them with a forum "to bitch about Japan" (Alyssa) which incidentally only served to perpetuate a negative perception of their current situation. Adelman (1988, p. 192) refers to this as the risk of creating a "sinking-ship morale" whereby, the group of 'outsiders' perpetually find fault in their experience and talk of their plans to escape their current situation. Without exception all interviewees talked of their plans to leave Japan after their JET contract is finished. However, Jeff and Alyssa were more planning a plot to escape Japan and Japanese culture. Their plan was to travel to a culture as far removed as they possibly could from Japan. Alyssa remarked that "being in Japan makes you want to go to the antithesis of this culture which is for us is Latin America". They were indeed planning their escape. So although a sense of *communitas* was perceived to be important to these participants, throughout some of the interviews it was evident that the JET community was acting as a form of 'cultural safety' (Cooper 2002) which inhibited intercultural social interaction with hosts and perpetuated a negative perception of their current situation. Thus, these powerful social bonds also had a

negative producing effect which is often overlooked in discussions concerning *communitas*.

6.3 Summary

This chapter has illustrated that the social relationships experienced amongst JET participants are best described as bonds of *communitas* (Turner 1969). The liminoid aspect of feeling removed from the constraints of normative structure combined with a similar interest in travel fashioned an environment that was conducive to the formation of intense social bonding amongst fellow JET participants. These powerful ties were further encouraged by an element of spontaneous social bonding, acceptance, and the unifying effect of an anti-structural perspective. These characteristics assisted in developing a sentiment of a ‘traveller *communitas*’ amongst the JET participants; a community that interviewees felt were often not attainable at home. Yet, these moments of *communitas* also had negative consequences in that for some participants this created a ‘sinking-ship’ morale (Adelman 1988) which in turn accentuated the unfavourable aspects of their time in Japan over the more amiable qualities of their experience. However, the close friendships that were formed as a result of this *communitas* were considered by most to be the most significant outcome of their time spent living and working in Japan as a JET.

Chapter 7: Conclusions & Future Directions

The contemporary tourist experience consists of a variety of overseas work-related experiences and yet, these travel behaviours remain a relatively neglected area of tourism discourse (Cohen 1974; Munt 2004; Uriely 2001, 2005). This thesis has addressed one of these uncharted areas of research by presenting an in-depth analysis of one of the world's largest cross-cultural exchanges - the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme - as perceived and experienced by the participants themselves. Similar to the 'Big OE' of young New Zealander's, it was demonstrated that JET features characteristics of migration and tourism, as well as blurring the modernist dichotomy of work and leisure. When viewed in this manner, the JET programme is a fascinating category of temporary mobility where people "combine leisure, discovery, and labour market participation" as part of their tourist experience (Williams & Hall 2000, p. 6). However, unlike the 'OE' experience, the reasons to become an English teacher in Japan were less likely for nostalgia, heritage, or family relations (Mason 2002). Rather, theirs was a journey into a culture and society uniquely different from the country from which they left. They traveled into these uncharted territories in search of momentary freedom, adventure and an in-depth cultural experience. The purpose of this study was to gain further insight into the reasons these individuals voluntarily chose to live, work and become immersed in Japanese society. Moreover, to better comprehend these developing categories of temporary mobility, the study also explored the social dynamics of these working-travellers and the meanings attached to these relationships. The analysis of these broad research questions revealed several significant findings concerning the travel behaviours of these JET participants.

7.1 Reasons for Becoming a JET

The findings in chapter four indicate that the reasons for becoming a JET, and perhaps for other experiences like it, are best categorised by two interrelated factors; personal social psychological and tourist-oriented factors. The JET experience was described by participants of this study as being a combination of freedom and adventure. First, the study found that in terms of reasons for becoming a JET, participants largely based their decisions to work and live in Japan for social

psychological reasons linked to independence and liberation from a normative social structure, and ‘time to think’ in various transitional stages of their lives. It was evident that the social conditions of their home places played a considerable role in their decision to become a JET, even more so than the desire to ‘experience’ Japanese culture. Participants repeatedly expressed that their time in Japan was particularly meaningful in that it gave them an opportunity to be temporarily removed from the social mores and obligations of home. Alyssa commented, “one of my friends thinks that we all kind of came here to escape something from back home or get away from something we don’t like”. To some extent, this statement held true for those interviewed for this study. The reasons cited for becoming a JET largely represented a desire to ‘not to be at home’. Thus, although the JET programme is highly touted as an intercultural exchange, the findings of this study suggest that this experience undoubtedly says more about Western culture, ideals, and yearnings than it does about their desire to learn about ‘Other’ cultures (Crick 1989; Thurot & Thurot 1983). Travel, and the often cited longing to explore the world’s cultures, is often a façade that hides our personal dissatisfaction, anxieties, and insecurities with our place of origin. Giddens (1991) refers to this as “the looming threat of personal meaninglessness” that pervades the late modern landscape. In response to this ‘threat’, the opportunity to live and work in Japan was expressed by participants as ‘doing something meaningful with their lives’. For these nine participants participating in the JET programme symbolized a period of anti-structure which temporarily liberated them from what was referred to as ‘real life’.

Secondly, throughout the study participants also cited cultural-specific reasons for becoming a JET. The interviewees stated that they preferred to live, work and dwell in Japan rather than merely pass through as a gazing tourist. It was felt that by doing so there was greater opportunity to achieve a more natural and sincere cultural exchange. The findings of this study indicate that to some extent teaching English overseas could be understood as an attempt to construct an ‘untourist’ traveller identity (Corrigan 1997). The ‘untourist’ identity was expressed throughout the interviews through two underlying themes (1) emancipation from the institutionalised and commercial forms of travel and (2) becoming linguistically and culturally immersed in the culture of their host destination. There are many fascinating forms of contemporary travel that represent a conscious attempt to escape the contrived nature of traditional tourism,

English teaching overseas being a prime example. However, does this mean they are not tourists? What is tourism and who is a tourist?

Perhaps most relevant to these categories of temporary mobility is Cohen's (1974) conceptual clarification of the tourist. He states "a *tourist* is a voluntary, temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip" (Cohen's 1974, p. 533). When analysing the reasons for becoming a JET we see that participants' responses match Cohen's definition nearly verbatim. The interviewees were seeking change and novelty from their lives at home while repeatedly citing that their time in Japan was temporary. Furthermore, their purpose was non-instrumental in that they were not travelling as a means to an alternative end. Rather, their work and life in Japan was 'the experience' and was an end in itself. It was evident throughout the interviews that the JET participant's of this study were very much tourist-oriented. The 'job' of teaching English was the tourist experience. So although they expressed this experience as a form of 'untourism', it is logical to conclude that the JET experience was indicative of rather typical tourist behaviour. Accordingly, it has become clear that these categories of temporary mobility can no longer be excluded from tourism discourse as they more often than not represent a tourist desire to first and foremost 'experience' a foreign culture. Thus, this study provides evidence to suggest that the desire to embark on these forms of travel-and-work experiences is often more about our Western culture's aspirations for personalised over commodified experience than of an earnest desire to learn about other cultures (Giddens 1991).

7.2 The Social Dynamic of the JET Experience

Tourism research frequently gives priority to either guest-host 'encounters' (Hottola 2004; Krippendorf 1987; Nash 1996; Reisinger 1994; Reisinger & Turner 2003; Smith 1977) or to a lesser extent the social interaction amongst fellow travellers (Bruner 1995; Murphy 2001; Quiroga 1990; Yarnal & Kerstetter 2005). These two arenas of social engagement have traditionally been studied independent of one another in tourism literature. Consequently, the majority of the empirical research often neglects the interplay between the tourist, their hosts, and other guests. However, it has

become clear throughout this study that a combination of both categories of social relations needs to be explored when investigating these contemporary travel behaviours that combine work with tourism. Specifically, the social situation of the JET experience was demonstrated to be a dynamic interaction between participating in the culture and society of their Japanese hosts (chapter 5) and with maintaining their own cultural identity through social engagement with their JET colleagues (chapter 6).

Concerning participants' attitudes, interactions and perceptions of their hosts, this study illustrated that the opportunity to construct meaningful and sincere relationships was an essential element of their experience. It was shown that one of the foremost reasons for becoming a JET was the opportunity to achieve a more sincere cross-cultural exchange and in this regard their experiences exceeded all expectations. As a result, a strong emotional attachment was fostered with their host community. Their relationships with their hosts were perceived to be sincere and reciprocal, with both hosts and guests reportedly benefiting from what was described as a mutual exchange. The JET-host social dynamic was a two-way exchange that at times minimised the distinction of between guest and host, home and away. In this manner, the coming together of guests and hosts were much more than 'encounters'; they were relationships. These characteristics of the JET experience are notably different from literature concerning the tourist experience which is most often characterised as fleeting, superficial, and subject to deceit and self interest by both parties (Chambers 1997; Cohen 1984; Krippendorf 1987; Sutton 1967). When contrasted with this common depiction of the tourist experience, this study has demonstrated that the role of work, in regards to tourist behaviour, has the potential to act as catalyst to achieve a more sincere social interaction between hosts and guests. Local employment facilitated a social environment where both hosts and guests worked closely together, thereby establishing relationships based on a sense of equality. Cultural exchange transpired over a significant length of time, during which, a cultural familiarity was established. As a result, there was an element of sincerity between guests and hosts in the JET experience. This study provides evidence to suggest that those who combine work with a tourist experience have greater opportunity to foster a sincere cross-cultural exchange with their host destination than non-work related tourist experiences. Table 5 provides a comparison between frequent representations of the tourist experience and the experience reported by the Miyazaki JETs throughout the chapters of this study.

Table 5: Comparing Guest- Host Encounters in Tourism Discourse and the JET Experience

Factors Affecting Guest-Host Participation	Tourist Guest-Host Participation	JET Guest-Host Participation
Nature of Contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social interactions take place in a contrived ‘tourist culture’ (Boniface 1998; Jafari 1987) and ‘tourist language’ (Nash 1996) • Guest-host social interaction are fleeting, shallow & transitory social (Cohen 1984; Sutton 1967) • Asymmetric relationship based on uneven power relations (Chambers 1997; Cohen 1984) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social interaction transpire as a social exchange rather than for economic reasons • Sincere relationships based on long-term rather than fleeting interaction • Relationships based on hospitality & reciprocity from both parties
Opportunity for Contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confined to economic exchanges in a recreational environment (Ooi 2002; Yamashita 2003) • Sincere experiences related to serendipitous encounters (Tucker 2003) and momentarily participating normative practices of locals (Ooi 2002; Yamashita 2003) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in normative daily practices with hosts, such as work, leisure activities, and quotidian daily encounters • Increased opportunity for direct contact with host nationals through working or daily involvement with the community
Intentions & Purpose for Travel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guest-host participation is dependant on the travellers’ intentions, but is also limited due to time, opportunity, nature of their travel and barriers established by the host community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possess a strong desire to socially engage with host nationals • Travel in order to ‘experience life’ in a foreign culture • Due to their working situations they must interact whether they want to or not. • Extra curricular intercultural contact is largely dependant on the JET’s intentions
Language & Cultural Distance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All types of travellers, sojourners, and migrants are subject to linguistic and cultural differences that have the potential to inhibit or enhance intercultural social exchange (Church 1982; Cohen 1972; Nash 1996; Pearce 1982; Reisinger & Turner 2003) • The extended period of stay and intimate nature of interaction allows working-tourist tourists greater opportunity to better understand the linguistic and cultural gaps thereby reducing the impacts over time 	

The JET experience was able to provide the participants of this study with a more in-depth cross-cultural exchange that they desired. Through the establishment of a localized daily routine - made possible by the extended temporal dimension and a fixed spatial location - they were able to 'live' Japan rather than passing through as a gazing tourist. It was an experiential rather than purely visual experience. In this case, immersion into the local life of the toured destination was facilitated by employment. Through an experiential construction of Japan these individuals reported developing meaningful relationships with their host community.

Yet, the Miyazaki JETs simultaneously expressed that as a foreigner in Japan they were on the outside looking in. According to Greenbalt and Gagnon (1983) even when the travellers' stays are long and they become embedded in their host society, there is no guarantee that greater cultural understanding or integration will take place. This study also provided evidence to support the notion that regardless of the motivation, opportunity, and nature of intercultural social contact, not understanding the language and culture of the hosts can create significant cultural distance between guest and host. In turn, these cultural gaps severely inhibit intercultural social exchange (Church 1982; Cohen 1972; Nash 1996). Although participants felt at home in Japan, Chapter 6 highlighted the fact that linguistic and cultural gaps limited the participants' ability to feel completely accepted in Japanese society. As a consequence, they felt welcomed in Japan, but as outsiders; they felt at home, but dwelt on the periphery of mainstream Japanese society. It was a temporary life of displacement.

Furthermore, the findings of this study also suggest that the underlying meanings attached to these guest/host relationships and the desire to become embedded in a foreign culture has more to do with the society from which they left than the culture they temporarily chose to dwell. Chapter 5 clearly illustrated that their attachment to Japan and their Japanese community was not just important in terms of developing a more sincere travel experience, but on a deeper level was indicative of a search for 'home', a sense of belonging, and seeking identity in a mobilised world. Furthermore, it provided a stage for personal challenge and adventure that the 'profane' world from which they came from could not offer. Life in Japan allowed participants to explore the meaning of 'home' and possible alternatives without being completely displaced. As a result, the study findings reveal that the participants' relationship with

Japan was more reflective of their discomfort with the place they left than of an earnest desire to become embedded in Japan. As chapter 4 highlighted, the majority of these JETs were not drawn specifically to Japan per se, but rather aspired to be ‘out-there’ as long as possible. The JET programme was valued for its ability to facilitate a sense of ‘out-there-ness’. In this manner, participants’ relationship with Japan was particularly meaningful not for reasons present in Japanese culture, but rather that which was absent in their life in Japan. This included, for example, a clearly defined social structure, family responsibilities, and pressures of early adulthood. As chapter 6 discussed, being a JET offered these individuals a way of living that is neither characteristic of their life at home nor of the dominant culture they are immersed in. They existed on the margins of two-worlds, temporarily suspended in a liminoid state of anti-structure. This offered a certain degree of freedom for them to challenge and develop themselves as young adults while having an adventure at the same time.

For the same reasons described above, participants described the relationships with their JET counterparts as the most salient aspect of their time in Japan. They were sharing a remarkable experience ‘out-there’ together, which helped to solidify the bonds amongst JET participants. Chapter 6 identified that without exception, the participants identified a fellow JET, a specific group of JETs, or in Hanks case, a contingent of ex-JETs as their closest companions in Japan. These inter-JET relations were more than simply an instrumental means of social support to adjust to a foreign environment, as is often expressed in sojourning literature (Adelman 1988; Caligiuri & Lazarova 2002; Sui 1952). Rather, these were significant moments of ‘JET *communitas*’ characterised by a powerful sense of belonging, spontaneous bonding, acceptance, and strong group cohesion fostered through a mutual state of liminality.

This theme emerged from the participants themselves who commonly referred to their cohort of colleagues as “the JET community”. The use of the word ‘community’ depicted in this travelling experience is a particularly significant finding of this study. It provides further evidence to attest to the evolving nature of community in an increasingly mobile world. In her analysis of community in postmodern culture, Sharpe (2005a, 2005b) identifies leisure practices as the central domain for the making of community. Specifically, she maintains that these leisure communities are a result of a ‘de-placing of community’ which are constructed through shared interest and emotion

rather than obligation. Similarly, chapter 6 of this study clearly illustrated that through the JET programme, a group of like-minded individuals were united through a shared common interest - travel. Thus, the relationships developed amongst their fellow JETs were particularly meaningful in that it offered an opportunity to foster a utopic community, if only temporarily, of mobile people who share common interests, values, and priorities in life. The finding of this study exemplifies a fascinating incidence of community of choice over community of obligation in contemporary society. Thus, the JET programme is quite extraordinary in that it was not only a 'travel experience', but was also portrayed as a means towards understanding home, family, belonging, community, and the self in an increasingly mobile world. It is truly representative of a mobile culture and epitomises the notion of 'dwelling-in-travel' (Clifford 1997).

7.3 Concluding Remarks & Future Directions

In this study, I have offered an in-depth description of an extremely unique category of temporary mobility - teaching English overseas through the Japan Exchange and Teaching programme. It contributes to knowledge in the field of tourism by providing an examination of a touristic behaviour that, until now, has never been addressed in tourism discourse. In doing so, it is hoped that it will help to broaden the scope of tourist studies to include these increasingly common categories of temporary mobility which have remained a relatively neglected area of research in tourism literature. Furthermore, the study provides a foundation towards a greater understanding concerning the reasons for participating in various forms of travel-and-work experience, the nature of the social situation of such experiences in situ, and the meanings attached to those relationships. Through this analysis we find that experiences such as JET are not only unique in a travel and tourism context, but are also an ontologically significant and meaningful part of the lives of the participants. In addition, it is hoped that the narratives of these nine Miyazaki JETs will also offer an element of clarity for those who are currently JET participants, and offer a better understanding of this fascinating experience for those who wish to become a JET, and for the JET programme administration.

Yet, there remain many gaps in the research pertaining to these categories of temporary mobility. Future studies should take a retrospective look at the social networks that result from these categories of temporary mobility. Tourism studies could benefit greatly from a social network analysis concerning the long-term bonds created through travelling. For instance, who do the JETs remain in contact with after their experience comes to its inevitable end? Do they maintain their personal connections with Japan, or are their post-JET social networks dominated by Western in-group tendencies? Are these global networks tourist enclaves or are they also host inclusive? Furthermore, future studies may wish to investigate the nature of these transnational, yet often digital (e-mail, facebook etc.) relationships. What are the benefits, context, and uses of such global networks? Answers to these questions would provide further insight into the role of travel, tourism, and mobility in late modern society.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge that in investigating this phenomenon I have gained considerable insight concerning my own mobility behaviour, perspective on life, and future directions. Indeed, every research question has within it an element of personal interest and growth. Furthermore, even in the short time I spent with these JETs, I also felt a personal connection with them founded on mutual understanding and a similar life perspective. As a result, I have remained in contact with some of them for nearly six months after our initial interview. In some cases I had only talked with them for a few hours, yet I could not help but to feel a close bond with some of the participants. Describing this as an interviewer/interviewee *communitas* may also be appropriate. I respected them and the experiences they were going through. It made me contemplate; perhaps there is something more to ‘*communitas*’ than academic discourse.

For the most part, there were many similarities concerning the groups’ collective perspectives on life and their lifestyle choices. Perhaps in our late modern world of infinite choice, at least for those of us who have been blessed with the fortune to have the freedom to choose, there are places and people outside of our familiar cultural boundaries that we identify with more naturally. Whether relocating to a new neighbourhood, moving to a different city, finding belonging in a new group of friends, making meaning from a particular leisure activity, or identifying with the quirks, values, and characteristics of a different country, our choices have grown exponentially in

contemporary society. We may choose to value a life of mobility over stability as the participants of this study alluded to. As a consequence, in contemporary society we are both blessed and cursed to have such a vast array of alternatives. Blessed for the fact that we can choose to identify with people and places that we feel provides a sense of integrity between our perceived self identity and our actions, and cursed because the choices may be too infinite to identify committedly to any one specific dwelling, culture, or society, thereby potentially causing more discontentment and disarray than true happiness and satisfaction. Every individual has the agency to step outside of the predetermined mould as prescribed by our sociocultural upbringings and environment. Some choose to think imaginatively and stretch the boundaries of this conventional habitus and others remain unaware of the tremendous value in having a choice and the ability to question normative behaviour. In the end, it was not necessarily the destination or even the journey that these individuals had most in common, but rather this questioning of societal norms and their stated desire to explore alternative paths in life that JETs truly shared. They may not have found all the answers they were searching for, but the true value of their journey was perhaps in appreciating the value of 'questioning' itself. It was precisely for this reason that the participants had the utmost respect for one another and that a community of outsiders was so readily established despite their diversity and personalities.

References

- Adelman, M. 1988, 'Cross-cultural adjustment: a theoretical perspective on social support', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol.12, pp.183-204.
- Adler, J. 1985, 'Youth on the road: reflections on the history of tramping', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 335-54.
- Adler, P. 1975, 'The transitional experience: an alternative view of culture shock'', *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, vol. 15, pp. 13-23.
- Adler, P. A. & Adler, P. 1999, 'Resort workers: adaptations in the leisure-work nexus', *Sociological Perspectives*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 369-402.
- Ahmed, S. 1999, 'Home and away: narratives of migration and estrangement', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 329-347.
- Ahmed, S. 2000, *Strange encounters: embodied Others in post-coloniality*, Routledge, London.
- Amir, Y. & Ben-Ari, R. 1985, 'International tourism, ethnic contact, and attitude change', *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp.105-115.
- Aspinall, R. W. 2006, 'Using the paradigm of 'small cultures' to explain policy failure in the case of foreign language education in Japan', *Japan Forum*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 255-274.
- Bell, C. 2002, 'The Big 'OE': young New Zealand travellers as secular pilgrims', *Tourist Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 143-158.
- Bell, M. & Ward, G. 2000, 'Comparing temporary mobility with permanent migration', *Tourism Geographies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 87-107.
- Berry, J.W., Kim, U., Minde, T. & Mok, D. 1987, 'Comparative studies of acculturative stress', *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 491-511.
- Berry, J.W. 2001, 'A psychology of immigration', *Journal of Social Issues*, vol.57, no.3, pp.615-631.
- Besculides, A., Lee, M. & McCormick 2002, 'Residents' perceptions of the cultural benefits of tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 303-319.
- Bhatt, R. 2001, 'World Englishes', *Annual Reviews Anthropology*, vol. 30, pp. 527-550.
- Bianchi, R. 2000, 'Migrant tourist-workers: exploring the 'contact zones' of post-industrial tourism', *Current Issues in Tourism*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 107-137.

- Bloch-Tzemach, D. 2005, 'Young Israelis' long trip abroad, backpacking in Asia and dwelling-tourism in Japan', in C. Noy & E. Cohen (eds) *Israeli Backpackers: from tourism to rite of passage*, State University of New York Press, Albany, pp. 189-215.
- Bochner, S., McLeod, B. & Lin, A. 1977, 'Friendship patterns of overseas students: a functional model', *International Journal of Psychology*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 277-294.
- Boniface P. 1998, 'Tourism culture', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 746-749.
- Botterill, T.D. 1989, 'Humanistic tourism? Personal constructions of a tourist: Sam visits Japan', *Leisure Studies*, vol. 8, pp. 281-293.
- Brampton, R. & Cowton, B. 2002, 'The e-interview', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research [On-line Journal]*, vol. 3, no. 2. Retrieved November 21, 2006 from <http://www.qualitativerecherche.net/fqs/fqs-eng.htm>.
- Brewer, J. 1984, 'Tourism and ethnic stereotypes: variations in a Mexican town', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 487-501.
- Brody, B. 2002, *Opening the door: immigration, ethnicity, and globalization in Japan*, Routledge, New York.
- Brown, H. D. 1994, *Principles of language learning and teaching (3rd edn)*, Prentice Hall Regents, New Jersey.
- Brown, S. & Lehto X. 2005, 'Travelling with a purpose: understanding the motives and benefits of volunteer vacationers', *Current Issues in Tourism*, vol. 8, no. 6, pp. 479-496.
- Browne, C. & Wada, M. 1998, 'Current issues in high school English teaching in Japan: an exploratory survey', *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 97 – 112.
- Bruner, E. 1995, 'The ethnographer/tourist in Indonesia', in M. Lanfant, J. Allcock & E. Bruner (eds) *International tourism: identity and change*, Sage, London, pp. 224-241.
- Butler, K. 1995, 'Independence for Western women through tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 487-489.
- Caligiuri, P. & Lazarova, M. 2002, 'A model for the influence of social interaction and social support on female expatriates' cross-cultural adjustment', *International Journal of Human Resources*, vol.13, no. 5, pp. 761-772.
- Chambers, E. 1997, 'Introduction: tourism's mediators', *Tourism & Culture: An Applied Perspective*, State University of New York Press, Albany.

- Charmaz, K. 2000, 'Grounded theory: objectivist and constructivist methods', in Denzin & Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, London, pp. 509-535.
- Church, A. 1982, 'Sojourner adjustment', *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 91, no. 3, pp. 540-572.
- CLAIR (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations) 2006, *The JET programme information pamphlet 2007*, CLAIR, Tokyo. Retrieved October 19, 2006 from <http://www.qualitativeresearch.net/fqs/fqs-eng.htm><http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/pamphlet.html> .
- CLAIR (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations) 2007, *The JET programme general information handbook 2007*, CLAIR, Tokyo.
- Clarke, N. 2005, 'Detailing transnational lives of the middle: British working holiday makers in Australia', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 307-322.
- Clifford, J. 1997, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Cohen, E. 1972, 'Toward a sociology of international tourism', *Social Research*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 164-182.
- Cohen, E. 1973, 'Nomads from affluence: notes on the phenomenon of drifter-tourism', *Journal of Comparative Sociology*, vol. 14, no. 12, pp. 89-103.
- Cohen, E. 1974, 'Who is a tourist?: a conceptual clarification', *Sociological Review*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 527-555.
- Cohen, E. 1979, 'A phenomenology of the tourist experience', *The Journal of British Sociological Association*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 179-201.
- Cohen, E. 1984, 'The sociology of tourism: approaches, issues, and findings', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 10, pp. 373-392.
- Cohen, E. 2003, 'Backpacking: diversity and change', *Tourism and Cultural Change*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 95-110.
- Conradson, D. & Latham, A. 2005, 'A case study of New Zealand tertiary educated migrants', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 159-172.
- Cooper, M. 2002, 'Flexible labor markets, ethnicity and tourism-related migration in Australia and New Zealand', in Hall & Williams (eds) *Tourism and migration: new relationships between production and consumption*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, pp. 73-86.

- Corbetta, P. 2003, *Social research: theory, methods and techniques*, Sage, London.
- Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. 1990, 'Grounded theory research: procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria', *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 3-21.
- Corrigan, P. 1997, *The sociology of consumption: an introduction*, Sage, London.
- Crick, M. 1989, 'Representations of international tourism in the social sciences: sun, sex, sights, savings, and servility', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 18, pp. 307-344.
- Crotty, M. 1998, *The foundations of social research: meaning and perspective in the research process*, Sage, London.
- Crystal, D. 1997, *English as a global language*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Damer, S. 2004, 'Signifying Symi', *Ethnography*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 203–228.
- Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (eds) 2000, *Handbook of qualitative research 2nd edition*, Sage, London.
- Denzin & Lincoln (eds) 2003, *The landscape of qualitative research: theories and issues*, Sage, London.
- Dorney, Z. & Csizer, K. 2005, 'The effects of intercultural contact and tourism on language attitudes and language learning motivation', *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, vol. 24, no. 4, pp. 327-357.
- Duncan, T. 2004, 'Livin the dream: working and playing in a ski resort', *Tourism and Leisure IGU Pre-Meeting: Tourism, Migration and Mobility*, Loch Lomond, pp. 1-14. Retrieved November 21, 2006 from <http://www.gapyearresearch.org/Tarapaper.pdf>.
- Duval, D. 2006, 'Grid/group theory and its applicability to tourism and migration', *Tourism Geographies*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 1-13.
- Duval, D. 2002, 'The return visit: return migration connection', in C. M. Hall & A. Williams (eds) *Tourism and migration: new relationships between production and consumption*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, pp. 257-276.
- Edensor, T. 2001, 'Performing tourism, staging tourism: (re)producing tourist space and practice', *Tourist Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 58-81.
- Elsrud, T. 2001, 'Risk creation in travelling', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 597–617.

- Fagence, M. 2001, 'Tourism as a protective barrier for old order Amish and Mennonite communities' in V. Smith & M. Brent (eds) *Hosts and guests revisited: tourism issues of the 21st century*, Cognizant Communication Corporation, New York, pp. 201-209.
- Feifer, M. 1985, *Going places*, Macmillan, London.
- Furnham, A. 1984, 'Tourism and culture shock', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 41-57.
- Giddens, A. 1991, *Modernity and self-identity: self in the late modern age*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Glaser, B. & Strauss, J. 1967, *The discovery of grounded theory*, Aldine, Chicago.
- Gmelch, G. 1980, 'Return migration', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 9, pp. 135-159.
- Goldstein-Gidoni, O. 2003, 'Producers of Japan in Israel: cultural appropriation in a non-colonial context', *Ethnos*, vol. 68, no. 3, pp. 365-390.
- Gorz, A. 1985, *Paths to liberation: on the liberation from work*, Pluto Press, London.
- Graburn, N. 1983, 'The anthropology of tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 9-33.
- Graburn, N. 1989, 'Tourism: the sacred journey', in V. Smith (ed.) *Hosts and guests: the anthropology of tourism 2nd ed.*, Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 21-36.
- Graburn, N. 2001, 'Secular ritual', in V. Smith & M. Brent (eds) *Hosts and guests revisited: tourism issues for the 21st century*, Cognizant Communication, New York, pp. 42-50.
- Gray, D. 2004, *Doing research in the real world*, Sage, London.
- Greenbalt, C. & Gagnon, J. 1983, 'Temporary strangers: travel and tourism from a sociological perspective', *Sociological Perspectives*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 89-110.
- Guerrier, Y. & Adib, A. 2003, 'Work at leisure and leisure at work: a study of the emotional labour of tour reps', *Human Relations*, vol. 56, no. 11, pp. 1399-1417.
- Hall, C.M. 2003, *Introduction to tourism: dimensions and issues*, Hospitality Press, New South Wales.
- Hall, C. M. 2004, 'Reflexivity & tourism research: situating myself and/with Others', in J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (eds) *Progress in qualitative research in tourism: epistemology, ontology and methodology*, Routledge, London, pp. 137-155.
- Hall, C.M. 2005, 'Reconsidering the geography of tourism and contemporary mobility', *Geographical Research*, vol. 43, n. 2, pp. 125-139.

- Harding, G. & Webster, E. 2002, 'The working holiday maker scheme and the Australian labour market', *Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research*, University of Melbourne.
- Harrison, J. 2003, *Being a tourists: finding meaning in pleasure travel*, UBC Press, Vancouver.
- Heidegger, M. 1971, *Poetry, language, thought*, Harper & Row, New York.
- Hesse-Biber, S. & Leavy, P. 2004, *Approaches to qualitative research: A reader on theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Hottola, P. 2004, 'Cultural confusion: intercultural adaptation in tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 447-466.
- Hoyer, K. & Naess, P. 2001, 'Conference tourism: a problem for the environment, as well as for research?', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 9, no. 6, pp. 451-470.
- Hueman, D. 2005, 'Hospitality and reciprocity: working tourists in Dominica', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 32, no. 2, pp.407-418.
- Hugo, G. 2006, 'Temporary migration and the labour market in Australia', *Australian Geographer*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 211-231.
- Jack, G. & Phipps, A. (2005), *Tourism and intercultural exchange: why tourism matters*, Channel View, Clevedon.
- Jafari, J. 1987, 'Tourism models: The sociocultural aspects', *Tourism Management*, pp.151-159.
- Jamal, T. & Hollinshead, K. 2001, 'Tourism and the forbidden zone: the Undeserved Power of Qualitative Inquiry', *Tourism Management*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp.63-82.
- Jennings, G.R. 2005, 'Interviewing: a focus on qualitative techniques', in Ritchie, Burns & Palmer (eds) *Tourism research methods: integrating theory with practice*, CABI, Cambridge, pp. 99-117.
- Jiang, W. 2000, 'The relationship between culture and language', *ELT Journal*, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 328-334.
- Jordan, F. & Gibson, H. 2004, 'Let your data do the talking: researching the solo travel experiences of British and American women', in J. Phillimore & L. Goodson. (eds) *Progress in qualitative research in tourism: epistemology, ontology and methodology*, Routledge, London, pp. 215-235.
- Jordan, F. & Gibson, H. 2005, ' 'We're not stupid...but we'll not stay home either': experiences of solo women travelers', *Tourism Review International*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 195-211.

- Kachru B. 1990, 'World Englishes and applied linguistics', *World English*, vol. 9, pp. 3-20.
- Keen, D. & Hall. M. 2004, 'Second homes in New Zealand', in C. M. Hall & D. Muller (eds) *Aspects of tourism, 15: tourism, mobility, and second homes: between elite landscape and common ground*, Channel View Publications, Clevedon, pp. 174-195.
- Kidd, S. 2002, 'The role of qualitative research in psychological journals', *Psychological Methods*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 126-138.
- Kim, H. & Jamal, T. 2007, 'Touristic quest for existential authenticity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 181-201.
- Kinnaird, B. 1999, 'Working holiday makers: more than tourists - implications of the report of the joint standing committee on migration', *People and Place*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp.39-52.
- Krakover & Karplus 2002, 'Potential immigrants: the interface between tourism and immigration in Israel', in C. M. Hall & A. Williams (eds) *Tourism and Migration: New relationships between production and consumption*, Kluwer, Netherlands, pp. 103-118.
- Krippendorf, J. 1987, *The holiday makers: understanding the impact of leisure & travel*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford.
- Kvale, S. 1996, *Interviews: an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*, Sage, London
- Lai, M. 1999, 'JET and NET: a comparison of native-speaking English teachers schemes in Japan and Hong Kong', *Language, Culture, and Curriculum*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 215-228.
- Lazaridis, G. & Wickens, E. 1999, 'Us and the 'Others': ethnic minorities in Greece', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 632-655.
- Lengkeek, J. 2000, 'Imagination and difference in tourist experience', *World Leisure*, no. 3, pp. 11-17.
- Lengkeek, J. 2001, 'Leisure experience and imagination: rethinking Cohen's modes of tourist experience', *International Sociology*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 173-184.
- Lett, J. 1983, 'Ludic and liminoid aspects of charter tourism in the Caribbean', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 35-56.
- Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. 2003, 'Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions and emerging confluences', in N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds) *The landscape of qualitative research: theories and issues*, Sage, London, pp. 253- 291.

- Lindlof, T. 1995, *Qualitative communication research methods*, Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Liskin-Gasparro, J. 1998, 'Linguistic development in an immersion context: how advanced learners of Spanish perceive SLA', *The Modern Language Journal*, vol. 82, no. 2, pp. 159-175.
- Locker-Murphy, L. & Pearce, P. 1995, 'Young budget travelers: backpackers in Australia', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 819-843.
- Lummis, D. 1976, 'English conversation as ideology', in Y. Kurokawa *Essays on Language*, Kirihara Shoten, Tokyo, pp. 1-26.
- Lundmark, L. 2006, 'Mobility, migration and seasonal tourism employment: evidence from Swedish mountain municipalities', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 197-213.
- Mason, P. 2002, 'The 'Big OE': New Zealanders overseas experiences in Britain', in C. M. Hall & A. Williams (eds) *Tourism and Migration: New relationships between production and consumption*, Kluwer, Netherlands, pp. 87-101.
- McCannell, D. 1973, 'Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist setting', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 79, no. 3, pp. 589-603.
- MacCannell, D. 1999, *The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- MacCannell, D. 2001, 'Remarks on the commodification of cultures', in V. Smith & M. Brent (eds) *Hosts and guests revisited: tourism issues for the 21st century*, Cognizant Communication, New York, pp. 380-390.
- Mallet, S. 2004, 'Understanding home: a critical review of the literature', *The Sociology Review*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 62-89.
- Marshall, C. & Rossman, G. 1999, *Designing qualitative research*, Sage, London.
- Marshall, C. & Rossman, G. 2006, *Designing qualitative research 4th edition*, Sage, London.
- Masuda, K. (ed.) 1974, *Kenkyusha's new Japanese English dictionary (hardcover)*, 4th edn, Kinokuniya Bookstores, Tokyo.
- McCallen, B. 1989, *English: a world commodity: the international market for training in English as a foreign language*, The Economist Intelligence Unit, London.
- McConnell, D. 1996, 'Education for global integration in Japan: a case study of the JET Program', *Human Organization*, vol. 55, no.4, pp. 446-457.
- McConnell, D. 2000, *Importing diversity: inside Japan's JET Program*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

- McIntosh, A. 1998, 'Mixing methods: putting the tourist at the forefront of tourism research', *Tourism Analysis*, vol. 3, pp. 121-127.
- McIntosh, A & Bonnemann, S. 2006, 'Willing workers on organic farms (WWOOF): the alternative farm stay experience', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 82-99.
- McKercher, B. & du Cros, H. 2003 'Testing a cultural tourism typology', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 5, pp. 45-58.
- Medina, L. 2003, 'Commoditizing culture: tourism and Maya identity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 353-368.
- Ming, R. 1997, 'Tracking snowbirds in Australia: winter sun seekers in far north Queensland', *Australian Geographical Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 168-182.
- Miyazaki prefecture of Japan [Image] 2003. Retrieved April 19, 2007 from http://www.japan-101.com/geography/geography_prefecture_miyazaki.htm.
- Muller, D. 2002, 'German second home ownership in Sweden', in C. M. Hall & A. Williams (eds) *Tourism and Migration: New relationships between production and consumption*, Kluwer, Netherlands, pp. 169-185.
- Munt, I. 1994, 'The 'other' postmodern tourism: culture travel and the new middle class', *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol. 11, pp. 101-123.
- Murphy-Shigematsu, S. 2002, 'Psychological barriers for international students in Japan', *International Journal for Advancement of Counselling*, vol. 24, pp. 19-30.
- Murphy, E. 1988, 'The cultural dimension in foreign language teaching: four models', *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 147-163.
- Murphy, L. 2001, 'Exploring the social interactions of backpackers', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 50-67.
- Nash, D. 1996, *Anthropology of tourism*, Pergamon, Oxford.
- Noy, C. 2004, 'This trip really changed me: backpacker narratives of self change', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 78-102.
- Obenour, W. 2005, 'The 'journeys' of independence for female backpackers', *Tourism International Review*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 213-227.
- Oberg, K. 1960, 'Culture shock: adjustment to neo-cultural environments', *Practical Anthropology*, vol. 17, p. 177-182.
- Onishi, A. & Murphy-Shigematsu, S. 2003, 'Identity narratives of Muslim foreign workers in Japan', *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, vol. 13, pp. 224-239.

- Ooi, C. 2002, *Cultural tourism & tourism cultures: the business of mediating experiences in Copenhagen and Singapore*, Copenhagen Business School Press, Denmark.
- O'Reilly, K. 2003, 'When is a tourist?', *Tourist Studies*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 301-317.
- Pape, R. 1964, 'Touristry: a type of occupational mobility', *Social Problems*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 336-344.
- Parekh, B. 2006, *Rethinking multiculturalism: cultural diversity and political theory*, Palgrave-Macmillan, New York.
- Pearce, P. 1982, *The social psychology of tourist behaviour*, Pergamon, New York.
- Pearce, P. 1990, 'Farm tourism in New Zealand: a social situation analysis', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 17, pp. 337-352.
- Pennycook, A. 1998, *English and the discourses of colonialism*, Routledge, London.
- Phillips, D.C. 1995, 'The good, the bad, and the ugly: the many faces of constructivism', *Educational Researcher*, vol. 24, no. 7, pp. 5-12.
- Phillimore, J. & Goodson, L. (eds) 2004, *Progress in Qualitative Research in Tourism: Epistemology, Ontology & Methodology*, Routledge, London.
- Pickens, J. 2006, 'JET information session', *CLAIR (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations)*, Presented at the University of Otago, October 2.
- Pizam, A., Uriely, N. & Reichel, A. 2000, 'The intensity of tourist-host social relationship and its effects on satisfaction and change of attitudes: the case of working tourists in Israel', *Tourism Management*, vol. 21, pp.395-406.
- Poon, A. 1993, *Tourism, technology and competitive strategies*, CAB International, Wallingford.
- Prasad, P. 2005, *Crafting qualitative research: working in the postpositivist traditions*, M.E. Sharpe Inc., New York.
- Prentice, R. & Anderson, V. 2003, 'Festivals as creative destination', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 7-30.
- Qiang, N. & Wolff, M. 2005, 'Is EFL a modern Trojan horse?', *English Today* 84, vol. 21, no. 4, pp.55- 60.
- Quiroga, I. (1990) 'Characteristics of package tours in Europe', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 185-207.

- Reeves, K. 1997, 'The Japan exchange and teaching programme: an inclusionary evaluation with a cross-cultural interpretation', Unpublished Masters Thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.
- Rehberge, W. 2005, 'Altruistic individualists: motivations for international volunteering among young adults in Switzerland', *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 109-122.
- Reisinger, Y. 1994, 'Social contact between tourists & hosts of different cultural backgrounds', in Seaton, A.V. (ed.) *Tourism: the state of the art*, Wiley & Sons, Chichester, pp. 743- 754.
- Reisinger, Y. & Turner, L. 2003, *Cross-Cultural Behaviour in Tourism: Concepts & Analysis*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford.
- Richards, G. & Wilson, J. 2003, 'New horizons in independent youth and student travel', *A Report for the International Student Travel Confederation (ISTC) and the Association of Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS)*, International Student Travel Confederation (ISTC), Amsterdam.
- Riley, P. J. 1988, 'Road culture of international long-term budget travelers', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 15, pp. 313–328.
- Riley, R. & Love, L. 2000, 'The state of qualitative tourism research', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 164-187.
- Roseman, C. 1971, 'Migration as a spatial and temporal process', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 589-598.
- Rossmann, G. & Rallis S. 1998, *Learning in the field: an introduction to qualitative research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Ryan, C. 1991, *Recreational tourism: a social science perspective*, International Thomson Business Press, London.
- Ryan, C. & Pike, S. 2003, 'Maori-based tourism in Rotorua: perceptions of place by domestic visitors', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 307-321.
- Saukko, P. 2003, *Doing research in cultural studies: an introduction to classical and new methodological approaches*, Sage, London.
- Schmitt, R. 1968, 'Travel, tourism, and migration', *Demography*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 306-310.
- Schuetz, A. 1945, 'The homecomer', *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 50, no. 5, pp. 369-376.
- Schwandt, T. 2000, 'Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry', in Denzin & Lincoln (eds) 2000, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, London, pp. 189-213.

- Seale, C. (ed.) 2004, *Social research methods: a reader*, Routledge, London.
- Seamon, D. 1985, 'Reconciling old worlds and new worlds: the dwelling-journey as portrayed in Velhel Moberge's "Emigrant" novels', in D. Seamon & R. Mugerauer (eds) *Dwelling, place and environment: towards a phenomenology of person and world*, Martinus Nijhoff, Dordrecht, pp.227-249.
- Seidman, I. 1998, *Interviewing as qualitative research 2nd edition*, Teachers College Press, New York.
- Selanniemi, T. 2001, 'Pale skin on playa del anywhere: Finnish tourists in the liminoid South', in V. Smith & M. Brent (eds) *Hosts and guests revisited: tourism issues for the 21st century*, Cognizant Communication, New York, pp. 80-92.
- Sharpe, E. 2005a, 'Delivering communitas: wilderness adventure and the making of community', *Journal of Leisure Research*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 255-280.
- Sharpe, E. 2005b, 'Community in postmodern culture: the place of leisure', *Eleventh Canadian Congress on Leisure Research*, Canadian Association for Leisure Studies, Malaspina University College, Nanaimo, BC. Retrieved November 13, 2006, from <http://www.lin.ca/resource/html/cclr%2011/CCLR11-136.pdf>.
- Sharpley, R. & Sundaram, P. 2005, 'Tourism: a sacred journey? The case of ashram tourism, India', *The International Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 161- 171.
- Silverman, D. 2006, *Interpreting qualitative data*, 3rd edition, Sage, London.
- Simpson, K. 2004, 'Doing development: the gap year, volunteer tourists and a popular practice of development', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 16, no. 5, pp. 681-692.
- Smith, V. 1977, *Hosts & guests: the anthropology of tourism*, University of Pennsylvania Press, USA.
- Smith, V. 2001, 'The nature of tourism', in V. Smith & M. Brent (eds) *Hosts & guests revisited: tourism issues of the 21st century*, Cognizant Communication, New York, pp. 53-68.
- Snir, R. & Harpaz, I. 2002, 'Work-leisure relations: leisure orientation and the meaning of work', *Journal of Leisure Research*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 178-203.
- Sorensen, A. 2003, 'Backpacker ethnography', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 847-867.
- Strangor, C., Jonas, K., Stroebe, W. & Hewstone, M. 1996, 'Influence of student exchange on national stereotypes, attitudes and perceived group variability', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 663-675.

- Strauss, A. 1987, *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. 1990, *Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory procedures and techniques*, Sage, London.
- Stebbins, R. 1979, *Amateurs: on the margin between work and leisure*, Sage, Beverly Hills.
- Stebbins, R. 1982 'Serious leisure: a conceptual statement', *Pacific Sociological Review*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 251-272.
- Stebbins, R. 1997, 'Identity and cultural tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 24, no.2, pp. 450-452.
- Sui, P. 1952, 'The sojourner', *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 34-44.
- Sutton, W. 1967, 'Travel and understanding: notes on the social structure of touring', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, vol. 8, no.2, pp. 218-223.
- Tuan, Y. 1975, 'Place: an experiential perspective', *Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 2, pp. 151-165.
- Taylor, C. 1987, 'Interpretation and the sciences of man', in P. Rainbow & W. Sullivan *Interpretive social science: a second look*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 33-81.
- Taylor, J. 2001, 'Authenticity and sincerity in tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 7-26.
- Thompson D. (ed.) 1995, *The concise Oxford dictionary of current English*, 9th ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Thurot, J. M., Thurot. G. 1983, 'The ideology of class and tourism: confronting the discourse of advertising', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 173-189.
- Tribe, J. 2005, 'New tourism research', *Tourism Recreation Research*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 5-8.
- Tsai, H. 1995, 'Sojourner adjustment: the case of foreigners in Japan', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp.623- 536.
- Tsuneyoshi, R. 2004, 'The new foreigners and the social reconstruction of difference: the cultural diversification of Japanese education', *Comparative Education*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 55-81.
- Tuan, Y. 1975, 'Place: an experiential perspective', *The Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 2, pp. 151-165.

- Tucker, H. 2003, *Living with tourism: negotiating identities in a Turkish village*, Routledge, London.
- Tucker, H. 2005, 'Narratives of place and self: differing experiences of package coach tours in New Zealand', *Tourists Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 267–282.
- Turner, V. 1969, *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure*, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
- Turner, V. 1973, 'The center out there: pilgrim's goal', *History of Religions*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 191-230.
- Turner, V. 1974, 'Liminal to liminoid in play, flow, and ritual: an essay in comparative symbology', *Rice University Studies*, vol. 60, pp. 53-92.
- Turner, V. 1982, *From ritual to theatre: the human seriousness of play*, Performing Arts Journal Publications, New York.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division 2006, *Trends in Total Migration Stock: The 2005 Revision*. Retrieved February 3, 2007 from www.un.org/esa/population/publications/migration/UN_Migrant_Stock_Documentation_2005.pdf.
- Uriely, N. & Reichel, A. 2000, 'Working tourists and their attitudes to hosts', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 267-283.
- Uriely, N. 2001, 'Travelling workers and working tourists: variations across the interaction between Work and Tourism', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 3, pp. 1-8.
- Uriely, N. 2005, 'The tourist experience: conceptual developments', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 199-216.
- Uriely, N. 2001, 'Travelling workers and working tourists: variations across the interaction between Work and Tourism', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 3, pp. 1-8.
- Urry, J. 1990a, *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*, Sage, London.
- Urry, J. 1990b, 'The 'consumption' of tourism', *Sociology*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 23-35.
- Usunier, J. 1998, *International and cross-cultural management research*, Sage, London.
- Vogt, J. 1976, 'Wandering: youth and travel behaviour', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 74–105.

- Walle, A. 1996, 'Habits of thought and cultural tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 874-890.
- Walle, A. 1997, 'Quantitative versus qualitative tourism research'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 24, pp. 524-536.
- Wang, N. 1999, 'Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 349-370.
- Wang, W. 2000, *Tourism and modernity: a sociological analysis*, Pergamon, Amsterdam.
- Ward, C. & Rana-Deuba, A. 2000, 'Home and host culture influences on sojourner adjustment', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 24, pp. 291-306.
- Wengraf, T. 2001, *Qualitative research interviewing: biographical narratives and semi-structured methods*, Sage, London.
- Westwood, S. 2005, 'Out of the comfort zone: situation, participation and narrative interpretation in tourism research', *Proceedings of the first International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry*, International Centre for Qualitative inquiry, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Retrieved September 2, 2006 from <http://www.c4qi.org/qi2005/papers.html>.
- White, N. & White, P. 2007, 'Home and away: tourists in a connected world', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 88-104.
- Williams, D.R. & McIntyre, N. 2002, 'Where heart and home reside: changing constructions of place and identity', in *Trends 2000: Shaping the Future*, The 5th Outdoor Recreation and Tourism Trends Symposium, Department of Park, Recreation, and Tourism Resources, Michigan State University, Lansing, p. 392-403.
- Williams, A. & Hall, C. M. 2000, 'Tourism and migration: new relationships between production and consumption', *Tourism Geographies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp.5-27.
- Williams, A. & Hall, C. M. 2002, 'Tourism, migration, circulation and mobility: the contingencies of time and place', in C. M. Hall & A. Williams (eds) *Tourism and Migration: New relationships between production and consumption*, Kluwer, Netherlands, pp. 1-52.
- Williams, D. & Kaltenborn, B. 1999, 'Leisure places and modernity: the use and meaning of recreational cottages in Norway and the USA', in D. Crouch (ed.) *Leisure/tourism geographies*, Routledge, London, pp.214 -230.
- Williams, A., King, R., Warnes, A. & Patterson, G. 2000, 'Tourism and international retirement migration: new forms of an old relationship in southern Europe', *Tourism Geographies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 28-49.

- World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) 2007, *UNWTO World Tourism Barometer*, vol. 5, no. 1, UNWTO, Madrid.
- Yarnal, C.M. & Kerstetter, D. 2005, 'Casting off: an exploration of cruise ship space, group tour behavior, and social interaction', *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 368-379.
- Yamashita, S. 2003, *Bali and beyond: explorations in the anthropology of tourism*, Berghahn Books, New York.
- Yoshida, T. 1981, 'The stranger as god: the place of the outsider in Japanese folk religion', *Ethnology*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 87-99.
- Zelinsky, W. 1971, 'The hypothesis of the mobility transition', *Geographical Review*, vol. 61, no. 2, pp. 219-249.

Appendices

Appendix 1: JET & CLAIR Letter of Support



CLAIR

Council of Local Authorities for
International Relations

14 November, 2006.

To whom it may concern,

This letter is to certify that The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR), which (in conjunction with the Japanese Ministry for Internal Affairs and Communications, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry for Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) undertakes the management of the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme, is aware and supportive of the study being undertaken by Mr. Adam Doering on the cross-cultural interactions of temporary migrants in Japan.

Mr. Doering has informed us that this study will take place between November 17th and December 15th, will involve interviews of approximately 15 JET participants in Miyazaki Prefecture as a case study and will result in the completion of a Masters Thesis.

CLAIR is always happy to see such research done about the JET Programme. More than just furthering publicity for the Programme, it directly relates to the goals of the Programme of promoting international exchange and deepening intercultural understanding. We are therefore happy to provide any assistance we can to Mr. Doering in his research. We also look forward to receiving a copy of his study at a later date.

Yours Sincerely

Jason Pickens
Programme Coordinator
Council of Local Authorities for International Relations

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule

Preface

Set the interviewee at rest: casual chat; explain the purpose of the interviews; anticipated outcome; rules of confidentiality; ask permission to record

Basic Descriptive Questions:

- What's your nationality? What's your age?
- What is JET?
- What's your position in the JET programme?
- How long have you been in Japan?
- Is this your last year or have you signed a contract for the next year?
- Can you describe your experiences with Japanese language and culture before coming to Japan? What did you know about Japan before you came here?
- Tell me a little about your life prior to joining JET. Where were you? What were you doing before moving to Japan?

PHASE 1: Reasons for living & working in Japan

- What were your goals when you signed up for the JET Programme? What did you hope to get out of this experience?
- How did you come to participate in the JET program? Why did you choose to apply for the JET programme?
- What personal or professional factors were more important in your decision to participate in the JET programme? Which were more important to you?
- Tell me about your previous overseas experiences. Have you travelled or lived overseas before? Where? How long?

PHASE 2: Investigating the Social Dynamics of living & working in Japan

- Describe a typical week in your life here in Japan?
- Could you tell me about your experiences in learning Japanese language?
- How would you describe your relationship with the community here?
- Friendships with Japanese people, colleagues, your neighbourhood (host-national functionaries, other expatriates, your family)
- Do you have any opportunities to get together with other English speakers? How important is it to you to meet with other English speakers?
- Who do you spend most of your free-time with?
- When you have a problem or concern who do you confide in?
- What activities have you become involved in outside of your job?
- How important is the work aspect of your experience?
- What role does the 'working' aspect play in your cultural experience?
- One of the main objectives of the JET programme is to promote 'internationalisation' at the local level. What does 'internationalisation' mean to you? Can you describe any ways in which you contribute to the 'internationalisation' here? Is this cultural learning mutual?
- Are there any negative consequences of your presence here?

PHASE 3: Reflecting on the experience

- Describe what you consider to be your most significant learnings so far living and working in Japan?
- cultural understanding Japanese culture, the Self, feelings of being a minority, cultural awareness
- What experience(s) have prompted these learnings?

- What have you enjoyed about living and working in Japan? What aspects have you not enjoyed?
- Has this experience met your expectations?
- Given what you have said about your life before you became a JET participant and given what you have said about your current experience, in what ways has this experience affected you as a person?
- When thinking broadly about your life, what do you feel this experience represents for you?
- What do you think you will do when your JET contract is finished? How do you think this experience will impact your future? (travel, career, personal benefits)
- Reflecting on your experience, is this a 'touristy' experience? If yes, in what ways?

Close

Ask them if there is anything else they want to add about the experience as a JET participant. Thank them for their time. Ask if they want a copy of the transcript and a summary of the findings. Ask whether they would be prepared to answer any further questions I may have through email contact.