FROM CULTURE TO CULTURE: A STUDY ON CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND IDENTITY NEGOTIATION OF KINMEN STUDENTS

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Abstract

Kinmen is a small island which belongs to Taiwan. "Kinmen students" refer to the students who have been studying in Kinmen starting from the basic education of the country, until they are transferred to Taiwan or other countries. Because they grew up across the Taiwan Strait, apart from the geographical differences, I found that the students who had lived in Kinmen since childhood, had a longing for Taiwan, so that they had not paid attention to their hometown. After they came to Taiwan to study in universities and lived for a long time, they were willing to start caring for Kinmen.

Based on the in-depth interview of qualitative research method, four interviewees who were born and grew up in Kinmen until they graduated from senior high school, then took the main island as its main living area. At the same time as having broken the geographical boundary, it is also the transition from one original culture to another cultural context. How to negotiate the "gap" between the two cultural contexts when entering the culture of "the other", and how to change the place attachment of Kinmen?

The study revealed that after having the living experience of the two places, they are gradually perceived of the culture distance. There are obvious differences between the resources, educational environment, pace of life, transportation and interpersonal communication. However, the different from previous studies on cross-cultural adaptation is that Kinmen students do not completely become insiders of the new culture under the new environment, but have a stronger sense of place attachment to the original culture.

Keywords: *cross-cultural adaptation, culture shock, identity negotiation, Kinmen, place attachment*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and context

Whenever asked “Where are you from”, “I am from Kinmen” is always the answer of Kinmen students. Because of this, there have been rumors on the Internet that “Kinmen people don’t think they are Taiwanese at all”, “Kinmen people emphasize that they are ‘Kinmen citizen’.” [1](God pulls, October 2 , 2017). In fact, this is a misunderstanding of the Kinmen students. “Taiwanese” refers to “people who live on the main island of Taiwan”, so whenever someone who grew up in the mainland of Taiwan hears someone who grew up in Kinmen say, “I’m going to Taiwan”, “I would go home by plane”, instead of “I want to go back to Taiwan”. Going/going back is misunderstood and become a debate on the national identity. [2](Stephen, December 12 , 2016) . However, for Kinmen people, including residents of other outlying islands, the word “Taiwan” is a geographical concept. Geographically, the outlying islands are not on the main island of Taiwan, which is why Kinmen people say they “go to Taiwan”. On the other hand, “I’m going to go back to Taiwan” is to exclude Kinmen from Taiwan, resulting in unclear sovereign territory.

In this paper, the word “Taiwan” refers to the geographical “main island of Taiwan”. And there is not intended to discuss the scope of national sovereignty and national identity. In terms of the usage of “going/going back”, due to the different growing environment, the students in various colleges and universities in Taiwan have different geographical cognition. On the other hand, the word “Kinmen students” are defined as those who study in Kinmen from the beginning of national basic education and then transfer to Taiwan or other countries until university.

There was a group of Kinmen students who held a summer camp "After Kinmen: From culture to culture" with former high school peers when we were college students. Our idea originated from the fact that after leaving Kinmen to study at university, they "get started" to develop a sense of local identification with Kinmen. We found that living in Kinmen for years, we were always yearned for Taiwan, so we didn't care about our hometown. But after coming to Taiwan, we began to pay attention to Kinmen. There was a "gap", and in that gap there is regret and disappointment, so we tried the summer camp. The main participants of the summer camp were high school students studying in Kinmen, especially fresh graduates. We hoped that this gap would not exist, so that they could adapt to the new lifestyle more quickly, and at the same time, they could discover the beauty of hometown earlier.

From the perspective of geography, each place will form its own local culture, and have different cultural characteristics, so people will have their own sense of identity. As previously mentioned, after crossing into another cultural context, Kinmen students turn from not caring about their hometown to recognition of local culture. This paper seeks to further understand what kind of culture shock occurs to people's social culture and personal identity when crossing different cultural contexts, and how to conduct individual identity negotiation.

1.2. Scope and objectives

In 2019, National Quemoy University had 742 new students in the total number of approved freshmen for each academic system, and National Kinmen Senior High School and National Kinmen Agricultural and Industrial Vocational Senior High School were the only two in Kinmen, with 332 and 238 fresh graduated would continue their studies, and 27 and 8 entered the Day School of Quemoy University respectively. That is, there were 570 students who graduated in 2019 and went on to study, and only 35 people chose Quemoy University, accounting for 0.061; the total number of students enrolled in Quemoy University was 742, and the proportion of local people in Kinmen was 0.047. From the data, most people aimed to go to university in Taiwan. Although there are many causes that influence the choice of a school for further study, including region, department, school reputation and so on will be taken into consideration. Just as a description of the phenomenon of studying in Taiwan, it cannot be concluded that the students chose Taiwan schools in order to leave Kinmen. Therefore, this paper does not focus on why they choose to study in Taiwan.

This paper will discuss this group of Kinmen students who grew up in Kinmen until they graduated from high school at the age of 17 or 18 and went to Taiwan to study, and then they mainly lived on the island of Taiwan. They not only crossed geographical boundaries, but also moved from one cultural context to another. In the process of this transition, what changes had taken place in the individual's cultural identity? How to negotiate the gap between the two cultural contexts in a culture that had the original culture and had entered into the other, and what changes had been made to their sense of identity with Kinmen's local culture?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The idea of culture

[3]Schneider(1976) defined culture as "a system of symbols", generally related to way of life. That is, people are connected to any meaning (other things) through symbols (something), and the referent and the be referential object are not necessarily directly related, but are arbitrary and socially constructed [4](Hsieh, 2011). People live in various cultural worlds and what they want and do must be understood in the world, if people in other cultural societies are different from "us", because of each other's adherence to different lifestyles, pointing to different values, and are reflected in different customs and institutions [5](Rosenblatt, 2004). Culture affects the way people interact with others. When the process of information exchange occurs in a specific cultural environment, there are unique normative beliefs, assumptions and common symbols within [6](Leonard, van Scotter, & Pakdil, 2009). [7]Throsby (2001) pointed out that in order to construct a collective identity, members of a cultural group should share common norms, customs, values. So, culture is a complex concept and there is no

generally accepted clear definition in the literature of anthropology and social theory, but it can be said that individuals in a particular culture are inevitably influenced by the cultural atmosphere of the country and society in which they live [8](Tian, Deng, Zhang, & Salmador, 2018).

In other words, culture is a system of constructivism, which is characterized by individual particularity and differentiated by individual identity, so as to judge we-group and the other. Even in the age of globalization, due to the flow of capital, the dissemination of information and the new international division of labor, along with the entry of Western theories into the East and the Third World countries, has prompted another identity crisis in culture [9](Wang, 2015). In capitalism and consumer culture promoting standardized, standardized products to be continuously produced, there will still not be two identical cultural entities.

Taking food culture as an example, when introducing exotic dishes into Taiwan, there will also be adjusted according to local tastes. That is, cultural heterogeneity occurs between the product of globalization and local culture. Even if one accepts the materials, lifestyles, and values brought by other cultural industries, the original cultural spirit of the individual will not completely disappear. As for acceptance or not, or the degree of acceptance, it depends on the individual recognition and negotiation of culture.

2.2. Recognition and negotiation of cultural identity

The book "Recognition & Difference: Politics, Identity, Multiculture" by [10]Lash & Featherstone(2002) pointed out the multi-faceted nature of "recognition", which is led to the meaning of human rights in the context of public recognition of "specific culture"; the principle of recognition is "good" or "good life"(p. 3), which is the language of the community; it's a matter of ethics or esteem. It is mentioned that Hegel divided recognition into three types in his early works: legal, love and the state, in love recognition "we are recognized in our singularity……subject achieves self-consciousness through the recognition of the other"(p. 5). That is to say, in addition to the specificity between "us" and "the other", a group identity requires not only the recognition of internal members, but also the recognition of external others to consolidate consciousness. the side opposite to recognition is nonrecognition. Levinas believes that the assumption of a same cannot be regarded as the denial of the absolute other. In other words, the identity and the other are not in an absolute position, nor is denial and recognition an absolute relationship, but a process of flow and negotiation.

[11]Lassiter(2014) pointed out that culture is a system of meaning shared and negotiated between people, through daily social interaction and practice, learning the framework of experience and generating action; in addition, it is specifically pointed out that learning culture is the manifestation of self-cultivation.

[12]Tsai(2018) further explained that the "shared and negotiated meaning system", includes economic, social and political aspects, and also the concrete practical field of constructing meaning, value and subjectivity, and its connotation needs to be negotiated. Its connotation needs to go through a negotiation process. [13]Wang(2008) pointed out that the continuous identity negotiation presents a dynamic and complex process, as well as cross-cultural communication that involves how one perceives one's own identity. In other words, as a subject, human beings have agency to shape identity, and express emotions, which makes the personal identity presents a dynamic process. It is different in each stage of life, because of the different ways and forms of self-identification in each stage, there is a process of consultation and adaptive reflection. To sum up, under the premise of "good" and "love", recognition culture has creativity and active interpretation in the process of forming identity , and invests time in learning and reconstructing cognition, as well as to show emotion or produce emotion in the process of identification.

2.3. Migration and identification with local culture

Local research has long been a concern of geographers. In order to explore the process of cross-cultural adaptation and identity negotiation among Kinmen students when they move to two places, "place" has also become a concept that needs to be clarified. In the 1970s, Humanistic Geography gradually developed the research category of the interaction between place and human experience,

emphasizing human's subjective understanding, feeling and description of place, which is called "sense of place". It is focuses on the connection and thinking between people and place, as well as the identification and emotion of living in a place [14](Lin & Hsu, 2007).

The concept of "sense of place" is the ability of people to feel attached to a specific environment. Place represents not only a geographical location, but also dynamic social interaction and evocative environment. It contains overt or covert social practices and is embedded in ideology, power relations, conflict and control. And the allocation of social and material resources [15](Stokowski, 2002). Therefore, place is not just a regional or spatial object, but an object of a certain subject, with meaning, intention or sensory value, and emotional focus, which makes people experience various activities on place and the stories generated become local history and memory [16](Yu & Chang, 2018).

In studies related to migration, [17]Lan & Wu(2011) point out that migration experience will affect the formation and transformation of identity, and the interaction between migrants moving out and moving in and civil society shapes the life experience and identity belonging between the two places. Based on the life experience and identity attribution between the two places, the migration trajectory (to stay or to leave) and the identity structure (to seek common or to seek difference) derive different ways to negotiate boundaries and identity. Previous studies have pointed out that when a person moves from one place to another, over time he/she will gradually adapt to the new environment and become familiar with it. That is, his/her attachment to the new place and the mood of belonging will change, and the foreign place will become his/her hometown([18]Jhong, 2014; [16]Yu & Chang, 2018).

Sum up these statements, this paper is different from the previous studies. In the past, it mainly discussed the process of a person's emotion towards the new place and forming social identity after moving to a new environment because of long-term living in the new place and participating in social, economic and cultural activities. However, this paper intends to discuss on the contrary. The research object is still people who live in a new environment, but the difference is that the object of emotional attachment is the place where they originally lived (i.e. the original place), rather than a strong sense of identity to the new place. However, the complex emotional negotiation process between moving in and moving out remains to be further analyzed and explored.

The above-mentioned geographical research points out that "Human Geography" focuses on the interaction between place and individual experience, while from psychological research, "Environmental Psychology" proposes the concept of "place attachment" to represent the connection between individuals and specific environments. [19]Scannell & Gifford(2010)proposed to define the three aspects of place attachment: person, place and process. In terms of person, it can be divided into individuals and groups. As the basis of attachment, individuals' experience contributes to the meaning of place that can evoke memories, entrusts values and personal milestones. In other words, personal experience creates the meaning of place; on the other hand, a group has shared symbolic meaning among its members. Under the framework of different cultures, religious beliefs and genders, place attachment becomes a process of collective construction, connecting people with places through common historical experience, values and symbols.

In terms of process, relates to the social and psychological, emotional, cognitive, behavior characteristics: whether human geographers or environmental psychologist, all think that emotion is the core factor for people to feel a sense of belonging to a place. The simplest example is the feeling of sadness when a person is about to move away from a place of residence, which is an emotional attachment to the place. Cognitive aspects include memory, belief, meaning and knowledge, that is, individuals construct and connect to places, locate themselves based on social identity, or attach themselves to the background of past times and important events. Behavior will be reflected in moving to a place with similar conditions, local reconstruction planning, or returning home action, that is, through practical efforts to maintain a close relationship with the place.

Local research can start from the two models of human geography and environmental psychology. The research approach is shown in the following figure:

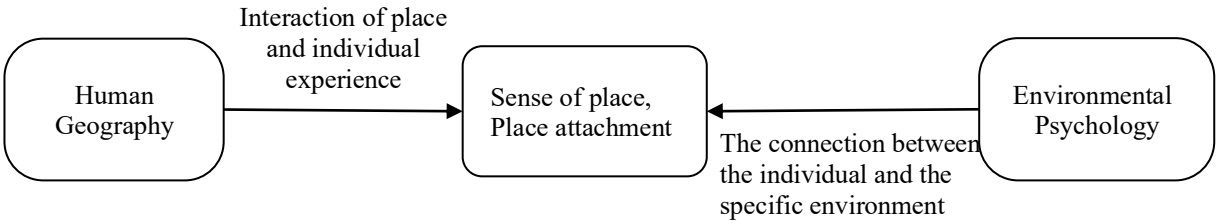

Fig. 1. Two approaches to local research

The perspective of human geography is to explore the various effects of a geographical environment on human activities, while in the perspective of environmental psychology, it is from the personal experience of the geographical environment. Studies on human-place interaction have different perspectives. Whether it is sense of place, place identity, they all involve the characteristics of cognition (e.g. thought, belief) and behavior (e.g. performance, action) and other emotional characteristics [18](Jhong, 2014).

Thus, no matter from which way to discuss the place studies, we can find that "emotion" is an important factor in connecting people and places. Although the academic circles have different views on the relationship between place and place attachment, and even the sense of place, as mentioned above, most studies on place attachment point out that as long as one stays in a place for a longer time, the stronger the feeling of place will be.

Although when people move to another cultural context, they begin to re-examine and identify their own position and cultural identity, and the process of re-identification is a process of negotiation. The result of the negotiation will be identify with the original culture, or to discard the original culture, or to generate "multiple culture identity", which will be unavoidable and inevitable problems for faced by immigrants [20](Hu, 2012). This paper refers to this process as "identity negotiation", hoping to understand how Kinmen students negotiate the differences between the original culture and the new culture from the process of generating place attachment.

2.4. Culture shock and cross-cultural adaptation

Oberg first proposed the concept of culture shock in 1960, pointing out that culture shock usually occurs in expatriates and, like diseases, it has its symptoms, causes and cures. In addition to living in a physical environment, people also live in a cultural environment composed of social institutions, ideas and beliefs, in which culture becomes a way of life by learning and using its cultural meaning and value. Thus, when a person moves to a new cultural environment, losing all familiar social symbols and causing anxiety and depression. Even if the new environment is full of goodwill, one will still feel frustrated or have uncomfortable reactions, which is called culture shock [21](Oberg, 1960/2006). In short, culture shock occurs when individuals leave their familiar social interaction environment, are not familiar with the social symbols of the new environment, and are not adapted to the new culture ([22]Hsiao, 2012; [23]Tan, 2013).

As mentioned, the culture shock is caused by the "culture distance" between culture and culture, namely between native culture and other culture. There are differences in the attitude of the communication and consultation, time or space; such as living custom, language, code of conduct, values, social norms and so on. ([23]Tan, 2013; [24]Lin, 2011). [21]Oberg (1960/2006) also said that a specific culture is the product of historical development, and the combined differences in systems, customs, language and other elements make each culture have its own unique cultural characteristics. so to understand a culture is not a simple thing.

As this paper intends to discuss, it focuses on the cross-cultural issues between Taiwan's main island and its outlying islands in the same context. Although most studies on culture shock have found that

immigrants or international students are often taken as the research objects to explore the East and the West The cross-cultural adaptation of cultures ([22]Hsiao, 2012; [23]Tan, 2013; [24]Lin, 2011). But from Oberg's discussion of culture shock shows that the culture distance between Taiwan's main island and outlying islands is worthy of research.

It can be seen from the process of culture shock that in the face of negative emotions such as frustration and powerlessness caused by the culture distance, the self will start to adjust and adapt in order to live a life of ease. Entering a new culture is a difficult experience, and people usually find it difficult to accept the differences between the original culture and the new culture. When individuals enter a new culture, they will go through the process of cross-cultural adaptation [25](Hamad & Lee, 2013). [20]Hu(2012)quoted Hannigan as the definition of "adaptation" as the individual's cognition, attitude, behavior and psychology will change due to entering a new environment and life, and connot feel as comfortable as at home. In order to make the individual to achieve the purpose of the harmony with environment, adjustment and assimilation to adapt, involving the process of physical and mental adjustment.

In conclusion, when people face culture shock, cross-cultural adaptation will follow, for adjusting and negotiating the impact of changes, so as to achieve a balance between body and mind, and to be able to live easily. [26]Kim(2001)put forward theoretical point of cross-cultural adaptation, and explained how immigrants from cultural outsiders into increasingly active cultural insiders, that is, people in unfamiliar environments continue to adapt over time. On the one hand, they gradually counteracting the habits of the native culture; and on the other hand, the twin interrelated processes of adaptation to new cultural habits and practices are based on the need to change some of the old ways in order to carry out daily activities and improve the quality of life in the new environment. There are differences between cultures. When an individual straddles the original culture and the new culture, the situation of cross-cultural adaptation occurs.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The literature review found that place culture, as a special culture, identify with place culture of a certain place or not, coming from self-recognition or denial of others. When Kinmen students left their native culture and moved to another cultural context, there was a culture shock between the group and the other. Individuals make cross-cultural adaptation while crossing over the native culture and the new culture. Different from the past studies, most of them discussed the process of social identity to a new place after a person moved to a new environment because of long-term living in the new place. This paper intends to discuss that the cross-cultural adaptation process of Kinmen students is a process of individual "identity negotiation", resulting in the recognition of the original culture, rather than a strong sense of identification with the new place.

3.1. Research questions

Based on the above, this paper takes Kinmen students as the research object, and attempts to explore the process of identity negotiation through the context of cross-cultural adaptation and culture shock , so as to understand the culture shock of Kinmen students and the factors of the negotiation process. The proposed research questions are as follows:

(1) What is the trajectory of the culture shock among Kinmen students?

(2) In the process of identity negotiation, how do Kinmen students face the culture distance and impact between the original culture and the new culture?

3.2. Research design

In this paper, adopting the "in-depth interview" in the qualitative research method, and uses the "semi-structured interview" in the form of pre-designed interview questions. Allow respondents to express their thoughts freely and at will, so as to collect information about their specific experience and get more real and useful information to touch on the core issues of the research.

According to [27]Su(2018), the conduct and procedures of in-depth interviews were summarized as follows: the research design should first consider who the interviewees are, and first estimate the interview time and what information they want to obtain, so as to estimate the number of interviewees. The interview procedure can be divided into three stages. First, before the interview, it is necessary to know more about the background information of the interviewee and the background information of the research topic to facilitate the interview. Then, in the process of interview, the researcher should introduce and explain the purpose of the research at the beginning. The interview questions are in the following order: ice-breaking problem, main problem and follow-up problem. The step-by-step method is helpful for the interviewee to talk about their own experiences and ideas. Finally, at the end of the interview, Thank the other party for accepting the interview, which makes the interviewees feel sincere and respected.

Based on the above, the author proposes the research design of this paper is as follows:

3.2.1. Research participants

This paper adopts the method of "intention sampling" to select the interviewees who meet the research conditions, and intentionally selects them as "representative" samples, that is, objects that can provide rich information. The interviewees were recruited through the author's social network, and the interview lasted from 45 to 60 minutes, with a total of 4 interviewees. Each interviewee had talked with the author about their culture shock and the process of cross-cultural adaptation after going to the mainland of Taiwan to study at university. The data of interviewees are as follows:

Number	Gender	Age	Education	Current city/Duration
A	Female	23	Department of Information Engineering, National Kaohsiung University of Applied Sciences and Technology	Taipei / 1 year
B	Female	26	Department of Physical Education, National Pingtung University of Education	Tainan / 3.5 years
C	Female	25	Department of Business Administration, I-shou University	Pingtung / 1.5 years
D	male	25	Department of Electrical Engineering, National Taiwan University	Taipei / 7 years

Table 1. Basic Information of Interviewees

3.2.2. Outline of the interview questions

(1) What was your perception of Kinmen before you went to Taiwan to study at university? What was your imagination of Taiwan?

(2) When you graduated from high school, why did you choose to go to university in Taiwan instead of staying in Kinmen?

(3) When you first went to live in Taiwan, what did you do besides go to school? (e.g. as staying in the dormitory, going sightseeing, eating food, etc.) How did you feel at that time?

(4) After living in Taiwan for a long time, have you felt the difference between Taiwan and Kinmen? (e.g. price, interpersonal interaction) Please give specific examples.
(5) From above question, How have you adapted to these differences? Will it affect your attitude towards life? And thus changed your perception of Kinmen' cognition or Taiwan' imagination?
(6) Has your experience of living in Taiwan helped you get to know Kinmen better? And why?

*Note: The above "Taiwan" refers to the main island of Taiwan

Table 2. Outline of discussion questions.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

According to the research questions, the outline of the discussion questions [Table 2] are mainly divided into three parts. The question (1) to (3) are from the view of Kinmen and the imagination of the main island before studying in Taiwan, to the idea of practical experience in the early stage of studying in Taiwan, and discuss culture shock by crossing the life trajectories of the two cultural contexts. The question (4) to (6) are intercultural adaptation and negotiation, which is the process of adapting to the differences between the main island of Taiwan and Kinmen. After living in Taiwan for a long time, to reflect on the changes of Kinmen's meaning to Kinmen students after having lived in Taiwan. Through the question-and-answer of the question outline, follow-up questions are asked along with interviewees' answers to respond to research questions.

4.1. The trajectory of culture shock

Before studying in Taiwan, Kinmen students generally feel slow pace, simple life and boring place for the native culture of Kinmen.

Interviewee A (hereinafter referred to as (A), and so on for the other three interviewees) and (B) both expressed views on the rhythm and pattern of life in Kinmen: "Because I grew up in Kinmen……The pace of the past, even the living environment and the people I met, had been simple, and the pace of the environment was also slow"(A); "Kinmen was pure and simple"(B). But in a slow-paced, it was even more boring, "I would feel that it was a bit boring. There were things that Kinmen did not have, such as McDonald's, and some fun entertainment venues neither did." (D). (B) also thinks: "I didn't really have a feelings for Kinmen. Just bored." It could be seen that before they left Kinmen for a long time, Kinmen students felt uninterested or uninteresting in life here.

In contrast, all the interviewees had playful and longing imaginations about Taiwan. "I wasn't very familiar with it, but I thought it should be……all kinds of things, there were more people, and it might be more fun" (D); "Taiwan was a place that we were very longing for, we all thought that Taiwan was a very interesting and colorful place, and there were McDonald's to eat!"(B). She further said that she came to Taiwan to study because of her longing for Taiwan, because she look forward to "would like to go to Taiwan." Likewise, (A) also expressed the necessity of stepping out of Kinmen, "I felt like I had to go outside and not stay in Kinmen all the time, because it's too small……I had lived in Kinmen since I was a child, and I didn't experience otherthing else, or access to schools with more resources." (D) directly weighed the universities in Kinmen and Taiwan, "Because the universities on the main island were better, that's the reason." (C) said that studying in Taiwan was a necessary process , which was a proof that she could grow up and live independently, "When I was in high school, I thought that I was necessary to go outside. I wanted to be independent and go away alone. Kinmen was like a small world in which was limited. If you went out this world, you would feel like you've grown up. When you step out, you could learn more, and it was a symbol of growing up."

From above-mentioned the feeling about Kinmen and imagination of Taiwan. Since the childhood of students living in Kinmen, would think that the educational resources of Kinmen were worse than that

of the main island, and that Kinmen is too small, like a small world which was limited, and thus became one of the motivations of Taiwan for studying at a university. It also took into considering that the main island had more educational resources and more schools to choose from.

From the responses and feelings of the interviewees living on the main island, it could see that the newly arrived Kinmen students are curious and excited about Taiwan, and feel new to many things.

"I would be excited when I first came, and curious about many things. I remembered that I would go out and play for every weekend, and felt everything would be fresh."(A) She also said that the reason for this reaction because she grew up in Kinmen and "everything in Kinmen tended to be historical", there were no modern products such as department stores, so she wanted to look around because she felt so cool for everything.

While studying in Kaohsiung, (C) felt she used to be "like a bird in a cage", and she was finally free to "do a lot of things that you had not done before." "I wanted to go to various places to play, went to play with my classmates, like going to Chiayi, Taichung, and even to find my high school classmates in Taipei at that time. That includes making new friends. Everything felt fresh." (D) said "I thought everything is new, fresh……I would go out to play, and then join some clubs at school, which is similar to my imagination when I first entered the university."

It can be seen from the above that when Kinmen students came to the main island at the beginning, they were all in line with their imagination before arriving to live in Taiwan, and they could fulfill their imagination in daily activities, expecting to live a colorful life different from the monotonous life in Kinmen. (C) even said that her family gave her $NT10,000 a month in per as a petty allowance. When she was a freshman, "I bought a lot of clothes, went shopping with my friends often, and then my mother gave me $NT10,000 a month in per and I spent all my cost of living. I was always eating buffet and going to KTV, which was something I didn't do much in Kinmen, and I wanted to try all kinds of things that I had never done before."

However, (B) quickly became uncomfortable,

"When I first arrived in Pingtung, I cried for a week, and then I was afraid to call home. I was the only one of my high school classmates who went to that university, it means I didn't know the place and people in there." It can be inferred that she felt out of place leaving her familiar circle of life and went to a completely strange and remote place with no other people from hometown. "My classmates would go to play and sing at night. I didn't go with them. I just played computer games in the dormitory and liked to sleep."(D) She said that she would not go out to watch movies or sing with her classmates until she became familiar with them. It can be seen that not all Kinmen students who have just came to live on the main island were excited and curious about the new environment, and some of them felt uncomfortable and insecure about the environment from the very beginning.

From the perspective of environmental psychology, Kinmen students did not have a good impression of the geographical environment of Kinmen before they came to study in the main island. Even every interviewee would talk about the "urban-rural gap" after living on the main island for a long time and having accumulated life experience in the two places.

The main island of Taiwan as a symbol of the city, while Kinmen was the countryside, which was the main factor causing the culture distance between the two places. The following could be divided into educational resources, pace of life, transportation, and interpersonal interaction for discussion.

Aspect of educational resources, (A) mentioned, "After I entered university, I found that my academic performance was much lower than that of some vocational schools in Taiwan of main cites. Because they had learned really much more than us, there would be a difference. We only had three or four teachers, and sometimes teachers from electronics and electrical engineering also came to teach us, but I was in the information department." This shows, Kinmen was short of teaching resources, so teachers need to be seconded to teach in different theories, if a vocational school of higher education had better teachers and resources. (D) also talked about the gap in his classes, "They might have learned freshman courses of university in high school, there would be made gap."

As was a high school degree, but good schools might learn be more. His experience in the relationship between educational concepts and competitiveness. “In Taipei, there was a first choice and a second choice and so on. Kinmen didn’t have choice, because there was only one high school. The competition in Kinmen was only the 200 to 300 people per grade, and there was no fierce competition.” Due to the place is small, there was little competition among peers. At the same time, there was only one Kinmen Senior High School and one Kinmen Higher Vocational School, which are two completely different schools. In side of academic education, there was no competition between schools, so it is not easy to promote the learning atmosphere and the teaching of materials.

The comparison of the pace of life is reflected in the rhythm of people. “When I arrived in Kaohsiung, the biggest contrast was that everyone moved at fast pace. In Taipei, everyone moved at a faster and was in a hurry.”(A) Studied in Kaohsiung, (C) also said, “Taiwan was faster.” (B) who lived Pingtung in distant areas, said, “The pace was faster, so it was more lively.” Although the culture distance in the south were similar to those in Kinmen, the pace of life in the south was still faster.

When talking about the convenience of transportation, the interviewees changed their statements. Because on the imagination of Taiwan before they hadn’t lived to the main island, they would tell the main island of the transportation was convenient, but came to Taiwan after life, felt more as the Kinmen was small, compared to Taiwan’s public transportation and transportation time, Kinmen could go anywhere with a motorcycle, and they could reach the destination very quickly, and thus more convenient,

“The transportation in Kinmen was very convenient, convenient because it was very convenient to find friends and relatives, so you would feel that everywhere is very close.”(B); (C) obviously subconsciously said that Taiwan had convenient transportation, and immediately noticed that Kinmen was more convenient by bike, “I thought the main of island would be more convenient transportation. But I didn’t have a motorcycle, I could only take the bus. So it’s not convenient for me. Conversely, in the Kinmen was convenient, because very close to wherever you want to go, your motorcycle was enough.

In terms of public transportation, (A) thought Taiwan’s traffic was more convenient, and Kinmen was relatively scarce in resources, “The transportation on the main island was very convenient, there were few public transportation in Kinmen.” But to (D) also said as Kinmen was small, so the two places of traffic were no comparable, “The transportation couldn’t be said to be more convenient, but Kinmen is too small, so it is very convenient. You could go everywhere by motorcycle.” In other words, riding a motorcycle was the fastest way to get to your destination in Kinmen. Even though Kinmen had a “Kinmen County Resident Card”, which enjoy the benefits of free bus rides, but more people prefer to ride motorcycles.

In side of interpersonal interaction, each interviewee had a profound feeling of “human emotion”, which could be attributed to the fact that the place was small and people were more closely connected than in cities, resulting in the culture distance in interpersonal relationship after coming to the main island.

“Students who growth in big city, such as Kaohsiung and Taipei, might experience since the childhood were more in the environment, so they knew more things, but perhaps Kinmen students, Everyone’s way of thinking a bit more simple. Those friends met in Kaohsiung, they would be more realistic.” (A) (B) was pointed out that Kinmen people was more enthusiastic and cordial, “I would think that compared with Kinmen people, the main island of people were less enthusiastic. Because Kinmen was simple, people in Taiwan might feel that did not need to offer help.” (C) considered for Kinmen had revolutionary emotion, as an affectionate person, “After I came to Taiwan, I thought the affection between people was like……I didn’t feel that much affection, I seem to be used to a person, not importune become friends with each other. But I didn’t feel that way in Kinmen before.” (D) put forward the view that Taipei was indifference and Kinmen was enthusiastic. This was difference between urban and rural areas. Kinmen is not unique, but he still pointed out that people in Kinmen tended to help each other, “Kinmen was a very kind place, and then everyone could be helpful. Everyone said that maybe people in Taipei were a little bit more cold and Kinmen were more kind, but

I didn't think it's unique to Kinmen, maybe some were more rural place was similar to Kinmen." From the fact that all the interviewees mentioned the culture distance in interpersonal interaction, it can be seen that Kinmen students could feel the culture distance in "human relations".

4.2. Cross-cultural adaptation and negotiation process

Seen from the above analysis, after having the experience of living in two places, first of all, feeling excited and fresh because of the contact with the new culture, and then perceive the gap between cultures, people faced the culture shock, that kinds of disadvantages brought by the culture distance, such as the gap in education and social skills. In order to survive comfortably in the new environment, individuals will have a process of adaptation and negotiation, and it could be found from the discussion of interviewees that sometimes they "compromise" in the social environment, sometimes they "insist" on their own ideas.

(A) took shopping as an example, "I used to chat with the proprietress when I was shopping in Kinmen or Kaohsiung, but in Taipei would not." In transportation, there were more obvious compromises, "I was not used to wearing headphones when I was in Kaohsiung or Kinmen before, but in Taipei, everyone would wear headphones, and in a hurry. I thought people who lived here were in this lifestyle, and I would keep up with them, they walked fast, I would follow quickly". In accordance with the pace of life and habits of Taipei, I changed my original pace to adapt to the culture of Taipei.

However, (C) was the opposite, "Probably because of my lifestyle, I tried to live like I was in Kinmen. After I got off work, I would ride slowly down, deliberately around outside the town around, it is like when I was a senior high school student in Kinmen, my mom or dad had taken me to ride a motorcycle, they would be around very slowly. As if there would be a lot of established habit or……in a word, I would let myself feel like I was still in such a comfortable environment. She choose to adjust her living habits as she did in Kinmen, so that she could live as if she was living in Kinmen. Therefore, (C) thought that she did not have too much discomfort in her lifestyle. However, this can also be said to be her cross-cultural adaptation and negotiation, maintaining her own habits and allowing herself to live in a comfortable environment. On the other hand, she might have the opportunity to maintain a slow pace of life because she lived in Hengchun, which was more similar to Kinmen than the metropolis of Taipei and Kaohsiung in the pace of life.

Also did not compromise in the new environment of culture, in the trajectory of culture shock, to (B) mentioned Taiwan people were relatively independent, need less someone's help. In the same way, they help people motivation would be relatively small, but she believed that after all, helping people was not a bad thing, "I would take the initiative to help others, I would go out of my way to help others, because although the main island people were like cold, I didn't think I need to be like them, I should do my own way."

(B) said that she used to compromise in the new environment because people around her were more independent, so she would not ask others for help. However, when she knew something that needed assistance, she would take the initiative to help. At present, she would actively seek assistance in the office, "I am afraid that I will not be able to do well in my work, because I am not so powerful in the business". In order to work more smoothly, she also learned to take the initiative to consult seniors.

In the trajectory of culture shock, (C) said in interpersonal social aspects, it might be because Taiwan people were used to changing a group of friends at each stage, so they had less obstacles in making friends. Her way of adapting and negotiating was, "I would try my best to run a relationship, but there were no compulsions on each other, because of this relatively fast way of making friends, It also allows me to learn how to do anything by myself and be at ease." From this, (C) tried to adhere to the principle of making friends and maintained a good relationship. Therefore, on the other hand, learning to be independent and get along with myself was a kind of self-confidence. "Being recognized in high school seemed to recognize me through others. I didn't know whether it was because of university or not, my confidence didn't need to be established through how others looked at me." Just as (C) said, coming from Kinmen to live in Taiwan is a symbol of growing up. In cross-cultural adaptation, it is indeed a process of growth up and an affirmation of oneself.

In one of local and cultural identity, (A) said that she only began to have feelings for Kinmen after he came to Taiwan, and wanted to cherish this place more. When she lived in Kinmen for a long time, never wanted to understand the hometown, ""At that time, I would feel that I had been to these places since I was a child, and there was nothing to go to. But when I came back from Taiwan, I didn't know why I missed it. I felt nostalgic." From the discussion of (C), it could find out that Kinmen students had a local dependence on Kinmen,"I thought it might be because after coming out, I would feel that my hometown was like a safe haven. If something happens to me outside, can I get better by going back to Kinmen." Kinmen became a haven for the individual, with the family as an emotional attachment to the place.

(A), (B), (D) were in university, or graduated from high school to university of the summer vacation, they began to recognize the beauty of Kinmen, "After coming to Taiwan, I gradually felt that Kinmen was really beautiful, worth, and it's not as boring as I said before. It was only after I came to Taiwan that I discovered the beauty of Kinmen."(D)

(A) mentioned that she liked Kinmen better when she was young, "Actually, I liked Kinmen better when I was a child. There were more trees those at that time, and I thought it was more beautiful." For her, it wasn't overly modern, even if she "looked at the cows and yell at them. It didn't make any sense, but just feeling happy." It can be seen that the happiness and beauty of childhood memories of (A) were cognitive factors of place attachment. (D) also mentioned that "the experience of growing up in Kinmen is very different from that of people growing up in the mainland of Taiwan." That, childhood memories had a strong influence on a person's place attachment.

"It's when you left a place, and you went to a bigger cities, and you realize in retrospect that the original place was really nice." (D) For him, leaving a place is an emotional attachment to the native culture or the familiar environment in which you have lived for a long time. (A) said that when friends asked about Kinmen, she should take the responsibility of introducing it, "When people talked about how interesting Kinmen was, I felt that I represent Kinmen, and had to be responsible for introducing it, so I want to get to know my hometown"

(B) pointed out the human touch and traditional architecture of Kinmen were the part she most wanted to preserve, because this was the most different characteristic from Taiwan. "The human touch must came first. The feeling that was different from the main island. But when we came to a different city, after all, we came to the same place from different places, and there must be a bit of a gap between our feelings and those of local people." She said that the emotion of a place was because people living there would have different feelings from people and other places.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Research findings

Response to research question 1: What is the trajectory of the culture shock among Kinmen students?

After having the life experience of the two places, one would gradually perceive the culture distance between them. Culture shock was caused by the culture distance. Through the dialogue with the interviewees, it could be found that the culture shock of Kinmen students mainly occurred in the "urban-rural gap" and the feeling of "interpersonal interaction". Its trajectory could be made of the imagine of Taiwan at the beginning, and when they first came to live in Taiwan, they were full of excitement, curiosity and freshness about Taiwan. After accumulating life experience, gradually found that the resources and educational environment of the main island were better than Kinmen. When Kinmen students first entered the university, they would find that their level could not keep up with the students who graduated from the schools for higher education in Taiwan.

In terms of interpersonal and social interaction, Kinmen were mostly friends who had grown up together since childhood. They even went to the same school from kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school and senior high school. Therefore, it can be seen that Kinmen students might have

deeper emotional dependence on their friends in Kinmen, because of their growing background. After coming to Taiwan, they were different factors feel the emotional connection between friends, which made the way to establish affection also different.

The trajectory of the culture shock of Kinmen students was mainly reflected in the living environment and shopping in their daily life. The pace of life on the main island was relatively fast, and because they rented a house in Taiwan, they stayed home alone. Unlike in Kinmen, accompanied by family members, could take a walk at night. For shopping, there were no department stores in Kinmen, so when they first came to Taiwan, they were very interested in shopping.

The adaptation in interpersonal interaction was very obvious, because in the past, most of the friends in Kinmen grew up together, and even were neighbors nearby. Therefore, after coming to Taiwan, the social aspect became weaker, and there was a need to be a process of adaptation and negotiation. Aspect of job adaptation, it was also mentioned that the work in Taiwan was more challenging. When they came to Taiwan to study at a university, they also felt the strong competition, which would make Kinmen students had higher self-expectation and work standard.

Response to research question 2: In the process of identity negotiation, how do Kinmen students face the culture distance and impact between the original culture and the new culture?

Along with the individual would have their own way of cross-cultural adaptation, negotiations between native culture and the new culture to adjust the suitable and comfortable living environment, and found the beauty of the native culture of Kinmen, and distinguish the differences between the two cultures. Finally, they no longer felt out of place, and could easily switch between the rhythms of the two cultures. In the process of cross-cultural adaptation and negotiation, it can be seen that some people compromise with the cultural context of the new environment and change their living habits, while others stick to their own ideas and negotiate the comfort between themselves and the new environment in a familiar way.

In daily life, everyone had his/her own way of adapting and negotiating, but from the interviews with the interviewees, everyone felt the same about returning to Kinmen. At the university level, the interviewees returned to Kinmen mainly as friends. Until after the society, they wanted to stay at home and accompany their family because they went back for a short time and not frequently. They believed that returning to Kinmen was relaxed, which became a kind of "cross-cultural negotiation" for Kinmen students. By going back to Kinmen, they could recover and have more energy to face life in Taiwan. In terms of cross-cultural adaptation between Kinmen and Taiwan, only after living in the two places did we begin to make comparisons. In the process of going back and forth between Kinmen and Taiwan, students from Kinmen gradually discovered their feelings of native culture. That is to say, after leaving Kinmen, they developed a sense of local attachment to Kinmen.

The local connection between Kinmen students and Kinmen was because after leaving the life in Kinmen, they in turn developed identity and emotion for Kinmen. It was different from the discussion about the sense of place/sense of place in human geography that people's identity and emotion after living in a place were discussed. This was not to say that Kinmen students would not identify with the new environment, but could be understood by the concept of local attachment. Cross-cultural adaptation was a dual process between the old and new cultures. On the one hand, it offset the habits of the original culture, and on the other hand, they had adapted to new cultural habits.

However, after all, Kinmen and Taiwan belong to the same cultural context in a broad sense. Although Kinmen students adapted to the new environment, there was no extremely maladaptation. It could be inferred that the power of counteracting the original culture would not be greater than adapting to the new culture. Therefore, the cultural context of Taiwan had become a reference for the Kinmen students, and they reflexively returned to the Kinmen cultural context, reflecting personal feelings and attachment to the place. We felt that "in the recognition of love, we were recognized for our uniqueness", and Kinmen students also gained self-recognition for their uniqueness as a Kinmen person.

5.2. Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research

This paper points to the trajectory of culture shock, the process of cross-cultural adaptation/negotiation, and self/local identity to conduct research on self-identity negotiation of Kinmen students. As a matter of fact, the three parts can be established respectively for three research papers, for further discussion and analysis. Due to time and space are limited, this paper will explore in a preliminary way. If there is an opportunity in the future, we can write a research paper separately.

In the selection of research objects, the author limited the interviewees to Kinmen students who living in the main island of Taiwan. Therefore, I don't discuss the cognition and thinking of Kinmen students who have returned to work and live in Kinmen, and the trajectory must be different from those who stay and work in Taiwan. In addition, the culture shock and cross-cultural adaptation and negotiation process of students studying in different counties and cities on the island are also worthy of future research.

Found in culture shock the trajectory of the discussion, "McDonald's" in Kinmen students imagination of Taiwan, "because there is no McDonald's in Kinmen", but why do Kinmen students think about McDonald's? In fact, there are a lot of things that Taiwan has but Kinmen doesn't have. Why does McDonald's become the "Image of Taiwan" for Kinmen students?

According to the author's own experience, it can initially think that is because of the "McDonald's advertisement" factors. Compared with other businesses, McDonald's advertisements are very attractive to Kinmen children. They often see the meal of commercials, as well as toys and children's play areas for children's meals, thus they pay special attention to McDonald's. As long as there is a chance to visit in Taiwan, will be wanting to go McDonald's. Therefore, the symbolic analysis of "McDonald's advertisement" for children on outlying islands can be used as a research category in the future.

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