Illinois State University

ISU ReD: Research and eData

Theses and Dissertations

6-25-2014

Coming Home Hybrid: Returned Sojourner Identity in Everyday Life

Jon Benjamin McNair

Illinois State University, jbmcnai@ilstu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.library.illinoisstate.edu/etd>

Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

McNair, Jon Benjamin, "Coming Home Hybrid: Returned Sojourner Identity in Everyday Life" (2014).
Theses and Dissertations. 209.

<https://ir.library.illinoisstate.edu/etd/209>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by ISU ReD: Research and eData. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ISU ReD: Research and eData. For more information, please contact ISUREd@ilstu.edu.

COMING HOME HYBRID: RETURNED SOJOURNER
IDENTITY IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Jon B. McNair

228 Pages

August 2014

Sojourns -- extended periods of time during which people live, work, and study abroad with the intention of returning to their cultures of origin -- are becoming a common part of the human experience around the globe. In the United States, sojourners who go abroad as foreign aid workers, students and researchers, teachers, missionaries, and military personnel, among others, constitute a growing part of the population. The experience of living abroad is often necessarily accompanied by some sort of identity change that results from encountering new cultures and forming new social relationships. Much existing research addresses identity change in the form of overcoming culture shock and adjusting to the host culture, but this study explores what happens when sojourners return to their cultures of origin. More specifically, how do sojourners experience immediate reentry and long-term origin culture readjustment? In what ways are hybridized aspects of identity incorporated into everyday life? Additionally, how well do existing models of origin culture reentry address processes of cross-cultural identity change? Finally, how might identities manifest in the form of images and objects, and how might visual documentation of those objects, along with sojourner appearance and

environment, aid an analysis of the process of identity change? In this work I draw on existing models of host culture adjustment and origin culture readjustment, as well as existing empirical research findings, to frame and analyze the experiences of eight returned sojourners who each lived, worked, and/or studied abroad for more than four months. I make use of multiple qualitative and visual methodologies, including in-depth interviews, auto-ethnography, photo and object elicitation, and portrait photography, in order to better understand the experience of returning home. The findings demonstrate that returning home after a sojourn -- often with a new, hybrid identity -- is an unpredictable and incredibly complex task.

COMING HOME HYBRID: RETURNED SOJOURNER
IDENTITY IN EVERYDAY LIFE

JON B. MCNAIR

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY

2014

Copyright 2014 Jon B. McNair

COMING HOME HYBRID: RETURNED SOJOURNER
IDENTITY IN EVERYDAY LIFE

JON B. MCNAIR

COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Maria Schmeeckle, Chair

Michael Dougherty, Co-Chair

Diane Bjorklund

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work is an outcome of my interest in exploring the world. I am fortunate to have parents who supported early exposure to people from different hemispheres and cultures. Thanks to them, my world became big even before I entered my teens. They have been supportive as I decided to embark on a semester abroad in Buenos Aires, a summer class in Italy and Germany, a year in South Korea, an upcoming year in England, and other travel in between.

Thank you to Tim, Erin, Nadia, Caety, Stephen, Joel, and Emma. I am grateful to all of these participants who shared their stories -- some of them joyful, some thought-provoking and enlightening, some private, and some unpleasant to rehash. I am also grateful that they allowed me to record our conversations and take portrait photographs with objects that hold deep personal meaning. I am especially grateful to Tim, who unknowingly expanded my own horizons early in this research process: he introduced a representative object during a part of the interview that I planned to reserve for photo elicitation. I was taken aback -- it wasn't what I asked him to find in our initial contact -- but Tim's object, and the way he described its meaning, made me realize that objects are sometimes better metaphors for who we have been, are, and will be than are images alone.

My conversations with the seven interviewees in this study, some of whom I have known for years and others I met for the first time on the day of our interview, also impacted me on a personal level. Like all of them, I am a returned sojourner, and I have often struggled to process my experiences and understand how my time abroad changed me. Our in-depth discussions prompted me to think about my own sojourns and subsequent identity changes in new ways, and for that I am thankful.

Finally, I am appreciative of my committee co-chairs, Maria Schmeeckle and Mike Dougherty, who have been supportive of my ideas and my unconventional methodological approach, constructive in their criticism, and flexible throughout the many changes that this project has undergone. Diane Bjorklund, my third reader, was also quite helpful in the planning stages of this project and gave insightful comments that guided the multiple iterations of the project proposal.

J.B.M.

CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
CONTENTS	iii
FIGURES	v
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. BACKGROUND	7
The Sojourner	8
The "Stranger" and the "Marginal Man"	9
"Existential" Sojourners	13
Theories of Identity	13
Identity Change	19
Theories of Identity and Cross-Cultural Transitions	21
Cultural Adjustment and Readjustment	22
Factors Influencing Cross-Cultural Adjustment and Subsequent Reentry	35
III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS	53
People and Sampling	53
Requirement for Inclusion	55
Recruitment	56
Demographics	57
Data Collection	58
Transcription, Coding, and Data Analysis	68
Ethical Issues	69
Strengths and Limitations	78
Outcomes	79

IV.	FINDINGS	80
	Sojourner Stories	82
	The Cultural Identity Model in Sojourners'	
	Lived Experiences	98
	Summary	124
	Other Issues Affecting Reentry and Readjustment	125
	Resolution of Negative Reentry Experiences	
	Through Agentive Acts	149
	Visual Representation of Identities and Change	154
V.	CONCLUSION: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	176
	Theoretical Models in Sojourners' Lived Experiences	177
	Ties to Empirical Findings	179
	The Limitations of the Cultural Identity Model	191
	Gaps in the Literature	193
	Strengths and Limitations	196
	Recommendations for Future Research	197
	Practical Recommendations	198
	REFERENCES	203
	APPENDIX A: Presentation of Visual Data	213
	APPENDIX B: Presentation Script and Interview Protocol	222

FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Lysgaard's U-Curve Hypothesis	23

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Travel books never discuss the end of a journey" (Jacoby 1997)

Millions of United States citizens live outside of the U.S. every year: in 2011, the State Department estimated about 6.32 million U.S. citizens (non-military) living abroad, excluding military personnel (AARO 2014); military personnel serving abroad add about 160,000 to the total number of U.S. citizens living and working outside of the U.S. (DMDC 2014). Of non-military citizens living abroad, about 250,000 of these are students (IIE 2013); others are corporate employees, missionaries, teachers, researchers, Peace Corps Volunteers, and government workers. While these individuals represent a diverse range of backgrounds, training, and careers, many share one thing in common: they are sojourners, meaning that they have left the United States, their culture of origin, to live, learn, and work abroad with the intention of someday returning home.

From quiet villages in southern Tanzania to raucous capital cities of South America, from sprawling metropolises of East Asia to remote settlements in the Middle East, these millions of sojourners represent a broad range of international experiences. Despite marked differences in locales, activities, and encounters, sojourners are unified in the experience of adjusting to life in a foreign culture. Most, if not all, sojourners are subject to at least some of the ups and downs that come with living abroad. In addition,

past research shows that living abroad is a catalyst for identity change (Lysgaard 1955; Smith 1996; Sussman 2001; Sussman 2002; Sussman 2010). While sojourners share the experience of adjusting to life outside of the borders of their origin culture, sojourners also share the experience of returning to the United States, oftentimes with hybridized identities, when their time abroad comes to an end.

Common sense tells us that returning home should be simple and easy: after all, people for whom the United States is the culture of origin have lived there for the majority of their lives. U.S. culture is thought to be comfortable, predictable, and second-nature. What many sojourners fail to realize, though, is that with living abroad often comes some degree of identity change; for sojourners, sojourn-related identity changes are often unexpected (Martin 1984; Szkudlarek 2010). Regular interactions with new people, daily use of another language, and following different cultural norms all work to change sojourners' behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes. While even a high degree of sojourn-related identity change does not often render sojourners completely incapable of living in the origin culture after they return, any form of identity change can cause incongruence between sojourners and aspects of their origin culture environments, leading to psychological distress, strained relationships with previous origin culture contacts, and the need to compromise between one's changed self and one's cultural surroundings.

This study explores what happens when sojourners return to their cultures of origin. More specifically, how do sojourners experience immediate reentry and long-term origin culture readjustment? In what ways are hybridized aspects of identity incorporated into everyday life? Additionally, how well do existing models address processes of cross-cultural identity change? Finally, how might identities manifest in the form of images and

objects, and how might visual documentation of those objects, along with sojourner appearance and environment, aid an analysis of the process of identity change? In this work I draw on existing models of host culture adjustment and origin culture readjustment, as well as existing empirical research findings, to frame and analyze the experiences of eight returned sojourners.

This research addresses several gaps in existing literatures. As Szkudlarek notes, "The challenges associated with sojourns ... find a very prominent place in the academic literature" (2010:2). Much existing research addresses processes of host culture adjustment and culture shock, and the literature includes well-known models of cultural adjustment, like Lysgaard's U-Curve Hypothesis (1955), that have become colloquial knowledge. On the other hand, "the issue of returning home [has] remained largely neglected within the academic community.... Regardless of a growing number of articles and books reporting on reentry difficulties, the understanding of the phenomenon has not changed much since 1984" (Szkudlarek 2010:2). Black, Gregerson, and Mendenhall (1992) also note a lack of research concerning reentry and readjustment experiences, which is likely due to the "common sense" notion addressed above: reentry should be simple, so it is a process and an experience that is taken for granted. *Coming Home Hybrid* helps fill this gap, because in this study I focus on sojourners' reentry and readjustment experiences.

In addition, Szkudlarek argues that "the reentry field is greatly fragmented -- the studies focus on different aspects of reentry transition" (2010:2). Szkudlarek helped remedy this disorganization in reentry literature with a recent comprehensive literature review, but the present study, too, brings together multiple facets of the reentry

experience that have previously been considered in isolation. For example, authors of quantitatively-informed reports and cross-cultural transitions models are not in conversation with researchers concerned with more "existential" aspects of sojourn experiences, although these existential parts of host culture adjustment, reentry, and readjustment add worthwhile complexity to these models.

Among existing empirical studies related to sojourner reentry and origin culture readjustment, a majority center around the experiences of corporate employees and the corporate environment (Szkudlarek 2010:8). Participants in these studies are often employees of multinational corporations and are sent abroad as a part of a career track. While these studies do yield some findings that are shown to have legitimate crossover into other social environments -- for example, findings that show that corporate sojourners encounter peers who exhibit xenophobic responses to identity changes and skill growth can be applied in academic environments, too -- they are often context-specific. Therefore, the concentration on reentry experiences of corporate sojourners has left the experiences of other sorts of sojourners relatively unknown. In this study, corporate employees are conspicuously absent from the sample of eight participants. This was intentional in order to analyze and better understand non-corporate experiences.

This lack of attention to reentry experiences not only leaves incomplete the literature related to cross-cultural transitions; it also has practical consequences. Black et al. (1992), Chamove and Soeterik (2006), and Maybarduk (2008) all find that a lack of knowledge about reentry processes, and therefore an inability to anticipate reentry- and readjustment-related challenges, contributes to a more difficult origin culture reentry experience. Many millions of people sojourn every year -- they come from origin cultures

around the globe, not just from the U.S., and sojourn in destinations similarly scattered -- and while some have the foresight and knowledge to anticipate reentry challenges, many do not. The wider implication here is that many sojourners do not know what to expect when they return home as changed people; with more broadly disseminated knowledge, however basic, of reentry and readjustment challenges, a greater number of sojourners would be prepared to effectively return home.

In the next four chapters I weave together theoretical and empirical literatures with the experiences of eight sojourners who, in total, undertook eleven sojourns lasting at least four months. The sojourns took place in ten different countries on four continents: this study includes a myriad of cross-cultural experiences.

Chapter Two presents a review of relevant literature. This study ties together three distinct theoretical literatures that are not always in conversation with another in reentry literature. The first is a body of literature concerning sojourners: what makes someone a sojourner? The second body of literature focuses on identity theories, including social and role identities. Social identity theory in particular is the foundation of the third body of literature, although not always openly stated as such; the third body of literature consists of models of cultural adjustment and readjustment. Following a discussion of these literatures, I explore a variety of themes that emerged from a review of empirical literature related to sojourners' reentry and readjustment experiences. These themes -- such as having multiple sojourn experiences, cultural distance, preparation to return to the origin culture, circumstances of reentry, and others -- weave together the three theoretical literatures listed above and demonstrate the complexities of reentry and readjustment experiences.

Chapter Three describes the research methods and design. This research involved a mixed-method approach that included face-to-face, in-depth, semi-structured interviews; auto-ethnography; photo and object elicitation; and portrait photography. I also discuss the methodological gap that this study seeks to fill, as well as its potential contribution to the emerging sub-field of visual sociology.

Chapter Four, which presents the research findings, begins with a short biography of each of the participants, including their upbringings, sojourn experiences, and life after reentry, in order to establish context for later discussions. I then apply the models of cultural adjustment discussed in the Review of Relevant Literature to participants' narratives in order to frame and analyze these sojourners' reentry experiences. I also elicit interview findings that parallel themes that emerged in existing empirical literature and present new themes that emerged through analysis of the data.

Chapter Five begins by summarizing thematic findings and comparing and contrasting them with other empirical findings. The results of this comparison and contrast suggests that sojourn experiences do not always follow patterns, and that there are multiple variables that can affect the nature of sojourners' reentry and readjustment experiences. Here Szkudlarek's critique of existing reentry literature becomes evident: existing empirical studies are narrowly focused and fail to account for variables other than the one(s) at the focus of those respective studies. This research suggests that sojourners' reentry and readjustment experiences are affected by multiple variables, sometimes simultaneously.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

“...if living in another culture causes change,
we can expect part of that change to be identity-altering” (Smith 1998:306)

At its core, this is a study about cross-cultural identity change. In order to study this phenomenon, I focus on sojourners -- individuals who have undergone long-term abroad experiences -- who have left their host countries and returned to their culture of origin. My principal concern is not the ways in which sojourners' identities change abroad but rather what happens to those changes once sojourners return to their cultures of origin, places that seem (at face value, at least) familiar, second-nature, and comfortable: following Smith's assumption above, which states that living abroad causes identity change, what happens when international sojourners return to their cultures of origin? How do sojourners experience immediate reentry and long-term origin culture readjustment? What are the types of identity change that sojourners experience while abroad, and in what ways are those changes in identity incorporated into post-reentry life?

These research questions situate this work among three literatures: this chapter begins with a discussion of sojourners, the individuals who undergo active and passive processes of identity change. Next comes a discussion of theories of identity, including

both social and role identities. These theories of identity outline various ways in which individuals come to understand themselves, and they are important because they lay the groundwork for the third literature. Third, I discuss cultural transitions through models of cultural adjustment and readjustment, which act as ways of thinking about and analyzing identity in the context of intercultural transitions. This chapter ends with various themes that emerge in empirical literatures that are situated at the intersection of these literatures, including the social dimension of cultural transitions and sojourner characteristics that affect adjustment, reentry, and readjustment experiences.

The Sojourner

Sojourners are a unique type of internationally-mobile people. They are not migrants or refugees looking to establish a new life in the host culture (Useem and Cottrell 1996); nor are they tourists or travelers moving through a host culture for leisure (Yu et al. 2012). Sojourners are typically understood to be people who live outside of their cultures of origin for an extended period of time, often with a clearly-defined purpose or goal, with the intention of returning to the origin culture at the end of their term abroad.

A body of literature related to sojourners and their experiences emerged with Paul Siu's work in the early 1950s. The character of the sojourner as defined by Siu is what we might today consider a stereotypical expatriate -- "a stranger who spends many years of his lifetime in a foreign country without being assimilated by it" (Siu 1952:34). In early sojourn research, conceptualizations of the sojourner included "the colonist, the foreign trader, the diplomat, the foreign student, the international journalist, the foreign

missionary, the research anthropologist abroad, and all sorts of migrant groups in different areas of the globe, in various degrees" (ibid.).

No matter the career or calling, what makes the sojourner unique is the temporary and purpose-driven natures of the sojourn. According to Siu, "the intrinsic purpose of the sojourn is to do a job and do it in the shortest possible time" (1952:35). "Job" in a more contemporary sense could more aptly be described as a "goal" or a "purpose:" for example, many Peace Corps Volunteers go abroad with the purpose of completing a 27-month assignment, students go abroad to grow human and social capitals, and missionaries go abroad to fulfill a "calling" (albeit a calling often bounded by a term of only a few years). Be it a corporate reassignment or a semester abroad, most sojourners are residents of their host cultures only until the goal of their time there has been achieved. The ultimate aim of most sojourners is to return to the origin culture (Jacobson 1963; Siu 1952; Useem and Cottrell 1996) where sojourners' social standing often increases as a result of their time abroad (Siu 1952).

The "Stranger" and the "Marginal Man"

Sojourners are, in many ways, strangers or marginal individuals in their host cultures. They are residents of host communities but, by the nature of being from elsewhere, are not entirely integrated into those communities (Siu 1952). The definition of the sojourner that emerged in the early 1950s was informed in significant ways by earlier theoretical frameworks, including Simmel's stranger (1908) and Park's "marginal man" (1928). These theoretical definitions of individuals who existed on the periphery of society, however, do not entirely encompass the international sojourner; according to Siu,

the sojourner is fundamentally not a stranger in the Simmelian sense, nor is he a marginal man.

The stranger. Simmel's "stranger" serves as an attempt to define a specific type of migrant. According to Simmel, the stranger is

"the man who comes today and stays tomorrow -- the potential wanderer, so to speak, who, although he has gone no further, has not quite got over the freedom of coming and going. He is fixed within a certain spatial circle -- or within a group whose boundaries are analogous to spatial boundaries -- but his position within it is fundamentally affected by the fact that he does not belong in it initially and that he brings qualities into it that are not, and cannot be, indigenous to it" (Simmel 1908:143).

Thus, the stranger is a transplant, an individual who has settled in a place that is not the place of his origin, to the extent that he physically resides there but is not of there. His business is not one centered in his new community; rather, he is commonly an economic liaison between two places. Additionally, he does not own property -- an important aspect of being a wanderer (or "potential wanderer"). That is not to say that strangers do not participate in the culture of the place to which they migrated; rather, a stranger's participation in his new place and interaction with his new neighbors is relegated to a particular type of interaction. The stranger holds commonalities with others around him, but unlike friends and family -- "organically connected persons [whose relationships are] based on the similarity of... specific traits which differentiate them from the merely universal" -- the stranger relates to others in only abstract, general ways. In a similar vein, people find commonalities with the stranger on the basis of general attributes like nationality, social class, or occupation (Simmel 1908:146-47).

Simmel's concept of the stranger is clearly related to how Siu defines the sojourner and perhaps influenced Siu's thinking on the subject. But Simmel's concept is

limited to transplants from the country to the city, or the city to the country, or from one city to another, within the same nation-state; that is, Simmel seems primarily concerned with domestic migration, not international movement. Therefore, Simmel's framework is not explicitly applicable to the "ideal type" with which Siu concerns himself, and Siu defines the sojourner in contrast to Simmel's stranger.

The marginal man. Robert Park's "marginal man" grew out of Simmel's definition of the stranger. The marginal man is a migrant -- having undergone the process of migration in which individuals peacefully penetrate a culture that is not their own (Park 1928:886) -- and has presumably changed his physical residence and broken at least some of the ties to his place of origin. Migrants incite change within cultures to which they go (Park asserts that migrants are key in the processes of civilization and social progress), but the process of migration also produces change within migrants themselves. An effect of migration is the "emancipat[ion of] the individual man" (ibid.:887); he is "[free from] the individual judgment from the inhibitions of conventional modes of thought" (Teggart 1925:196).

By way of migration, individual migrants become "not merely emancipated" from previous convention "but enlightened. The emancipated individual invariably becomes in a certain sense and to a certain degree a cosmopolitan" (Park 1928:888) and begins to look at his place of origin with a pronounced sense of detachment. Park compares this sense of detachment with a quality of Simmel's "stranger" -- like the stranger, this enlightened "potential wanderer" is similarly not bound by local tradition and is more objective in his outlook (ibid.).

In Park's framework, many migrants are "marginal," meaning they exist on the periphery "of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused" (ibid.:892). A migrant experiences an inner conflict between his old self -- the one remaining from his place of origin -- and his new self -- the one forming as a result of living in a new culture. This conflict, though, is rarely resolved; instead, it leads to a relatively permanent sense of inner turmoil, characterized by "spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness, and malaise" (ibid.:893, emphasis in original).

The marginal man, though, is not a sojourner. The sojourner, in contrast, does not integrate to a meaningful degree into his host culture; instead, he "clings to the culture of his own ethnic group" (Siu 1952:34), and he "is not typically a sojourner unless he has maintained his homeland tie" (ibid.:39). Thus, he does not experience the same inner turmoil typically experienced by the marginal man. He does not become a permanent resident in the place of his sojourn, either. For the sojourner, the experience abroad is intended from the outset to be temporary: "the intrinsic purpose of the sojourn is to do a job and do it in the shortest possible time" (ibid.:35).

Sojourners, then, are unique among international migrants. They do not seek to create a new life in the host culture (Useem and Cottrell 1996); nor are they moving through a host culture simply for leisure (Yu et al. 2012). For sojourners, time abroad is purpose-driven and return to the origin culture is, for most, inevitable.

“Existential” Sojourners

A central tenet of Siu’s definition of the sojourner is that he leaves his culture of origin out of a desire to increase his human capital, earn money abroad, and increase social standing back home (1952). While in many instances sojourners are motivated to move abroad to increase human and financial capital, there may be underlying motivations unrelated to capital gains that may be unknown even to the sojourner him or herself (Madison 2006; Miyamoto and Kuhlman 2001). Madison (2006) gives an alternative explanation for why sojourners choose to leave. Madison’s concept is one of an “existential” nature, meaning that instead of focusing on the potential economic gains and tangible benefits of a sojourn (Baker 1999; Selmer and Shiu 1999; Iyer 2000), some individuals embark on sojourns for reasons including the attempt to more fully realize themselves, to search for belonging outside of their origin culture, to maintain the self-directed meaningfulness of life, to increase global awareness and personal mindfulness, and to find comfort in the unfamiliar. In this existential framework, individuals embark on international journeys that coincide with the journey toward discovering one’s authentic self. As data in this research suggest, sojourners may initially go abroad for the purposes of earning money, studying in a foreign academic setting, or gaining professional experience, but once abroad have a more "existential" experience than they bargained for at the outset.

Theories of Identity

A second body of literature threaded through this research concerns identities, theories of identities, and processes of identity change. In this study, identities are

conceptualized as multifaceted, intersectional, dynamic, and unstable (Howard 2000).

Rarely, if ever, do identities exist in isolation, but different identities become more or less salient in certain social situations (Stets and Burke 2000). In this research I consider two types of identities, including social and role identities. Theories of identity -- social identity in particular -- are important in an exploration of cross-cultural identity because existing models of host culture adjustment, origin culture reentry, and origin culture readjustment (which are discussed in the next section) are built upon these theories of identity.

Social identity. On a basic level, social identity theory posits that individuals structure their understandings of self around notions of similarity with others (Jenkins 1996). This is often characterized by dichotomous in-group/out-group membership (Stets and Burke 2000:226): one identifies similarities with fellow in-group membership and dissimilarities with out-groups. In-group membership, “together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership,” results in one’s social identity (Tajfel 1981:255).

Ascriptive and voluntary group membership. Social identity is understood through group membership, but not all groups have the same membership requirements. Some groups are ascriptive in nature, meaning that membership is dictated by factors outside of one's control. Examples of ascribed group membership can be seen in caste systems in which individuals are born into certain social classes within a strict hierarchy, and their social class membership does not change over the life course. Additionally, race and gender can be considered ascriptive groups, and while, for example, in the United States the social status of racial and ethnic minority groups has changed, membership is still

very much ascribed. On the other hand, some group memberships are "achieved" (Jenkins 1996). Many clubs and organizations -- fraternities and sororities on college campuses or religious congregations, for example -- are voluntary organizations in which membership is achieved. Whether ascriptive or achieved, individuals come to understand themselves through commonalities with other people assigned to, or who chose, the same groups (Stets and Burke 2000).

Four assumptions of social identity. Tajfel's conceptualization of social identity holds four assumptions. First, an individual will maintain in-group ties and will seek new memberships provided that existing and new memberships contribute to the individual's satisfaction. If an individual feels dissatisfied with a religious congregation, for example, she may seek a new congregation that makes her feel more satisfied. Dissatisfaction with one's existing group membership leads to the second assumption: an individual will leave a group unless it is impossible to do so (ascriptive group affiliations, for example, are generally difficult, if not impossible, to lose) or if leaving conflicts in significant ways with the individual's system of beliefs. This aspect of social identity theory shows that even in a group-centered theory in which individuals understand themselves through the groups they join, people may have agency to *choose* those groups; individuals do not passively find themselves in an array of in-groups. If individuals find that they are not satisfied with current group memberships, they may engage in the agentive act of leaving a group, provided that the individual *can* leave and that the act of leaving does not conflict with personal belief systems. Third, if the individual cannot or will not leave the group, the individual will reinterpret negative features of the group (the features that are a source of incongruence between personal belief and the group as a whole) in order to

reframe them in more positive ways and/or will “engage in social action which would lead to desirable changes in the situation.” That is, if individuals are forced to remain members of a group or cannot leave because of commitment to personal belief systems, they may take an individual approach to overcoming their dissatisfaction that motivates them to want to leave -- by reframing group features that make them unhappy -- or spark a collective attempt to change the group as a whole. Lastly, no group exists in isolation. While an individual may be seen as a member of an array of "in-groups," that individual compares those "in-groups" with any number of "out-groups," and that comparison informs the interpretation of one's own groups. Additionally, if individuals find themselves reframing negative features of groups of which they are members or sparking collective efforts to change those groups, both individual and collective efforts "acquire meaning in relation to, or in comparisons with, other groups” (Tajfel 1981:256).

Social identity and in-group commitment. Characteristically, in-group members see similarities between themselves and others in the same group. In-group members also exhibit similar patterns of behavior and tend to hold similar attitudes. When people become members of an in-group, their perceptions of the group as a whole are overwhelmingly positive; because of this positive group image, individuals’ commitment to groups of which they are a part is generally high even when the group’s social status is low (Stets and Burke 2000; Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje 1997).

Social identity: examples of similarities and differences. As Tajfel states in his fourth assumption, social identity is not solely focused on similarities; differences are also essential to social identity formation, which implies processes of social comparison. In-group characteristics “achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived

differences from other groups and the value connotation of these differences” (Tajfel 1981:258). Sojourners may understand themselves through differences with people in their origin cultures and in their new host cultures. After all, sojourners are people who live in a liminal state -- they are not entirely committed to their origin cultures, but they are not entirely integrated into their host cultures, either, and are therefore different from both -- and bolster that understanding through noting differences between collective sojourner experiences and the experiences of individuals who have not left their cultures of origin. They perhaps understand themselves as more adventurous and more worldly people as a result of international experiences and relationships. Alternatively, they may understand themselves as sojourners through recognizing differences between themselves and people in the host culture in terms of behavioral and attitudinal attributes.

Role identity. The above discussion of social identity outlines ways in which individuals amalgamate a sense of identity through understanding similarities with others in the various in-groups of which they are a part. Another way to consider identity is based on individual differences: for identity theorists, identity is defined by the occupation of an individual role, combined with the performance, expectations, and meanings associated with that role (Burke and Tully 1977; Stets and Burke 2000).

Identity theory recognizes that although people take part in groups -- individuals are tied into the social structure through roles in social structures and organizations -- personal differences, which are not highly valued in social identity theory (because social identity forms around group membership and similarities), are given priority in this framework.

According to Burke (1991), identity theory has four central parts. First, there exists a set of self-relevant meanings that are held among a wide spectrum of people

within a given cultural context, which is known as the identity standard. Second, individuals perceive situational meaning. Third, individuals employ mechanisms of comparison that navigate between the identity standard and those situational meanings. Fourthly, individual behavior is a result of the congruence between situational perceptions of meaning and the identity standard (Stryker and Burke 2000:287).

In the role identity framework, identity is much more individualized than is identity in the social identity framework. Although informed by one's cultural context, identity manifests through behavior that is a result of the (dis)agreement between an individual's situationally-held meanings and the identity standard. For example, one's identity as a sojourner manifests as a result of the agreement between an identity standard (culturally held meanings of what a sojourner should do or should be) and the meanings that the individual perceives in a certain situation.

Interestingly, the role identity framework connotes a significant amount of agency (Burke and Gray 1999, Tsushima and Burke 1999). In the identity theory model, behavior can "change the situation and hence the perceived self-relevant meanings in order to bring them into agreement with those in the identity standard" (Stryker and Burke 2000:287). That is, if individuals perceive the expectations for their role and the self-relevant meanings they assign to their own role to be out of alignment, they have the agency to change the situation through behavior to bring them back together. For example, a sojourner who returns to the origin culture after living abroad for a year may display differences in habits and personality resulting from host culture adjustment. Those differences may clash with origin culture norms and present problems with existing origin culture relationship partners. While abroad, the sojourner may have come

to understand previously occupied roles in a different way: the self-relevant meanings one holds for roles such as student, employee, family member, or friend may have changed as a result of the sojourner's adjustment to host culture norms, values, and behaviors. Upon returning to the origin culture, then, a new dissonance presents itself. The individual's post-sojourn self-relevant meanings related to previously held roles no longer match origin culture identity standards, and the sojourner may use behavioral modification to bring the two back into alignment. In this sense, behavior can be "goal-directed: behavior changes the situation in order to match meanings held in the standard" (Stryker and Burke 2000:288, emphasis in original). This is not necessarily indicative of identity change: the sojourner may continue to embody a hybridized post-sojourn identity, but through behavior, the sojourner may change the situation in which a dissonance between the individual's post-sojourn role identities and origin culture norms occurs.

Identity Change

A postmodern notion of identity posits that identities are inherently unstable (Howard 2000) and are therefore malleable sets of collectively-held and self-relevant meanings. This section presents a brief theoretical models of social and role identity change, followed by an application of identity frameworks and processes of change in the context of intercultural transition experiences.

Social identity change. An individual's social identity can change in two distinct ways: intragroup and intergroup. First, intragroup change results from "the individual's changing circumstances within the group or groups to which [one] belongs" (Tajfel

1981:137). As discussed above, individuals maintain group memberships so long as they feel satisfied in those memberships; if individuals become unsatisfied and can leave their current groups, they seek new groups that provide them with feelings of satisfaction. Because social identity is tied to group memberships, individual identities change concurrently with changes in group memberships. Intergroup identity change occurs as a product of “aspects of the changing relations of [one’s] group with other groups which affect directly some important aspects of [one’s] life” (Tajfel 1981:137). If the status of an individual’s group(s) changes among an array of groups in society, either positively or negatively, changing group status affects the status of individuals in those groups, too.

Role identity change. Burke (2006) outlines two mechanisms for change in role identity. One framework for identity change is understood through identity control theory (ICT), which posits that identities change in response to considerable discrepancies between the meaning of the identity standard and the meaning of the role performance. Identity change comes when there is a prolonged discrepancy between the identity standard and certain situational meanings.

In this framework, individuals can exercise agency to change their behavior to reduce a discrepancy between an identity standard and situational meanings. However, if that discrepancy continues over time, the identity standard becomes more similar to situational meanings, gradually and more permanently reducing the discrepancy between them (Burke 2006). Individuals can use behavior to change situational meanings and thereby eliminate a discrepancy in the short-term. If situational meanings cannot be changed via a change in individual behavior, though, the identity standard will slowly

evolve into one that matches situational behaviors. As Burke (2006) asserts, dramatic change in an identity standard is rare; instead, most identity change is small and slow.

The second source of identity change comes as a result of a discrepancy between multiple identities that are activated at the same time. In certain situations, multiple identities cannot simultaneously take precedence. In order to resolve this discrepancy, Burke argues that these conflicting identities converge toward one another, creating a sort of equilibrium or compromise. This mechanism becomes more complicated with notions of salience and commitment to one identity over another, but the basic underlying principle remains the same: when multiple identities are activated simultaneously and challenge each other, a compromise must take place.

Theories of Identity and Cross-Cultural Transitions

The above discussion of theories of social identities, role identities, and identity change is important in the context of this work because theories of identity lay the groundwork for theories of cross-cultural transitions. The following models of host culture adjustment and origin culture readjustment, which theorize important parts of the sojourn experience, are based on theories of identity; while role identity does play a part in intercultural transitions literature, social identity theory is the foundation of four hypotheses and models that I discuss in the upcoming section. The caveat is that literature on cross-cultural transitions does not explicitly attribute the roots of intercultural transitions theories to identity theories, and it is important to highlight the tacit threads of identity theory that run through the intercultural transitions literature.

In the following discussion I explore four models of cross-cultural identity change -- two that outline processes of host culture adjustment and two that address origin culture readjustment -- that apply social identity theory in more specific ways. These four models tacitly employ social identity theory to frame cross-cultural identity change; that is, these models and hypotheses are ways of thinking about and analyzing social identities and social identity change in the context of intercultural transitions.

Cultural Adjustment and Readjustment

Literature related to cultural adjustment and readjustment combines the two previous literatures discussed -- a body of work surrounding sojourns and sojourners, along with social and role theories of identity -- in a variety of cultural transitions models. Theories of identity, particularly social identity theory, provide the groundwork for the cultural transitions hypotheses and models that I discuss below. That is, these models of cultural transitions each provide a way of thinking about and analyzing social identity and social identity change in the context of intercultural transitions.

In the following discussion I focus on four models of cultural transitions: Lysgaard's U-Curve and Adler's alternative view of culture shock, which outline processes of host culture adjustment, and Gullahorn and Gullahorn's W-Curve and Sussman's Cultural Identity Model (CIM), which relate to origin culture reentry and readjustment. There is a serial nature to cultural transitions; that is, origin culture reentry cannot happen without a sojourn. So, too, are some of these theories explicitly serial.

Models of cultural adjustment. The first of two models of cultural adjustment used in this research is Lysgaard's U-Curve Hypothesis (1955), which quickly became

(and still is) one of the most-cited descriptive model outlining the adjustment process. In the U-Curve hypothesis, sojourners encounter three phases of cultural adjustment: good

Figure 1: Lysgaard's U-Curve Hypothesis

initial adjustment, adjustment crisis, and achievement of subsequently good adjustment.

This model is based on the idea of adjustment as a time process¹, meaning that adjustment experiences differ over a period of months and years, and that time in the host culture affects host culture relationships: the longer one lives in the host culture, the more relationships

sojourners will initiate and the deeper those relationships will be.

In the original 1955 study, Lysgaard identified good initial adjustment between one's arrival and the six-month mark in the host culture. In the first six months, sojourners are typically "taken" with their new host environments. Every day is an adventure as they explore their surroundings, and relationships with host country nationals are positive -- because they are superficial.

¹ Lysgaard also defines model of adjustment that takes the form of a "process of cumulation" (1955:49). In the cumulation model, researchers pulled apart the typical adjustment experience and determined discrete areas of life in which adjustment to the host culture occurs. According to this model, if initial adjustment is positive in just one of these areas, positive adjustment will likely follow in all other areas, too. The same is true for negative adjustment: if a sojourner adjusts negatively in one area, he is likely to experience negative adjustment in other areas of life and work.

After living in one's host culture for more than six months, though, Lysgaard identified that many sojourners entered into some degree of adjustment crisis, which typically lasted until the eighteenth month in the host culture. During this period of time, living abroad ceases to be an adventure. Relationships may not move past their superficial beginnings, and sojourners may not experience a meaningful social life. Loneliness is a common feeling during the period of adjustment crisis, as is the struggle to feel understood on the part of host country nationals.

Finally, after about eighteen months, sojourners typically emerge from the adjustment crisis, resolve remaining issues, and once again have positive experiences in the host culture. Relationships and conversations finally become intimate as a result of a deeper understanding of social norms and host culture language, and sojourners become a more important part of the community.

In the decades since the publication of the U-Curve hypothesis, researchers have amended and expanded the model. Some have renamed the phases of adjustment: the initial adjustment stage is sometimes called the "honeymoon" phase, followed by "culture shock" and "adjustment." Some researchers add a fourth stage, "mastery," to denote one's ability to function effectively in a broad range of situations (Black and Mendenhall 1991).

Black and Mendenhall (1991) argue, however, that the popularity of the use of Lysgaard's U-Curve theory resulted from its face validity. After all, Lysgaard did not include statistical tests in his model; nor did researchers (Morris 1960; Sewell and Davidsen 1961) who built on his model in the years after its publication. The model,

while seemingly claiming universality, has not proven applicable in all adjustment experiences measured in the decades since publication.

While Lysgaard's U-Curve model is based on time -- distinct phases of adjustment delineated by the number of months a sojourner has spent in the host culture - Adler's transitional experience model is composed of five phases of adjustment that reflect "a progressive depth of experiential learning" (1975:16). In this model, one "begins with the encounter of another culture and evolves into the encounter with self" (ibid.:18). Adler recognizes that sojourns are individual experiences, and that not all sojourners will adapt according to the same timetable. Additionally, the adjustment process is not necessarily sequential in the sense that one phase must follow the next. A brief description of Adler's five-phase transitional experience follows. Notions of both social and role identities are threaded through this model, but in my interpretation of this theory of cultural adjustment, social identity is the more salient of the two.

The first phase involves *initial contact* with the host culture. During this phase, sojourners are largely "functionally integrated" with the origin culture and "views the new environment from the insularity of his or her own ethnocentrism" (ibid.:16). Sojourners typically see more similarities between the origin and host cultures than differences, and those similarities "become validations of his or her own cultural status, role, and identity" (ibid.).

The second stage, *disintegration*, is marked by confusion and disorientation. The ethnocentrism that permeated the contact phase is no longer sufficient to inform the sojourner of his or her new reality. Sojourners typically experience a sense of difference

and isolation, and they may feel confused about their own identities within the new cultural framework.

Following disintegration is *reintegration*, the third stage of the transitional experience. In this stage, sojourners reject many aspects of the host culture “through stereotyping, generalization, evaluation, and judgmental behavior and attitude” (ibid.:17). Sojourners retreat to things and experiences they feel are familiar, meaning that they may step back to the first phase -- contact -- which is defined by an ethnocentric worldview. For sojourners who cannot cope with their new environment, departure from the host culture and return to the origin culture is common in the reintegration phase.

If and when sojourners emerge from the reintegration phase, they enter the *autonomy* phase of the transitional experience. The sojourner may feel more confident moving through a variety of new social and linguistic situations and may regard him or herself as an expert in the host culture (although one’s self-perception of “expert” status is often exaggerated).

The newfound confidence of the autonomy phase leads to the *independence* phase of the transitional experience. In this fifth phase, sojourners cultivate relationships founded on both trust and sensitivity. They see people around them as individuals shaped by cultural forces, not irreconcilable “others.” Sojourners appreciate creativity and humor and are capable of understanding and inserting meaning into a spectrum of situations. Of note, the independence stage “is not conceived of as a culmination;” rather, it is a gateway to even deeper cultural experiences within the sojourner's host culture.

Summary. Lysgaard and Adler present two frameworks for adjustment in a second or host culture that both tacitly conceptualize identity as social in nature. For Lysgaard,

adjustment successes and challenges hinge on social relationships: in the early stages of one's sojourn, relationships are superficial. Ties to others are weak, and a sojourner may feel satisfied that he has begun to establish new social networks. The subsequent adjustment crisis comes when one cannot move past superficial relationships because he has not yet mastered cultural norms and language to an extent that would facilitate making relationships more intimate. The third stage, which is once again positive, takes a turn for the better because sojourners are able to deepen relationships with peers and neighbors, interacting with host country nationals in meaningful ways.

An application of social identity theory and identity change in Lysgaard's model suggests that sojourners experience identity change through meaningful relationships. In the "honeymoon" phase, during which sojourners are first experiencing the host culture on a superficial level, new group affiliations have not yet formed. Because sojourners presumably still feel strong affiliation with origin culture groups (they have not been abroad for long at this point in the sojourn), the experience living in the host culture is positive. Difficulty comes when sojourners perhaps become more distant from origin culture groups but have not yet integrated into host culture groups; in other words, they are in-between or find themselves in a liminal position². Over time, Lysgaard argues, sojourners learn language and other cultural norms that facilitate stronger host culture group affiliations, which in turn makes host culture adjustment positive once again.

In Adler's alternative model, stages of host culture adjustment are defined by maintaining or relinquishing ties to the origin culture. In the early stages, one understands

² Sojourners at this stage in their adjustment process/process of host culture identity change illuminate links to Park's "marginal man" (1928:892). The difference, however, is that with time, sojourners in Lysgaard's model move past that liminal or marginal stage to achieve host culture group affiliations while Park's marginal man remains in a liminal, in-between space for an indefinite period of time.

oneself via the origin culture. The social ties a sojourner maintains to origin culture group identity validate that sojourner's origin culture identity and allows the sojourner to live without radically changing the self. However, there comes a critical juncture at which sojourners must decide whether to return home or experience identity change by acquiring host culture skills that allow an expansion of social networks and international relationship gains. This decision signifies an agentive moment in which sojourners decide to participate in the host culture in meaningful ways, which leads to the ability to initiate and foster relationships with individuals abroad.

The difference between these two models is a time-based one: Lysgaard's model is based on time spent in the host culture, and Lysgaard believes that most sojourners follow a similar temporal route. Adler's model, though, is based on depth of experiences. However, they both chart processes of cross-cultural adjustment and sojourn-related identity change. These processes are foundational for the present study, which focuses on the integration of sojourn-related identity change into everyday life after reentering the origin culture country.

Models of cultural readjustment. In addition to models of cultural adjustment, there are also models of cultural readjustment that focus on sojourners' experiences of returning to the origin culture and acclimating back into a way of life there. I discuss two of these models below. One is an extension of the aforementioned U-Curve hypothesis and the other is based upon four sojourner ideal types.

Gullahorn and Gullahorn's W-Curve Hypothesis expands Lysgaard's U-Curve Hypothesis. In essence, Gullahorn and Gullahorn add an additional "U" to reflect one's experience of reentry into the origin culture at the end of one's time in the host culture.

The W-Curve model asserts that “a sojourner tends to acquire expectation patterns compatible with his new social system”: that is, sojourners undergo a degree of change in order to live and work comfortably in new social and cultural settings, the result of which “is that the sojourner typically finds himself out of phase with his home culture on his return” (Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963:39). In addition to adding a “U” to Lysgaard’s model, Gullahorn and Gullahorn also add complexity by introducing a number of variables, including interaction, sentiment, proximity, and similarity. These variables are all fundamental in an exploration of social relationships, which prove to be an integral component in cultural adjustment and readjustment.

The authors outline a variety of positive and negative sentiments -- which presumably stand for positive and negative reentry and readjustment experiences -- between sojourners and origin culture contacts based on similarity of attitudes, proximity (which gives sojourners the chance to interact with others) and frequency of interaction. For example, if sojourners and those around them hold similar attitudes, are proximal to one another, and interact frequently, their interaction will result in shared positive sentiment. If attitudes are slightly dissimilar but proximity is close and interaction is frequent, disparate values become mutual values. Thus, Gullahorn and Gullahorn suggest that slightly dissimilar values converge, which indicates post-reentry identity change. Finally, strong dissimilarities, paired with proximity and frequent interaction, lead to a “greater clarification of divergences,” conflict-laden interaction, and a mutual antipathy and dissociation (1963:41). That is, if values are markedly different, convergence of values is often simply not possible and relationships with origin culture contacts suffer.

The positive and negative natures of interactions after one's return reflect a number of possible abroad-related identity changes. The model suggests that for sojourners who change very little or experience identity changes that parallel origin culture value systems, reentry may be generally positive. Sojourners who experience identity changes that are somewhat different can still have positive reentry experiences, but only if those changes are reconcilable between the sojourner and origin culture contacts. However, if the sojourner changes remarkably in ways that are incongruent with the origin culture, the experience of reentry will be overwhelmingly negative.

Although the W-Curve is an extension of the U-Curve -- a time-based model that describes host cultural adjustment and identity change on the basis of social identity -- it draws on role identity in prominent ways. In relationships that sojourners value highly or are important in life in the origin culture -- relationships with immediate family or close friends, perhaps -- strong dissimilarities between the returned sojourner's post-sojourn identity and origin culture values can be situationally resolved through "modifying certain of his beliefs or expectations about appropriate role behavior -- in short, by using those with whom he interacts as positive reference sources" (Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963:44).

Gullahorn and Gullahorn designed this model around social relationships with origin culture contacts, which does not immediately suggest that the W-Curve is primarily a time process, as is the U-Curve. However, the authors argue that reacclimation experiences can, in fact, hinge on the amount of time one spends in the host culture. The length of many sojourns explored in Gullahorn and Gullahorn's work, which were particularly education-related, was about one year. At the end of the sojourn

period, the authors contend that many students and researchers were only just becoming effective in their host environments, and the “frustration of interrupting their work relationships and then having to renew others account[s] in part for the reacculturation difficulties” (1963:46).

Another model of the readjustment experience is Sussman’s Cultural Identity Model (CIM), which consists of four types of post-adaptation identity. These types include Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, and Global, and a distinct reentry experience accompanies each type. Of importance, the CIM is most applicable when exploring reentry experiences of sojourners whose origin cultures value individualism and have low levels of cultural identity. Because of this, CIM is an appropriate model to use in an analysis of returned sojourners who claim the United States as the culture of origin (as all participants in this study do).

Repatriation is easiest for those with an Affirmative identity. These individuals maintain a high degree of origin culture identity and have low adaptation to their host culture because they are affirmed through continued origin culture group affiliation; they do not seek new host culture group affiliations or cut meaningful ties to groups in the origin culture, both of which lead to identity change. Affirmative sojourner identity is built on the tenet of social identity theory that posits that individuals understand themselves when they are at one with a certain group (Stets and Burke 2000:226); thus, if sojourners continue their "at one-ness" with groups in the origin culture through maintaining relationships and group ties, they do not seek new groups in the host culture and do not understand themselves through becoming "at one" with new groups.

Affirmative sojourners' low level of involvement in or attachment to the host culture leads to a generally positive reentry experience because of a relative absence of identity change. Sussman's Affirmative category is supported in other literature as well; increased interaction with individuals in the origin culture -- either in-person through return visits or electronically through email and other communications technologies -- is found to decrease reentry difficulties (Brabant et al. 1990; Cox 2004; Szkudlarek 2010) because, as Sussman and social identity theorists would argue, origin culture identities are affirmed through those interactions and relationships with origin culture individuals.

Difficult repatriation experiences come for both Additive and Subtractive sojourners. Additive types actively embrace the host culture and begin to feel more in common with their new surroundings. The Additive type is commonly understood to experience identity gain via an increase in international relationships that place the sojourner in an increased number of host culture in-groups. In social identity theory terms, Additive sojourners begin to feel "at one" with new host culture groups (Stets and Burke 2000:226) and come to understand themselves through commonalities with others in those new groups (Tajfel 1981). Additive sojourners may also incorporate host culture behaviors and attitudes into their changing identities. In contrast, Subtractive types experience identity loss because they lose origin culture relationships while abroad, and they may also shed origin culture behaviors and attitudes during their sojourns. As a result, Subtractive sojourners feel progressively less in common with the origin culture -- and are members of fewer origin culture in-groups -- over the duration of the sojourn, and upon returning, they find themselves more in the out-group. Social identity theory would understand the Subtractive sojourner's experience in the same terms: Subtractive

sojourners cease feeling "at one" with origin culture groups (Stets and Burke 2000:226), and thus have fewer social groups through which to understand themselves. Past research supports the both the Subtractive and Additive sojourner types: Zimmerman and Neyer (2013) find that origin culture relationship losses and host culture relationship gains contribute to sojourn-related identity and personality changes, and shifting relationship dynamics contribute to sojourners' increased openness and agreeableness, as well as a decrease in neuroticism. Other findings also suggest that more frequent, close interaction with host country nationals increases reentry challenges (Black, Gregersen, and Mendenhall 1992, Rohrlach and Martin 1991).

Finally, reentry experiences are generally neutral or positive for Global sojourners. This is due to the notion that Global sojourners belong to a global community, and are "old hands" at cultural transitions (Sussman 2002a:8). The interpretation of Global identity is a bit more complicated through the lens of social identity theory: the theory posits that individuals base behaviors and attitudes on similarities with groups in which they are one. Global sojourners may not feel "as one" (Stets and Burke 2000:226) with groups in the ways that other sojourners do; instead of maintaining ties with specific organizations -- a church group or a branch of the military, for example -- that would affirm the sojourner in pre-sojourn social identities or becoming a member of new, smaller groups while in the host culture, Global sojourners see themselves as a part of a "global community" (Sussman 2002b:395). Global sojourners, then, feel that they are "at one" with the world at large. This has the potential to become problematic; according to social identity theory, individuals' behaviors and attitudes are based on commonalities with others in one's social group(s). This "global community" of which Global sojourners

imagine themselves to be a part is, perhaps, a fantasy, as no uniform set of behaviors and attitudes could be understood by feeling "at one" with a world made up of countless cultures and sub-cultures.

The validity of the assumption that additional intercultural transitions eases reentry is a point of contention in research literature; some findings suggest that a history of cultural transitions eases future processes of cultural adjustment and readjustment (Rohrlich and Martin 1991; Sussman 2002a; Sussman 2002b; Sussman 2010). However, other findings show no tie between past cultural transitions and a decrease in future post-sojourn origin culture readjustment (Cox 2004; Hammer et al. 1998).

These four sojourner types -- Affirmative, Additive, Subtractive, and Global -- are clearly ideal types, and one obvious limitation of the Cultural Identity Model is that it cannot consider multiple aspects of sojourner experiences simultaneously. For example, Additive and Subtractive types are not necessarily mutually exclusive as is posited in the model: sojourners may experience both identity gain and identity loss, not exclusively either/or. This does not change the fact that reentry is often a negative experience for Additive and Subtractive types, but the source of that negativity could be more complex than the model suggests. Additionally, outside factors related to the sojourn, reentry, and readjustment experiences can affect the positivity or negativity of predicted experiences in unique ways.

Summary. The two models of cultural readjustment outlined above -- Gullahorn and Gullahorn's W-Curve hypothesis and Sussman's Cultural Identity Model -- offer differing theoretical perspectives on positive and negative reentry and readjustment experiences and draw upon both social and role identity theories. In the W-Curve

hypothesis, positive readjustment accompanies regular interaction with individuals who have very similar attitudes or slightly different ones that can be reconciled. Negative adjustment comes for those who interact regularly with individuals with radically different views. In this framework, the positive or negative nature of origin culture readjustment is social in that positive readjustment hinges on commonalities between the returned sojourner and origin culture individuals and groups. In the Cultural Identity Model, positive readjustment comes from affirmative and global types of sojourners, affirmative denoting sojourners who show little involvement in the host culture and maintain strong ties with the culture of origin and global being individuals who feel at home nearly anywhere in the world. Negative readjustment is a common experience for both additive and subtractive sojourners, who experience an identity gain or identity loss, respectively, while abroad. Reentry experiences in the CIM are clearly social, too, because they are affected by maintained or lost origin culture relationships and group ties, as well as new host culture relationships and group affiliations.

Factors Influencing Cross-Cultural Adjustment and Subsequent Reentry

Beyond models of cultural readjustment that outline positive and negative reentry and readjustment experiences, a number of empirical studies bring to light a range of more specific predictors and causes of both positive and negative readjustment experiences. Interestingly, some of the following empirical findings complicate the predictions in Sussman's Cultural Identity Model: additional factors like those discussed below may reverse negative or positive reentry experiences . It is important to note that many of the data on which these findings are based are quantitative in nature, and many

studies in cultural transitions literature are based on the experiences of corporate ex- and repatriates. Although findings may speak to broader sojourn experiences (for example, Szkudlarek notes that some findings among corporate expatriates are also applicable in academic environments), much of what we know about the sojourner reentry and readjustment experience is based on just one type of sojourn experience. Nevertheless, the following review of empirical literature highlights and corroborates the importance of social relationships and group membership in cross-cultural identity change.

Social relationships. International mobility experiences are often considered "major life events" for sojourners. Past research notes a wealth benefits of sojourning, including academic benefits for students and professional benefits for international employees and volunteers, but findings also point to social consequences (Andrews, Page, and Nielson 1993; Leong and Ward 2000; Searle and Ward 1990; Ying 2002). For Zimmerman and Neyer (2013), major life events like international sojourns are best understood in terms of changing relationship dynamics; that is, the social dimension of the sojourn is at the core of personality- and identity-related changes. One reason for this is the "role of relationships in personality development," which "can be conceived of as learning from relevant others by either modeling their behaviors or by incorporating their feedback" (517). Sojourners are likely to seek out alternative support networks while abroad, and sojourners' social networks are more likely to be more international than their peers' who remained in the origin culture. Additionally, sojourners are likely to lose national relationships abroad.

Zimmerman and Neyer's findings both align with and contradict Sussman's Cultural Identity Model (2002b; 2010), which is founded on the idea that identities are

social in nature and are tied to relationships and group membership. Sussman's model outlines four sojourner types, including Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, and Global. Zimmerman and Neyer demonstrate that sojourners are likely to exhibit both Subtractive and Additive qualities because they lose relationships with individuals from the culture of origin and gain international relationships while abroad. These changing relationship dynamics are found to be related to personality changes, including an increase in sojourner openness and agreeableness and a decrease in neuroticism, and expedite young adult sojourners' processes of personality maturation (2013:525). In other words, sojourners expand and diversify their social networks abroad, build social capital in different communities, and are exposed to a variety of new attitudes and worldviews, and these new relationships act as catalysts for personality and identity changes.

While expedited personality maturation, increased openness and agreeableness, and reduced neuroticism suggests that young adult sojourners are prepared to succeed in their origin cultures after reentry, Sussman's (2002b, 2010) model predicts negative reentry experiences for both Subtractive and Additive sojourners. This means that changes in relationship dynamics (losing origin culture relationships and/or gaining international relationships) leave sojourners' new selves incongruent with the origin culture by the end of the sojourn. This is a possible point of contention between social psychology and cultural transitions literatures.

Sojourn length. A common assumption -- admittedly, one at the heart of this research -- is that the longer a sojourner stays abroad, the more intense will be the identity changes that one experiences. Indeed, some models of cultural adjustment posit that time in the host culture affects identity change. Lysgaard's U-Curve Hypothesis, for

example, outlines a time-based process of cultural adjustment, beginning with a feeling of excitement, even euphoria -- a literal "high" -- during the first few months in country. What follows is a "low" period in which sojourners spend months feeling lonely and isolated, dealing with the realization that they live, work, and/or study in the host culture but do not yet possess social and cultural skills (e.g., linguistic skills) to participate fully in that culture. However, with time, sojourners come to master the skills necessary to participate in their host cultures in meaningful ways, and even develop intimate friendships and relationships with host country nationals. For Lysgaard, cross-cultural identity change takes significant amounts of time, and nearly all sojourners follow the same temporal adjustment sequence. In Gullahorn and Gullahorn's extension of Lysgaard's model, the authors argue that even sojourns of one academic year are barely adequate in duration to allow sojourners to overcome acculturation-related challenges (1963:46).

Consistent with Lysgaard's U-Curve model, past research has shown that the first four to six months of a sojourn are the most difficult in terms of acculturation and mood disturbances (Furukawa and Shibayama 1993, 1994; Ward et al. 1998). Many sojourns, particularly academic ones, are structured to last just one academic semester, or approximately four or five months. Because a significant number of sojourners return to the origin culture without staying abroad long enough to overcome mood disturbances and challenges related to acculturation -- the Institute for International Education, which oversees a variety of educational exchange programs reported that in the 2011-2012 academic year, nearly 97 percent of all student sojourns lasted one semester or less, and nearly 60 percent were eight weeks or less (IIE 2013) -- it is reasonable to predict that

identity change during short-term sojourns would occur to a lesser degree than during long-term sojourns.

In a comparison between short-term (one-semester) and long-term (one academic year) student sojourners, however, Zimmerman and Neyer do not find significant differences in changes related to personality traits like openness, agreeableness, and neuroticism. Their findings suggest that whether a student studies abroad for a semester or an entire academic year, the "sojourn effects on personality development were independent of the intended time to stay abroad" (2013:525). No matter the length of the sojourn, students are likely to end the sojourn more open and agreeable, and less neurotic, than their counterparts who remained in the origin culture.

Social relationships and sojourn length. Zimmerman and Neyer's findings suggest that sojourns are catalysts for personality changes and maturation regardless of length: both short-term (one semester) and long-term (one academic year) sojourns foster increased openness and agreeableness and decreased neuroticism. This is explained by sojourners' diversifying and internationalizing networks: cutting ties with people back home, while simultaneously seeking out new relationships with people abroad, exposes sojourners to new attitudes, behaviors, and worldviews. While Zimmerman and Neyer (2013) find that both short- and long-term sojourners experience similar personality- and identity-related changes (via relationship losses and gains), long-term sojourners lose more national relationships and gain more international relationships than do short-term sojourners. This phenomenon is likely simply a function of living in a place for a longer period of time. According to data from the Institute of International Education (2013), in the 2011-2012 academic year just 3.2 percent of study abroad participants sojourned for

an academic year; the remaining 96.8 percent of student sojourners were abroad for one semester or less. Shorter-term study abroad programs are coming to dominate the study abroad landscape for U.S. students (Donnelly-Smith 2009; IIE 2013), meaning that for many sojourners, initiating and developing relationships with local people is quite difficult given their relatively short amounts of time in host communities (Wilkinson 1998); additionally, establishing connections with host country nationals is not always a priority for sojourners due to time constraints or alternative time investments while sojourning (Allen and Herron 2003).

Castañeda and Zirger (2011), in a study of students participating in a (very) short-term sojourn (just three weeks in duration), come to similar conclusions: students on short-term study abroad programs take advantage of networks that are provided on arrival (in the form of host families, study and volunteer sites, students in the same study abroad program, etc.) but their data suggest that sojourners often fail to seek out relationships and networks outside of those provided through the organizational structure of the institution through which they sojourn. On a scale larger than sojourns of an academic nature, it would seem that for many sojourners, particularly short-term, the organization through which one sojourns governs much of how, and to what extent, sojourners build relationships with host country nationals during their time abroad. As will be shown in the data, organizations that structure and sponsor international sojourns -- such as the United States Peace Corps, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, the United States military, and various educational organizations like Fulbright, university study abroad programs, and numerous teaching programs -- have a significant influence on

when and how sojourners develop relationships with others while abroad, along with the depth of those relationships.

Social relationships, sojourn length, and identity change. As shown in previous studies, sojourners on longer-term sojourns (one academic or calendar year or more) experience more relationship losses and gains than do sojourners on shorter-term sojourns (one academic semester or less). In terms of Sussman's CIM, it would seem that shorter sojourns foster Affirmative sojourners, or individuals who tend to maintain origin culture ties and experience identity change to a lesser degree. In contrast, longer-term sojourners who lose more national relationships and gain more international relationships could be conceived in terms of Subtractive and/or Additive sojourners, both of which are predicted to have more difficult reentry experiences because of more intense processes of identity change.

Multiple sojourns and intercultural transitions. As is suggested via the Global sojourner type included in the Cultural Identity Model and in other previous literature, the effect of having multiple sojourns under one's belt generally leads to a positive readjustment experience, or at least a neutral one (Rohrlich and Martin 1991; Sussman 2002b; Sussman 2010). A Global sojourner with multiple long-term experiences abroad feels a sense of belonging within a global community and is an "old hand" at cultural transitions (Sussman 2002a:8). Other researchers conclude that multiple intercultural and reentry experiences lead to positive transitions, too (Martin and Harrell 2004). This does not necessarily mean that simply because a sojourner has undergone the readjustment process multiple times he or she "gets the hang" of coming home, however; Cox (2004) and Hammer et al. (1998) find that having multiple intercultural and reentry transitions

does not impact future readjustment experiences. If one were to think about a multitude of intercultural transitions through the lens of social identity theory, it would seem that individuals who have experience transitioning in and out of groups could do so with greater ease. Alternatively, individuals may develop ways of relating to individuals and groups in different social and cultural environments on a level that is "detached" or superficial enough to give those sojourners the feeling of having a group no matter where in the world they are; thus, because involvement in a myriad of international groups is not particularly deep, sojourners are able to change group memberships without incurring an identity crisis.

Cultural distance. Sojourners in host cultures they perceive to be culturally distant from their origin cultures are more likely to demonstrate less adjustment to the host culture (Babiker et al. 1980; Suanet and Van de Vijver 2009; Sussman 2000). In past studies, cultural distance has been conceptualized in macro-level economic terms using measures like the Gini coefficient, which measures income inequality (United Nations 2006); through specific variables in quantitative studies related to cultural distance include individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and power distance (Hofstede 2001); as "perceived discrepancies between social and physical aspects of home and host culture environments" (Suanet and Van de Vijver 2009:183); along with differences in daily life between origin and host cultures (Galchenko and Van de Vijver 2007; Suanet and Van de Vijver 2009). These individual- and national-scale variables contribute to the degree to which sojourners perceive cultural similarities and differences; subsequently, those perceptions affect cultural adjustment and, eventually, reentry.

In a study of exchange students studying in Russia, Suanet and Van de Vijver show that students from states formerly a part of the USSR perceived less cultural distance between their origin cultures and Russian culture; they demonstrated linguistic, cultural, and religious commonalities that facilitated positive adjustment and interaction with host country nationals. Chinese and Iranian students, however, perceived significant cultural distance between their origin cultures and Russian culture; they reported more interaction with co-nationals and significantly less interaction with host country nationals (2009:194).

In terms of social identity theory, foreign students in Russia who hailed from less culturally distant origin cultures were more easily able to form new group affiliations in the host culture, whereas students from origin cultures with greater cultural distance had more difficulty entering new groups and initiating relationships with host culture individuals. The act of changing one's group memberships causes identity change; therefore, Suanet and van de Vijver's findings (2009) suggest that with more frequent interaction and a greater number of new group memberships, students from less culturally distant origin cultures may have experienced a greater degree of host culture-related identity change during their sojourns.

These findings are also significant in through the lens of models of cultural adjustment and readjustment. For example, Adler's alternative model (1975), which outlines five experiential stages of host culture adjustment, may be intensified for sojourners who perceive greater cultural distance. These culturally-distant sojourners may view their host culture with more intense ethnocentrism and may be more likely to leave the host culture should they not overcome integration challenges. However, for

sojourners who perceive less cultural distance between origin and host cultures, the process of adjustment may be significantly less challenging.

Using Sussman's CIM (2002b; 2010), one could postulate that sojourners who perceive greater cultural distance would be more likely to be Affirmative sojourners; that is, they would be more likely to maintain ties to the origin culture and be less likely to initiate relationships with host country nationals or join host culture social networks. In turn, these Affirmative sojourners are likely to experience less identity change and have a more positive origin culture reentry experience. Sojourners who perceive less cultural distance, however, would likely be Additive sojourners who would experience international relationship gains and, potentially, simultaneous national relationship losses (Sussman 2000). Relationship gains and losses, according to CIM, complicate origin culture reentry, often leading to negative reentry experiences.

While these ideas of the effects of perceived cultural distance on host culture adaptation are helpful in predicting sojourner adjustment and host culture-related identity changes, they do not account for sojourner personality traits like determination or extroversion. The data in this study show that for some sojourners, even those sojourning in a culture perceived to be substantially different than the culture of origin, personality traits have the potential to override the dampening effect of a high degree of perceived cultural distance.

Tight and loose cultures. Another way to conceptualize cultural distance is through a classification of cultures as either "tight" (Triandis 1994) or "loose" (Pelto 1968). In tight cultures, which are generally homogenous and rooted in strong traditions, there is a "strict observance of normative behaviors; deviance is punished" (Sussman

2000:369). Conversely, in loose cultures people often have "substantial latitude" in interpreting and acting out cultural norms (Sussman 2000:369). Sojourners who hail from "tight" cultures and sojourn in "loose" cultures often experience negative reentry because of a difference in personal freedom and the potential for self-expression. For example, in a study of foreign postgraduate students in the United Kingdom, Brown and Graham (2009) find that students from collectivist societies, which might be considered "tight" because of expectations of conformity and collective obligation, develop a new sense of independence and individualism abroad that may be incompatible with the origin culture upon reentry. On the other hand, sojourners from "loose" cultures who sojourn in "tight" cultures experience positive reentry. For example, Rohrlich and Martin (1991) find that students from the United States who sojourn in more collectivist cultures or go abroad through organizations in which they are required to live with a host family during the sojourn had an easier time readjusting to independence in the U.S.

In thinking about tight and loose cultures through the lens of social identity theory, it seems clear that groups within tight cultures may be more strict and require more commitment and adherence to group norms, values, and behaviors. For example, women in tight cultures may have a greater expectation to adhere to traditional gender norms and present themselves in more conservative ways. Additionally, certain types of communities and groups may not exist in tight cultures. For example, communities of openly LGBT- or queer-identified people do not exist in other parts of the world; if they do exist, they may be "underground." Sojourners who identify with and place themselves within certain groups in loose cultures may find themselves without similar communities in tight cultures elsewhere.

Tight and loose organizations. Not only can cultures be classified as "tight" (Triandis 1994) or "loose" (Pelto 1968); I suggest that organizations can be tight and loose, too, and that the type of organizations through which individuals sojourn affects their adjustment and reentry transitions. For example, as will be shown in the data, individuals who sojourn through "tight" organizations like a branch of the Armed Forces or a religious organization -- meaning that there is a "strict observance of normative behavior [and] deviance is punished" (Sussman 2000:369) -- report Affirmative sojourn experiences because they are required to maintain a strong origin culture identity and affiliations throughout the duration of their sojourn. Alternatively, sojourners in "loose" organizations, like an educational institution or the United States Peace Corps, are able to add host culture relationships, lose origin culture affiliations, and experiment with different identities in a variety of ways.

Put in terms of identity theory, looser organizations may foster greater degrees of identity change because individuals who sojourn through loose organizations have the freedom to broaden their group affiliations while in the host culture. Students who sojourn through a university study abroad program may, in reality, limit their affiliation with the university to going to class; outside of their academic responsibilities, they may become a part of many other host culture groups. The United States Peace Corps encourages its Volunteers to integrate themselves into groups in the host community or even start new groups as a way to achieve organizational goals, all the while maintaining Volunteer status. Tight organizations, though, would prevent their members from leaving those groups (or would assign such consequences to the act of leaving that it would be a very unattractive option) and discourage members from joining other groups abroad.

Additionally, tight organizations require a high degree of commitment from their members, making joining other groups a near impossibility. The military, for example, has in place strict rules and regulations, does not legally allow personnel to leave the organization before honorable discharge except in dire circumstances, and schedules its personnel on long shifts with little time off.

Circumstances of reentry. Sojourners who leave organizations in order to go abroad and subsequently return to those same organizations -- such as corporate employees who are temporarily transferred abroad or students who leave a university in the middle of their undergraduate career but return to that university to complete necessary coursework to graduate (Szkudlarek 2010) -- often report difficult reentry experiences, particularly if the majority of the other individuals in those organizations remain in the origin culture. Returned sojourners in these sorts of organizations face colleagues who are, to some degree, xenophobic. Adler (1981) finds that "colleagues use home-country experience as a frame of reference. They apparently compare the returnees' re-entry effectiveness with predeparture job responsibilities," a comparison which Adler calls "unrealistic" (1981:348) because, as previously shown with various models of cultural adjustment, sojourner identities change in varying ways and degrees through living, studying, and working abroad.

In addition, individuals who return from sojourns in cultures thought to have a high degree of cultural distance are less likely to be understood by their colleagues, while "those who were most similar to the home-country people and who had had the least foreign experiences and the least contact with foreign people" were more quickly reintegrated into the corporate environment. In short, "colleagues do not know how to

value foreigners or foreign work experience, nor do they know how to integrate cross-cultural skills in the home organization" (Adler 1981:351).

An application of aforementioned theoretical frameworks would suggest that sojourners who changed their group memberships while abroad by leaving origin culture groups and/or entering host culture groups (paralleled here with Subtractive and Additive sojourner types from Sussman's CIM) are more likely to encounter xenophobic responses from origin culture peers and colleagues. On the other hand, sojourners who maintain well origin culture relationships and group affiliations (paralleled with Sussman's Affirmative sojourner type), or affiliate with host culture groups that largely mirror origin culture groups, are less likely to face xenophobic responses.

Preparedness at the end of the sojourn. Preparing to return to the culture of origin is often at the back of sojourners' minds as they spend their final days in the host culture. After all, "it is counterintuitive to expect difficulties when returning to one's home country" (Sussman 2001:110) when the origin culture is something so familiar. Sussman finds that sojourners who are unprepared and experienced a high degree of identity change while abroad experienced the most significant distress upon their return to the origin culture. In line with these findings, Black et al. (1992) conclude that adequate preparation leads to high levels of readjustment and, since his study concerned business people, adequate job performance upon returning.

This preparation could come in several forms. Sojourners may prepare to leave host culture groups which they joined during their time abroad; anticipating the experience of leaving those groups may lessen reentry distress. Alternatively, individuals may prepare to reenter existing origin culture groups or live with the impending reality

that they are returning to a culture in which they have cut pre-sojourn group affiliations. Again, losing and/or adding group affiliations and relationships is the root cause of identity change -- and subsequent reentry distress -- in the social identity and cultural transitions frameworks. This means that anticipating leaving host culture groups and reentering origin culture groups (or returning to an origin culture in which one has fewer groups than one did before sojourning) could help sojourners mentally prepare for reentry and readjustment experiences.

Interestingly, a sojourner's network of family and friends that is similarly unprepared for the sojourner's return also contributes to a negative readjustment experience. According to Martin (1984), this unpreparedness is focused on the lack of an expectation that the sojourner will experience distress upon reentry. These findings demonstrate that reentry is a more social experience, rather than individual, than many returning sojourners anticipate.

Age and identity security. One's age during the sojourn is also a factor that affects one's reentry and readjustment experiences. Older sojourners typically have an easier time with readjustment than younger (Black and Gregerson 1991; Cox 2004; Hyder and Lovblad 2007; Moore, Jones, and Austin 1987; Rohrlich and Martin 1991). For younger sojourners who may have "not yet 'found themselves' in their own culture, the resolution of their identity conflict abroad often [means] that they become zealously converted to new values, and they [are] reluctant to relinquish the security they finally achieve" when they return to the origin culture (Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963:40). Older sojourners, however, may have had a broader array of life experiences before the start of the sojourn, have established themselves in their professions, and have become more secure in their

identities before sojourning. With age, people "may have succeeded in consolidating an identity of sufficient complexity" (Hoersting and Jenkins 2011) that can mitigate, at least in part, challenges associated with cross-cultural transitions. Additionally, younger sojourners who have "not yet 'found themselves'" (Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963:40) may be more open to identity play in the form of changing group memberships and social ties. Younger sojourners, then, may be more likely to become Additive or Subtractive sojourners than older sojourners who may be established in origin culture groups, which would lead them to maintain Affirmative sojourner identities throughout the duration of the sojourn.

Gender. Past research shows that men and women experience post-sojourn readjustment quite differently. A number of empirical studies assert that women have a more difficult time readjusting, particularly women with husbands and/or children (Brabant et al. 1990; Cox 2004). Brown and Brown (2009) report that women who leave husbands and children have free time abroad, which gives them the opportunity to develop a sense of independence and new perspective on domestic life -- in essence, they develop new role identities. This is especially true for women who claim as their origin cultures places with high gender inequality and traditional gender roles and sojourn to more individualistic cultures during their sojourns. For women who escape origin culture convention, returning can lead to incompatibility between the new post-sojourn independent self and her collectivist society. Rohrlich and Martin (1991) report that college-age women -- presumably unmarried women with no children -- from the U.S. had an easier time readjusting to independent life in the U.S. after living a more restricted

life, perhaps sojourning to a "tight" country or living with a host family, during their time abroad.

Authenticity and reentry. For sojourners who have "existential" experiences abroad, a sojourn may be understood as a cultural and/or temporal space in which individuals have new freedom to explore relationships and identities in unprecedented ways, a process that, for some sojourners, leads to a stronger sense of self. These new feelings of authenticity and self-assuredness can in turn, improve relationships with family and friends in the culture of origin, a phenomenon known as "rapprochement" (Hayes 2007:11); thus, sojourners who experience an authenticity boost can have very positive reentry experiences. There are several aspects to the idea of rapprochement, including being open with one's family in new ways (e.g., revealing aspects of one's identity that one previously kept hidden), harboring a new appreciation for one's family and culture of origin, and "a reintegration of one's personal and family history into the one's own life-project" (Hayes 2007:12). Rapprochement and positive reentry seems contradictory to the predictions embedded within the Cultural Identity Model: the CIM predicts that Affirmative sojourner types (who experience minimal host culture identity change) will experience positive reentry; but for sojourners who "find" themselves or grow feelings of authenticity, there are clear changes in identity taking place over the duration of the sojourn.

The broad question in this research asks, "What happens when sojourners return home?" In response, social identity theorists would posit that sojourners' reentry and readjustment experiences hinge on group affiliations before, during, and after the sojourn:

sojourners who maintain strong ties to origin culture groups will experience little, if any, sojourn-related identity change and will have an easier time reentering and readjusting to life at home. On the other hand, sojourners who cut ties from origin culture groups and/or add new group affiliations while abroad experience identity change, which inherently affects origin culture reentry and readjustment experiences.

Scholars of identity and cultural transitions put social identity theory to use in order to create models that outline processes of origin culture readjustment, like Gullahorn and Gullahorn's W-Curve Hypothesis and Sussman's Cultural Identity Model. Past research also points to a variety of issues at the heart of the question of what happens when sojourners return to their cultures of origin: length of the sojourn, origin and host culture relationships, the distance between origin and host cultures, preparation to return home, the spaces into which sojourners reenter, and others. Many studies that shape the cultural transitions literature are based upon quantitative data and in some ways oversimplify otherwise complex readjustment processes that are not as straightforward as models and findings sometimes suggest.

The data in this study are qualitative and serve to highlight the complexities -- including many sojourns' intersectional and "existential" aspects -- of post-reentry lived experiences for a small, but varied, group of participants. In Chapter Four, I apply models of cultural adjustment and readjustment to sojourners' lived experiences as narrated throughout this research, followed by a discussion of other factors affecting reentry and origin culture readjustment as discussed in the in-depth interviews, auto-ethnographic writing, and photo and object elicitation exercises.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

In order to explore cross-cultural identity change, this study employs multiple qualitative methodologies, including in-depth interviewing, auto-ethnography, a revised form of photo elicitation, and photography. Combined, these methods allowed participants multiple avenues through which to demonstrate identities and change. In this chapter I discuss the logistical side of this study, including participant demographics, recruitment, methods of data collection, and ethical issues. Overall, the mixed-method approach yielded multi-media data that facilitate a more well-rounded analysis of sojourn experiences and identity change.

People and Sampling

This study involves eight participants: I recruited seven, and I constitute the eighth participant through my own ethnographic writing. Individuals involved in the project are all returned sojourners of a variety of types -- including Returned Peace Corps Volunteers, teachers of English as a foreign language, anthropologists, a Fulbright fellow, university students, an Airman and a missionary -- who lived, worked, and/or studied abroad for a minimum of four months.

A sample comprised of eight individuals is in no way statistically representative of the population of returned sojourners currently back in the United States after their

sojourns, but it was important to me to recruit a sample that includes individuals with diverse sojourn experiences. While not statistically representative, Sandelowski writes that small samples in qualitative studies can be “informationally representative in that data will be obtained from persons who can stand for other persons with similar characteristics” (1995:181). The diversity in this sample brought to light an incredible range of memories, challenges, successes, frustrations, anxieties, and identity changes that prove fascinating to compare between cases, and it is my hope that the experiences that participants shared through their stories, reflections, and representative images and objects speak to the experiences of a broader number of sojourners.

The varied experiences represented in the sample are an example of phenomenal variation, which Sandelowski defines as a type of purposeful sampling. The goal of phenomenal variation is to include “variation on the target phenomenon under study” (1995:181). The phenomenon under study in this case is the experience of reentry and readjustment to one’s origin culture after a sojourn, along with the identity changes associated with those processes. Additionally, this study did not focus on the experiences of businesspeople or corporate employees, whose narratives and data prove most prevalent among existing studies of sojourns and sojourners (Szkudlarek 2010:8). Instead, other types of sojourns and sojourners are represented in this study. The purpose (for example, sojourning for the purpose of study or for carrying out specific aims of an organization, like a branch of the United States Armed Forces), duration, and location (i.e., cultural distance) of one’s sojourn affects how and the degree to which one adjusts to the host culture; in turn, host culture adjustment affects one’s origin culture reentry and readjustment experiences (Sussman 2001; Sussman 2002). Therefore, variation in sojourn

experiences among participants leads to variation in the phenomenon of focus in this particular study.

Requirement for Inclusion

The main criterion for inclusion in this study was the length of one's sojourn, and participants were recruited and subsequently included if they lived, worked, and/or studied abroad for the temporal equivalent of one semester or more (a minimum of approximately four consecutive months). This minimum was established in response to previous findings, which indicate that longer sojourns grant sojourners additional time to adapt to host culture norms and initiate host culture relationships, which are salient causes of sojourn-related identity change (Lysgaard 1953; Zimmerman and Neyer 2013). Although increasingly popular (IIE 2013), shorter-term sojourns lasting a matter of weeks are not shown to impact identities in such significant ways, in part due to the limited opportunities for meaningful social interaction and relationship-making with host culture individuals (Allen and Herron 2003; Wilkinson 1998)³.

As long as participants' time abroad met the minimum, the length of the sojourn beyond approximately four months was of little importance in terms of selecting participants. The lengths of time participants spent abroad range from one semester to about 17 years; however, two of the participants who sojourned for the minimum amount of time required for inclusion (one academic semester) later sojourned for 12 and 14

³ There is no doubt that shorter-term abroad experiences can have profound effects on travelers; in my own experiences, shorter-term stints abroad have opened my eyes to new and exciting sights, sounds, tastes, and ways of life. But sojourns lasting less than approximately one semester's worth of time give travelers little chance to establish a "way of life" in one's host country. Additionally, travelers have fewer opportunities to grow meaningful relationships that lead to behavior modeling and modification, as Zimmerman and Neyer (2013) note.

months, respectively. The amount of time since participants returned from their respective sojourns was also of little importance in recruitment, and as of the time of this research (late 2013/early 2014) the lengths of time since participants returned ranged from about 14 months to about 15 years. The number of sojourns an individual has undertaken was not a factor that determined eligibility in the study, but as later analysis shows, sojourners who have spent significant periods of time abroad on multiple occasions seem to challenge and add complexity to existing thinking and theories of sojourner readjustment.

Recruitment

I recruited most of the participants by contacting them directly, but in several cases initial contact was made on my behalf by a professor. Four participants are my direct contacts: two were formerly colleagues at Millsaps College, my undergraduate institution; one is a friend of another undergraduate colleague whom I met on several occasions; and one is a current peer in my graduate school program at Illinois State University. The other three are contacts of colleagues and peers: the father of a CrossFit trainer, and two friends of a professor.

The majority of participants were contacted via email. One was contacted through Facebook, and another through more casual communication. In the initial contact I outlined the premise of the project, the time commitment involved in the interview, and the methods that would be used. In subsequent communication I asked participants to find several images and/or objects we would use in the interview, a method that will be described in detail later in this chapter.

Demographics

Among participants, four are men and four are women. The women also constitute the younger portion of the sample, and all of the women's ages range between early and mid-twenties. The men in the sample constitute the older members of the group. Of the four men in the sample, one is in his mid-twenties, one around age 30, one in his mid-thirties, and one around age 60. In addition, on the whole, the women in the sample had had less time between the experience of reentry and the interview than the men.

In addition, six of the eight participants have two non-Hispanic white parents. Of the remaining two, Stephen's mother is Mexican and Nadia's father is Iraqi. For Nadia, her father's ethnic heritage -- which she inherited -- is one of the most salient threads in her sojourn narrative. While the racial makeup of the sample is mainly due to the nature of the sample as one of convenience, meaning it was compiled as a result of my own immediate and extended network, it is not out of line with larger trends in study abroad participation and Peace Corps service. Among U.S. university students who studied abroad in the 2007-2008 academic year, nearly 82 percent were white (IIE 2009). Among Peace Corps Volunteers, just over 82 percent of Volunteers identified as white in data from fiscal year 2009. As of fiscal year 2012, Peace Corps data show that 78 percent of Volunteers identified as white (United States Peace Corps 2009; United States Peace Corps 2012).⁴ These data demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of returned students and Returned Peace Corps Volunteers identify as white.

All eight participants had attained an undergraduate degree at the time of the interviews; additionally, five participants had attained one or more advanced degrees,

⁴ These percentages come from raw data sets published as a part of the Open Government Initiative and can be viewed at www.peacecorps.gov/about/open/data/. Statistics do not include respondents who answered "not specified" to an inquiry about racial/ethnic background.

were in the process of attaining advanced degrees, or planned to begin work on a first or additional advanced degree the following fall semester. In terms of socioeconomic status, only one participant stated that she was not from the upper part of society; however, four stated that their families were middle or upper-middle class.

Data Collection

This study employed a mixed-method approach, and data were collected through traditional qualitative methods of in-depth interviewing, amended applied/action research methods like photo elicitation, and more experimental methods like visual methods and auto-ethnographic writing. Each method is described in detail below.

Interviewing. Data were collected through face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews with all participants that lasted between 60 and 100 minutes, and I conducted auto-ethnographic writing according to a similar interview protocol. I entered each interview with a list of potential questions (see interview protocol in Appendix B). In some interviews I followed the tentative protocol quite closely, but in others I deviated significantly from the questions I prepared beforehand.

Of the seven interviews, six took place in participants' homes. The seventh interview was conducted in a participant's office on the campus of Illinois State University. In my initial contact with each participant, I suggested that interviews take place in the participant's home or office for convenience and in order to observe how material "artifacts" from the sojourn were displayed (or not displayed) in the returned sojourner's intimate spaces. However, I gave each participant the option to select an alternate location for the interview.

Each interview was recorded using both audio and audiovisual equipment in an effort to record not only participants' narratives but facial expressions, mannerisms, presentation of self, and other non-verbal aspects of communication. Some participants at first seemed uncomfortable being recorded with audiovisual equipment; several made comments about not liking how they look on camera and others acted as though they were not completely comfortable. Two independent recording devices also served as a backup for one another; this proved helpful, as in one circumstance the memory reserve in one device became exhausted and the backup recording device captured the remainder of the interview.

Design of the interview guide. The questions and requests for information that comprise the interview guide were designed to be open-ended, and they were informed by both theories and empirical themes present in previous literatures. Theoretical models highlight the longitudinal nature of reentry and readjustment experiences: positive or negative reentry and readjustment experiences are not isolated from antecedent or corollary events, but rather hinge on sojourn experiences and the degree of host culture identity change (Sussman 2001; 2002b; 2010). Additionally, reentry and readjustment experiences can have lasting effects. The interview guide begins by eliciting a discussion of the sojourner's background and pre-sojourn identities. Next, sojourners and I discussed the logistics of the sojourn(s): Where did the sojourners go, and for what purpose? For how long were they abroad? The next series of questions addressed what sojourners anticipated encountering during their sojourns and whether those predictions were realized. We also discussed culture shock, adjustment challenges, and the process of transitioning into life in the host culture. The remainder of the interview focused on the

end of the sojourn(s), preparations that sojourners made to return to the United States, and post-sojourn identities. The last series of questions addressed the photo/object elicitation method. The full interview guide is included as an appendix.

Photo and object elicitation. Prior to interviewing, I asked participants to find two images or objects (or a combination of the two) that most accurately represented who they felt they were at two distinct points in the past: one image/object was to be representative of the participant's pre-sojourn self, and the other was to represent the mid-sojourn self. The stated purpose of this request was to find images/objects that would help ground a conversation about identity and identity change during the interview -- these objects would be discussed in relation to one's current self -- but the exercise also got participants thinking about ways to make more concrete the rather abstract concept of "identity" before the start of our interview.

This method is an experimental revision and expansion of photovoice (and photo elicitation), a method commonly used in action research, which involves a researcher giving cameras to participants and asking participants to photograph aspects of their lives relevant to the research question. Those images are then shared with the researcher and are often used in conversations with the researcher and/or the larger group of participants. In effect, researchers ask participants to take photographs and then elicit relevant information from those images (Berg and Lune 2012:273). Developed by Wang and Burris (1994, 1997), the photovoice method "rests on the assumption that people themselves can best identify and represent their own realities" (Harley 2012:322) instead of an etic imposition of identity, reality, and meaning.

In the present study, I skip directly to the elicitation aspect of this method and expanded the subject of that elicitation to include both existing images *and* objects. Towards the end of each interview I asked participants to show me the images/objects they chose to represent themselves and elicited relevant information regarding the meanings attached to those images/objects and how they represent identity at pre- and mid-sojourn points. Paralleling the above assumption that "people themselves can best identify and represent their own realities" (Harley 2012:322), I assumed that individuals could and would choose images and objects that were meaningful and accurate representations of identities. An important theoretical thread is embedded in this assumption: a symbolic interactionist approach to identity states that "people attach symbolic meaning to objects... and they develop and transmit these meanings through interaction" (Howard 2000:371). One participant, Joel, even referred to the representative objects as "talismans," typically understood as objects that hold special meanings or powers that raise them above the quotidian.

In asking participants to find representative objects, my intention was to explore self-relevant meanings through a discussion of the object's history, importance, and "essence." Adding objects to the repertoire of acceptable subjects of elicitation was not, in fact, in my original plan; I added the option for participants to select representative objects after my interview with Tim, which happened to be the first interview I conducted in this research. Tim told me that he stumbled across an object while searching for images, and while the object he showed was unexpected, it worked incredibly well as a representation of his pre-sojourn identity as relayed to me in our interview. I decided to give the rest of the participants the same option. Giving participants room for creative

interpretation of my request for a representative “thing,” be it an image or an object, indeed led to a number of fascinating, data-rich choices.

I did not take these objects at face value, and had I, I would have reported significantly different meanings; rather, I asked participants questions about what the image/object meant to them, the story behind it, why it was important, and why it served as a representation of self at a particular point in the past. I consciously suppressed the potential for the imposition of researcher constructs by allowing participants the agency to not only explain the constructed meanings they held in relation to their representative images and objects but also, in essence, the agency to construct other dimensions of themselves through the task of finding these objects.

The request was intentionally vague, and several participants asked me to clarify what exactly I wanted from them. I gave open-ended responses, because I wanted the outcome to be as organic as possible. An unforeseen challenge to this particular method arose for participants who had, at the time of the interview, returned from more than one sojourn. For them, what constituted “pre-sojourn” and “mid-sojourn” identities? This question hinged on which of the two or more experiences would end up being the “focal” sojourn during the interview⁵ and, not wanting to limit our conversations before they began, I left those questions to be answered during the interview. Caety, who studied in Germany during a gap year between graduating from high school and starting college but also spent a year in Chile during her undergraduate career, was unconvinced that a

⁵ In the event that a participant is a returnee of more than one sojourn, I anticipated focusing on one sojourn (which I refer to as the “focal” sojourn) in the interview. I conceived of the “focal” sojourn as the longer/longest of the excursions abroad and anticipated that with increased time spent abroad came intensified identity change. This notion did not prove correct; it quickly became clear that sojourns could not easily be prioritized. Participants reported that different sojourn experiences led to markedly different reentry and readjustment processes.

representative image/object from her pre-gap year self (which at the time of our interview was five or six years prior) would have been particularly informative. After all, until the time she moved to Germany she lived at home with her parents in a town she couldn't wait to leave and had a relatively normal high school life. Although in my conversation with Caety her sojourns to Germany and Chile were equally represented in her narrative, the things she chose to represent herself came from before and during her experience in Chile. For Erin, who studied in Italy for a semester in college and lived in southern Tanzania for 14 months shortly after graduating, her "pre-sojourn" object in relation to her time in Tanzania (the "focal" sojourn in our interview) ended up being a journal that represented her mid-sojourn self in Italy. Thus, for sojourners who embarked on more than one long-term abroad experience, my request for representative objects challenged my own existing notions of pre- and mid-sojourn identities and forced me to expand my own conceptualization of identities throughout the research process.

Photography. I came into this study with the goal of producing a work that would be in conversation with the emerging subfield of visual sociology, and as a photographer, it was clear from the early stages of planning that still images would constitute an important method and would serve as crucial data. Visual methods were used in conjunction with social science research from the birth of anthropology at the tail end of the 1800s. During its early years, anthropology was a "science of classification" (Harper 1994:403) with strong influences from biology and the other "hard" sciences. Its use of photography followed suit; as Edwards notes, photography was used "as a simple...truth-revealing mechanism" (1992:4). Edwards asserts that by 1920, photography had lost much of its importance in anthropological research because it ceased to be perceived as a

method through which researchers could gain a deep understanding of social organization (1992:4), which had at that time become the focus of the discipline (Harper 1994:403).

However, the use of photography in anthropological research was revived through Bateson and Mead's research in Bali (1942). Bateson and Mead "[found] words inadequate, [and] they turned to a method whereby text and images mutually inform" (Harper 1994:403). The two researchers produced more than 25,000 photographs during their two years of field research, almost 800 of which were selected for inclusion in their published work *Balinese Character*. Harper asserts, however, that Bateson and Mead's work was an outlier in the grand scheme of visual methods in anthropology. Instead of evolving as ethnography has, anthropologists "generally relegate [photographs] to record keeping or cataloguing" (1994:405).

Visual methodology found its way into sociological research far later. Visual sociology as a sub-discipline did not gain traction until the 1960s, and its development paralleled documentary photography. Documentary photographers and sociologists were focused on many of the same issues which were commonly included on the "sociological agenda" (1994:405). Notable photographic works that aligned with topics of interest in sociology include Clark's study of drug culture in Oklahoma (1971), Davidson on black ghetto life in Harlem (1970), institutionalization in an Arkansas prison (Jackson 1977), and the antiwar movement (Kerry 1971).

As Howard Becker (1994) argues, photography took two distinct paths: it was used as a tool for description, but it also became an art form. Photography as art is not typically considered a useful tool in sociological research because of its often abstract nature. Documentary photography, however, has the potential to shed light on

sociological issues. Becker calls for “cross-fertilization” between sociology and photography, precisely because topics of interests between the two disciplines are one in the same.

In this work I attempt to answer in a small way Becker’s call for the “cross-fertilization” between sociology and photography. Identity has proven itself to be both a sociological and a photographic fascination, and it makes sense to me to address identity through traditional sociological means and visual ones. At the close of each interview I asked participants to hold the images/objects they chose to represent their pre- and mid-sojourn selves as I took portrait-style photographs. In essence, I exposed photographs with multiple “images” in one, a juxtaposition of the pre-, mid- and post-sojourn selves contained within the same image frame. In other words, I took photographs intended to capture the dynamic process of identity change in a single, static image. In some interviews, I also took photographs of participants’ living/working spaces to document if and how they displayed artifacts of their sojourn(s) in their intimate spaces. By taking portrait photographs of sojourners alongside material remnants of sojourn experiences, I explored the link between material objects and the relative permanence and fluidity of identities, particularly in relation to identities that are changed and/or created abroad.

In the end, I compiled a collection of images relevant to each participant. The number of images is not uniform; nor are the ways in which participants are seen within them. In some cases, more photographs appear in a certain participant’s collection than in another. In some collections, photographs of intimate spaces are absent. The photographic element of this work is an example of the situational nature of qualitative

research. Because interviews were done in participants' homes and intimate spaces, no two interview settings were visually or spatially alike.

Auto-ethnography. Not only is this a study about returned sojourners' processes of cross-cultural identity change; it is also a research process that prompted retrospection and analysis of my own sojourn and reentry experiences. The practice of auto-ethnography is "a means of understanding (and healing) ourselves" (Gaitan 2000:para 6), and as a returned sojourner, I am still in the process of understanding my sojourn experiences and associated identity changes. In auto-ethnography, "the researcher self is not separate from the lived self" (Richardson 2003:197): in the context of this study, I am both a researcher and a returned sojourner, and those two identities cannot be separated from one another. After all, one informed the other in that one of the main reasons for undertaking this study was my own interest in and experiences of cross-cultural identity change and origin culture reentry.

According to Fivush et al., autobiographical narratives seem individual, yet are the products of larger social interactions (2011:323). In the creation of these written autobiographical narratives, authors have the opportunity to reflect and understand their place within larger structures and more abstract master narratives (Boje 1991). For Kenneth Carano (2013), auto-ethnographic writing played a role in his experience serving as a Peace Corps Volunteer. The regular practice of journaling throughout his experience left a longitudinal narrative that charted his process of cultural adjustment, and after the close of his 27-month term of service, Carano looked critically at that narrative in order to analyze and understand that process. While Carano does not specifically address his

own process of identity change, his auto-ethnographic writing charts the process of learning to live in his host culture.

Throughout this study I had the opportunity to situate my own experiences within existing models, frameworks, and literatures. Talking with others -- even when conversation centered on their own sojourn experiences -- helped me continue to process my own experiences, and with each of the seven conversations over the course of this study I was challenged to further analyze my own sojourn experiences. Talking in depth with other sojourners has in many ways been therapeutic for me (and, I hope, has been for them), and in the interviews I found myself making mental notes comparing and contrasting participants' experiences with my own.

In some cases participants asked me questions of their own about my sojourn experiences and the rationale behind the project. Caety, in particular, flipped the interview around and posed to me some of the same questions I asked her, as well as some of her own. This "reverse" interview was included alongside her narrative in the audio and audiovisual files, and while unexpected, was an interesting take on auto-ethnography. In that moment I was simultaneously researcher and participant: I was answering questions that I designed, aloud, while talking to Caety, another research participant.

Making mixed-methods work. The project of exploring identity is by nature an attempt to understand an abstract, multi-faceted concept. Thus, I felt it best to approach identity and identity change through a myriad of routes, each with its own set of strengths and weaknesses, in order to gain a more well-rounded understanding of participants' histories, self-concepts, and changes. The mixed-method approach gave participants a

number of opportunities to collaborate in the creation and presentation of identities within the research “space,” and participants’ agency in the research process sets this study apart from many existing studies in sojourn and identity literatures.

Transcription, Coding, and Data Analysis

Recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim, and I took care to include colloquialisms that would indicate a change in how participants use language and included some grammatical marks that indicate a change in intonation (for example, ending a phrase in a question mark in order to signify a rise in intonation toward the end of the phrase that signaled feeling unsure of oneself or one's answer). “Uhs” and “ums,” along with stuttering, were included if they indicated that the participant gave something thought or struggled with the way in which to express a concept, event, or experience (Kvale 1996:172).

When it came to coding transcripts, I felt it best to develop some of my own codes from the data. According to Lofland and Lofland, “coding is an emergent, open-ended, and, indeed, a creative activity” (1995). However, I used a deductive theory approach in data analysis: from the beginning, social identity theory and Sussman's Cultural Identity Model formed the framework through which I analyzed interview and visual data. Some of the overall coding scheme, then, was a direct reflection of the CIM, with specific phrases like "Additive" or "Subtractive" used as codes to categorize certain aspects of sojourn experiences narrated by participants. The coding schemes used in data analysis were a mix of emergent codes and pre-existing codes informed by the theoretical frameworks used in this study.

I wrote memos after assigning initial codes throughout each round of transcripts and had a chance to “chart, record, and detail a major analytic phase of [the] journey” (Charmaz 2006:72). I anticipate these memos to be useful as I begin to piece together a chronology of each participant’s identity change.

Ethical Issues

Like all research, ethical considerations and issues are inherent in this study. These concerns come primarily by way of the visual element of this work, which as discussed below, prevents participants from securing any form of anonymity or confidentiality. In addition, photography offers the potential for collusion between photographer and photographed to produce still images that represent a “truth” that is not entirely valid.

Sensitive content. The focus of this research is not one that is particularly harmful to participants. There was no risk of physical or economic harm, and the risk of psychological and social harm during the in-depth interviews was generally low. Most topics of discussion were not sensitive ones; however, possible exceptions included discussions of isolation and homesickness, cultural incompatibility and confusion, troublesome family and intimate relationships, illegal work status, and sexuality. These topics were not broached in every interview, nor by every participant. Participants were, of course, free to selectively answer questions in each interview, and no participant was obligated to answer any question that made him or her feel uncomfortable.

Through the auto-ethnographic component of this research and the parallels between interview guides for in-depth interviews and topics for my own auto-

ethnographic journaling, I broached some of the same topics that had the possibility to be sensitive. The difference, I believe, is that I had time and space to think through these topics beforehand and had the chance to respond in ways in which I felt comfortable, although I challenged myself to expose relevant aspects of my abroad experiences even if I felt uncomfortable reliving them and sharing them through my journaling. However, since I wrote about these topics in a private journal instead of discussing them out loud with another person, the risk of emotional harm for myself was significantly lower than the risk of emotional harm for participants.

Lack of confidentiality. The portrait-style photographs complicated notions of harm. In this particular project, confidentiality was impossible to maintain. I explained the lack of confidentiality to participants in the letter of informed consent, but I attempted to ease some of the concern over the lack of confidentiality by creating a space in which participants could collaborate with the researcher regarding the composition and content of the images.

Because I took photographs of each participant that are published alongside interview data, readers will know which participants' narratives go with which photographs. Readers will also know what each participant looks like. Some researchers create a sense of anonymity in their photographic work by blurring or covering informants' faces (Pink 2001:136), and it would be possible as the photographer to arrange the setting of each photograph, instruct the participant to sit or stand in certain ways, and manipulate light to obscure easily recognizable features. However, Pink argues that the practice of anonymizing visual work in ethnographic research "is difficult to reconcile with the idea of using photography *because of its specificity*" (2001:136). That

is, concealing participants' identities conflicts with the rationale for using photography in the first place. In this project in particular, which has the goal of exploring individual processes of identity construction, obscuring the identity of the individual would significantly detract from the overall product.

Coercion. In this study, three of the seven interviewees are personal contacts: two of these are individuals with whom I have had long-term ties dating back to the beginning of my undergraduate career in 2007, and another is a member of my graduate cohort at Illinois State University with whom I have interacted with closely over the past two years. The remaining four are just two degrees of separation away, including the father of a CrossFit coach I see on a regular basis, the friend of another undergraduate colleague, and two friends of a professor with whom I have worked closely in my time at Illinois State University. According to McConnell-Henry et al. (2009/2010), recruiting colleagues and peers for participation in research opens the possibility for coercion. That is, close personal contacts may feel a sense of obligation to participate in the research or even "fear adverse consequences for their relationship with the researcher" (McDermid et al. 2013) if they do not participate. Additionally, it is possible that even participants with whom I do not share a personal relationship felt an obligation to participate because of my relationship with our mutual colleague. An attempt to mitigate coercive effects was made by emphasizing the voluntary nature of participation in this study, and I offered participants the option of not participating in an interview or stopping the interview and withdrawing from the study once an interview had already begun without any penalty or loss of benefits.

Collaboration between photographer and photographed. The visual aspect of this research, which took the form of portrait photographs taken at the end of each interview, created a collaborative space in which participants and I worked to construct portrait images. Because participants selected their own representative images and objects that would be included in the photographs they had agency in the process. Additionally, I worked with participants to determine the best settings for the photographs, and in some cases participants and I tried multiple settings. In some instances, however, the setting was determined by outside factors, such as lighting⁶. As a general rule, the inclusion of visual methods introduces a new set of considerations into the research process. Visual research also requires knowledge of camera operation, light and shadow, and image composition. At times, the hour of the interview, combined with availability of indoor light, dictated in large part how the image would be composed.

In visual research, images have the potential to expose aspects of individuals' identities that could be embarrassing or unpleasant; although these photographs could be incredibly powerful as standalone images and as sources of data, participants may not want those representations of themselves used in this project. The potential for negative exposure exists in both types of photographs associated with this study -- portraits of returned sojourners and the images of their living and working environments -- and there was also a risk of capturing evidence of embarrassing, or even incriminating, material objects. The negotiation of that dilemma, however, did not prove to be a challenge. I collaborated with each participant in order to create images in which unnecessarily

⁶ Photography introduces an additional set of non-research related considerations, such as technical aspects of camera operation and adequate lighting to properly expose the images; I did not bring external lighting sources to the interviews, as external lighting setups take space and time to assemble and arrange, so in instances in which interviews took place in the evening or after dark, indoor lighting sources dictated the best location in participants' homes for the photographs.

harmful or negative representations of participants were minimized (da Silva and Pink 2004:162; Pink 2009:58). In collaborative efforts at large, photographer and photographed discuss images “in relation to the objectives... initially agreed on,” and photographers often value unhappiness expressed by participants concerning how they are represented (da Silva and Pink 2004:162). In this study, I only took the kinds of photographs I discussed with participants before the interviews.

In many works of visual sociology and anthropology focusing on human subjects, participants not only have a say in how photographs are used after they are taken but have input in the setup of the image (Pink 2001:154). All participants in this research signed a Photographic Release Form on which they consented to various uses of images in which they appear. Uses included review by researchers involved in the work (i.e., the Principal and Co-Principal Investigators), project illustration, classroom and conference presentations, publication, and web display. While most participants agreed to all uses specified on the form, some did not. I valued the act of non-consent to certain uses of images, and this act showed a higher degree of agency among participants than one might expect in an interview setting. I also valued participants’ initiative in arranging photographs, as it decreased photographer/photographed inequality in the image production process.

While participants had the opportunity to select representative objects that would appear in the images and helped to arrange their own poses within settings in their home or work environments, most participants looked to me as the authority in arranging the images. I believe this was because as the researcher, relational context dictated that I would be in control of the interview and portrait settings. I also held a digital SLR camera

(a line of cameras used by more serious or advanced photographers), which perhaps suggested that I was an expert and "knew best." I, however, felt that as a guest in the participants' living or working spaces, I should defer, to an extent, to how they desired their spaces to be shown in the images. In some cases there was a back-and-forth negotiation that led to the final image: I might have suggested that they hold their objects in a certain way, but after shooting a few frames they may have suggested a different background or setup. Nadia was particularly vocal and expressed clear preferences in the arrangement of her portrait. After shooting the portraits, I showed each participant the images from the small preview screen built into the body of my camera. Although small, some participants saw that they did not like the images and expressed their disapproval. In response, we took additional photographs.

Establishing validity. An oft-cited critique of qualitative work is its lack of both internal and external validities (Borman et al. 1986; Rudestam and Newton 2007). Critics who maintain that qualitative studies inherently lack internal validity claim that "there is no way to be certain that what is portrayed is anything more than a researcher's etic imposition of meanings and constructs upon a setting rather than an authentic representation of the thoughts and beliefs of the people under study" (Borman et al. 1986:49). However, as Rudestam and Newton (2007) suggest, easy ways to mitigate doubts of a qualitative study's internal validity include recording interviews with audiovisual equipment in addition to audio equipment and to clarify murky parts of an interview with the participants after the researcher has listened to the recording or transcribed the interview. In this study I recorded each interview with both a video

recorder and a sound recorder and was able to corroborate the validity of narratives between the two media.

Asking participants to find images and/or objects that represent their pre- and mid-sojourn identities also served to boost internal validity because, although not the primary purpose of the exercise, it served as a sort of “cross-check” of participant constructs (Borman et al. 1986:50). I asked participants to talk in detail about each of the representative images and objects, along with the meanings that participants constructed around each of those images and objects. In many cases, the meanings participants assigned to those objects and the versions of self they represented paralleled what participants told me previously in the interview.

Producing valid photographs. A challenge for every visual researcher is to produce still images that are truthful. Truths are relative, of course, but beyond the relativity of truths at the heart of oral narratives, visual narratives are also incredibly situational. Still images, for example, are typically exposed for a length of time that lies somewhere between 1/4000th of a second and half a minute and do not always explicitly account for the image’s antecedent events nor those that transpire afterwards; additionally, the bounds of the image are an *n*th of the overall visual field in which the actions in the exposed image took place.

Knowledge of participation. It is possible that organizations and institutions with which participants have worked and studied (if participants were affiliated with organizations or institutions during their sojourns) could find out about their involvement in this project and make themselves aware of their reflections on the experiences they had while in association with those organizations and institutions. I do not believe, however,

that the nature of this project is one that would put participants at risk of adverse reactions on behalf of partner/host/home organizations and institutions, and now that sojourners have returned from their time abroad, their involvement with those organizations and/or institutions has likely ended. I also made participants aware of the possibility that organizations and institutions with which participants currently work or study could become aware of their involvement with the project, but I assured participants that their involvement will likely not have any negative consequences in the field of employment or any other situation.

Data storage. Interviews were recorded with audio and audiovisual equipment. After each interview, recordings were transcribed, and transcriptions were saved on a password-protected computer hard drive and an external hard drive. Audio recordings were be deleted after transcriptions have been made; however, audiovisual recordings may be kept and edited as a tool for further analysis, particularly related to the manifestation of certain behaviors as a part of participants' changing identities.

Compensation. As compensation for their time, each participant in this study received digital files of all of the photographs taken at the time of the interview. They were also offered a digital copy of the finished thesis.

Interview dynamics and studying across. An interesting, and somewhat unforeseen, aspect of this sample is the lack of an overwhelming power differential between myself as researcher and the participants in this research. Many studies in the social sciences, particularly more traditional studies, have glaring power differences between researcher and participant, known as "studying down" (Lofland and Lofland 1995). There also exists the growing practice in social science research of "studying up" -

- in contrast to studying disadvantaged, marginalized groups, researchers study groups, organizations, and individuals who wield more social, political, and/or economic power (Mills 1956; Nader 1972; Undheim 2003). In this research, however, I found myself "studying across, a research strategy in which the researcher and his or her respondents share social resemblance or personal experiences that are interwoven into the research" (Gazit and Maoz-Shai 2010:279). I -- a white, middle-class graduate student -- interviewed non-Hispanic white or part non-Hispanic white, mostly middle or upper-middle class people educated at a minimum of the college level. All seven participants who were interviewed held, at a minimum, a bachelor's degree at the time of the interview. At the time of the interview, one participant was nearing completion of her graduate degree and another planned to start graduate work the following fall semester. Two participants hold terminal degrees in their respective fields and are respected faculty members at mid-size state universities. There are resemblances between the participants' backgrounds and my own, as Gazit and Maoz-Shai (2010) suggest as a key aspect of studying across. More salient, perhaps, is the commonality that all of the participants and I share: the experience of sojourning and reentering the United States.

There were moments in which I felt, in a small sense, that I was "studying up." In interviewing the two participants who are more credentialed than I am (in an educational sense), I at first felt a bit odd -- after all, having written masters theses and dissertations these two participants are presumably more well-versed in planning and carrying out research than I. Being professors, I perceived that they would quite naturally critique my methodology, interview questions and interview style during the interview itself, and would eventually critique my analysis of interview data. However, the shared experiences

of sojourns and origin culture reentries -- in other words, the feeling of "studying across" -- took precedence.

Strengths and Limitations

This study has a number of strengths, namely its mixed-method approach. Drawing on several qualitative methods allows the researcher to explore abstract and multi-faceted concepts, like identity, through a number of different means. In this way, the researcher can explore different aspects of identity, such as self-concept, relationships, symbolic meanings, and identity change, and can add complexity to existing models and frameworks like those discussed in the preceding chapter.

The mixed-method approach is also a strength in that it sets this study apart from the vast majority of existing sojourn-related research, which is founded on quantitative data that are often collected through surveys distributed at different points before, during, and/or after participants' sojourns. These data have enabled researchers to create models and test hypotheses, but they are limited in that they do not address nuances in individual sojourn experiences.

The "small-N" problem (Goodwin and Horowitz 2002) is perhaps a limitation of this study, and the sample is in no way representative of the larger U.S. population or the population of sojourners living within the U.S. However, as opposed to more representative quantitative studies that compose the majority of the existing literature on sojourn experiences, the small number of participants is also a strength in that it allowed for a much more nuanced understanding of identity change, the reentry experience, and challenges associated with readjustment.

An additional limitation is that although I was intentional in selecting the participants who comprise the sample, the sample is one of convenience. As Morse writes, “A common pitfall in qualitative inquiry is not to move beyond the convenience sampling” (2007:235). In this project I did not move at all beyond convenience sampling into other sampling methods, like snowball or nominated sampling, as Morse suggests qualitative researchers do after preliminary convenience sampling.

Outcomes

In a study of cross-cultural identity change, a mixed-method qualitative approach, including face-to-face in-depth interviews, auto-ethnography, and various visual methods, elicited a more well-rounded understanding of sojourn and reentry experiences. Interviews uncovered certain important facets of the sojourn experience, but visual methods validated those findings in unique, creative ways. Additionally, visual methods opened the probability “that different memories are gained in interviews where images are included than in those that do not include reference to images” (Roberts 2011:7). By asking participants to find existing images and objects that were previously imbued with meaning, I was able to elicit narratives that both paralleled interview data and expanded participants' representations of self throughout processes of cultural transitions and identity change.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

For decades, previous researchers have investigated sojourn experiences, explored the effects of culture shock, and constructed hypotheses of cross-cultural adaptation.

While some scholars have begun to construct models of reentry and origin culture readjustment, there is still a lack of knowledge surrounding returned sojourners' experiences reentering their countries of origin and readjusting to life at home (Szkudlarek 2010:2). The goal of this chapter is to weave together commonalities, based on a review of empirical literature, in the vastly different experiences of eight sojourners who undertook eleven mid-length (at least four semesters) to long-term (one calendar year or more) sojourns in ten host cultures, which are located on four different continents.

The findings aid an investigation of the research questions that guide this study: What happens when sojourners return to their origin cultures? How do sojourners experience immediate reentry and long-term origin culture readjustment? What are the types of identity changes that sojourners experience while abroad, and in what ways are those changes in identity incorporated in post-reentry life? How well do existing models of cultural readjustment reflect returned sojourners' lived experiences?

As became evident through these seven interviews and eighth autoethnographic account, origin culture reentry and readjustment experiences are more complex than they

seem in existing models of cultural readjustment. Some models use shapes -- "U" and "W" -- to demonstrate highs and lows in adjustment and readjustment experiences, and others outline sojourner "ideal types" that attempt to classify sojourners and their experiences based on relationships with origin culture and host culture individuals. As the data in this study show, however, it is difficult to apply models as-is to sojourner experiences because the rigidity of quantitatively-informed models does not match the nuance of everyday life. Some processes of identity change take place simultaneously; others are affected by outside factors not addressed in existing models.

Sojourn experiences are inherently longitudinal, meaning that they are motivated by individuals' pasts and affect sojourners' lives in unpredictable ways after they come to an "official" end. Therefore, this chapter begins with a brief telling of each sojourner's story -- including a brief discussion of their upbringing, sojourn, and reentry experiences -- intended to establish context for later discussions. Following these narratives, I discuss the Cultural Identity Model and apply it to aspects of sojourner narratives. In addition, I explore other factors that influence reentry experiences.

In the last part of this chapter I discuss the visual data that are included in the research, including the representative objects that participants selected as a part of the photo and object elicitation exercise. I also analyze the portrait photographs of each participant in order to address the last research question that guides this work: How might identities manifest in the form of images and objects, and how might visual documentation of those objects, along with sojourner appearance and environment, aid an analysis of the process of identity change?

Sojourner Stories

Erin. Erin grew up in Covington, Louisiana, a suburb of New Orleans that is a result of a mass exodus of white people from the city proper -- a phenomenon known as "white flight." Covington is a mostly white suburb that Erin describes as "stagnant": people are more concerned with privacy than community, and there is little going on creatively amidst Covington's sea of strip malls. Growing up, Erin went to a series of private schools, some Catholic and some non-affiliated, and after she finished high school she went to Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi. There, she studied art history and anthropology.

When she was in high school she went to Italy for a week. It was an important trip for her: "it was sort of life changing," she says, "so I associate culture and art and change and freedom with Italy." She always knew that she wanted to study in Italy in college; after all, "Italy is the place my life had started, or it felt it started to." In her junior year she spent a semester studying in Perugia. While at Millsaps College she also had the opportunity to go to Tanzania twice, once with a college-sponsored summer anthropology class where she learned about doing ethnography and once alone to conduct ethnographic fieldwork for her undergraduate honors thesis.

As she thought about what she would do after college, Erin knew that she wanted to return to Tanzania, this time for a longer period. Even when fellowships did not work out in her favor, she was determined to self-fund her way there. She lived in southern Tanzania for 14 months teaching English, and while she was there she successfully crowd-funded a photovoice project for students in her school in which they took pictures of and wrote about different aspects of their community, which was later published as a

newspaper and was distributed in cities and towns across the southern region of the country. When she came back she worked at a pharmaceutical company for a year while living with her parents again in Covington. However, about three weeks prior to our interview (which took place in early January 2014), Erin had moved to New Orleans into a house off of Magazine Street with Nadia, another participant in this research. Erin has always identified as a writer, and the act of moving to New Orleans was a very important step for her creatively and professionally. Erin plans to start a graduate program in anthropology in August, 2014.

Ben. I had my first significant experience interacting with people from different cultures and backgrounds before I got to high school. When I was 12, my parents allowed and encouraged me to participate in an international summer camp, where I spent a month living and learning with 11- and 12-year olds from all over the world: my friends there were from Brazil, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, India, Thailand, and elsewhere, and I am still in contact with a few of them some 13 years later. That experience opened my eyes and my mind, and in many ways it was the impetus for the wanderlust and urge to travel and explore that I have today.

I grew up in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and as I looked for colleges at the end of my high school career I decided that I wanted to leave home. I chose to attend Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi, where I majored in anthropology and Latin American studies; part of the appeal of both majors was the vista into other cultures and traditions that came in the form of lectures and assigned ethnographic readings. I also took a number of Spanish classes and earned a minor in Spanish language and literature.

A significant part of my experience at Millsaps College was working with the college newspaper, the *Purple & White*. I did a little of everything -- layout, editing, and writing -- and became interested in journalism and the role of news media in culture. During my junior year, I went on my first sojourn. I studied in Buenos Aires, Argentina for a semester and tailored my coursework at Universidad del Salvador around an undergraduate Honors thesis that blended my interests in anthropology and journalism. When it came time to return to the U.S. and start my senior year at Millsaps, I was not at all ready; I would have preferred to stay abroad for another semester, because at the end of the semester I had just begun to feel like I had the "hang" of life in Buenos Aires.

Before I arrived at Millsaps I was fortunate to receive a scholarship that funded a Millsaps-sponsored summer study abroad course. When I returned from Argentina at the end of the semester I had enough time at home to do laundry and repack my bag before flying to Europe for a three-week summer class. The class ended up being a nice bridge between study abroad and returning to school, because it was a mix of both; however, the quick turnaround between a semester abroad and another three-week class meant that I did not have much time to process my sojourn in Argentina.

During the entirety of my last year on campus I felt a need to go abroad again. I decided that teaching English abroad would be a smart way to sojourn -- I could have an adventure and a paycheck -- and I ended up teaching in an academic high school in Seoul, South Korea. It was my first time in Asia, and Seoul was by far the largest metropolitan area in which I had lived. The learning curve was steep and I was challenged daily, and now two years after returning to the U.S. I am still discovering ways in which I grew and changed as a result.

I returned from Seoul after a year of teaching and moved to Normal, Illinois, where I started a master's degree in sociology at Illinois State University. As of the summer of 2014, I am crashing in my parents' basement in Chattanooga, Tennessee, working to finishing my degree, and preparing for my next sojourn: a year in Manchester, England, where I will earn a second master's degree in visual anthropology.

Caety. Caety's interest in international travel began early: in high school she spent three weeks in Germany, and after graduating, she returned to Germany for a year for a "gap year." She was born in Texas but grew up in Murphreesboro, Tennessee, and when she was finished high school, "I was so ready to be done with Murphreesboro and move on and do something exciting. At the time I was just ready to not be around my family, not be with the same people I'd grown up with." Even though she was preparing to move abroad for a year at a relatively young age, "I was not scared at all. I was just excited."

Before she went to Germany after high school, Caety describes herself as "really green... I just wanted to go and 'be'... I wanted to learn another language and another culture and be outside of my element. Do something new. Something none of my brothers and sisters had done." The first part of her sojourn was tough: her first homestay was with a family whose mother ended up being oppressive and caused the entire household to live in fear. Caety realized that this was not a healthy environment, so she left and moved to Hamburg for the remaining six months of her time in Germany.

When Caety returned to the United States to begin her freshman year in the Honors Program at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, she was a year older than the other students in her entering class. "I felt very distant from them," she says, "and those were the kids I was supposed to be making these connections with." It took a while,

but she began making friends with U.S. students who themselves had had significant international experiences and with international students studying at UT Chattanooga.

During her junior year of college, Caety studied in Viña del Mar and Valparaíso, Chile for a year. She arrived a few months before the start of the Chilean academic semester for an internship and to start learning Spanish, but at the end of her first semester, "I was like, 'I don't want to go back [to the U.S.] yet!'" She worked during the semester break with a bicycle wine tour in Mendoza, Argentina, and then stayed in Chile for a second semester.

Caety returned to UT Chattanooga to finish her senior year, and although she had a strong group of friends to which to return at university, she again "came back to them and really distanced myself." While in Chile she embraced Latin American culture and a more relaxed attitude towards work, goals, and the future: "Why would you stress yourself out all the time about these future plans? If they're gonna be, they're gonna be, you know? I felt like I was watching all these kids living an American culture that I didn't feel a part of anymore."

Although she felt disconnected from American culture and groups of which she was a part before her Chilean sojourn, Caety worked hard to finish her degree and graduated in 2013. In our interview in early January 2014, she is adamant that "2014 begins a whole new leaf." While she spent the summer and fall after graduation "in a funk, scared about life and what it would bring," the new year encouraged her to "[decide] it's all okay. Right now, I am me deciding that if I am meant to go abroad again, if I am meant to move from Chattanooga... I'm kind of in this place where the right things are gonna come if they're supposed to."

Nadia. I have never known Nadia to be a quiet person: "I just *have* to talk to people," she says. Paired with her intelligence, wit, and thoughtfulness, this makes her one of the best conversationalists I've met. It also helps her integrate well with people and cultures, even in environments in which she has no footing.

Nadia's life has been a series of transitions into spaces and groups in which she understands little, if any, of the things happening around her. She was born in Dubai to a mother from rural Louisiana and a father who fled Iraq as a refugee and in his youth attended a series of boarding schools in western Europe. Nadia was raised by an Indian nanny and first learned Hindi, followed later by "broken" English. She never learned Arabic, and although she is half Arab, she was considered "white" in Dubai because her mother is from the United States. She never understood her Arab identity growing up: her Iraqi father kept his past, along with Nadia's own Arab heritage, shrouded in mystery. When she was young, her family moved to small-town Louisiana, to the same area from which her mother hails, and she "literally couldn't understand a word anybody said." People in rural Louisiana couldn't comprehend her, either: in Louisiana, she was no longer "white"; rather, she and her brothers were perceived as Arab because of their father's Iraqi heritage. Her family, she says, was marginalized in her rural community, and the KKK even burned crosses in her family's front yard. "Then I sort of overcompensated by becoming the all-American girl," she says. "I dated the quarterback and I was super 'southern belle'... I became super Christian."

After high school she attended Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi, "and my entire world got rocked because the structure that I had built around myself, the identity that I created, was completely destroyed." Her worldview broadened and she became

"obsessive over breaking boundaries and structures... I wanted to challenge every convention I could think of." At the same time, her family was falling apart: "my home became something I didn't recognize at all... there were drugs, guns, everybody was in jail all the time." Millsaps became a haven from the "absolute chaos" at home.

In her senior year of college, Nadia won a Fulbright grant to study and research in Jordan. She was intentional about choosing Jordan for more than academic interests; more importantly, it would be a chance for her to explore her Arab heritage that her father kept secret. When she arrived, she immediately felt the differences between herself and the other Fulbrighters. "I was literally the only person who wasn't from an Ivy League" among the grant winners in her cohort, she says. "And not only that, I wasn't from the upper part of society. In fact, my family had fallen down to drugs and stuff." Here again, Nadia found herself in a new world. "Why is this, over and over? First America, then Millsaps, then I get in with all these Fulbrighters and was like, 'I can't understand a word they're saying.'"

She spent six months studying Arabic in Amman, the country's capital, and then moved to her research site in the desert where she lived among a semi-nomadic Bedouin community for nearly a year. While Nadia was always adept at conversation and threw herself into a series of context-appropriate identities before going to Jordan, the desert, she found, "brought out a different side of my personality... being content with stillness and quiet." After her Fulbright grant came to an end, she stayed in Jordan for a year working with a startup magazine called *Luxury*. She was back in Amman and was "writing about golden bathtubs and diamond toilets... I got to write about really

interesting things, but it was just *torture*. After being in the desert for a year it just felt so restrictive."

After two and a half years in Jordan, Nadia felt a strong pull to return to the United States to be back with her family. While living with the Bedouin, "I realized how valuable family was and how much it was important to me and how much I was missing it." She lived at her family's home in rural Louisiana for a few months before choosing to move to New Orleans: "if there's anywhere I could live in America, it's New Orleans," she says. Nadia's life in New Orleans demonstrates the significant, long-term effect that her sojourn had on her identity. After living in Jordan, she understands her Arabness, a part of her identity that she often romanticized, but did not at all understand, before her sojourn. She feels that she is "able to see myself as a whole person," and in contrast to her pre-sojourn tendency to move frequently between people and places, she was intentional about establishing a home, roots, and significant relationships in New Orleans. At the time of our interview (in early January 2014), Nadia lived in a house in New Orleans near Magazine Street with Erin, her roommate and participant in this research, and Rosie, her dog.

Tim. "The road has long been an important metaphor for me: unexplored roads, new roads, roads other people are taking." At the start of our interview, Tim showed me what he called a "hitchhiking tool": a long sheet of brown paper folded over a number of times with various city names spelled in bright blue paint. Different folds revealed different city names; the side he showed first read "BUFFALO." "High tech!" he joked, but "I'll tell you, it works!" In the 1970s and '80s, "I was kind on the tail end of the [era

when hitchhiking] was a thing for people your age⁷ to [do]. That's one way to describe myself: [I] didn't mind not having a set schedule. I like the sense of adventure."

Tim grew up in various small towns in Maine, the largest of which had a population of 5,000 people. "My best memory is fishing in this area at the tail end of the mud road. Every time we went out there we never saw anybody outside of our own party. That was certainly part of my identity: these small towns where we had the freedom to roam." In his twenties, Tim went from small towns in Maine to Los Angeles for seminary studies. He says he wasn't looking for a degree; he just enjoyed being in school. He later entered a degree program and earned a masters degree in linguistics.

When he was 29, he went to Africa to visit a friend who was serving as a missionary in what was then known as Zaire (it's now called Congo). When he arrived in Kinshasa, the capital, he missed the bush plane that would take him to the other side of the country nearer his friend's work site. Meanwhile, his friend arranged for a contact to pick him up from the Kinshasa airport and give him a place to stay. This contact -- himself a missionary -- knew of the Peace Corps office in Kinshasa and suggested that while Tim was waiting for the next bush plane, he should drop in and talk with them. Tim was at first reticent, but eventually he decided to speak with Peace Corps staff in Zaire: "I was kinda curious about the experience," he says. When he got to the Peace Corps office, he spoke with someone who oversaw education-related programs. "What are your qualifications?" the staffer asked. "Nothin', really, just have an MA in linguistics." His qualifications turned out to match an opening at a teacher's college, which was, coincidentally, located in the same area to which he was headed anyway to meet his friend. It was also the same city where he would later meet his wife, Ruka.

⁷ Here Tim refers to me, the interviewer; at the time of my interview with Tim, I was 24 years old.

Tim had not applied to serve in the Peace Corps before going to Africa; rather, he completed all the paperwork and the medical exam at the office in Kinshasa at the same time that the Director of the Peace Corps ("Of the world! Working in Washington!") happened to be visiting. She personally carried his documents back to the Peace Corps headquarters in Washington, DC. "In three days I was basically in," he says. "It's a process that can take others over a year." "Again," he says, "kinda like on the hitchhiking. Well, I thought of taking this road, a truck driver comes and [says], 'What about going this way?' 'Well, okay.' It's not irrational, or even irresponsible. It's more being open-minded to a new development."

Tim carried out his service in a community near the border with Rwanda, and after his 27 months of service came to a close, he returned to the United States to earn a PhD. He returned to Africa after finishing his degree, and he lived with his wife and growing family -- he and his wife have five children of their own and adopted their niece, all of whom are now young adults -- in various parts of East Africa doing translation work for about 17 years. He returned to the United States with his family in the mid-1990s. He now lives in Murphreesboro, Tennessee and teaches at Middle Tennessee State University. At the time of our interview in late December 2013, he and his wife were preparing to go back to Africa in January 2014 for two weeks for the first time in a decade.

Emma. Emma was surrounded by her father's Peace Corps stories throughout her childhood. Her father served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Kenya from 1980 to 1982, and after his service ended he kept in touch with many of his Peace Corps friends. Her parents, one a community college professor and the other a former elementary school

teacher, settled in the Chicago suburbs. Emma says that her childhood was "non-confrontational": she graduated from high school, then went to the same community college where her father teaches to earn her associate's degree. After that, she went to Illinois State University and studied sociology.

Emma says that she has "a tendency to embrace change in a way," and she puts herself in a category of people with a case of wanderlust who "have dreams and aspirations and are not afraid of getting outside of their comfort zone." When she finished her undergraduate degree, Emma decided to join the Peace Corps. Interestingly, she says that serving as a Peace Corps Volunteer felt like something she was meant to do, but she was nervous about telling her father. "I knew he would be proud of me," she says, "but I was like, 'am I worthy enough to be a Volunteer?'" Soon after she joined, she told her father during a weekend trip home from college. "He was over the moon. He was so happy and I respect him, and he's a hero to me, so to follow in his footsteps, that's just an aspiration I have."

Serving in the Peace Corps is no short process; Emma was originally nominated to serve in Mauritania, but her invitation would not come for months after her nomination. In the meantime, the Peace Corps program in Mauritania closed, and she was instead invited to serve in Mongolia. One might expect that a person as thoroughly researched as Emma would have done plenty of investigation into what she would be getting into during her service. However, she says that she did very little research because she wanted to go into the experience with as few expectations as possible. This worked to her advantage, she says, because had she built expectations about her host culture before

she arrived, they may well have been contradicted, so she saved herself some disappointment.

Emma served in a rural village of 600 people and taught English at the local elementary school. She lived with a host family, although her "host mom" was just a few years older than her, and was introduced to Mongolian language and culture. One of the first things she did when she arrived at her service site was adopt a cat, who was later named Chicago. Emma and Chicago formed a strong bond in their shared *gare* (a round, Mongolian-style house): "he was my world. He made a very lonely experience less lonely."

During her sojourn, Emma says that "those Mongolian kids taught me way more than I taught them" (although "it's such a cliché"). However, she also says "I really don't think I engaged life at that point as much as I could have, as much as I should have." She was hesitant to give people her time and energy, and she was at times reluctant to "lean in" to unfamiliar things and situations. Drawing from past experience, she says that she felt that "your first response is to get very protective of yourself and your space and your things. Because *you* are all you have. So you become very focused on things that don't matter."

When Emma's two years of service came to a close, she returned to the United States with Chicago to start graduate school at Illinois State University. After a few overwhelming moments in big box stores, she says that the speed at which she readjusted to the conveniences of life in the U.S. was "bizarre." Emma has been back in the U.S. for two years, and as she reflects on her experience in the Peace Corps she says that even though it was not the experience she imagined for herself, "it laid a really great

foundation for future change." As opposed to feeling isolated in a small, rural community, she says that "embracing life is a choice I make."

Stephen. Growing up, Stephen "never seemed to do the same thing more than once." He was raised in the suburbs of Chicago and "was always kinda free-flowing. Always had a lot of freedom growing up, for better or for worse." One of his earliest formative experiences was practicing and teaching taekwondo. He started learning the martial art in late elementary school, but by the age of 16 he was teaching working professionals. The impact of teaching taekwondo, he says, was not immediately obvious to him, but in the past few years he has come to realize the significance of being "junior in age but at the same moment you can respect these [people] and they respect and listen to you, too."

Although Stephen says it is the norm for students in upper-middle class Chicago suburbs to go to college right after graduating from high school, he decided early in his high school career that he did not want to go to college right away; instead, he decided that he would join the military. After a positive encounter with an Air Force recruiter, he decided that the Air Force would be the branch with which he would serve. It initially struck me as odd that someone so used to freedom and individual pursuits would choose to enter an organization built on order and conformity and "submit [himself] to the will of the state," but Stephen says his decision came out of the respect that he learned through martial arts.

Stephen served in the Air Force for four years, and during that time he served two three-month tours in Saudi Arabia and one seven-month tour in Kuwait. The three were "remarkably different, in a very good way," he says, with different amounts of interaction

with foreign non-military personnel and different amounts of room for adventure, exploration, and mischief. His time in Kuwait was particularly formative: he was allowed to explore Kuwait City, ate local foods, visited local markets, and even encountered Bedouins and their camels on security missions in the desert outside of the military base.

Not only does Stephen "like to do new things"; he likes to tie other people into those new experiences, too. "When I went out I tried to take as many different people with me because it was so cool out there." For example, a Kuwaiti national introduced him to a restaurant that quickly became Stephen's favorite, and "I remembered how to get to the restaurant. I remembered where to park. So people would say, 'Yo, Moist, we're going into town. Could you show us where that fish restaurant is? We'll buy you dinner!'"

At the end of his time in Kuwait, Stephen decided to attend Illinois State University in Normal, Illinois after his discharge from the Air Force. Entering university, he says, "was a shock... I hadn't been a full-time student in five years, and I was never a particularly good student. Although I really enjoyed the scholastic experience, I enjoy learning, I've never done homework." Another immediate difficulty was entering college as someone in his early 20s. "You feel much older," he says. His age difference paralleled the common age distribution in the military: "in the military you're going through this experience together [with people right out of high school] and there are a few oddball people in their 20s and we had one guy who was like 35." As an older freshman in college, he says "it was weird to be looking at that scene from that 'old enough to be slightly outside the norm'" age.

Stephen began studying at Illinois State University in August 2004 and graduated three years later. That was followed by "two years of screwing around," then four years

of working at various jobs in the Bloomington-Normal, Illinois area. He sees his life as a series of distinct segments: high school, the military, college and his "screwing around" years, and years in productive work. "The last few years have been more of a continuous whole," he says, "but I don't know if it's because I haven't been far enough away from it to look back and say, 'Oh, no, that was your midlife crisis' or something." From one life segment to the next, however, he sees his life as "a never ceasing journey," but recognizes that "there are moments when you have to stop and take stock and talk about it and think about it. Absorb. It's important to stop." Stephen currently lives with his cat, Harvey Wallclimber, and a roommate in Normal, Illinois, where he works as a help desk technician⁸.

Joel. When Joel and I met for our interview, he was first under the impression that the focus of our conversation would be his religious background -- another type of "sojourn" experience -- instead of his experience returning to the U.S. after the two years he spent living in abroad. Joel was born into a large Mormon family (among his parents' eight children, he is the only boy) in California. He grew up a member of an active LDS congregation, and like many young LDS men, he received a call to serve as a missionary. His call came after he finished the first few semesters of his undergraduate work at the University of California at Berkeley, where he decided to major in psychology. As is

⁸ Stephen's experiences living and working abroad do not seem to match exactly the conceptualization of "sojourner" at the heart of this study; after all, in this research an important part of the impetus of a sojourn is to increase one's human or cultural capital. However, Siu's classic definition of the sojourner clearly includes military personnel under the sojourner umbrella. After all, "the intrinsic purpose [of a sojourn] is to do a job and do it in the shortest possible time" (Siu 1952:35). In addition, the "job" that is the purpose of one's sojourn indicates "a deviation from the term 'career.' . . . the job can be only a part of one's career," and the "job itself is a means to an end" (ibid.). In Stephen's case, his tour in Kuwait was a part of his longer army career, and agreeing to serve abroad contributed to the end goal of an honorable discharge from the Air Force.

common for Mormons who take the call to serve while pursuing a degree, he withdrew from school and began his training.

Joel was called to serve in and around Córdoba, Argentina. He didn't have any say in the matter, but having studied Spanish in school helped his chances of being sent abroad. His missionary life in Argentina was much like missionary life elsewhere: missionaries are required to keep a strict daily schedule that involves fitness, reflection, personal study, and hours of proselytizing. Missionaries are also required to keep in regular contact with family members at home through written correspondence. (Joel's mother kept a binder full of hand-written letters he sent home during his two years in Córdoba.) During his sojourn, Joel met many people; after all, the missionary's job is to engage people in conversation about the LDS church with the goal of converting new members. He also had the opportunity to work alongside Argentine Mormons.

Joel's mission went smoothly until the very end. As missionaries, Mormons are required to live regimented, pure lives. That means no popular music, no unnecessary consumerism, and no unauthorized trips. Joel followed those rules, with the occasional exception of walking a bit slower in front of storefronts playing Argentine rock in order to sneak a listen: he and his assigned companion took a trip from their mission site to the city center to buy leather jackets they were eyeing. They were caught, and they were both required to spend the last two weeks of their mission locked in the country supervisor's house.

Before Joel embarked on his mission, Joel says that there were moments in which his faith was shaky. During his mission, though, he was committed to the LDS church and its teachings. Not even getting caught buying leather jackets made him rethink his

faith organization. However, after he returned to Berkeley after his mission he encountered criticism for his beliefs and his involvement with the LDS church; after all, "being Mormon in Berkeley really wasn't cool," he says. Over time, he decided that the LDS church was not an organization of which he wanted to be a part, and he left. Joel says that in many ways, leaving the church was a more difficult transition than returning to the U.S. from his mission in Argentina.

After Joel completed his bachelor's degree at Berkeley, he worked for two years in the field of psychology. He was admitted to Texas A&M and earned a PhD in clinical counseling, and while studying there, he met his wife. "I rode [my wife's] coattails to ISU," he says with a laugh, and at the time of our interview in the spring of 2014, Joel had been teaching in ISU's Department of Psychology for about 12 years.

The Cultural Identity Model in Sojourners' Lived Experiences

One model with which to frame sojourners' reentry experiences is Sussman's Cultural Identity Model (CIM), which predicts the positivity or negativity of sojourner reentry experiences based on four sojourner ideal-types, including Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, and Global (2001; 2002b; 2010). The CIM tacitly draws on social identity theory because it explains identity maintenance and change in social terms: some sojourners maintain origin culture group affiliations, and thus experience little identity change, while others shed origin culture group affiliations or enter new groups in their host cultures, meaning that their identities change as a result of changing group membership. However, Sussman's CIM only takes us so far; this model is helpful in understanding immediate reentry experiences in terms of the positivity or negativity of

the experience that results from the (in)congruence of sojourners' post-sojourn identities with the origin culture, but it does not shed light on the causes or methods of resolution of negative feelings and reentry-related stress.

In the following discussion, I use the Cultural Identity Model to frame sojourners' reentry experiences, including how individuals embodied different sojourner types as told through their narratives. It is important to note that Sussman's model outlines sojourner "ideal types"; that is, the four types of sojourners and sojourn experiences are treated independently in the model. According to the CIM, a sojourner and his or her experience abroad can be placed into one of the four categories, which does not always reflect reality. In sojourners' lived experiences, a sojourn experience may encompass both Subtractive and Additive elements, for example, or a combination of Affirmative and Subtractive. However, I focus here on pieces of sojourners' experiences, as relayed to me in participants' narratives, that demonstrate one of the four sojourner types at a time in order to demonstrate how sojourners experienced identity change in certain aspects of their sojourns that led to positive, negative, or neutral reentry experiences.

It is important to recall that the Cultural Identity Model is a way of thinking about and analyzing social identity and social identity change in the context of intercultural transitions; therefore, social identity theory is present in this discussion, but it is discussed by way of Sussman's CIM. Here I give examples of Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, and Global aspects of sojourns as relayed to me in participant narratives. After discussing each of the four sojourner types included in the Cultural Identity Model and different parts of participants' narratives that demonstrate Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, and Global elements, I extend beyond the CIM to explore the ways in which

positive or negative reentry experiences manifest themselves in post-sojourn life. Here, I discuss how returned sojourners who have negative reentry experiences in particular resolve those negative experiences as they readjust to life in the United States.

Affirmative. The first sojourner type, Affirmative, defines a type of sojourner that maintains strong ties to existing origin culture groups. The Affirmative sojourner perhaps favors interacting with family or friends at home over interacting with people in the host culture, or when in the host culture surrounds him or herself with people from the same origin culture. While not an element of the Cultural Identity Model as Sussman proposes, I argue that organizations through which individuals sojourn have a profound effect on the type of experience a sojourner may have. Some organizations, like many university-sponsored study abroad programs or the United States Peace Corps, grant sojourners significant amounts of agency in creating host culture social networks⁹; others, like religious organizations or branches of the United States military, maintain strict behavioral, attitudinal, and appearance-related norms to which sojourners must adhere. Deviation from those institutionalized norms could incur serious consequences¹⁰.

Even if sojourners themselves may express traits that would otherwise lead them to be more Additive or Subtractive, the structures of their organizations through which they sojourn lead them to be Affirmative sojourners. Sussman's model assumes that identities change abroad when sojourners abandon origin culture relationships or initiate new relationships abroad with host country nationals; Affirmative sojourners constantly remind themselves (or are reminded) of origin culture affiliations and, upon return, generally have a positive reentry experience. Because they maintain origin culture

⁹ These sorts of organizations might be termed "loose" (Pelto 1968).

¹⁰ Organizations like these might be known as "tight" (Triandis 1994).

relationships and minimize host culture relationship gains, they are generally able to reintegrate more easily into the origin culture.

During his two three-month tours in Saudi Arabia, which Stephen says were more restrictive than his seven-month tour in Kuwait, his interaction with Saudis (both contracted employees and Saudi military personnel) was limited.

You interacted with local people, but they were all contractors, serving your food, doing your garbage, stuff like that. And then you had very limited contact with the Saudi Arabian military personnel. So it was very much like being on a base that you weren't allowed to leave, with additional troops there.

Stephen also says that for a time, the U.S. military in Saudi Arabia offered short, optional, and infrequent cultural tours outside the base, but those excursions were not very popular and he never took advantage of the opportunity. To a large degree during all of his tours (in Saudi Arabia more so than in Kuwait), Stephen's time was spent living and working alongside people from the same cultural background with little meaningful interaction with people who were not from the United States.

Stephen's adventurous nature and propensity for mischief led him to adopt the mindset that "just because no one told you [that] you could" do certain things, like explore off base, does not mean that one *shouldn't*; in Kuwait, Stephen says that "no one expected you to go off base more than a couple times," but he often explored local restaurants and businesses with other military personnel, and he made friends with private contractors who had accommodations outside of the military base. Though Stephen explored outside of his base and to some extent interacted with local people in Kuwait, he explains that a fact of military life is being surrounded by other people from the United States, some of whom even come from the same region.

You go with people from your base... You're traveling in a group. I was there with 13 or 26 people from my own base, plus you make friends while you're there, so you kinda go there with people and you come back with people. You're all away from home together.

Life in the military is team-oriented, and Stephen's daily tasks, like patrolling the surroundings of the base from a watchtower or patrolling the desert in a Humvee, were always done in a group of other U.S. military personnel. His work schedule, too, was prohibitive in terms of allowing much time for host culture interaction: he often worked 12-hour shifts, three days on and one day off. "The time flies by," he says, and "you don't really have time to get too homesick." Here he suggests that military personnel do not have time or mental space to dwell on the distance -- both physical and cultural -- between the locale of the current assignment and their culture of origin.

According to Stephen's narrative, his reentry experience was relatively easy. When he returned from Kuwait, he had fewer than six months of active duty left before he could be honorably discharged. However, he saved much of his vacation time in years prior, so the number of months he worked during his last stint on a military base in the U.S. were limited. The last few months of his time in the military were spent relaxing, albeit on military property. Stephen's experience in the military affirmed his identities as a U.S. citizen and as an employee of the U.S. government. He lived and worked alongside people from the same place, followed commands in English, followed U.S. military norms (or faced consequences), and presented themselves in similar ways by wearing a uniform (see Stephen's photo for an example of a uniform piece that differentiated him from others on his base). Stephen suggests that life on military bases around the world is similar, and the most "shock" he faced while on a tour was related to the look of the landscape outside the military base's walls. A harder transition than

returning from any of his three tours abroad, he says, was leaving the military and starting his freshman year at Illinois State University.

Joel, too, sojourned through an organization -- the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS) -- that required maintenance of origin culture contacts and an origin culture identity. Joel served as a missionary in Argentina in and around the city of Córdoba. As a missionary, Joel had a "script" of sorts: his interactions with individuals in his host communities were goal-oriented. Although he took on some aspects of his host culture -- all of his interactions with host country nationals took place in *castellano*, Argentine Spanish -- the goal of LDS mission work is religious conversion and new baptisms.

In terms of appearance, Joel was required to follow a strict dress code. Notably, he was required to wear a nametag bearing his name (ELDER SCHNEIDER) and his religious affiliation. He was also required to work with another LDS missionary (a "companion"), send reports of all mission-related activities and progress to the in-country supervisor, and write letters every week to his family in the United States.

While Joel interacted frequently with Argentines, there was little opportunity for him to independently grow his social networks outside of his religious organization. He was required to be in weekly contact with family in the U.S. and LDS leaders in Argentina, thus affirming his pre-sojourn identity as a member of a Mormon family and the LDS church. Mormonism is an American religion -- it was founded by American Joseph Smith, Jr. in the United States in the early 1800s -- meaning that Joel's interactions, be they with other Mormons or with potential converts, can be tied back to the United States.

In LDS tradition, missionaries are welcomed back into their congregations and communities upon the completion of their missions. This sort of ritual serves to temporally bind the mission experience, thereby separating it from the next phase of life. For Joel, returning to Berkeley as a practicing Mormon was more difficult than returning to the United States. "It just wasn't cool" to be a Mormon in Berkeley, California, he says.

Of the two Affirmative sojourners, Joel -- a former LDS missionary -- had an ascriptive social identity through his religious organization (Jenkins 2006). That is, as opposed to Stephen, who chose to enlist in the military, Joel was born into a Mormon family and was brought up according to Mormon values. Joel's Mormon identity was internalized, as opposed to Stephen's military identity, which was the outcome of a career choice. Despite the differences in their ascriptive and achieved identities, both Joel and Stephen were required by their institutions to maintain a "uniformity of perception" (Stets and Burke 2006:226) in line with their organizations' values and missions.

Another facet of social identity theory states that sojourners who have the opportunity to leave their groups will do so if there comes a time when they cease to feel oneness with the group as a whole. However, Tajfel (1981) theorizes that individuals who *cannot* leave their groups must find a new lens through which to interpret their groups' values and missions to lessen the dissonance between individual priorities and group perspective. For both Joel and Stephen, who were not allowed to leave their groups without serious (potentially legal) consequences, they both narrated active interpretive work to make their involvement in their respective groups tolerable throughout the duration of their sojourns. Joel suggests that he maintained his faith in the LDS church throughout his sojourn perhaps because of an invigorated interpretation of religious texts,

interactions, and occurrences. Stephen explains that at times during his tours when he wanted to leave, he had to remind himself that his situation was his own doing; after all, he chose to join the military, so he "may as well do it." To lessen the dissonance between his personal desire and the group commitment required by the military, Stephen reframed his reality to highlight his choice to be there.

Subtractive. The second sojourner type, Subtractive, defines individuals who experience identity losses through origin culture relationship losses while abroad. That is, Subtractive sojourners either intentionally abandon existing origin culture relationships or lose those relationships due to an unintentional lack of contact. Those identity losses lead to identity change because the myriad of groups of which a sojourner was previously a part has shifted. According to Sussman, Subtractive sojourners experience negative origin culture reentry because of that identity change; when sojourners return, they have fewer meaningful social ties in, and less in common with, the origin culture.

One subtractive act entails intentionally abandoning origin culture social ties. For example, during Erin's sojourn to Italy, she says that "being in Italy, I didn't write home to my parents very much, I rarely called. I think I Skyped with my mom one time. I wasn't that interested in preserving ties to people at home." She attributes that distance to "the sense of escapism I always saw in travel." The subtractive element of Erin's Italy sojourn and the resulting reentry experience was influenced by events that occurred even before her flight to Italy left the ground:

When I went [to Italy], all that drama from college, these people talking shit... I [didn't] need that. [There were] some things that happened with my family right before I left, so it was very much a question of, "Should I even leave? Do I need to be here for my family?" At some point it was like, "I have to go." Once I went, it was like, "I'm not going to live in that world anymore. I'm only here for four months, so I'm going to live in *this*

world.” I think I definitely [had] a sense of escapism and wanting to start over.

Here, Erin explains that she decided to escape stressful college and family relationships while in Italy, and instead of prioritizing ties to people in the U.S. with whom she had uncomfortable relationships, she decided to cut those ties, at least temporarily. Additionally, Erin had fixated on sojourning in Italy for years, ever since she visited for a week in high school. She insinuates here that problematic origin culture ties would have soiled the experience she had looked forward to and planned for years prior to studying abroad, and cutting ties to family and friends allowed her to take advantage of opportunities for study, travel, and new friendships while in Italy.

Erin says that before she went to Italy -- in college and in high school -- she found herself "on the periphery of a clique" and felt "this pressure to always be surrounding yourself with people." However, when she returned from Italy she relinquished that pressure and rejected her "peripheral" position in various social groups on campus. Instead, she sought relationships with individuals in different groups and felt no pressure to integrate herself into those individuals' respective social groups, too.

Socially it was easier for me to come back and be like, “You know what? I don’t have to hang out with people every day. I can have a relationship with one person in this group, and if the group doesn’t invite me to something it’s okay because I’m not friends with the group, I’m friends with the person.”

Erin explains that she did change in Italy in some regards in that she shed some formerly salient identity traits -- she went out more, let her guard down, tried new things, and learned to live in an apartment for the first time -- she reverted in some ways back to her pre-sojourn self in many ways. That is something she regrets, she says, suggesting a negative aspect of her return. However, as she indicates when she explains that the social

aspect of her reentry was easier, the subtractive nature of her sojourn did not produce an exclusively negative reentry experience.

Another way in which sojourners are Subtractive is through a more organic loss of origin culture relationships. Caety became distant from some of her high school friends during her post-high school gap year in Germany. She explains that a number of her closest friends from high school had adventures of their own after high school, too: she felt that her friends who left their hometown of Murphreesboro, Tennessee for college or other opportunities had grown in ways parallel to the ways in which Caety grew while living abroad. "Most of my best friends had also had an adventure. They weren't just straight out of what we had all known growing up. I didn't feel a huge disconnect from them. I kept up with them all year pretty well." However, "I didn't feel the same about the people who'd stayed in Murphreesboro. Those relationships fizzled out." Here, Caety suggests that among her friends and acquaintances from high school, trajectories diverged. Her relationships with friends who had parallel sorts of adventures remained intact because they all grew in similar ways, but she lost relationships with people who chose to stay in their hometown who she perceived to stay the same: "I was like, 'Why haven't you changed? Why are you still little kids?'"¹¹

As Caety explained it, her reentry into the United States after leaving Germany was difficult. Soon after returning she started her freshman year of college at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, and she found herself among a small Honors Program cohort made up of students who came straight from area high schools. She was

¹¹ The implication here, though, is that this is a Subtractive aspect of her sojourn because her sojourn was simultaneously Additive. That is, Caety's identity changed as a result of new relationships in Germany, which made her incompatible with some of her origin culture group affiliations. Her U.S. high school friendships that survived her gap year were relationships with individuals who also had Additive experiences.

the only student who had had an adventure, she says, and she seemed to equate the other incoming freshmen with her high school friends who stayed in Murphreesboro after high school graduation.

I felt silly for feeling like I was "above" them or something, but I just did. I felt like I had had a completely different, broader scope of things than these people who were coming straight from Murphreesboro or coming straight from somewhere else and had really never... Not just even traveled, but living and becoming assimilated to a new type of thinking, and I felt like watching them, you know, the way they walked and the way they talked was very much the same as when they were in high school and I felt like me coming out of Germany, like, I had just... I wasn't the same.

While abroad, Caety experienced a number of relationship losses and, hence, a degree of identity loss. However, when she parallels incoming freshmen at in the Honors Program at UT Chattanooga with the people from her high school who did not leave their hometown to have adventures of their own, those perceived parallels impaired her ability to initiate relationships with her new classmates, too. That is, she seems to have preemptively subtracted her new classmates from her social networks before creating those relationships. (She later realized that she shared plenty of commonalities with her classmates: "as much as they didn't understand what I'd gone through and what I had done when I lived [in Germany], they understood me for the whole 18 years before I left. So there was plenty we could connect on.")

Erin and Caety demonstrate that Subtractive sojourners lose relationships during their sojourns in two distinct ways: they may cut ties and leave origin culture groups purposefully, or they may "fizzle out" organically as a result of changing interests and priorities on behalf of the sojourner. According to social identity theory, both Erin and Caety demonstrate that the act of shedding origin culture group affiliations caused them to have fewer commonalities (and greater incongruence) with the origin culture, because

their origin culture group affiliations provided them a way of understanding the world and framing behaviors and attitudes within an origin culture context.

Additive. The third sojourner type in Sussman's model is the Additive sojourner who experiences an identity gain via the addition of host culture relationships. Becoming a part of new social groups abroad changes one's identity, which Sussman predicts to lead to a negative origin culture reentry experience because one's identity becomes more aligned with host culture norms. It is hard to imagine a sojourner *not* exhibiting some degree of Additive characteristics; after all, it seems practically impossible to completely shelter oneself from interactions with individuals in the host culture. However, participants in this study that I consider to be Additive demonstrate substantial, meaningful relationship (ergo, identity) gains.

Participants' narratives in this study reveal that some of the most significant relationship gains are kinship relationships, including fictive, affinal, and consanguinal kinship. As the experiences of some participants in this research suggest, some organizations through which individuals sojourn facilitate fictive kin relationships between sojourners and individuals and groups within the host culture. For example, the United States Peace Corps and many university-sponsored study abroad programs arrange for sojourners to stay with host families upon arrival or even for the duration of the sojourn, even if the sojourn is several years in duration.

Emma formed a significant relationship during her Peace Corps service in rural Mongolia with her host mom, a local English teacher who was young, hip, and "with it," and who even understood Emma's strict vegetarianism. In addition, a woman named Darhu took Emma under her wing and became her "adopted grandmother," even though

she is the same age as Emma's mother. Emma says that she and Darhu barely understood each other through verbal communication, but that Darhu was incredibly intuitive and "got" her in other ways. Emma says she is still in contact with her host mom and with Darhu, although their correspondence is old fashioned.

It's such a lost art, the excitement of getting an envelope in the mailbox with these old terribly printed photos inside of my baby brother and sister. There's nothing that can compare to that feeling other than whilst in Mongolia receiving a letter from mom and dad back home, the opposite way.

One of the first things Emma did upon arriving at her work site in Mongolia was inquire about getting a cat. It is perhaps quite "American" to consider pets to be family or, in a sense, "fictive kin" -- in Mongolia, Emma says that people who live in rural areas consider cats to be vermin -- but Emma was placed in a more liberal village that held the view that cats can be pets, too. A former Peace Corps Volunteer who served in the same village a decade prior was able to help Emma find one: a mustachioed being she named Chicago, or 'Kago for short. While living in a small village in the Gobi desert, Emma says that Chicago represented "salvation" and "companionship."

When you're in a situation like that it's nice to have something that you can say "I love you" to when you leave in the morning and come back at night. And it was nice to have somebody to speak English with. It made a very lonely experience less lonely. He was my world.

The way in which Emma speaks of, and to, her cat suggests that she considers Chicago to be family. In the above passage, Emma speaks of her cat using the term "somebody," signifying that she has endowed her cat with personhood. During our interview she picked him up and moved him around, followed by an apology: "Sorry, dude!" "Dude" is a term often used among friends, which suggests the companionate nature of Emma and Chicago's relationship.

Through the kinship-like connection to her cat that in Mongolian terms is very strong, Emma also unintentionally grew her contacts within the community. Chicago got lost one spring, right before all of Emma's students left for spring break. She says that Chicago's disappearance made her "heartsick," and she reached out to her community for help.

My first impulse was to go knock on every single door in town, and I did! And it took me about two hours. There wasn't one person who didn't open the door, welcome me into their home, sit me down, and listen to what I had to say with this crinkled old black and white picture that I had once printed in the capital and this sad broken Mongolian story about how I lost my cat.

Later, when the cat still had not turned up, three girls in the village -- "they were like my little posse" -- helped Emma through that particularly difficult time. Several days of searching for the cat led nowhere, so her "posse" led her to a "soothsayer" who used coins to "see" where her missing cat had gone. The girls interpreted the old man's fortune, and although a literal interpretation of his "vision" did not ultimately lead to the discovery of the cat's mysterious locale, the act is representative of the community's collective response to Chicago's disappearance. (He was discovered and was safe, nine days after he went missing, locked in the house of a family who left the village for spring break and had not yet returned.) Interestingly, Emma says that there was "a part of me that I wish that 'Kago had been lost and found earlier in my service... because it could have made a lot more connections if I had had a reason to do that before."

During all three of Erin's sojourns to Tanzania -- including a five-week summer course in anthropology that she took through Millsaps College, two months during which she conducted ethnographic research that was part of her undergraduate Honors thesis, and her most recent 14-month sojourn -- she lived with a host family. Her connection to

that particular family was established early in her first sojourn there. Within the family, she formed an immediate connection to her host father, Baba Sadaka. Like the relationship between Emma and Darhu, Erin and Baba Sadaka experienced challenges in verbal communication at first, but Erin says that "he just seemed to 'get' me; we would have these conversations where we barely understood each other yet we really understood each other." She also formed a particularly close relationship with her host sister, Adelina, and was the godmother to Adelina's young child. Adelina began confiding in Erin during her two-month period of ethnographic research, and the two grew close.

In Erin's experience, her host family did not just provide her with a place to stay and opportunity to practice Swahili; she was expected to take part in activities around the house. When Erin arrived in Tanzania she wrote fairly regularly. However, her host family soon expressed a preference that she help with household duties rather than sit writing, an act that was interpreted differently in Tanzania than it is in the United States. Her family would ask, "What are you doing? Why don't you wash clothes? Why don't you take care of the baby? Why are you writing?" In this sense, one Additive aspect (adding a fictive kin network) caused a Subtractive aspect (writing was not an accepted behavior within that new network, so that practice and aspect of her identity was, to a degree, lost during her sojourn).

Both sojourners who reported fictive kin relationships described feeling like at least one member of the fictive kin group "got" them. As opposed to affinal and consanguinal kin relationships -- which are powerful Additive relationships because, as later interview excerpts show, they are based on love, respect, and heritage -- fictive kin relationships have the most Additive potential when there is deep mutual understanding.

Sussman predicts that Additive sojourners will experience negative origin culture reentry. This was true for Erin, but not for the reasons Sussman predicted. According to Sussman's CIM, Additive sojourners experience negative reentry due to significant identity change resulting from host culture relationship gains. While Erin did feel as though she did not completely fit in U.S. society, a bigger source of reentry stress came from one of her fictive kin relationships.

[I] found out that the day I left, my host dad was like, "[Adelina] has been saying all these things to me about things you say and do and I haven't known whether or not to believe her but it seems so not like you," and that's when I knew where all the rumors were starting. I was trying to figure out where all this stuff was coming from, and that's when I realized that [Adelina] was at the heart of a lot of it. That was like "Epiphany!" and then I left. This person I felt was my best friend, whose child was my goddaughter ... is the one who betrayed me most and caused so much stress and drama. And then I just left so I didn't have time to process.

When she returned to the United States, she says:

[I] was so upset about Adelina, and my mother, and missing Baba and wishing he and I had time to sort things out, and missing my goddaughter and all these emotions I had trying to sort through because all these things were happening so fast... I'm not even sure I can count how many times I had a breakdown in my cubicle. It was just waves of emotion... Like Adelina calling me wanting money, or calling me trying to start shit.

In the above passages, Erin explains that her host sister, Adelina, betrayed her during her last few months in Tanzania. In our interview, Erin says that there was more prolonged tension in her host home around the issue of money: at one point in her most recent sojourn, students at Erin's former high school in Covington raised money to buy new books for her school in Tanzania, and at another time, Erin successfully crowd-funded a photo voice project for a smaller group of students. In both instances, Erin's host family questioned and seemed to oppose the fundraising, insisting that Erin not put the money toward the intended causes but should instead give them money. The rumors and

drama started by Adelina added stress to Erin's already-stressful last few months, and she says that she did not have time to process the situation or set the record straight before she returned to the U.S.

Although Erin added fictive kin relationships and thus experienced an identity gain, Erin also suggests that cultural distance affected relationship dynamics in Tanzania. Social identity is based on a "uniformity of perception" among group members: group members see themselves in similar ways and they hold similar worldviews (Stets and Burke 2000:226). Erin says that she wanted to see past the effects of other her other group memberships -- ascriptive ones -- and form deep, meaningful relationships with host culture individuals. However, ascriptive identity traits like her culture of origin, native language, and whiteness created a cultural gulf that idealism could not bridge. Erin wanted to be able to toss colonial pasts, race and ethnicity, economics, and language aside; unfortunately, the salience of identities tied to her origin culture and upbringing was high, which sometimes reified cultural differences, prevented a "uniformity of perception" and "oneness" (Stets and Burke 2000:226), cut through meaningful relationships for which Erin yearned, and sparked drama and disagreements, even in her fictive kin relationships. This is discussed in greater detail in a discussion of other thematic findings regarding cultural distance below.

While Emma and Erin established fictive kin networks during their sojourns, Tim and Nadia established new or newly-legitimized kin relationships in other ways. Tim expanded his family through marriage to Ruka, a woman he met in the same village in which he carried out his Peace Corps service. He says that "marrying never made sense to me here in [the United States]... it didn't make a lot of sense to me as an individual. But

marrying [Ruka] made a lot of sense." Through that marriage, he expanded his network of ties significantly, although he says that these days he keeps in touch with those extended familial ties via his wife.

Of his sojourn, Tim says that "in some ways it never ended" because of his marriage. Even after he moved his family to the United States from East Africa in the late 1990s, the family's ties -- now stretching a considerably farther physical distance -- were still there. In addition to keeping in touch through his wife, Tim's immediate family maintains ties monetarily. His family has adopted a "tithing" model -- similar to the Christian practice of giving 10 percent of one's income to the church -- in which 10 percent of one's earned income is given away, although Tim says that he does not feel the need to give through a religious organization. In preparation for a trip to Africa with his wife in January 2014, Tim asked his children and extended family in the United States to give monetary amounts (in lieu of gifts) to him and his wife that would be taken to Africa and given to families and communities there.

As will be discussed later, Tim and his family intentionally live counter-culturally to mainstream U.S. culture in that they do not subscribe to a materialist, consumerist mindset. While this mindset is often the norm, if not a necessity, in East Africa where economic circumstances are quite different from those in the United States, Tim explains that the simplicity of his family's lifestyle in the U.S. is a choice. Social identity theory might suggest that Tim's affinal kinship ties help him feel "at one" (Stets and Burke 2000:226) with a group that leads a simple lifestyle. While in the U.S. Tim and his family might be relegated to an "out-group" of people who live counter-culturally, his affinal ties perhaps give him and his family a sense of solidarity with groups, although many

thousands of miles away, that have a similar worldview. Tim experienced an identity gain through adding new kinship ties, which is predicted to cause negative reentry. However, through his wife, Tim has strong ties that affirm him in host culture values even after returning to the United States; those values are considered counter-cultural in the U.S., but his group ties perhaps maintain a sense of "oneness" with people for whom simplicity is an everyday necessity.

During Nadia's time in Jordan, she legitimated previously superficial consanguinal kinship ties to her extended family on her father's side. Prior to her sojourn, she did not understand much, if any, of her Iraqi heritage. She romanticized the Arab part of her, and although her father tried to keep his past a secret, Nadia chose to study and research in Jordan in order to learn Arabic and discover the narratives and heritage her father tried to erase. In the process, she became a legitimate part of her extended Arab family.

I was able to speak with my grandmother for the first time. You know? And I became part of the family. I only have two brothers but I'm the only grandchild to be a legitimate part of the family just because I understand that Arabness that defines them even more than if I grew up in an Arab country. But because they're refugees they cling to that Arab identity and they're consumed by it. So all of a sudden the other half of me was made up.

Through her sojourn, Nadia came to understand her formerly-mysterious Iraqi heritage. Instead of experiencing negative reentry, as is predicted in Sussman's CIM, Nadia's reentry was overwhelmingly positive. By learning about and legitimating the Arab part of her identity, she now sees herself as a whole person. She returned to the United States unafraid of establishing roots and entering committed relationships, and she

reclaimed the role as nurturer within her family in rural Louisiana that she resented before her sojourn.

Social identity theory suggests that different social identities are activated in different social settings; in other words, some social identities are more salient in some social environments than are others (Stets and Burke 2000:229; Stryker 1980). When Nadia came to understand the "other half" of her heritage, one could postulate that that identity gain could raise questions about identity activation and salience. Additionally, social identity theory postulates that people understand themselves through "uniformity of perception and action among group members" (Stets and Burke 2000:226). After Nadia became legitimized in her father's extended Arab family, how would her newfound "oneness" with an additional family group affect her identity after she returned to the U.S.? Would one family affiliation become more salient than the other after she returned? Interestingly, Nadia explains that she felt a high degree of crossover between behaviors and attitudes in Arab and Southern cultures; although Nadia narrates that she initially felt a high degree of cultural distance between her Southern upbringing and her Arab host culture, she came to understand more similarities between the two than she expected. She says that aesthetics, gender roles, and family values are quite similar. After she returned to the U.S., her positive reentry was likely aided by the possibility that her two heritages (consanguinal kin ties) were not competing for salience; instead, they could in many instances co-exist, and she could feel oneness with both kin groups because of similar behaviors, values, and worldviews.

The sojourners in this study demonstrated Additive traits by initiating new relationships abroad and joining new social groups; however, the most meaningful and

formative Additive relationships appear to be kinship relationships, including fictive, affinal, and consanguinal kinship ties. Sojourners like Emma and Erin formed fictive kin ties with host culture individuals even when language acted as a barrier because people who became fictive kin "got" them, or understood them on a deeper level without needing in-depth verbal communication. For Tim, marriage to his wife Ruka established permanent ties to East Africa, and Tim's multicultural household makes it seem as though his sojourn never ended, even though he moved his family to a home in middle Tennessee in the late 1990s. In Nadia's case, legitimated consanguinal ties helped her discover a part of her heritage that she did not at all understand before sojourning in Jordan.

Another aspect of the Additive sojourner extends beyond relationship gains and encompasses the carryover of behaviors and attitudes associated with those relationships and host culture group memberships to the origin culture. These added behaviors and attitudes, according to Sussman, can cause discomfort for the returned sojourner and others with whom the sojourner interacts after the sojourner's origin culture reentry. For example, Sussman explains that after she returned to her origin culture after a sojourn in Japan, she asked guests in her home to remove their shoes by the front door, a practice common in East Asia. This included people with whom she had close relationships, but it also included people with whom she had only limited interaction, like delivery people. Sussman believes that request caused discomfort among people in her home, particularly among people she did not know well, contributing to a stressful and somewhat negative reentry experience.

As Erin explains, added host culture behaviors and attitudes can also cause discomfort for the sojourner her/himself if there is no one with whom to share those behaviors. Erin says she made one of her favorite Tanzanian foods, a type of salad, a few times after she returned, but not often. She also says that she wanted to speak Swahili, "but there's no one to talk to other than talking to people on the phone, Skyping." As she explained earlier in her narrative, the people with whom she was in contact often and could speak Swahili prompted negative interactions -- Adelina "trying to start shit," or Ben, her ex-boyfriend, telling her what people in the village were saying about the future of their relationship -- meaning that when she was able to speak Swahili, it was not necessarily a pleasant experience. While Erin may have wanted to engage in behaviors that were significant parts of her time in Tanzania, like preparing certain foods or speaking Swahili, she rarely did so because "I just didn't have anybody to share it with." This suggests that sharing host culture-specific behaviors and attitudes with people in the origin culture might be a way to ease reentry distress.

During my semester-long study abroad sojourn in Buenos Aires, Argentina, I became fond of drinking *yerba mate*, a bitter, highly-caffeinated loose-leaf "tea" commonly consumed, both hot and cold, in Argentina, Bolivia, southern Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. In Argentina, one can consume *yerba mate* by oneself; however, it is equally common in group settings, if not more so, with one gourd full of the strong beverage passed around a number of friends or acquaintances and refilled with hot water until the leaves are *lavado*, or washed out.

When I returned from Argentina, I carried my trusty ceramic *mate*, delicious *yerba*, the *bombilla* (the metal straw used to drink the loose-leaf mate from the gourd),

and a *termo* (thermos) back to campus for my senior year. My undergraduate academic department -- Sociology/Anthropology -- organized a weekly gathering every Friday afternoon at which students and professors came together to shoot the breeze and catch up at the end of each long, stressful week. I missed the social aspect of consuming *mate* while abroad, so I brought the supplies to the weekly gathering. One regularly-attending professor studied in Argentina himself, so he was familiar with the practice; for others, the thought of passing around a gourd full of a mysterious dried plant, consumed through a communal straw, was foreign and caused some hesitancy and perhaps discomfort.

For Erin, not being able to share behaviors she made habitual in Tanzania contributed to a more negative reentry experience; for me, being able to share a social practice I enjoyed with people I enjoyed being around made an otherwise stressful reentry experience more palatable. For me, drinking *yerba mate* with friends and mentors was a way to bridge the formative experience of studying abroad with life in the United States.

Global. The fourth sojourner type outlined in Sussman's CIM is the Global sojourner, or a person who sees him or herself as a part of the "in-group" in cultures across the world. Additionally, Global sojourners are "old hands at cultural transitions" and have moved between cultures a number of times (Sussman 2002a:8). Examples of truly Global sojourners may be people with long-term bi- or multicultural lifestyles (rather than one or two sojourns), such as Third Culture Kids, who are children who live in a different culture than their parents' origin culture(s) (Hoersting and Jenkins 2010).

Interestingly, Tim expressed the following Global sort of sentiment during his Peace Corps sojourn in the Congo:

I remember [saying], "I feel, as an American coming here to the Congo, I feel that I can pretty much... If I understood America and understood the Congo, I understand the world!" And, well, I was young. But I thought that I understood pretty much American culture and America, and Congo, kind of the other extreme. Technologically, the other extreme. Economically, of course, the other extreme. Well, in certain senses the other extreme depending on how you measure. But given those extremes, getting to know these two places, I should have a good feeling [about] what's in the middle, too.

In this interview excerpt, Tim states that he believes that through understanding both ends of a spectrum of technological and economic development -- cutting-edge advancement in the U.S. and rudimentary technological and economic systems in the Congo -- he can also understand everything in-between. That understanding would in turn lead to easier future cultural transitions: if he "understood" before arrival, there would be little or no cultural adjustment stress. A caveat, though, is that he attributes that belief to being young and naive. Later, however, he did live and travel throughout various parts of East Africa, and later travelled inter-continently, as a part of his job doing literary translation.

Caety also expressed an identity in line with Sussman's Global sojourner. An additional research method involved asking participants to select an object or image that is representative of their pre-sojourn identities (discussed in more detail in the last section in this chapter), and the representative object that Caety chose to represent herself before her sojourn in Chile is an image of a globe. Before going to Chile, Caety had already had a significant, year-long sojourn in Germany and various other short-term travel experiences. For her, the globe represented

the idea that the world is my oyster, that I can and I will. And I did! I was just adventuresome and the globe is something I've always identified with, and at that time I really felt like I could conquer it and I could do it. And I did!

In the above passage, Caety states that the world is something to "conquer," which suggests that she perceives sojourns as opportunities to overcome the challenges of acculturation. When taken with other statements in her narrative¹², she suggests that she believes that the world can become a part of who she *is* -- by incorporating cultural norms into her daily life and fusing identities together, perhaps -- not just endless experiences to be *had*.

Before Caety went to Chile she had already lived and traveled abroad more than most people her age; as someone who is adventuresome and who employs the phrase "the world is my oyster," Caety suggests that her previous travel and study experiences have reduced the challenges related to cultural transitions, thus facilitating easier future cultural transitions. "The world is my oyster" connotes a relative absence of origin culture commitments or rootedness, making it easier for her to undergo future cultural transitions. However, Caety later contradicted the "world is my oyster" statement, suggesting that the globe was an age- or context-specific representation of identity.

Whether I want to be an expat or not. I... Um, I think mainly for my family I wouldn't like move abroad permanently. Is [being an expat] something that I identify forever with? My family is a stronger pull than that.

In the above passage, Caety reveals that in the time since her sojourn to Chile, her family has become a more important consideration in her decision-making. Her kinship commitments now seem to outweigh the "world is my oyster" view.

In the first passage, Caety talks about the world with a firm sense of agency as something to "conquer." However, she says that now that she is out of college, she has

¹² Earlier in the interview, Caety stated that she stayed in Chile for a second semester (making her sojourn there an entire year) because she felt that the first semester was more "textbook learning;" however, by staying, the experiences would become a part of who she is.

given up much of that agency and believes that things will happen how they are "supposed to."

I think like right now, I am me deciding that if I am meant to go abroad again, if I am meant to move from Chattanooga... I'm kind of in this place where I'm working hard and I'm being me. And the right things are gonna come if they're supposed to.

Here, Caety speaks about doing what she is *meant* to do, not what she *will* do or *wants* to do.

As discussed in the Background chapter, a treatment of the Global sojourner category through the lens of social identity theory implies that Sussman's Global identity holds little clout. In these narratives, too, Tim and Caety each narrate some aspects of a Global identity, but it is not a permanent identity; rather, for Tim it is a product of a lack of life experience, and for Caety it was limited to context. Tim speaks of his early understanding of the world in a way that suggests that he understood economic and technological differences devoid of culture; that is, for him, economic and technological development were processes situated on a spectrum that had little historical or cultural grounding. This means that membership in a global community -- a global "in-group" that fostered universally-shared oneness, behaviors, and values -- would be possible given a globe without meaningful historical and cultural differences. Caety's context-specific Global identity seems less founded on a naive notion of universal cultural similarities and more on individual determination: if Caety wanted to assimilate, her conquering spirit could overcome any cultural distance. This suggests that Caety feels that she could perhaps build her own global community -- and a broad base of behaviors and worldviews -- by way of personal determination and work.

Summary

Sussman's Cultural Identity Model (2001; 2002b; 2010) posits that it has the potential to predict sojourners' immediate reentry experiences based on changes in sojourners' social identities. For Affirmative sojourners, who do not experience substantial host culture identity change because they are affirmed in origin culture social identities through the maintenance of origin culture relationships and group affiliations, reentry is generally a positive experience. Subtractive sojourners, who experience identity loss through origin culture relationship loss, may lose contact with origin culture individuals intentionally, as Erin did, or organically as a result of diverging trajectories, as Caety did. Because Subtractive sojourners experience identity change, reentry can be a negative experience. Additive sojourners, too, are predicted to have negative reentry experiences because they experience a social identity gain by way of initiating new host culture relationships and group affiliations. In this study, the most salient Additive traits came through new or newly-legitimized kin relationships -- fictive, affinal, or consanguinal. Finally, Global sojourners are predicted to experience neutral, if not positive, reentry because they feel that they are a part of a global community, have a series of cultural transitions already under their belts, and can anticipate processes of origin culture readjustment. Narratives in this study suggest that Global sojourner types are age- and context-specific, meaning that sojourners may not be Global throughout their entire lives or in all social and/or cultural environments.

The CIM assumes that sojourners embody one of the four sojourner types while abroad, and this sojourner type single-handedly affects an individual's reentry experience. However, a caveat is that sojourners are likely to exhibit more than one sojourner type

during a long-term experience abroad; therefore, the above discussion focused on Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, and Global aspects of sojourns instead of forcing an entire sojourn experience into just one of the four categories. Because individuals may demonstrate any combination of Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, and Global aspects within the same international experience, Sussman's model cannot consider an individual's sojourn holistically. Additionally, the model's predictions are not always accurate, and the model cannot do more than predict the reentry experience itself. In other words, the CIM does not have the potential to address longer-term sojourner readjustment. The CIM also ignores the intersection of multiple variables that affect reentry and origin culture readjustment experiences. In the above discussion I extend the model to explore antecedents to and outcomes of positive and negative reentry experiences, and in the following discussion I explore additional factors that affect origin culture reentry and readjustment.

Other Issues Affecting Reentry and Readjustment

In the previous section I applied Sussman's Cultural Identity Model (2001; 2002b; 2010) to various aspects of participants' sojourn experiences. Using the CIM, I discussed the positivity and negativity of sojourners' reentry experiences and extended outward from the CIM to explore how sojourners dealt with reentry in through longer-term origin culture readjustment. However, the CIM only tells part of the story of how sojourners experience reentry and readjustment; other factors come to light in the interview data, as well. In the following discussion I focus on various other issues affecting reentry and readjustment, including preparation for reentry, reentry circumstances, sharing host

culture behaviors and customs with origin culture individuals, the effect of authenticity, cultural distance, tight and loose cultures, tight and loose organizations. Some of these additional issues are separate from the CIM, and others even prevent negative reentry experiences that are predicted using the CIM. The purpose of this discussion is to further explore the complexity of the reentry experience and to tie together a myriad of reentry issues that are treated separately in other empirical literatures.

Preparation for reentry. A common assumption -- one present in the minds of university administrators, managers, family and friends, and even sojourners themselves -- is that reentry into the origin culture will be easy (Adler 1981; Sussman 2001). After all, sojourners have spent the majority of their pre-sojourn lives in the origin culture, have established relationships and group memberships, are fluent in its language, and are familiar with its customs. However, previous studies show that preparation influences reentry experiences: findings suggest that sojourners who prepare to return to the origin culture and are able to anticipate their post-sojourn lives have more positive reentry experiences than those who do not (Black et al. 1992; Chamove and Soeterik 2006; and Maybarduk 2008).

A lack of preparation is first evident through a demonstrated lack of academic research and colloquial knowledge of reentry and readjustment processes, which does not match the wealth of research addressing host culture adjustment processes (Szkudlarek 2010). Models of cultural adjustment that became foundational in academic work on cross-cultural transitions -- like Lysgaard's U-Curve Hypothesis (1955) -- have become colloquial knowledge, too. The narrative data in this study paralleled these trends. Several participants spoke with familiarity about the process of adjusting to a host culture

and used words like "honeymoon phase," "culture shock," and "disconnected" to describe the highs and lows of life abroad. However, there is an obvious imbalance between knowledge of adjustment issues and anticipation of issues and challenges related to origin culture readjustment. While sojourners spoke about host culture adjustment processes with familiarity -- it is clear that models of host culture adjustment have become a part of the lexicon with which some sojourners use to frame or better understand their impending or recent sojourn experiences -- models and processes of origin culture reentry, like Gullahorn and Gullahorn's W-Curve Hypothesis (1963) were not included in that colloquial knowledge set. This finding is particularly salient when thinking about what happens when sojourners return home, and it suggests that many sojourners do not have a clear idea of what will happen once they reenter their culture of origin and begin the process of readjusting to life there. Moreover, an absence of realistic expectations about life after sojourning suggests that sojourners do not know how to prepare for origin culture reentry.

Among the eight participants in this study, some did report feeling prepared -- in some sense of the word -- for reentry into the United States after the "official" end of their sojourns. However, data in this study suggest that it is important to distinguish between logistical and mental preparation; while some participants bought a plane ticket and planned other aspects of their return itineraries in advance of their return, they may not have mentally prepared for once again living in the U.S. Others, however, prepared for reentry months in advance specifically because future plans required significant planning and preparation.

Emma and I both decided to attend Illinois State University during our respective sojourns: we applied, were accepted, and signed paperwork that made clear our intent to return to the United States to begin graduate study, all while we were abroad. In addition, she and I both needed to complete remaining prerequisite requirements before starting graduate coursework. Because Emma served as an education volunteer in Mongolia and had no summer obligations like English Camps or conferences, she was allowed to leave her work site in June of 2012 instead of August, when the majority of her training class was slated to depart for the U.S. She took advantage of the opportunity in order to take an economics class during the summer before starting graduate school. In addition, bringing her cat, Chicago, back to the United States with her proved complicated. "I had to pay bribes to somebody," she says, as well as "get him a passport and make travel arrangements and logistically figure things out."

I also knew that I would be starting graduate school at Illinois State University soon after the end of my year-long sojourn to South Korea. I, however, had summer obligations that kept me in Seoul until about a week before the start of graduate school; between readjusting to a 12-hour time difference, unpacking from Korea, and repacking for school, the return itself was hectic. However, I had been planning my return for months. I had to complete a few prerequisite classes online, get paperwork in order, and find an apartment while I was still in Korea, so I began preparing for my return months in advance.

For Emma and me, our intent to start classes at Illinois State University is indicative of forethought and anticipation; we imagined ourselves participating in new social groups -- a cohort of graduate students, a new academic department, other groups

outside of school -- and reintegrating into life in the U.S. We were required to commit to that plan of study and those communities before the end of our sojourns, thus facilitating a long-term process of mental preparation to depart our respective host cultures and return to our origin culture. That preparation does not mean that our reentry experiences were free of surprises or feelings of reverse culture shock: for example, Emma describes going to the grocery store and feeling overwhelmed by the abundance of choice contained in one store. However, because we prepared ourselves to return to a community in which we had a clear set of objectives (to complete coursework, to carry out public service assignments, to write a thesis), our reentry process was, perhaps, smoother.

Two participants discussed a clear lack of preparation to return to the United States at the end of their sojourns, both emotionally and materially. Nadia attributes her lack of preparation to her style of doing things; she is not one to prepare for big changes of any sort in her life. Instead, she says that she surprises herself.

The way that I transition into change is I surprise myself. All of a sudden I surprised myself and I left [Jordan]. I bought a ticket a week before I left and I packed all my stuff and I told everybody I was leaving like three days before I left. I was like, "Oh, something kinda came up. I'm leaving!" And that's the only way I was able to do it. I just kinda didn't think about it too much and I just did it.

Tim's decision to move his family to the United States from East Africa was also somewhat sudden. With a growing family that was supported financially by his employer, Tim felt that the money used to pay for his children's educations and his family's rent was a misuse of funds. While his employer did not consider covering educational and housing costs to be an irresponsible use of funds, Tim decided to move his family to the U.S. and commute in order to save money. At that time, electronic communication was becoming

more widely available, and it was possible for Tim to work for an international company from his home office without commuting much at all.

Previous studies show that a lack of preparation for one's return to the origin culture contributes to a negative reentry experience, and Nadia and Tim explained that they did not thoroughly prepare to return to the United States. However, for both Nadia and Tim, reentry was not described as negative even though neither was well-prepared to return. Interestingly, family plays a large part in the lives of both Nadia and Tim, and in different ways, family was the impetus for the return for each of these participants. After living with the Bedouin, Nadia came to appreciate the importance of family in her life more than ever and realized that she wanted to be an active part of her family life in the U.S. Tim felt that it would be better for his family and his employer if he moved his wife and children to the United States. While he lamented not giving his children more opportunity to attend an international school, he decided it was the best decision for everyone. Additionally, Tim describes himself as someone who is open to change and new possibilities, and it is possible that this openness overrides the potential for a negative reentry experience brought on by the suddenness of his return with his family. Therefore, even though Tim's decision to return to the U.S. was sudden, his family perhaps acted as a barrier to the negative effects of ill preparation because the entire family returned as a group in and of itself and individual family members could lend each other comfort and support.

Erin's experience demonstrates the complexity of preparation: she says that although she felt "ready" to return to the U.S. after her time in Tanzania in ways she had never experienced before (at the end of her sojourn to Italy, she says that she "never felt

ready to go home" at any time during her stay), she did not have time or space to mentally prepare. The last two months of her sojourn were "run, run, run": she was consumed with a photovoice project that she organized and led in her community, she distributed the paper that the students wrote, and she was expected to visit with people in her community and beyond. Most notably, she did not have time to prepare herself to leave her fictive kin group. This is particularly salient considering that she learned that her host sister was the source of village rumors, and Erin did not have time to set the record straight with her host father or others in the community before she left Tanzania. Between all of her obligations and host family stress, Erin "didn't have time to process," and she also suggests that she did not have time or mental space to anticipate life back in the United States.

So then I got back to the U.S. at 3 a.m. on Thanksgiving day. Really bad planning. Slept until 10 [a.m.], then had all this family over for Thanksgiving, and it was really overwhelming, and I had 42 dollars in my bank account, and missed my boyfriend but hated him also, and was so upset about Adelina, and my mother, and missing Baba and wishing he and I had time to sort things out, and missing my goddaughter, and all these emotions I had [and was] trying to sort through because all these things were happening so fast. And then I was like, "What now?" And I was ready to come home!

Interestingly, Caety extended her sojourn because she felt that she needed to stay in Chile for an additional semester. The logistics of a return were in place: she had already purchased a plane ticket that would take her back to the U.S. after her initial summer internship and one semester of classes. However, she says that she decided to extend her time in Chile in order to make what was "textbook learning" at the end of one semester into "part of who I was when I got back" after studying abroad for a year. Even after she extended her sojourn for an additional semester, Caety says that she still was not

prepared for reentry. She says that she was quite prepared, at least in theory, to assimilate into her host culture; after all, she demonstrated a working knowledge of models of cultural adjustment. However, she was not prepared to come home. Notably, she suggests that she did not anticipate the ways in which U.S. life would stay the same despite her individual host culture-related identity changes.

I feel like you're very prepared for different things. You're told, "these are the differences in culture." I felt like I was ready to assimilate to those things [abroad]. When I got back to the States I don't think I knew that the rhythm of life would go back to the way [it was or that I] would be in the mentality of the United States again. I just didn't get it. So once I... Immediately when I got back from Germany and Chile I remember feeling for a week, if not a month, the rhythm of my life was not in sync with the United States. Waking up, the hours that you eat, the time that you see people in the streets or are in a car...

Here, Caety hints at the organizational side of pre-departure and pre-reentry preparation. Her use of the phrase "You're told" suggests that information about culture shock and host culture adjustment is disseminated by and by way of organizations -- in her case, university study abroad offices, study abroad literature, or statements from returned sojourners in the university context. Therefore, she explains that she felt ready to encounter cultural differences outside of the United States; that was part of her pre-departure preparation. However, what she was not prepared for was returning to the United States afterwards, and she attributes that in part to a lack of preparation on behalf of the university approach to study abroad.

Reentry Circumstances. Participant narratives suggest that the social and cultural circumstances of one's reentry affect the reentry and readjustment experience. Caety, Erin, and I all participated in a semester-long or academic year study abroad experience that took place during our undergraduate careers, meaning that at the end of our academic

sojourns, we returned to the same university campuses that we left. Previous research among sojourners who, as employees of multinational companies, live and work abroad for extended periods of time and return to a corporate environment in their countries of origin, shows that returned sojourners who reenter an environment in which they are expected to fill a job position identical to the pre-sojourn position are significantly more likely to be unhappy in that organization and are more likely to resign. Researchers show that while abroad, employees' personalities and skill sets change, and in order to increase post-sojourn employee retention and productivity, employers should recognize personal growth and take advantage of returned sojourners' new skills. Szkudlarek (2010) posits that the same could be true of academic environments: students who return to familiar academic environments after returning from a sojourn could encounter peers who do not understand or underestimate returned sojourners' identity change. Returned academic sojourners may similarly encounter xenophobia from their classmates who remained in the origin culture.

Participants in this study who returned to an academic environment after their sojourns faced a more difficult reentry process provided that people who remained in that environment held expectations that returning sojourners would not have changed, would willingly revert to their pre-sojourn selves, or experienced only context-specific identity changes that could be barred from bleeding into pre-sojourn relationships and social groups. Caety, Erin, and I all returned to our college or university environments after a semester or year abroad, and we all experienced challenges readjusting to life on campus. Caety's challenge came as a result of observing her friends and peers make detailed plans for the future. During her year-long study abroad in Chile, Caety learned to think about

time in Chilean terms: she became more relaxed when thinking about plans for the future, both short-term and long-term. She adopted the attitude that "you don't have to plan it. You don't have to do it. Just be it." Meanwhile, feeling the pressure to finish the requirements of her degree, she found herself studying and working constantly and "tying up all these loose ends... I was like, 'I'm just gonna finish it.' I really made myself sick racing to that end." "Racing" alongside her peers -- with whom she had strongly identified before her sojourn in Chile -- to finish her degree took a physical toll on Caety, and it was counter to how she came to understand life in the present and the future through her time in Chile.

For Erin, resuming many of her pre-sojourn identities came all too easily. She felt that when she returned to Millsaps College from her semester in Italy, she already had roles cut out for her.

I was taking 21 hours of classes, pretty difficult classes, writing my honors thesis, which was very time consuming, and being a teaching assistant. So it was very easy for me, because I already had a role cut out for me at Millsaps. So me as a scholar and a person fixated on performance in the classroom I reverted very easily back to who I was, and that's something I regret, but it happens.

Erin says that returning to Millsaps was easier for her as a scholar, which may have been a positive aspect of origin culture reentry at the time. However, she also states that reverting to pre-existing roles is something that she regrets: a negative, perhaps, in the long run.

Erin and I studied abroad during the same semester, and we returned to campus in the fall after about nine months away from campus (including winter break, the spring semester abroad, and summer vacation). Whereas Erin's reentry experience academically was somewhat positive, mine was the opposite. I felt lost and frustrated in my classes,

and I regretted not planning to stay in Argentina for an entire academic year. My mind often wandered and I was overwhelmed. As if returning to the United States and readjusting to life on a U.S. college campus was not confusing enough, I found out at the beginning of my first semester back that plans I had made to double-major in Spanish would be nullified: I wouldn't, in fact, be able to double-major in Spanish, even though I had structured my coursework on campus and, to some extent, in Argentina to align with the curriculum. ("Don't be upset!" I was told in my advisor's office, which, of course, only made me more upset.) I began to feel more frustrated than ever with the homogeneity of my small college campus and how consistent life there had stayed while I had lived an incredible international experience. I'm not sure I was aware at the time of whether people expected me to stay the same or if they understood that I would change, but I knew for certain that I was different and was unhappy being back, and I did not pretend otherwise.

On the other hand, both Caety and I also had experiences abroad in which we embarked on a sojourn directly after finishing one academic program and returned to the U.S. just before starting another. Caety's first long-term sojourn, when she lived and studied in Germany, took the form of a gap year between high school and college, and my own year-long sojourn to Korea began a few months after finishing at Millsaps College and ended just before beginning graduate school. Previous research shows that people returning to the same community that they left sometimes experience negative reentry and readjustment because they are expected to revert to pre-sojourn identities upon their return to origin culture social environments. Peers and colleagues are thus unaware of or ignore the ways in which sojourners have changed over the course of their

time abroad. However, what happens when sojourners enter an entirely new social environment upon their return? An analysis of two reentry experiences in which sojourners entered new academic environments directly after reentering the United States demonstrates two possibilities.

I started graduate school a few days after I returned from South Korea, and for me, entering a community in which I knew no one was an excellent way to reenter the United States after a year abroad, particularly a year during which I grew and changed in significant ways. As opposed to returning to the same community that I left, as was the case when I sojournd to Argentina, when I started graduate school at Illinois State University, no one had preexisting expectations of me. No one knew me before I went to South Korea, so when I met my new cohort, I was accepted as-is. I also attribute feeling comfortable starting school at Illinois State University to the nature of my cohort: some in the group had had significant experiences abroad, both studying and serving in the Peace Corps, others had had interesting adventures in various places in the United States, and a number of us were, at the time, preparing to enter the Peace Corps the following year. As a whole, I anticipated that the group would be globally-minded (and later found that it was), which contributed to an easier reentry experience as a returning sojourner.

While entering a new community directly after reentering the United States after my sojourn was good for me, it was not good for Caety. She started her undergraduate career at UT Chattanooga soon after returning from a gap year in Germany, and she says that she "felt very distant" from the other entering freshmen in her class. She attributes that distance to having had a year-long experience that taught her about herself and the world in contrast to her classmates who came to college directly from high school. She

says that "when I came back from Germany I was going to a new town, to a new place" and at the time, she felt that "nobody's gonna be able to identify with me [and] nobody's gonna want to talk to me about Germany." In this instance, Caety projected a xenophobic response (Adler 1981) to her sojourn and anticipated a lack of understanding, paired with a lack of attempt to understand her experience, on the part of her new classmates.

Authenticity. Among the eight sojourners in this study, Nadia demonstrated an increase in identity authenticity in ways that other sojourners did not. Authenticity is a difficult concept to define, but the sparse literature on authenticity suggests that the concept connotes a stronger, more complete sense of self and more honest, open relationships with friends and family (Hayes 2007; Trilling 1970). As a result of her sojourn, Nadia says that she is able "to see myself as a whole person and being able to move on from there and build my own life now, not being afraid of leaving or something being, like, swept out from underneath me." Nadia's post-sojourn identity aligns in this way with Hayes' "existential" approach to repatriation, specifically with what she terms "rapprochement": "the development of a stronger sense of self, through the experience of migration and settlement, [which] facilitate[s] the development of more authentic relationships with the family of origin" (2007:11). Thus, There are several facets to the idea of rapprochement. First, it "includes the courage to assert one's identity, including those aspects which have previously been kept hidden" (ibid.). At the time of our interview, Nadia was in a serious relationship with a woman, which was something she recently revealed to her family:

I was pretty up front, within a couple weeks I told my mom I'm dating a woman. I knew it would snap all of her ideas of me, because I am the homemaker. But I have that agency now whereas before I would never... I never brought anybody into my family because I didn't want to upset that

role that I had. But now I have that to be able to say, "I understand and I want to be a part of this family and I want to be this nurturer. But I also want to be me, and I want to have my own web of affiliations."

In addition, "rapprochement may enable a new appreciation of the place and family of origin, and a reintegration of one's personal and family history into one's own life-project" (2007:12). Nadia says that in her family, she assumed the role of the nurturer even before she went to college. In college, though, she says that she resented that role, which included traditional gender-specific duties. When she returned from Jordan,

I had the same role with my family. But I'd always resented it because I am the structure in a lot of ways for my family, and that's why I always seek the spontaneity in life and that way of living. I'm kinda the mom. I cook, and I came to resent that place, the gender role that I had. And then after traveling I've been able to see the value and the power and the place of power in the kitchen, for example, where before I thought it was a subservient role.

Finally, "There is the possibility for a reworking of the concept of home, a rapprochement or reintegration between the original home and the home of individual freedom" (2007:12). Relatively soon after her return from Jordan, Nadia was very intentional about moving to New Orleans. Part of the reason, she says, is that New Orleans is likely the only place in the United States in which she could stand to live. Additionally, though,

it's close enough to my family that I can still feel like, in two hours I can be up there for birthday parties, for whatever. To be a part of my family. But far enough away that I can be myself.

Nadia explains that living in New Orleans allows her to balance family life and expression of her individuality. In sum, Nadia successfully incorporated a part of her heritage and identity previously unknown to her before her sojourn; she now enjoys a feeling of completeness in her identity, which helps her feel more confident and strong in

who she is. That inner strength has helped her be more open with her family about aspects of her identity that she previously kept hidden, and it has encouraged her to reestablish an integral role within her family.

As discussed previously in this chapter, Nadia's sojourn was significantly Additive in nature: she became a legitimate part of her father's Iraqi family. Sussman's CIM would predict that her reentry after adding newly-legitimized kinship ties while abroad would be negative; however, it is clear through her narrative that this is not the case. Therefore, it appears that for some sojourners, authenticity in one's post-sojourn identity can mitigate negative reentry experiences, even if those sojourners add in significant ways to social and kin networks.

Cultural distance. Differences in cultural norms and the day-to-day lived experiences between sojourners' origin and host cultures can have significant effects not only on host culture adjustment but also on the short- and long-term experiences of origin culture readjustment (Babiker et al. 1980; Suanet and van de Vijver 2009; Sussman 2000). Theoretical models and past findings suggest that sojourners who live in host cultures in which they experience greater cultural differences will be more likely to exhibit Affirmative traits, while sojourners to cultures that more closely resemble their origin cultures are more likely to experience Subtractive and/or Additive identity changes (Sussman 2000; Suanet and van de Vijver 2009).

Tim and Emma, who both served in the Peace Corps, independently reported difficulty rationalizing U.S. cultural traits like materialism and wastefulness when they returned to the U.S. after the end of their terms of service. This is in line with past findings (Szkudlarek 2010; U.S. Peace Corps and Graul 1996). Interestingly, they each

relayed experiences of feeling depressed and overwhelmed in the same setting -- a big-box grocery store, the likes of which they did not encounter in their two years in rural Zaire and rural Mongolia, respectively.

Tim: Just the choices, thinking in terms of simple lifestyle and being exposed to people whose needs are so great and coming here to the grocery store. So breakfast, same thing every morning, and coming in here to get cereal into a grocery store and just... Feeling, and you've probably heard this, feeling depressed. That's a common reaction looking at all these choices for cereal and thinking, "All these choices, there's something... It's not right. There's something not right."

Emma: You always hear these hilarious Peace Corps stories about "The Girl who Freaked Out in the Shampoo Aisle Because There's So Many Shampoos," and that wasn't me exactly, but walking into a grocery store and being like, "I can buy whatever I want?" is pretty incredible. ... You go from this situation with no grocery store, you don't have your own car, no washing machine, to, "Okay, let's go shopping. Buy whatever you want!" And like the store *has* whatever you want. And I had no idea what I wanted. And I remember being so terrified walking around Meijer like, "How do I do this?" because my experience before had been like, "Okay well what do you have today?" You'd go to the store in my village and be like, "What do you have? Do you guys have carrots? Okay, no? So... Anything? What do I eat?" And you just purchase whatever's available.

In the above passages, Tim and Emma each describe great cultural differences between the U.S. and their Peace Corps host sites. Tim's negative feelings about U.S.

consumerism have not lessened: he and his wife decided that simplicity would structure their family's lifestyle, not only when they lived in East Africa but also when they returned to the U.S. In response to consumerism and materialism, he says that he and his family live "counter-culturally," suggesting that even though the physical distance that once accompanied the cultural distance between consumerist and simple lifestyles has disappeared, his family unit maintains the same sense of cultural distance within their own home. In this way, Tim, Ruka, and their children resisted cultural readjustment.

While Emma had difficulty adjusting to life in the U.S. at first, she says she was surprised

at how fast she became reaccustomed to the "conveniences" of life in the U.S. like driving or using household appliances.

Caety says that she felt the effects of cultural distance during and after her sojourn in Chile more than during and after her time in Germany; after all, she could "pass" as German in Germany, while in Chile she stood out physically and culturally. The most salient source of cultural distance was the different sense of time in Chile; this was also her biggest source of reentry distress. When she returned from Chile,

I had like three weeks before school was gonna start back, and I just, like, I was very robotic with everything I did because I didn't know how... I couldn't catch up with the speed of life here. And not just [that] Latin America is so much slower, but [the] rhythm of the United States and my family life... I remember because my mom would be like, "You're helping out so much! You're doing all these things!" And I was like, "I don't have anything else to put my mind to right now. I don't know how to assimilate."

She adds that she again felt disconnected from her classmates when she returned to campus, even though she was returning to established groups of friends. That disconnect was caused by a growing difference in priorities.

Why would you stress yourself out all the time about these future plans? If they're gonna be, they're gonna be, you know? I felt like I was watching all these kids living an American culture that I didn't feel a part of anymore.

By the time she returned to UT Chattanooga, Caety's sense of time had changed significantly. She no longer felt intense pressure to meticulously plan years, months, or even days into the future. Her narrative suggests that she bought into the "time crunch" mentality anyway, especially when she was finishing her senior thesis and other graduation requirements, but she says that "I really made myself sick doing it." The misalignment between her post-sojourn identity, which valued a more relaxed approach

to time, and U.S. culture, which values efficiency and planning, manifested itself physically and negatively affected her wellbeing.

Tight and loose cultures. Some past research conceives of cultural distance in terms of "tight" (Triandis 1994) -- homogenous, tradition-bound cultures with consequences for breaking normative codes -- and "loose" (Peltó 1968) societies -- heterogeneous cultures in which participants can take liberties with norms and values without significant risk of incurring adverse consequences. Nadia and I each left the U.S., a "loose" society, to sojourn in a "tight" society. For Nadia, cultural distance manifested itself immediately in the relationship between her body and her new cultural environment: in Jordan, she had to cover body in ways that she was not used to doing in the U.S. "As an American woman," she says, "the only thing you can think of is, 'I can't wear shorts!'"

I thought if I was wearing jeans, then I was covered up. But jeans are tight on your body, so [men] can see every curve on your body. You walk down the street and these boys are just calling at you. And American women tell you all of that harassment is terrible.

On the other hand, she says,

you can have tons of makeup on. Just like purples and things we would reserve for "loose" women. So stereotypical things that I would be self-conscious about here didn't really matter. They didn't translate to the same things there.

When Nadia returned to the United States after living in Jordan for nearly two and a half years, she joked that she "was like, 'I haven't worn shorts in two and a half years! I'm gonna wear shorts wherever I go! And if you say anything I can press charges against you!'"

Nadia says that Jordanian styles of dress, particularly Bedouin dress, grew on her, and she ended up enjoying wearing the long, black silk covering and black veil.

("Honestly, everybody looks great in a black veil," she says. "It's just so dramatic!")

Interestingly, she learned an important lesson in understanding people through embracing the differences in attire. She says that she met a group of women on several brief occasions, and when women meet in passing or are in settings where they may stay only a short while, they will keep the veil on during the interaction.

A couple of times I'd met this group of women and I'd kind of decided who I liked and didn't like, and then one day I came in and they all had their [veils] off and I didn't know who any of them were! [But] I got to realize, I knew them by the way they held their hands, and I know them by the way their voices sound, and I know them in so many ways beyond how their face looks. And I know if they're laughing or smiling not because they have a smile on their face but because the way they're holding their body or the way they're talking to me. The subtleties that we don't see in everyday life. The details that Bedouin really see that extend beyond interaction with people. It was really amazing to me because women that I initially had been attracted to were those women who had had harder lives. And the women who looked more like me that I would have been attracted to that had women who had makeup and dyed their hair and everything, and I didn't like them! And I already knew it because I had based my judgment on them by their personalities, not by the really superficial things that I initially would have been attracted to.

The relationship between bodies and her host culture environment changed the way

Nadia interacts with people after reentering and readjusting to life in the United States.

She says she pays attention to details other than one's face when she meets someone new and takes a new approach to the body/environment relationship in the United States: she has a new appreciation for nonverbal aspects of communication and understands gestures, and even stillness and silence, with greater fluency. Through the lens of the Cultural Identity Model, Nadia experienced an identity gain via adapting to Bedouin dress. She not only appreciated it aesthetically, but she came to understand interpersonal

communication in new ways. That particular identity gain, however, did not have negative consequences for her reentry experience; if anything, it added to her intercultural toolkit and taught her new ways of connecting with people around the globe.

In my case, I felt cultural distance most prominently in differences between U.S. and Korean acceptance of non-heteronormative identities. When I left the United States to live and teach in Seoul, South Korea, I knew that I would need to revise the presentation of my openly queer identity that I expressed before my sojourn. In college I was openly queer and was active in an on-campus LGBT organization and activism. When I sojourned in Argentina, a society and culture that is in many ways looser than the southern United States where I grew up and attended college, my confidence in and expression of my queer identity grew. In Korea, though, I had to edit the presentation of that identity in order to be effective in the workplace and move through my daily life without significant difficulty. Even in Seoul, one of the largest metropolitan areas in the world with a large foreign population, anti-gay sentiment is common: this manifested itself in new ways in early June when the city's annual LGBT pride parade was interrupted numerous by conservative Christian groups, which required the presence of large numbers of police to bring the scene to order.

Living in a tight society did not mean denying my queerness or questioning my own understanding of myself; if anything, living in a tight society that did not allow non-heteronormative self-expression strengthened my confidence in the queer aspect of my identity. Instead of gaining confidence through outside approval of that identity, as I did in some cases in the United States and in "loose" societies abroad, I had to build a sustainable sense of confidence and strength in that identity within myself. However, it

was challenging socially. In the United States, being open with friends and acquaintances about my non-hetero identity was important to me, and while it did not define my interactions with people on my college campus or in communities in which I lived, I felt that being openly gay was not only healthy for my own wellbeing but was a daily form of activism (particularly in the South). In Korea, I felt that the range of ways in which I could express myself became significantly more narrow, and I felt that I could not be entirely honest with people I met and befriended. At times I felt conflicted: should I maintain an ambiguous sexual identity and let these acquaintances and new friends assume that I am heterosexual, or should I be openly queer and risk social alienation? I often decided on the former, with one exception: I once told a friend that I am not, in fact, straight, but the spread of that news caused a falling out with some individuals I befriended and with whom I volunteered and spent free time. Fortunately, the falling out happened near the end of my time in Seoul, and the individuals who cut ties with me upon the revelation of my queerness made returning to the United States easier. Through the CIM lens, I had added relationships and, subsequently, experienced identity gains, which Sussman would predict to contribute to a negative reentry experience, but some of those identity gains left me concurrently with the individuals who walked away from a friendship.

Reentry within tight organizations. As narrative data in this study suggest, reentry and readjustment experiences are also influenced by the type of organization through which individuals sojourn. The discussion above explores cultural distance in terms of "tight" and "loose" cultures, but I argue that organizations, too, can be either "tight" or "loose" in similar ways. If loose organizations, like academic study abroad programs or

the United States Peace Corps, grant affiliates significant leeway in establishing relationships with host culture individuals and encourage sojourners, in some ways, to experiment with identity change, tight organizations require their sojourners to follow strict rules and codes of conduct. In this study, sojourners who went abroad through looser organizations -- including Erin, Tim, Caety, Ben, Nadia, and Emma -- were subject to little supervision or management. We were allowed to initiate relationships on our own terms (outside of host family relationships, which were in some cases assigned), take our own classes, plan our own itineraries, and pursue our own research interests. Additionally, five of the six of us had control over our sojourn locations; only Emma, a Returned Peace Corps Volunteer, was assigned to a service site in Mongolia through a placement process in which she had no say. Following the Cultural Identity Model, the six sojourners who went abroad through loose organizations demonstrated Subtractive and Additive experiences and, as described above, experienced mixed reentry and readjustment experiences.

Joel and Stephen, who sojourned through the LDS church and the Air Force, respectively, were both sent abroad through tight organizations. Unlike the sojourners above, most of whom had control over their sojourn locations, Joel and Stephen were assigned to host cultures. They were both required to wear uniforms, and they were both openly affiliated with U.S.-based organizations throughout the duration of their sojourns. Joel did have the opportunity to interact with host culture individuals using the Spanish language and presumably employed Argentine cultural norms, but the LDS church required him to interact with others by following a prescribed "script." After all, he was serving as a missionary and his interactions were driven by the goal of converting people

to Mormonism. Thus, while he exhibited some Additive traits -- like the daily practice of speaking *castellano* -- he had little freedom to act on his own free will outside of the approved church script. Joel narrated a story in which he and his LDS companion -- a young man with whom he proselytized -- took an unauthorized trip to Córdoba two weeks from the end of their mission term to buy leather jackets. The supervisor of all LDS missionaries in Argentina found out about their excursion, and the two were in serious trouble: instead of honorably completing the last two weeks of their missions, Joel and his companion had to spend two weeks locked in the supervisor's house. They had nothing to do but bide their time. Fortunately, their families were not notified of their "grievous" behavior, and to this day Joel's family does not know how he spent the last two weeks of his mission. While being caught on an unapproved trip outside of his mission site tarnished the end of his mission, Joel says that his punishment did not tarnish his view of the church at large. Joel remained committed to Mormonism even after he returned to the United States and had a positive reentry experience: he was welcomed back by his family and his LDS congregation.

In the Air Force, Stephen was also subject to strict rules and behavioral norms. While on duty, he was required to wear his uniform, follow commands, and work with a team of other U.S. military personnel. Off duty during his tour in Kuwait, he says that he did explore Kuwait city and befriended civilian contractors who lived off of the military base, but he insinuates that his off-duty behavior was somewhat of an anomaly. Unlike sojourners who went abroad through loose organizations like university study abroad programs or the Peace Corps, Stephen could not simply leave the military on his own volition. Students can withdraw from their academic programs and return home should

they so choose, and Peace Corps Volunteers can "early terminate" and leave their service sites; however, Stephen was bound to a military base during all three of his tours, and any unauthorized leave would result in serious, potentially legal, consequences.

In a comparison between loose and tight organizations, these data suggest that loose organizations allow room for individuals to explore identity changes through initiating new relationships in the host culture, designing their own itineraries, and pursuing their own interests. However, in tight organizations, sojourners' commitment to the organization is tantamount and supersedes individual desires and agency. The effect of individual pursuits and organizational commitment manifests in reentry experiences, and, as these data suggest, sojourners who are affiliated with loose organizations have more difficult reentry and readjustment experiences than do individuals who are affiliated with tight organizations.

Sojourners who return to the same social environments that they leave in order to begin their sojourns (e.g., corporate employees who return to the same corporate office or students who return to their universities) sometimes report feeling xenophobic responses to their sojourn-related identity changes from their peers and colleagues, particularly if they affiliated with groups that were catalysts for significant identity change; however, it seems as though sojourners affiliated with tight organizations may not face the same sorts of post-sojourn xenophobia. Joel was welcomed back into his family and LDS congregation upon his return, and it is customary in the LDS church to have a ritual that formally closes the mission period. Stephen did not report encountering xenophobic responses, either. However, it is also important to note that both Joel and Stephen conformed to their respective organizations' rules and regulations through the entirety of

their sojourns (with minor instances of mischief of which their origin culture communities were not informed). Both narrated that leaving the mission or tour early, breaking rules in significant ways, or acting dishonorably would have caused them negative reentry experiences because they would have acted against the norms of their organizations. This suggests that for sojourners affiliated with tight organizations, conformity and affirmation in origin culture and organizational identities lead to positive reentry experiences. Long-term readjustment for Joel and Stephen was another matter: both left their respective organizations after returning, and both explained that transitioning out of their organizations and into secular and civilian life, respectively, was more difficult than readjusting to U.S. culture immediately after their sojourns.

Resolution of Negative Reentry Experiences Through Agentive Acts

Sussman's CIM predicts that both Subtractive and Additive sojourners, who experience identity losses and gains on the basis of origin culture relationship losses and host culture relationship gains, will have negative origin culture reentry experiences. However, the model stops there: it cannot shed light on whether, or how, returned sojourners resolve incompatibilities between post-sojourn identity and origin culture. For some participants who experienced negative reentry and readjustment, those experiences were resolved via agentive and intentional acts. I show three themes within the broader idea of "intentionality," and in the summary at the end of the section outline how these seemingly individual acts are reflections of returned sojourners' social identities.

Intentional relocation. Erin has long identified as a writer: in the photo/object elicitation portion of our interview, she showed a colorful, hand-crafted art journal that

she kept during her semester-long sojourn in Italy to represent her writer identity. In Tanzania, though, she lived with a host family that did not approve of her sitting and writing instead of doing practical chores around the house. Her family would ask, "What are you doing? Why don't you wash clothes? Why don't you take care of the baby? Why are you writing?" Living as a part of a fictive kin network that did not understand her writing practice, particularly one situated within a larger cultural context with little literary tradition, discouraged her from writing: the act of writing was not seen as a form of art or self-expression. While Erin did design and lead a project designed to help Tanzanian youth find their own voices in written word, Erin did not write much herself beyond the first weeks of her 14-month sojourn.

She says that writing "is an element of my identity that I tried to pick up again when I came home." She wrote in "spurts" for many months, but she had just restarted a daily writing practice a few weeks prior to our interview. She attributes that renewed habit to an intentional move into the city of New Orleans from her parents' house in Covington, a "stagnant" New Orleans suburb, where she had been living after she returned to the U.S. in order to work and save money. She says that

the move to New Orleans triggered this thing within me. Like if I don't try to make it as a writer now, I'm never gonna try. So moving to New Orleans has been a new beginning in a lot of ways, one of them as an artist. Now is the time to grow in my writing.

Intentionality in relationship-making. When Caety returned from Germany and started her freshman year at UT Chattanooga, she says that she felt disconnected. As discussed earlier in this chapter, she suggests that she projected a degree of xenophobia onto her classmates in that she perceived that they would not understand her experience

living abroad or her post-sojourn identity. It took about a month for Caety to connect to other students, and that connection was the result of intentional interaction.

The day I met [my friend], she was giving a study abroad presentation, and I knew that I wanted my next destination to be South America and she was giving a presentation on Uruguay, and I, like, chased her down after the presentation. I was like, "I want to talk to you!" and we've literally been like joined at the hip since. And that was the first friend I made at university and the first person [who] like... We immediately felt like other people didn't understand, and here we were being able to talk and it was like, "Oh, thank goodness." That was a good thing... Even in the first year I was making friends with international students, but by my sophomore year of college, like, 90 percent of my friends were international students. And it was hard because you'd see them leave at the end of the year, but it was like, those are the people I "get." They're out of their element and I've been that.

Caety explains that instead of adjusting her identity and passively experiencing commonalities with other freshmen in her Honors Program cohort, she sought out relationships in the university setting based on her post-sojourn identity. When she says she "chased down" a returned sojourner, she shows determination in getting to know another student who could understand challenges related to sojourning and origin culture reentry. In addition, when she says she befriended mostly international students, she shows that she weighed the costs and benefits of such friendships and was intentional about pursuing them: she knew they would have to leave at the end of the semester or academic year, but she felt more in common with foreign students than she did her classmates who were brought up in the United States.

Intentionality in counter-cultural living. Past research demonstrates that Returned Peace Corps Volunteers are more likely to see themselves as agents of change after they return to the United States (Storti 1997); that is, they "express a preference for changing their home-environment, rather than adjusting to it" (Szkudlarek 2010:11). Tim and

Emma both embody this behavior, and they each expressed ways in which they intentionally lead lives that are counter-cultural. Interestingly, Tim and Emma both noted cultural distance between the U.S. and their host communities while serving in the Peace Corps, and that distance manifested itself in feelings of depression and discomfort in large commercial spaces. Instead of adjusting back to life in the U.S. -- including materialism and consumption of goods that, to RPCVs like Tim and Emma, seem unnecessary -- these two RPCVs continue to distance themselves from mainstream U.S. culture. For example, Tim's family lives without debt. He and his family members lead a simple lifestyle, and he and his wife have established new rules around consumerist hallmarks of holidays like Christmas. Instead of giving exorbitant gifts on December 25, family members spend time with one another and reflect on the "real" reason for the holiday; family members are allowed to exchange smaller gifts a week later at the first of the year. This year, though, he suggested that family members both immediate and extended forgo giving material gifts at Christmastime and give a monetary donation to Tim and his wife to take with them on their then-upcoming trip to his wife's community in East Africa. Those donations would be distributed to people in need. In this way, Tim and his family were still able to honor and appreciate one another but did so through counter-cultural means. Note that Tim's desire to live simply and escape the conventional consumerist mindset is not solely an outcome of his Peace Corps service; he led a simple lifestyle before he entered the Peace Corps, as well. However, the way in which he and his family currently live suggests a strong desire and ability to live counter to mainstream U.S. norms.

In my interview and other conversations with Emma, she has expressed that she sees herself, in some ways, as transient; she does not like to stay in the same place for more than a couple of years. Simplicity, then, is key in the way she has designed her life. Owning a multitude of "stuff" does not facilitate easy mobility, which would detract from her goals. Emma rebukes an accumulation of things beyond necessities and intentionally minimizes the amount of "stuff" she keeps around.

Summary. The above discussion explores the ways in which several participants dealt with particularly negative reentry and readjustment experiences. All of these efforts center around intentionality and engaging in agentive acts: one participant intentionally relocated to place herself within a physical and cultural space that values and fosters creativity, another intentionally sought group affiliations that aligned with her values and priorities as an adventurous, outgoing, globally-minded person, and two others intentionally live in opposition to mainstream U.S. materialism and consumerism.

Agentive acts seem, in many ways, individual; however, they all reflect social identities. By residing in and claiming as a place of origin the city of New Orleans, Erin affiliates with a large group affiliated via New Orleans' heritage, reputation, and culture. This group affiliation helped ease her reentry distress because by joining this community of creative people, she felt that she could reinvigorate her writing practice and her long-standing identity as a writer. Caety started her freshman year feeling isolated because she did not have a social group with which to identify at her new university; she could have adjusted to her environment and chosen the "easy" path of entering groups of other incoming freshmen out of convenience, but those groups did not align with the person she became through her gap year experience. Instead, she decided to seek out groups

comprised of international students and U.S. students who themselves had had previous sojourn experiences, and those groups affirmed her identity as a returned sojourner.

Neither Tim nor Emma entirely readjusted to mainstream life in the U.S. after returning from their Peace Corps service; that is, neither completely re-entered the "in-group" of consumers. As opposed to Erin and Caety, who joined place-based groups after their sojourns, the counter-cultural ways of life that Tim and Emma lead situate them within an ideological out-group of non-consumers whose group identity is based on shared values and norms that are not tied to specific physical space.

Visual Representations of Identities and Change

The final research questions in this work center on representation of identity through images and objects, along with how visual documentation of those objects, sojourner appearance, and the sojourner's intimate environment might aid an analysis of the process of identity change. As a part of this research, I asked each participant to select two images or objects that represented his or her identities at two distinct points in time: pre-sojourn and mid-sojourn. The way some participants interpreted the request varied slightly from my original intent -- some participants showed only a mid-sojourn object -- but the selections are insightful nonetheless. The objects became the topic of the interview, generally toward the end of the discussion. I photographed each participant holding the chosen images/objects at the end of each interview in the interview location.

The photographs are important in this research because they are linked with the above findings and corroborate interview narratives surrounding participants' sojourn, reentry, and readjustment experiences. In other words, helped tackle the methodological

task of establishing validity in participant narratives. In addition, my request that sojourners find representative images and objects from their sojourns encouraged critical thinking about sojourn experiences and associated material "artifacts" and offered participants an alternative way of talking about identities and identity change: instead of talking about identity and identity change in abstract terms, those discussions were, in this portion of the interview, grounded in tangible "talismanic" objects. What do these objects say about identities? What does the selection of multiple objects say about the ways in which and degrees to which participants changed? What do the settings of the photographs say about participants' current identities? The following discussion analyzes each of the objects and images individually, followed by a discussion of ties between them.

Erin. Erin has always identified as a writer. Before she went to Italy during her junior year of college (her first longer-term sojourn), she determined that she would journal during the entire semester she would be there. Her journal is no ordinary collection of uniformly lined and inked pages; rather, it is a beautiful, organic work of art. In addition to thought-provoking entries that explore existential issues (as she sat in the airport before flying to Italy, she wrote "I could be anybody that I want to be right now"), Erin includes drawings, paintings, and outside images in her journals.

In my interview with Erin, her sojourn to Tanzania was in many ways the "focal sojourn." Therefore, the journal she kept from Italy, which is representative of her identity as a writer, serves as her pre-sojourn object. Her mid-sojourn object, then, is an image of her working with students who participated in the photovoice project she organized and led at her school in southern Tanzania. At that point in her sojourn, she

was no longer writing. Earlier in her time there she was chastised by her host family for writing instead of doing practical things around the house; Tanzanians have little, if any, culture of writing, and her writing practice was frequently misunderstood and misinterpreted. However, instead of expressing her own voice, she used the photovoice project as a way to help area students find and express their own voices. Participants in the project were loaned cameras that they used to capture images of issues in their communities, which they paired with texts written in Swahili. The project, she says, "was time consuming and wonderful, the kind of thing I'd love to spend the rest of my life doing."

She is pictured in her home in New Orleans in a neighborhood just off of Magazine Street; she moved to the city as Nadia's roommate just a few weeks before our interview, and the majority of her things were still at her parents' home in the New Orleans suburb of Covington. Shown behind her are some of the few things she moved to the house in the weeks before our discussion, including scarves she brought back from her time in Italy and fabric from Tanzania. Her decision to move to New Orleans is significant: it "has been a new beginning in a lot of ways, one of them as an artist. Now is the time to grow in my writing... If I don't try to make it as a writer now," she says, "I'm never gonna try."

In the months since our interview, Erin has been writing regularly and has started art-text collaborations with artists in New Orleans and in other areas of the United States. In addition, she worked with an organization in New Orleans that helps area students find a voice through writing. Erin plans to start graduate school in cultural anthropology in the fall and maintains an active interest in creative writing.

Tim. At the very start of our interview, Tim produced his "high-tech" hitchhiking "tool": a long sheet of brown paper, folded over several times, with city names written on different sides in bright blue paint. The side he showed me first read "BUFFALO." I began our interview with a broad question asking him to describe how he got to where he is now, and interestingly, he began his answer using the object itself as a metaphor for his adventuresome, open-minded identity, his approach to opportunity, and his life's somewhat non-linear journey.

The bookshelf behind him, he says, represents his "intellectual journey." Collections of writings by William Blake are positioned beside books with titles like *Cross-Talk in Comp Theory* and *Argument*, suggesting a varied background in literature, instruction, and writing styles. Tim says that he has always had an interest in languages -- at times more so than the cultures that provide a language's context -- and he earned an advanced degree in linguistics before serving in the Peace Corps (a result of "exploring new roads") as an instructor at a teacher's college. After finishing his Peace Corps service, he earned a PhD and returned to East Africa to work in the field of literary translation. That career, he says, took him across East Africa and, as he advanced up the ranks, across the world.

The simplicity of Tim's pre-sojourn object is an element of his identity that threaded through his sojourn, origin culture reentry, and readjustment to life in the United States, both after the end of his Peace Corps service and after his work in Africa when he returned with his family. In his larger narrative, Tim talked about his desire to lead a simple lifestyle, and he explained that he experienced post-Peace Corps reverse culture shock when he entered a grocery store in the U.S., " looking at all these choices for cereal

and thinking, 'All these choices, there's something... It's not right. There's something not right.'" Cultural distance between his host site in then-Zaire (now Congo) and the U.S. was evident, he explains, through manifestations of capitalism and consumerism. Even though he returned from Africa long ago, he continues to distance himself from U.S. cultural traits like consumerism, materialism, and indebtedness.

Caety. Caety is a returnee of two sojourns, both one year in duration. In our interview, her sojourn to Chile was in many ways the "focal sojourn," although her gap year in Germany informed many aspects of her time in South America. Her first object -- a globe -- is her pre-sojourn object. Before she left for Chile, she intentionally sought out a very international group of friends made up of both U.S. students who themselves had had significant experiences abroad and international students studying at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. For her, the globe represents

the idea that the world is my oyster, that I can and I will. And I did! I was just adventuresome and the globe is something I've always identified with, and at that time I really felt like I could conquer it and I could do it. And I did!

In addition to representing her international contacts in the U.S. and her openness to encounter other cultures, her description of the globe ("I really felt like I could conquer it"), combined with her narrative of her experience in Chile and its cultural distance from the U.S., suggests that her innate determination to overcome challenges helped her bridge that cultural distance. Here she deviates from models of host culture adjustment, which predict that in host cultures with greater cultural distance from the origin culture, sojourners are more likely to exhibit Affirmative traits than Subtractive or Additive traits. That is, greater cultural distance often influences sojourners to maintain origin culture contacts and reinforce origin culture identity, which leads to a more positive readjustment

experience. Caety, however, extended her sojourn in order to incorporate aspects of Chilean culture into her own culture, demonstrating that while she readily acknowledges the cultural distance between Chile and the U.S., she embraced the differences and made them her own.

For her mid-sojourn object that represents the aspect of Chilean culture that became a salient part of her post-sojourn identity: a novelty Dali-esque melting clock. During her time in South America, Caety came to appreciate "their suspended sense of time." She did not originally plan to stay an entire year in Chile; rather, her original plan was to do an internship before her first semester there followed by one semester of academic work. However, at the end of her semester she "felt like it would have almost been like textbook learning, but then by staying another semester those principles became a part of who I was." In contrast to the American tendency to plan, Caety came to appreciate that Chileans "just are."

When she returned to school after her year in Chile, she encountered a pre-sojourn group of friends that was concerned with the future and working hard to make sure they would achieve post-graduation goals. "I felt like I was watching all these other kids really living in American culture that I didn't feel a part of anymore," she says. "Why would you stress yourself out all the time about these future plans? They're gonna be if they're gonna be, you know?" Her interview narrative suggests that, to some extent, she gave into the pressure to perform. "I really wanted to finish strong with my thesis and my senior year and I basically studied all the time and I kinda made myself sick doing it, too. Just studying a whole lot, trying to make sense of what I wanted to do." Now, though, she says she "decided it's all okay... And the right things are gonna come if they're supposed

to." The suspended sense of time she valued and purposefully incorporated into her own identity while in Chile -- represented through the melting clock -- is perhaps still a fundamental part of who she is now over a year after returning from her sojourn.

The photograph was taken in her home in Chattanooga, Tennessee, which she shares with other returned sojourners: one of her roommates studied in Uruguay (who, coincidentally, was one of the first friends Caety sought out after starting school at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga after returning from her gap year in Germany), and another spent time in Ghana. She continues to be intentional about surrounding herself with sojourners, and in the fall she plans to embark on her next sojourn to Spain.

Joel. Partway through his undergraduate degree at University of California at Berkeley, Joel was called to serve for two years as a missionary with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in and around Córdoba, Argentina (in Spanish-speaking countries, the church is known as *La Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Ultimos Días*). He says that his faith in the church and its teachings had been shaky at times, but he decided to go on the mission regardless. While in Argentina, Joel fulfilled the typical missionary's responsibilities: he studied, worked alongside an assigned companion, proselytized around the communities in which he served, and attempted to convert Argentines to the LDS faith. Although at times his belief in the teachings of the LDS church was shaky before his mission, he says that he was committed to serving the full two years of his mission, and even getting caught breaking mission rules did not discourage his commitment. (Two weeks from the end of his mission, Joel and his assigned companion took an unauthorized trip to Córdoba to buy leather jackets that they had their eyes on, and the supervisor of all missionaries in Argentina found out about

their excursion. Joel and his companion were removed from their mission site and were required to spend the last two weeks locked in the supervisor's home with nothing to do. None of his family members found out about the way he spent his last few weeks as a LDS missionary.)

Joel did not describe radical identity change during his mission in Argentina, but considering the rigid structure of the LDS mission and the high degree of commitment that the church requires of its missionaries, substantial host culture identity change is, in many ways, impossible. However, Joel says that he still has an affinity for Argentina. He still drinks *yerba mate* on occasion, and he pulls for the Argentine national soccer team when he sees them play on television.

Joel is shown holding two artifacts from his time as a missionary: a journal, which all Mormons are encouraged (if not required) to keep throughout their missions (some Mormons, like Joel's father, keep volumes of journals throughout their entire lives), and his name badge, which reads ELDER SCHNEIDER, which he was required to wear during his missionary years. His journal chronicles, at times sporadically, his sojourn in Argentina and, to some extent, his return to the United States. Between the penultimate and final entries, there is a years-long gap during which Joel decided to leave the church. His final entry is brief and states that he has decided to end his affiliation with the religious organization. Joel says that the journey out of the LDS church and into secular life, another type of "sojourn," was more complicated than returning to the U.S. from his mission in Argentina, he says. He is pictured in his office on the campus of Illinois State University where he teaches in the Department of Psychology.

Nadia. Before winning a Fulbright grant to study and research in Jordan, Nadia threw herself into academics. She studied anthropology at Millsaps College and oriented herself towards cultural anthropology, and at the end of her undergraduate career she carried out ethnographic fieldwork in Albania. The object she chose to represent her pre-sojourn identity is *Righteous Dopefiend*, an ethnographic work written by Philip Bourgois and Jeffrey Schonberg that weaves ethnographic fieldwork among drug users living on the streets of San Francisco with captivating black and white photographic images of environments and interlocutors. The book, she says, is one of her favorites from her undergraduate days, and it represents her intellectual curiosity and development.

To represent her mid-sojourn identity, Nadia chose an image that shows her dancing in the Jordanian desert. She appears alone in the image, paralleling her earlier narrative in which she talks about the effect that the desert had on her comfort in being alone. It also represents the authenticity that she gained through her sojourn in Jordan; instead of overcompensating by becoming the all-American girl and taking on a "super Christian" persona in rural Louisiana, for example, or "challeng[ing] every convention" she thought of in college by presenting herself wearing men's clothing, the act of dancing conveys freedom and security in herself.

She is shown in this photograph wearing makeup and lipstick, painted nails, and jewelry. These southern aesthetics are paired with clothing typically worn in Bedouin communities in the Middle East. The photograph thus represents the blending of her Arab and Southern heritages; after her sojourn, she feels whole. The photograph was taken in her home in New Orleans, and the setting is significant in several ways. First, when she returned from Jordan she was intentional about putting down roots because she no longer

feared commitment. Although she does not own her home, she has a long-term rental agreement that ties her to her current residence. She dislikes dogs, but she got a puppy. "I hate the responsibility, I hate how dirty they are. I've always been a neat freak and I hate that there's hair all over the place and slobber and messiness. I hate messiness. But I did it very consciously as a commitment thing. I was like, 'Well I gotta stay in one place for a while because I've got a dog.' A puppy, not just a dog, that I have to raise." She is working to build credit. At the time of our interview, she was in a long-term relationship. Second, she was intentional about moving to New Orleans, to her current neighborhood in particular. She felt that she could get away from the influences of corporate America in this part of the city, and corporate America is one of the things that made her hesitant about returning to the United States from Jordan. The area in which she lives, near Magazine Street, boasts a plethora of local businesses and an urban, walkable feel.

Stephen. The beret that Stephen wears in his portrait is usually perched on the head of a large, painted ceramic owl in his living room. The living space in his apartment is full of interesting objects and images -- like the owl -- and each has its own unique story. Memories aren't his forte, he says, so in the place of specific memories, he has objects that serve as reminders of different moments in his life. (His cat, Harvey Wallclimber, who also appears in the photograph, is a reminder from a significant event in his life, too.)

To represent his mid-sojourn identity, Stephen chose to show me a sleeve that was part of his Air Force uniform during one of his two tours in Saudi Arabia. The top reads "Operation Southern Watch," the mission on which he worked, and other letters symbolize additional affiliations within the Air Force. The armband is suggestive of the

Affirmative sojourner identity that was assigned to him by the Air Force: on the military base, nearly everyone was dressed in the same uniform, and armbands like his were used as identification. Stephen was affirmed in his U.S. citizenship and as an employee of the U.S. military during his tours abroad because he had to adhere to organizational rules and norms, including behavior and presentation of self. Additionally, he says that the armband is "a reminder of what I was there to do." That is, the uniform piece reminded him of his duties and responsibilities as an Airman. Interestingly, he draws a parallel between his military sleeve and name badge that is a part of the attire he wears for his current job.

People think I joke about it, but right after I got [my job] I was like, "Cool, I got my name badge!" I like having a name badge so I know who I am and what I'm doing. So if at any point during the day I forget who I am or what I'm supposed to be doing I can look down and it says "Stephen, Level 1 Help Desk Technician." That's, you know, it's silly, but it's so easy to forget why we're here and why we're doing what we're doing and why we've made the choices we've made. At work I'm there to work. I'm there to be Stephen Moist, Level 1 Help Desk Technician.

Stephen bridges his military identity with his identity as an employee in the United States. In each case, he had a piece of his uniform that reminded him of his social and role identities: the organization(s) with which he was affiliated, along with his role within those organizations.

Ben. Like the other participants in this study who have returned from more than one sojourn, my pre- and mid-sojourn objects are relative to the "focal" sojourn, which for me was my time in South Korea. My pre-sojourn object, relative to my focal sojourn, is one from my first sojourn to Argentina. I selected to represent my pre-sojourn identity with *yerba mate*, a traditional Argentine tea sipped out of a dried gourd using a *bombilla*,

or straw. The *yerba* got me through many sleepy afternoons in Argentina and back on the campus of Millsaps College, where I returned to finish my senior year after my semester in Buenos Aires came to an end. Additionally, the practice of consuming and sharing *yerba mate* helped me navigate a difficult reentry experience when I returned. I brought the *yerba*, my *mate* with *bombilla*, and a *termo* (thermos) full of hot water to a weekly informal gathering of students and faculty in my undergraduate department, Sociology and Anthropology, and facilitated the ritual-like act of passing the *mate* full of hot, bitter liquid around a group circle until it's *lavado* (until it has lost its flavor). In a way, drinking *mate* changed the way I related to others. Sharing a drink -- literally drinking through the same straw -- encourages a sense of closeness I hadn't felt before. *Mate*, then, represents the ways in which I was open to shared experiences and deeper connections before my sojourn to South Korea.

The object I selected to represent my mid-sojourn identity is a camera; it was in South Korea that I began not only taking many more photographs but thinking critically about setting, style, color, and detail. I began to see myself more as a photographer instead of someone who takes pictures, which is a distinction that helped me become more independent and adventurous. Going places alone became an advantage: I could set my own schedule and follow my own pace. If I so chose, I could spend inordinate amounts of time exploring minute details of a place, thing, or event. Additionally, traveling alone with a camera made me more approachable to host culture individuals, and I found myself drawn into stimulating and insightful conversations with Korean strangers on the subway, in one of Seoul's many neighborhoods, or on mountain. The

independence and curiosity I cultivated in South Korea, in part due to becoming more of a photographer, is a central tenet of my sojourn-related identity change.

The setting of my self-portrait is the living room in my parents' home in Chattanooga, Tennessee. I haven't lived at home full-time for years; rather, beginning when I moved to Mississippi to start college, their home has been a place I come to when I'm in between things. I returned home almost every winter and summer break during my undergraduate and graduate years, and it was a place that has acted as a "staging" area of sorts for my international adventures. In contrast to some of the other participants in this study, I'm not ready to put down roots. If anything, my previous sojourns motivate me to continue exploring and discovering new places and ways of life. Around the time of this self-portrait, I am again in between things: my time at Illinois State is quickly coming to a close, and I am preparing mentally and materially to move to Manchester, England for a year to earn another master's degree in visual anthropology.

Emma. Growing up, Emma was surrounded by Peace Corps stories. Her father served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Kenya from 1980 to 1982, and after his service ended he kept in touch with many of his Peace Corps friends. Serving in the Peace Corps in Africa in the 1980s was much different from serving today, Emma says, because there were no laptop computers and amenities were nonexistent: no electricity, no running water. Instead of bringing technology as entertainment, Emma's father brought two suitcases full of books. One of those was John Steinbeck's *East of Eden*. After one has served in the Peace Corps, Emma says, there are few things a returning Volunteer wants to lug back to the States. For some reason, though, Emma's father decided to bring *East of Eden* home, and it has remained at her grandmother's house -- the home of her father's

mother -- in the decades since his return. Emma found the text during a visit to her house; she says she needed something to do on the long drive from her grandmother's house in Minnesota to her family's home in the suburbs of Chicago, so she read *East of Eden* in the car.

The story stuck with her ever since, and not just for the plot line. The book, with its fragile cover, represents everything she wanted her own Peace Corps service to be. Her father, she says, embodies all the "buzzwords" one could assign to the ideal Peace Corps Volunteer: open, malleable, adjustable, willing to embrace discomfort and the unknown. In the Peace Corps, Emma was looking for a chance to reinvent herself, and although "the book itself didn't enable me to become what I wanted to become... it just symbolized the experience that I wanted to have."

A thing -- rather, being -- that she uses to represent her mid-sojourn identity is Chicago, her cat. Chicago came into her life early in her service in Mongolia. She was in touch with a former Volunteer from the same village who remained in contact with several local families and told Emma to ask around: a family in the village had a cat who had recently had kittens. On a "rainy Tuesday" -- Emma remembers the day well -- a student brought a kitten wrapped in a green bundle to school. The name "Chicago" came for a number of reasons. First, Emma did not immediately know if the kitten was male or female, and she had to wait several weeks before she had Internet access in the capital before she could search online to find out ("that was an interesting Google search," she says). The name "Chicago" was gender-neutral enough to fit either. Second, it is rare for Mongolians give their pets a name similar to one they might give a child (unlike in the U.S. where one can find dogs named "Molly" and cats named "Martin"), and Emma did

not want to give her cat a Mongolian name anyway. Third, she hails from the Chicago area and she missed home. During Emma's time in Mongolia, Chicago represented "salvation [and] companionship... [He] made a very lonely experience less lonely. He was my world."

If Emma's pre-sojourn object, *East of Eden*, represents the ideal Peace Corps service and the reinvention of self that Emma wanted to undergo as a part of the Peace Corps experience, Chicago represents the reality of Emma's experience. Living in a village in the Gobi desert was often lonely, Emma says, and she was isolated much of the time. Some of that isolation, she admits, was self-imposed: children would knock on her door and she would pretend to not be home, she shied away from the unknown and unfamiliar, and she did not get around to introducing herself to her small community until her cat got lost. Much of the identity change that Emma anticipated happening, as represented by *East of Eden*, did not happen; however, she is adamant that the experience prepared her to "lean in" to future unknowns.

Dynamic processes in static images. The images included in this study are intended to capture dynamic processes of change in a static image that yields additional data for analysis. That is, within one image frame sojourners represent multiple identities. The objects themselves are important, but so are things like sojourners' presentation of self and the setting of the photograph. In addition, the images hint at sojourners' social identities and social identity changes, as well as aspects of sojourn experiences that are related to Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, and Global sojourner types in Sussman's Cultural Identity Model.

Journals. Erin and Joel each show a journal that was a part of their sojourns. In Erin's image, the journal represents her pre-sojourn object for the focal sojourn, her time in Tanzania, although the journal was authored during her previous sojourn in Italy. Her journal documents identity play: "in the airport going to Italy, I wrote in my journal, 'I could be anybody that I want to be right now.'" She says that "even though I didn't choose to be someone radically different, the fact that I was thinking about that, I think, is important." The journal also reinforced her identity as a writer, which is an identity she has long held.

Joel's journal was mission-specific: the cover reads "Missionary Journal," which hints that the purpose of the blank pages is to document one's journey as a missionary as well as mission-related activities, challenges, and successes. In Mormonism, Joel says, it is important to keep records and journals; Joel's father has an entire shelf of volumes of hand-written journals. Unlike Erin, who has long been in the habit of writing regularly, Joel had to be prodded to write home and, presumably, write journal entries. Interestingly, Joel's journal both documents his sojourn in Argentina and his sojourn out of the LDS church. His last few entries portray the end of his time in Argentina and his return to the United States. The last entry, authored after a long pause in journaling in this particular book, tells of his decision to leave the church entirely.

Books. Several participants, including Tim, Nadia, and Emma, chose to represent different identities via books. The bookshelf in the background of Tim's photograph, he says, represents his intellectual journey during his time abroad and during his advanced degree studies. Tim has long had an interest in language, and different uses of language are evident even in one small section of his book library. One can see a collection of texts

by William Blake, along with more academic or technical texts that concern theory and argumentation.

The book in Nadia's photograph also represents her intellectual development. She chose to show *Righteous Dopefiend*, one of her favorite works of ethnography that she encountered in undergraduate anthropology coursework. In college, Nadia says that she fell in love with academia. Coursework, reading, research, and writing, along with the college environment, provided her with a "haven" while her family life was in chaos. Interestingly, and perhaps unintentionally, she chose *Righteous Dopefiend* to represent her intellectual curiosity and growth at the same time that her family "had fallen down to drugs." While "my home became something I didn't recognize at all and didn't really... I just couldn't understand, couldn't relate to it, couldn't be part of it," she had the opportunity to "sit and feast on words and ideas and all those yummy things" on campus and on campus-sponsored summer study abroad classes.

The book that Emma chose, *East of Eden*, similarly represents her pre-sojourn identity. The text itself is one of the few things her father brought back to the U.S. after his own Peace Corps service came to a close. She found the book at her grandmother's house while looking for a book that would occupy her mind during a long road trip, and the story stuck with her since. She equates the book with her father's Peace Corps service, which she suggests is, in her mind at least, the quintessential Peace Corps experience. Her father served in Kenya in the early 1980s and lived in a village with no electricity and no running water. She says that he threw himself into the experience and made the most of his time there. Emma says that she created the idea of a similar identity for herself to which she would aspire during her own Peace Corps service: she envisioned

her service as an opportunity for self-reinvention, a process through which she would tie in qualities of her father and his Peace Corps experience. Emma says that she did not fully realize the revision of her identity that she envisioned before she embarked on her service in Mongolia -- she was guarded, she says, and protective of her time and energy in ways that she need not have been.

Uniform pieces. Stephen and Joel both selected pieces of their organization-mandated dress codes to represent their mid-sojourn identities. Stephen's arm sleeve was used to differentiate him from the other military personnel on a base in the Middle East; its symbols told others his specific sub-group affiliations within the Air Force. Joel's nametag, which reads "ELDER SCHNEIDER" demonstrated his affiliation with the LDS church while he served his mission in Argentina. For both Stephen and Joel, the uniform pieces are material artifacts from "tight" (Triandis 1994) organizations and their Affirmative sojourn experiences (Sussman 2001; 2002b; 2010). Perhaps most notably, Stephen and Joel were affirmed in their U.S. identities throughout their sojourns: Stephen's armband shows the U.S. flag and ties him to the U.S. military, and Joel's nametag ties him to an American religious organization. Because of strict behavioral and attitudinal norms, along with codes that mandated certain organization-specific presentations of self, their ability to subtract origin culture ties and traits or, conversely, add host culture social ties and traits, was limited.

Settings. In addition to the objects themselves, the settings in which the photographs were taken are also significant in the context of this work. Some settings are telling of participants' post-sojourn identities. Caety is seen in her home in Chattanooga, Tennessee, where she lives with several roommates who have also had significant

international experiences. One roommate was her first friend at university -- the student Caety chased down after hearing her presentation on study abroad opportunities in South America -- and another spent time in Ghana. While Caety and her roommates have had markedly different experiences abroad, she suggests that they have all bonded over similar abstracted experiences (missing certain foods, for example) and over non-belonging upon their return.

At the time of our interviews in early January of 2014, Erin and Nadia were roommates in New Orleans. Erin had moved into a room in Nadia's rented house just three weeks before, and she is shown with some of the few things she had moved from her parents' house in Covington, a New Orleans suburb. As mentioned before, the setting of the photograph -- a house within the New Orleans city limits -- is significant for Erin because the act of putting herself within the geographic bounds of the creative space that is New Orleans has encouraged her to once again write daily. Moving into the city has been beneficial for her creative practice and how she understands herself as a creative person and aspiring writer. For Nadia, moving to New Orleans is a manifestation of the "rapprochement" aspect of her sojourn. While in Jordan, Nadia came to understand her Arab heritage, a part of herself she previously romanticized but did not at all understand. She became a legitimate part of her father's extended family, and she says that she is no longer afraid of what is inside of her. The feeling of authenticity that resulted from her sojourn in Jordan allowed her to return to the United States and successfully balance family and personal lives. For the first time, she felt able to put down roots without fearing the need to run away, and her home in New Orleans signifies that identity shift.

The CIM and social identity in portrait photographs. As mentioned in the above discussion, Sussman's Affirmative category is seen in the portraits of Joel and Stephen, who both chose to show uniform pieces as a representation of their mid-sojourn identities. These objects are representative of their involvement with and membership in their respective organizations. The LDS church and the United States Air Force are both "tight" organizations that require a high degree of commitment on the part of their members and have in place severe consequences for leaving the group. In addition, as "tight" organizations they prevented additional significant host culture group affiliations that would be catalysts of identity change. Therefore, Joel and Stephen's objects represent identity maintenance -- a lack of identity change through changing group memberships -- and affirmation in origin culture identities.

The Subtractive sojourner category is seen in Erin's photograph. The journal represents her identity as a writer; she says that she has identified as a writer for as long as she can remember. The photograph that she chose to represent her mid-sojourn identity, though, allows the viewer to peer into her life in Tanzania where she became less of a writer herself and more of a teacher and facilitator. In a sense, one could say that she swapped one identity for another: helping others write replaced her own writing practice. However, her desire to express her own voice had been such a central part of her identity until she lived in Tanzania that experiencing that sort of identity loss seems substantial. In order to reinvigorate her writing practice and her identity as a writer, Erin intentionally relocated into the city of New Orleans, a social and cultural space that fosters creativity and freedom of thought. This act is seen via the setting of the photograph, Erin's home in New Orleans to which she had recently moved at the time of

our interview. Social identity theory tells us that individuals have the agency to leave groups in which they feel unsatisfied and join new groups that better align with individuals' values (Tajfel 1981). Therefore, Erin's act of leaving Covington -- the "stagnant" suburb in which her parents live, and where she lived for a year after returning from Tanzania -- and purposefully placed herself within a geographically-bound social group that constitutes a creative space -- the city of New Orleans -- parallels the process of social identity change outlined in theoretical literature that better aligns with her own values and aspirations.

Sussman's Additive sojourner type is seen in Caety's photograph through her selection of the clock, which represents her changed understanding of time -- which deeply affected her understanding of herself and her aspirations -- after sojourning for a year in Chile. Caety added a more relaxed sense of time and a stress-free approach to plans. An analysis through the lens of social identity theory tells us that Caety came to understand time and aspirations differently by comparing herself with Chileans around her. Caety was determined and intentional about assimilating into Chilean culture, and by participating in a variety of Chilean and western Argentinean social groups (university classes, an internship, employment), her identity began to change.

Nadia, too, had an Additive aspect to her sojourn because she experienced an identity gain through newly legitimized consanguinal kinship ties. Thus, she experienced a change in her social identity because she became a legitimate part of a family group. For Nadia, experiencing an identity gain did not mean simultaneously experiencing an identity loss; that is, becoming a legitimate part of her father's extended family did not mean losing a place in her family unit in the United States. Rather, Nadia is able to

balance both because she feels that she has been made whole and can understand both of her very different heritages. Her photograph demonstrates, in a visual sense, how she has blended those heritages, as well as significant life experiences, into her present identity: her southern aesthetic (makeup, jewelry, and painted nails) mixes with Bedouin dress.

Tim suggests the potential for a Global identity by way of his BUFFALO sign. The sign is representative of his openness to following new and unexpected roads. For example, his openness led him to visit his friend in Zaire, which led to him becoming a Peace Corps Volunteer, which led to him meeting his wife. Had his friend been doing missionary work in another country, Tim would have visited him elsewhere. Tim suggests an openness to cultural transitions, and demonstrates an openness to entering new groups as a result of those transitions.

Summary. The portrait photographs in this study corroborate narrative data that address participants' sojourn, reentry, and readjustment experiences, thus increasing the validity of this study. Additionally, photographs serve as an alternative representation of theories, models, and other empirical themes present in earlier findings, like social identity theory and the Cultural Identity Model.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION:

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

What happens when sojourners return home? The answer, using narrative and visual data from this study, appears complicated. In short, data suggest that when sojourners return to their cultures of origin, reentry and readjustment experiences are mixed. Sometimes sojourners are affirmed in their origin culture identities -- perhaps as U.S. citizens or members of certain organizations -- throughout the duration of their sojourns, resulting in little opportunity for host culture-related identity change and an easier transition home. In other circumstances, however, sojourns result in significant identity changes that leave sojourners' new identities incongruent with their origin cultures. What happens for sojourners for whom the once-familiar origin culture becomes strange?

In this chapter, I summarize applications of theoretical models, compare and contrast thematic findings with other empirical findings discussed in the review of relevant literature. I also critique the Cultural Identity Model (Sussman 2002b; 2010), which was used as a way to analyze returned sojourners' narratives. Next, I note gaps in existing literatures that this study helps to fill and discuss the next steps that researchers could take in order to better understand sojourn experiences. Finally, I discuss the

strengths and limitations of this study, along with the wider implications of these findings regarding sojourn and cultural transitions literatures as well as research in visual sociology.

Theoretical Models in Sojourners' Lived Experiences

This study drew from two theoretical literatures, including identity theory and models of cultural adjustment and readjustment. Of those, social identity and the Cultural Identity Model guided the majority of the data analysis. Social identity and the Cultural Identity Model are related: the CIM is a way of thinking about social identity and social identity change in the context of intercultural transitions. Social identity theory posits that individuals understand themselves through similarities with others with whom they share group membership; social identity comes from feeling "at one" with a particular group, which informs individuals' behaviors and attitudes (Stets and Burke 2000:226). In social identity theory, identity maintenance comes through maintaining group memberships, and identity change comes through leaving groups and/or entering new groups. This, in theory, will change one's behaviors and attitudes.

The Cultural Identity Model, then, applies social identity theory to a specific circumstance: transitioning between cultures. Affirmative sojourners maintain origin culture identity throughout their sojourns through identity maintenance; that is, they maintain origin culture group memberships and, hence, an origin culture worldview. Subtractive sojourners lose origin culture group memberships abroad, which causes identity change because these sojourners have lost groups that previously informed their behaviors and attitudes. Additive sojourners experience an identity gain through seeking

out new group affiliations in the host culture; this causes identity change because they have new influences on their behaviors, attitudes, and worldviews. Finally, Global sojourners imagine themselves to be a part of a "global" community. As discussed in the Review of Relevant Literature, the validity of this category is debatable. Feeling "at one" with a global population would do little to influence one's behaviors and attitudes, because the commonalities between the billions of people in the global "in-group" add up to little more than the vague idea of the "human experience."

The implication of the Cultural Identity Model is that certain sojourner types have ramifications for origin culture reentry experiences. A sojourner who experiences little, if any, identity change while living, studying, or working abroad will experience a positive reentry, because his or her social identities will be very much the same as they were when the sojourner left the origin culture. However, Subtractive and Additive sojourners, who both experience social identity change through changing group affiliations, are predicted to have negative reentry experiences. These sojourners have either lost or gained group affiliations, and the resulting changes in behaviors and attitudes leaves them, to some degree, incongruent with the origin culture. Global sojourners are predicted to have neutral or positive reentry experiences because they consider themselves to be members of a larger "global community," and they also have a history of intercultural transition experiences, although, as discussed below, empirical findings are divided regarding whether past transitions ease future transition experiences (Sussman 2002b; 2010).

In the previous chapter I analyzed aspects of participants' sojourn experiences using the sojourner categories included in Sussman's Cultural Identity Model. In most cases I did not assign a participant's entire sojourn experience to a category; for example,

Erin's sojourn to Tanzania was not entirely an Additive experience. The exceptions to this style of analysis are Joel and Stephen, whose sojourn experiences were highly structured due to the rules and regulations of the tight organizations through which they sojourned. The rationale behind analyzing aspects of sojourn experiences through the CIM, and the subsequent effects of those aspects on sojourners' reentry experiences, is that the CIM is limited in how it treats the multi-faceted nature of sojourn experiences. In the CIM, a sojourn experience (and the sojourner) is entirely Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive, *or* Global. I feel that these categories are too limiting to apply to an entire sojourn experience, so I use them to analyze smaller -- though important and formative -- parts of sojourn experiences. This limitation is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Ties to Empirical Findings

I use the Cultural Identity Model (Sussman 2001; 2002b; 2010) as one avenue by which to analyze the eight participants' narratives of sojourns, sojourn-related identity changes, and origin culture reentry. Because the model itself cannot do more than predict, rather roughly, the positivity or negativity of a sojourner's reentry experience, I expand beyond the reentry experience itself and explore the aftermath of those positive and negative experiences. I also consider other factors that affect origin culture reentry and readjustment that emerge in empirical literature on sojourn experiences and in participant narratives, including cultural distance, preparedness to return, circumstances of reentry, the effects of multiple sojourns and reentry experiences, and the effects of more "existential" aspects of sojourns, like an increase in feelings of authenticity. Therefore, in

this study I weave together multiple ways of understanding reentry experiences using one prominent model (Sussman's CIM) and various other salient themes in existing literature.

Multiple sojourns and intercultural transitions. Three participants in this study had multiple sojourn and reentry experiences, and all three reported that their first and second reentry experiences were different from one another. For me, readjusting to life after a semester of study abroad in Buenos Aires, Argentina (my first sojourn) was much more difficult than returning to the U.S. from a year in South Korea (my second sojourn) in order to begin graduate school. For Erin, returning to college after a semester of study abroad in Perugia, Italy seems to have been a neutral experience. However, returning from 14 months in Tanzania presented a unique set of challenges and identity crises that seem to have made reentry and readjustment a more negative experience. For Caety, returning from a gap year in Germany to start her freshman year of college was difficult, and so was returning from a year of study abroad in Chile. However, she says that she learned about herself and her own tendency to withdraw and become distant after returning from long-term experiences abroad, so she actively attempted to counter that tendency after returning from her second year-long sojourn.

Previous empirical findings argue that sojourners who return from a sojourn and later embark on subsequent sojourns have an easier time reentering and readjusting to origin culture life because they already have one reentry experience under their belts (Rohrlich and Martin 1991; Sussman 2001; Sussman 2002b). This seems to be the case for Caety: she had an idea of what she might encounter during her second reentry experience and anticipated how to counteract negative feelings. Other findings, however, suggest that previous reentry and readjustment experiences have no bearing on future

reentry and readjustment experiences (Cox 2004; Hammer et al. 1998). My experiences, as well as Erin's, align with Cox's (2004) and Hammer et al.'s (1998) findings: our first reentry and readjustment experiences had little bearing on our second reentry and readjustment experiences. I believe this to be the result of very different preparation processes and reentry circumstances between the first and second sojourns.

Cultural distance. Empirical findings show that cultural distance between one's origin culture and host culture affects one's level of host culture adjustment. Less cultural distance allows for easier host culture integration because there are, perhaps, shared languages or cultural backgrounds; on the other hand, more cultural distance discourages sojourners from integrating into the host culture (Babiker et al. 1980; Suanet and Van de Vijver 2009; Sussman 2000). Sussman's Cultural Identity Model suggests that in turn, less cultural distance could lead to greater host culture identity change (through easier relationship-making) and subsequent reentry and readjustment challenges. The CIM suggests the opposite for sojourners for whom there is greater cultural distance between origin and host cultures: there could be less identity change, leading to an easier reentry and readjustment experience.

For different individuals in this study, cultural distance affected host culture adjustment and origin culture reentry in a variety of ways. In Caety's narrative, she seems to have perceived cultural distance between her U.S. upbringing and Chilean culture as a formidable challenge to overcome. She approached host culture adjustment in these terms: "I will assimilate! I will become part of [your culture]!" While she successfully integrated key aspects of Chilean culture into her post-sojourn identity, particularly the way she conceptualizes time and planning for the future, she did encounter significant

challenges upon her reentry to the U.S. and readjustment to U.S. culture. Caety's individual determination to integrate into Chilean culture helped her overcome cultural distance, thus contradicting previous findings.

Tim and Emma, both Returned Peace Corps Volunteers, indicated that cultural distance between their host communities and the United States caused them immediate reentry distress. Tim's narrative suggests that he fostered meaningful social ties to individuals and groups in his host community during his sojourn (in particular, he met his wife in his Peace Corps service site), although he also suggests that his Peace Corps experience and host culture lifestyle paralleled the ways in which he structured his life before he left the U.S.: he was always keen on living simply and embracing the unknown. The relationships that Tim gained during his sojourn, according to the CIM, would have caused him significant identity change and subsequent reentry distress; however, his identity -- including behaviors and attitudes -- in some ways already paralleled his host culture. Emma, however, says that she was guarded and protective of her time during her service, indicating perhaps less social interaction and identity change. Interestingly, despite very different host culture adjustment experiences for each of these Returned Peace Corps Volunteers and different ways of dealing with cultural distance, that distress manifested itself in large "big box" commercial spaces. Tim says he was "depressed" and Emma says she felt "overwhelmed" in grocery stores and businesses like Meijer. In their host communities, they learned to live with less and purchase only things that were available; in contrast, in the United States they could buy whatever they desired from a selection of thousands of items. Tim and Emma display differing levels of host culture adjustment in response to cultural distance between the U.S. and their Peace Corps host

communities, which would suggest that Tim would have a more difficult reentry experience than would Emma; regardless, they both broached a discussion about very similar reentry challenges that they faced after the close of their terms of service.

For Erin and me, challenges associated with cultural distance manifested themselves regarding relationship-making. Erin says that there came a time during her sojourn in Tanzania when she wanted to put down roots, but she says that cultural distance made that difficult: "We don't want to admit that there's a power struggle. We don't want to admit to neocolonialism. In our hearts we want to say, 'It's just the color that's different! We can still be best friends!'" In her narrative, Erin explains that cultural distance complicated her relationships with Tanzanian colleagues, friends, and her host family, and that those complications, in some cases, carried over in negative ways into her life after she returned to the U.S. In my case, I often felt unsure of navigating relationships in my workplace -- a high school at which I was the only non-Korean teacher -- and was not confident enough in my Korean language skills to foster relationships with Koreans without relying on English. Culturally and linguistically, I was somewhat isolated from colleagues and others with whom I interacted. While I would not classify myself as an Affirmative sojourner (I was Additive/Subtractive in other ways), I did have an easier reentry and readjustment experience -- but that, perhaps, was due to the circumstances to which I returned.

Tight and loose cultures. In hand with cultural distance, some past researchers have conceptualized cultures as either "tight" (Triandis 1994) or "loose" (Pelto 1968). All sojourners in this study left a "loose" culture -- the United States -- to embark on their sojourns. Some went to other relatively "loose" cultures, like places in Western Europe or

South America. Others, however, went to "tight" cultures in the Middle East, East Asia, and East Africa. Individuals from loose origin cultures who sojourn in tight cultures are shown to have positive reentry experiences (Rohrlich and Martin 1991) because they are likely to face increased restrictions on individual freedoms during their sojourns, and upon return to the origin culture they are able to express themselves freely once again. These findings proved true during and after my sojourn in South Korea: I chose not to disclose my queer sexual identity in Korea, because disclosure would likely have affected my work and living experience negatively. Upon returning to the United States, I was glad to be able to be open about that aspect of my identity once again.

Nadia also sojourned in a "tight" culture in which she had to reinterpret the relationship between her body and the environment. Traversing the very different cultural landscape regarding what was acceptable to wear in public, as well as verbal harassment that came with wearing something culturally inappropriate, was one of her first challenges after arrival. While living with the Bedouin in the Jordanian desert, she wore traditional Bedouin clothing, including a floor-length black silk covering and face veil. While Nadia did rebel when she got home ("I haven't worn shorts in two and a half years! I'm gonna wear shorts wherever I go!"), the traditional Bedouin style of dress taught Nadia an important lesson about relationships and communication that she carried with her when she returned to the United States. No longer does she use facial cues and verbal communication to understand what someone is saying; she learned to understand what people say when they move their hands a certain way, what a certain tone means, and what people say when they do not say anything at all.

Tight and loose organizations. In the same vein, the type of organization through which one sojourned was predicted to affect reentry and readjustment experiences. For example, a "tight" organization with strict norms and codes of conduct -- with consequences for breaking those rules -- would prevent a sojourner from experiencing much in the way of host culture identity change. Constant affirmation of origin culture identity is predicted to foster positive reentry and readjustment experiences (Sussman 2001; 2002b; 2010). Joel and Stephen both described sojourning through tight organizations (the LDS church and the military, respectively). Although Joel interacted with Argentines using Spanish and learned cultural norms that facilitated more effective communication and rapport-building, the majority of his interactions were mediated through the LDS "script." In Stephen's case, he sojourned through a branch of the military in which he had a clearly defined role and set of responsibilities, as well as a code of conduct dress. Stephen lived and worked on military bases abroad, an environment that prevented much meaningful interaction with host culture individuals. Both Joel and Stephen narrated positive reentry experiences, and when they each returned to the U.S., they were still a part of their respective organizations. Interestingly, both Joel and Stephen experienced more pronounced challenges when they left those organizations than when they returned from their sojourns.

Preparedness at the end of the sojourn. Empirical findings suggest that a lack of preparedness leads to negative reentry experiences; if sojourners do not prepare for or anticipate what they may encounter upon their return, they face an increased chance of challenging origin culture readjustment (Black et al. 1992). In this research, data suggest that being ill-prepared can indeed lead to negative reentry. Although Erin planned

logistically for her return to the U.S. -- she bought a ticket and scheduled her last few weeks in her host community -- she ended up being busy and constantly surrounded with people (and emerging issues with her host family), which made it difficult for her to mentally prepare. She says she arrived home and asked herself, "Now what?" Beyond arranging transportation that would take her home, Erin did not anticipate what life in the U.S. would mean or bring.

Tim says that his return to the U.S. was sudden: he made the decision that his employer was spending too much money supporting him and his family abroad, and that it would be more economical for the whole family to move to the U.S. and have Tim commute. The family's preparation may have been rushed, but Tim did not report a negative reentry experience as a result; however, this could have been because his family served as a support system for one another.

Nadia, who explains that she never plans and prefers to surprise herself when it comes to big life changes, bought a plane ticket to return to the U.S. just three days from the moment that she decided to leave. Her departure from Jordan was the result of a pull to return to her family, however, and she says that when she returned home, it was everything she imagined it would be. However, Nadia says that after the initial positivity wore off and she fell into a rhythm of everyday life, she realized that by surprising herself with a return to the U.S. she neglected to make longer-term plans.

Emma and I both knew that we would be attending graduate school after our sojourns, and graduate school admissions, of course, is a time-consuming process. She and I had months to anticipate post-reentry life among a new cohort. For me, at least,

reentry was a positive experience: I returned with a purpose, and after planning my curriculum there were few major surprises.

Data in this study suggest that sojourners who were prepared to return and anticipated life post-reentry had positive reentry experiences. This does not mean that ill preparation condemns impulsive or busy sojourners, who did not anticipate what reentry and readjustment would be like, to negative circumstances. Additionally, one can still experience positive initial reentry without much preparation but may still feel stress in the longer-term readjustment process.

Circumstances of reentry. Previous empirical findings show that corporate employees who sojourn in places considered to be more culturally distant from the origin culture and return to corporate environments in which their peers have not sojourned are more likely to encounter a xenophobic response from peers (Adler 1981); this finding also suggests that sojourners who experience higher degrees of identity change and themselves become more distant from the origin culture will encounter xenophobia from origin culture peers. These findings hold clout in academic environments, as well (Szkudlarek 2010).

Joel and Stephen returned to the same tight organizations of which they were still a part. LDS missionaries are typically welcomed back into the "fold," suggesting that there is little xenophobia from family and friends after returning. This parallels previous findings, because the organization of the LDS church allows little room for identity change. The same is true for Stephen, who had little opportunity to experience social identity change while serving in the Air Force.

Interestingly, Caety projected xenophobia onto other incoming students in her freshman Honors Program cohort at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. At the time, she had just returned from a gap year in Germany and was starting school with a cohort of students who had graduated from high school just a few months earlier. She says that she assumed that they would not understand her and would not accept her as a returned sojourner. In addition, she had a year of real life experience under her belt, and they still seemed quite young. However, she realized that although they may not have understood her sojourn experience, there were plenty of topics around which she could connect.

Previous research findings show that some social groups inflict xenophobia on returned sojourners, particularly those who have sojourned in places considered more culturally distant. However, data in this study suggest that sojourners also project xenophobia onto origin culture groups by assuming that they will be misunderstood and outcast.

Age and identity security. Empirical literatures show that younger sojourners often have more difficult reentry and readjustment experiences than do older sojourners because younger individuals' identities are often more vulnerable (Black and Gregerson 1991; Cox 2004; Hyder and Lovblad 2007; Moore, Jones, and Austin 1987; Rohrlich and Martin 1991). People who are older when they sojourn have already had a broad range of life experiences, are often established in a career (which informs a major component of our identities), and can better mitigate challenges associated with cross-cultural transitions.

All of the participants in this study were under age 30 at the time of their sojourns, although seven of the eight were between 18 and 24 years old during their sojourns and at the time of reentry. Tim was the oldest among the eight: he was 29 at the start of his Peace Corps service. Among the seven who sojourned at ages under 25, five went abroad independently or through "looser" organizations like university study abroad programs. All five of these participants (Ben, Caety, Emma, Erin, and Nadia) demonstrated a history of engaging in, intent to engage in, or sojourn-specific practice of identity "play" by changing formerly salient parts of the self in new social and/or cultural environments.

Gender. Past research suggests that reentry and readjustment experiences differ by gender. Women are shown to have a more difficult time readjusting to origin culture life, particularly if they left children, a spouse, and family care responsibilities behind during their sojourns (Brabant et al. 1990; Brown and Brown 2009; Cox 2004). I included an even number of men and women in this study, although experiences are so different among the eight participants that a comparison between men's and women's reentry and readjustment experiences would not yield reliable conclusions. Additionally, only one woman in the study, Nadia, left significant family care responsibilities (which she resented at the time) during her sojourn. In contrast to past research, which suggests that women who leave family care responsibilities to sojourn and gain a newfound sense of independence abroad have a more difficult time readjusting to family responsibilities upon reentry, Nadia reclaimed her nurturer role in her family in the U.S. and enjoys caring for her growing extended family.

The second research question asks how sojourners experience immediate reentry and long-term origin culture readjustments, and in what ways host culture-related identity changes are incorporated into post-sojourn everyday life. Immediate reentry experiences for this particular group of sojourners were varied. Even the three sojourners in this study who underwent more than one sojourn that met the minimum time requirement for inclusion in the study indicated that reentry experiences differed between sojourns. Participant narratives suggest that reentry experiences are dependent upon pre- and post-reentry events, circumstances, and identity changes. Nadia, a Fulbright fellow in Jordan who lived and worked in Amman for an additional year after the end of her 15-month Fulbright grant, felt a pull to return to the U.S. to be with her family. When she arrived home and was with her brothers, their spouses, and young children, she felt content: "It was exactly what I wanted." Nadia's contentment is perhaps a result of the impetus of her return. She felt that she needed to return to her family, and doing so made her happy.

Caety and I both ended one of our sojourns by entering new academic environments, in which we knew no one, within a few days or weeks of our respective returns. This circumstance was good for me: no one had any pre-existing expectations of who I was before my sojourn, so among a new group, my post-sojourn identity was accepted as-is instead being compared to others' idea of my pre-sojourn self. Caety, though, had a hard time starting school with a new group. She began her freshman year one year older (and with a year of experience living abroad) than the rest of her cohort, which was made up of students right out of high school. They had not had the same sort of adventure that Caety had, and she felt that they would not understand her. Another part of reentering our culture of origin -- something that we perhaps expected to be familiar --

but at the same time entering a new social/academic group -- something strange -- was what we projected onto those respective groups. I returned to the U.S. to join a cohort of globally-minded people with an array of previous international experiences, interesting domestic public service experience, or who were preparing to join the Peace Corps. I anticipated -- and perhaps projected -- that these people would understand the experience I had gone through and could accept me as a person who had had significant international experiences. Caety, though, suggests that she expected that her new classmates would be, to some degree, of xenophobic and would not be able to understand her and her post-sojourn identity. As a result, she felt distant from her cohort for weeks.

The Limitations of the Cultural Identity Model

In considering the Cultural Identity Model, along with various other factors that affect origin culture reentry and readjustment, these findings demonstrate the complexity of reentry and readjustment experiences that are not reflected in existing models of cultural readjustment. At the outset of this study I intended to use the CIM as a guide to frame sojourners' experiences, and in some cases, a creative application of the CIM did just that. For sojourners like Joel and Stephen, who sojourned through "tight" organizations that set strict behavioral and attitudinal norms and were thus forced into Affirmative sojourner identities, the model's prediction of a positive reentry experiences was accurate. However, other findings clearly demonstrate the limited scope of the Cultural Identity Model and its inadequacy in accounting for nuances in individual sojourn experiences. In Erin's case, the Additive nature of her sojourn by way becoming a member of a fictive kin network (her host family) and other community groups, did result

in negative reentry, but not for the reasons predicted in the model. Erin's main communications with individuals in Tanzania -- her host sister and her ex-boyfriend -- were consistently negative and stressful, and the negativity of those communications carried over into her challenging readjustment process. Thus, Erin's experience shows that negative reentry can be caused by more than identity gain, as Sussman suggests in the CIM; it can also be caused by complicated ties to individuals and groups who have remained in the host culture.

Additionally, these findings show that other factors, such as those listed above, may intersect with the CIM's predictions or intervene in the process of reentry, thus mitigating positive or negative predictions. In Nadia's case, for example, had the CIM proved accurate, she should have had a negative reentry experience because she added to her kin network (and, via newly legitimated relationships, her identity) by becoming a legitimate part of her father's extended Iraqi family. However, her increased feelings of authenticity and "wholeness" that resulted from a fuller understanding her heritage intervened, and experienced a positive reentry into the United States and reclaimed a nurturer role in her family unit in rural Louisiana (see discussion of "rapprochement" above). She was also able to establish roots in New Orleans as a result of that authenticity.

Finally, sojourners' narratives demonstrate that sojourns are not solely Affirmative, Subtractive, Additive *or* Global; rather, participants discussed sojourns that combined multiple different CIM categories. For example, Joel's sojourn was very much an Affirmative one given his affiliation with the LDS church and its strict behavioral and attitudinal norms, but he was also Additive in that he added daily use of the Spanish

language -- which facilitated membership in Argentine LDS groups and new community relationships -- to his identity. Stephen, too, was Affirmative by way of his military service and the codes to which he was required to adhere, but his narrative suggested that he had clear Additive behaviors like seeking out new experiences with new people in Kuwait City. During Erin's sojourn to Italy, she was Affirmative in her academic identity because she enrolled and excelled in classes there, but she explicitly stated that she cut ties with individuals and groups from the United States while she was abroad, a clear indicator of a Subtractive sojourn. In Tanzania, she became a part of a fictive kin network and demonstrated an Additive aspect of her sojourner identity, as described above, but she also lost, or suppressed, her habit of writing, which indicates a Subtractive factor, too. Caety was also both Additive and Subtractive on each of her two academic-year sojourns: she became a part of new social groups and added linguistic skills, but she distanced herself from former groups while she was abroad. The combination of adding culture-specific group memberships and skills and disconnecting from origin culture groups affected Caety's reentry and readjustment.

Gaps in the Literature

This work helps fill several gaps in intercultural transitions literature. Foremost, Szkudlarek (2010) notes a lack of attention to reentry and readjustment experiences in academic research; in contrast, literature focused on cultural adjustment and culture shock is immense and has been conducted consistently over the past few decades. This study adds to reentry literature because it focuses on the experiences of returned sojourners.

Second, "the reentry field is greatly fragmented -- the studies focus on different aspects of reentry transition" (Szkudlarek 2010:2). This study considers models of origin culture reentry alongside issues related to origin culture readjustment, like preparation to return, circumstances of a sojourner's return, cultural distance, and authenticity, that have previously been treated in isolation. These thematic findings sometimes affect reentry experiences in unexpected ways, highlighting complexity not reflected in the Cultural Identity Model. Of particular interest is the absence of clear ties between social identity theory and cultural transitions models; for example, the Cultural Identity Model is clearly based on social identity theory, but social identity theory is, at best, tacitly woven through the model. This study shows a clear connection between the two theoretical frameworks and puts in explicit dialogue previously disparate theoretical literatures.

Third, a gap exists in existing literature concerning non-corporate sojourn and reentry experiences. A vast majority of existing research focuses on the experiences of corporate sojourners who move (or are assigned) abroad as employees of multinational corporations (Szkudlarek 2010); thus, the little understanding that we have of reentry and readjustment experiences is focused on only one subset of sojourners. In this study I intentionally avoided recruiting returned corporate expatriates, because highlighting a variety of other sojourn experiences would contribute to this literature in new and more significant ways. Sojourners in this study went abroad as students, teachers, Peace Corps Volunteers, Fulbrighters, writers, missionaries, and military personnel; while not representative of the entire population of sojourners, this mixed sample demonstrates a diversity of sojourn experiences, identity changes, and reentry and readjustment challenges that are important to explore in greater depth.

Finally, the mixed-method approach in this study challenges conventional notions of "legitimacy" in sociological research. This research does not rely solely on conventional qualitative methods like in-depth interviewing; rather, it combines interviewing with a postmodern method (auto-ethnography), an experimental revision of an action research method (photo and object elicitation), and a creative, visual methodology (portrait photography). There is a conspicuous lack of visual research and methodologies in the field of sociology, and this study provides a much-needed example of sociological work that includes visual methods and demonstrates the important role that visual methods can play in qualitative research.

Many existing studies in visual sociology and visual anthropology revolve around researcher analysis of participant-created images (i.e., "photovoice") or an analysis of researcher-produced images of spaces and built environments that are very "clinical" in style. Few studies involve collaboration between the photographer and participants in the creation of images. One example is da Silva's ethnographic work that focuses on the fishing industry (2004), which takes the form of images that are a result of collaboration between the researcher and individuals who work in fishing in different capacities. In da Silva's work, participants were encouraged to express their own opinions and preferences about the content and setup of the images, and their insights -- particularly negative ones -- were valued in the research process.

The present study provides another example of collaborative photography in social science research. In this work, I produced the images using my own photographic equipment and experience; however, I welcomed and encouraged participant input in the

creation of the images, including the objects that were included in the images, participants' poses, and the settings of the photographs.

Strengths and Limitations

This study has a number of strengths, namely its mixed-method approach. Combining a traditional qualitative method like face-to-face in-depth semi-structured interviews, a postmodern method like auto-ethnographic writing, an experimental revision of the photo elicitation method, and a creative visual method yielded rich, complex findings. I was able to explore the abstract and multi-faceted concept of identity through a number of different means. Notably, the visual methods corroborated participants' interviews and established validity in the data.

The mixed-method approach is also a strength in that it sets this study apart from the vast majority of existing sojourn-related research, which is founded on quantitative data that are often collected through surveys distributed at different points before, during, and/or after participants' sojourns. These data have enabled researchers to create models and test hypotheses, but they are limited in that they do not address nuances in individual sojourn experiences.

The "small-N" problem (Goodwin and Horowitz 2002) is perhaps a limitation of this study, and the sample is in no way representative of the larger U.S. population or the population of sojourners living within the U.S. However, as opposed to more representative quantitative studies that compose the majority of the existing literature on sojourn experiences, the small number of participants is also a strength in that it allowed

for a much more nuanced understanding of identity change, the reentry experience, and challenges associated with readjustment.

An additional limitation is that although I was intentional in selecting the participants who comprise the sample, the sample is one of convenience. This resulted in a sample that is in some ways homogenous. Six of eight participants have two white (non-Hispanic) parents. One participant has a white father and a Mexican mother, and another has an Iraqi father and a white mother. One of these two participants spoke about being understood as white abroad, thus suggesting that although her heritage is mixed, she can "pass" as white in certain social and cultural environments. Additionally, the majority of the participants come from a middle- or upper-middle class background. These demographic factors, however, do mirror current trends among sojourners (Salisbury et al. 2011; United States Peace Corps 2009; United States Peace Corps 2012). Despite racial and class similarities among most of the eight participants, participant narratives highlighted the diversity of sojourn experiences.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study is only a small contribution in an effort to grow an understanding of origin culture reentry and readjustment experiences; therefore, more studies that focus on reentry experiences are needed. Studies that focus on non-corporate sub-groups of sojourners would be particularly helpful in creating a well-rounded understanding of reentry and readjustment experiences. Also, studies that recognize and explore the complexities and nuance of sojourners' reentry and readjustment experiences would

greatly assist a more holistic understanding of what is becoming an increasingly common life occurrence.

Additionally, a call for more visual research is warranted. Visual research has the potential to change the ways in which social scientists approach and analyze social phenomena, which could lead to an exciting change in how sociologists and anthropologists do social research.

Practical Recommendations

Common sense tells us that returning from sojourns abroad should be easy; after all, “it is counterintuitive to expect difficulties when returning to one’s home country” (Sussman 2001:110) when the origin culture is something so familiar. However, this study, together with previous empirical research, tells us something different. Returned sojourners often face unexpected reentry and readjustment challenges that are not easy or quick to resolve. What this study tells us, then, is that reentry and readjustment processes are complex and individual, and they often hinge on pre-sojourn social environments, cultural distance and host culture adjustment, preparation, and reentry circumstances.

Long-term reentry preparation. Findings in this study suggest that while sojourners are informed of processes of host culture adjustment and associated challenges, many sojourners lack a knowledge of reentry and readjustment processes and challenges. This could perhaps be remedied by a change in mindset on behalf of institutions and organizations. I advocate a shift in the way that we think about post-sojourn life; instead of delaying thinking and talking about origin culture reentry until the

weeks, days, or, in some cases, hours before sojourners board their planes home, reentry should be a part of the conversation from the start.

For students leaving and returning to a structured academic environment, study abroad staff could do more than provide study abroad students with a brochure that reads "Coming Home." Instead, they could hold mandatory pre-departure seminars that take students through the stages of a sojourn before they leave the country. Alternatively, sojourners-to-be could be matched with returned sojourners -- a "buddy system" of sorts - - that would facilitate a dialogue about sojourners' readjustment challenges and other aspects of lived experiences after returning from a significant experience abroad.

Students are only one demographic among sojourners, though; for others who sojourn through organizations that offer less structure, like the United States Peace Corps, returned sojourners do not always return to the same communities they left. Unlike students who return to school, Returned Peace Corps Volunteers often enter the "real world" soon after reentry. Instead of preparing returning Peace Corps Volunteers ahead of time for what they may encounter or experience when they reenter the United States, Volunteers are prompted to initiate their transition into post-reentry life in the origin culture after they have already returned home: the Peace Corps encourages returning Volunteers to update their contact information and seek out local RPCV groups, but these acts must all be done on the RPCV's own accord. There is little, if any, institutionalized preparation or reentry support for returning Volunteers; in turn, some researchers argue for more "adequate support upon reentry" (Szkudlarek 2010:11). Peace Corps Volunteers who are separated involuntarily (by way of medical separation or withdrawal due to host country safety concerns) are more likely to experience negative reentry, including

depression and anxiety (Hirschon et al. 1997; Schlossberg 1988), and may have more need for support services. Additionally, Returned Peace Corps Volunteers are more likely to express a desire to change their origin culture surroundings rather than readjust to origin culture norms (Longsworth 1971; Storti 1997). Therefore, their propensity for activism and social change should be valued in their post-sojourn undertakings.

For individuals who design their own sojourns or work briefly with a placement agency to find an individual opportunity abroad, preparation to return and readjust to life in the origin culture would seem to rely on their own awareness, resourcefulness, and responsibility. Institutionalized reentry assistance is probably not an option for sojourners who live or work abroad on their own, so it would seem that individual mindfulness is an important part of successfully transitioning back into life in the origin culture.

Travel bore. One of the most difficult aspects of returning from a sojourn, for many sojourners, is the desire (or, in some cases, need) to talk about the experience of living, learning, and/or working abroad with others -- friends and family, perhaps, who have not had the same sorts of international experiences. Many returned sojourners face a similar response when they start talking about their Peace Corps service in Mongolia, or their semester in Italy, or their gap year in Germany: a conversation partner exhibits signs of "travel bore," a term that floats around travel blogs to describe a feeling of boredom that accompanies hearing travel stories. Instead of hearing long stories and looking at many photographs, some returned sojourners encounter people who may only want a short, essentialized, and idealized version of the sojourn experience. As Emma explains,

when you come back from Peace Corps, people don't want to hear the grit. They don't want to hear that in that in the wintertime in the outhouse the shit stalagmite got [really] high. [Laughs]. People don't want to hear about that, but that's real! That's everyday life, that's what happens. And then

you get cholera, and then... But, people want to hear this nice 30-second clip of like, "It was fantastic, I loved it, I did this interesting thing. Now, let's go to the mall!"

After reentry, many sojourners compress a semester, a year, or even two years of life abroad into just a few over-generalized, perhaps falsely positive lines of speech, omitting all of the ups and downs, challenges and successes, lessons learned, and personal growth from their post-sojourn narratives. Opening up a space for returned sojourners to talk in-depth about their experiences, including positive, negative, "real," and challenging aspects of their time abroad, could help ease reentry distress.

Appreciating identity changes in pre-sojourn social and cultural environments.

Previous research on corporate expatriates suggests that in order to boost employee retention, international corporations should appreciate and utilize returned expatriates' new skills in the workplace; expecting returned expatriates to fulfill their pre-sojourn workplace roles and carry out pre-sojourn responsibilities leads to an increased turnover rate. Returned sojourners, then, should be affirmed in their changed identities and broader skill sets.

Some scholars argue that there is crossover between corporate and academic environments in terms of the ways in which colleagues and peers accept or exhibit xenophobia toward returned sojourners. Therefore, it would seem wise to utilize returned sojourners' new skills and insights in an academic environment, as well. As more colleges and universities push to include greater numbers of students in study abroad programs, it would seem equally productive to highlight and make use of returned students' experiences abroad in a move to further internationalize campuses across the country.

"Travel books never discuss the end of a journey," Susan Jacoby wrote in a short, yet poignant, New York Times essay (1997). Her sentiment requires significant unpacking: not only does it address leaving the place of one's sojourn, but also the act of arriving home and the process of readjusting to life there. Guidebooks and pamphlets often do not tell sojourners how to return home, how to prepare to reenter a place that was familiar but has become strange, how to resolve incongruence between one's origin culture and one's post-sojourn identity, or how to answer the question, "What's next?" Guidebooks do not tell sojourners that people in the workplace, at school, or at home may not understand, or attempt to understand, sojourners' experiences and identity changes. This research shows that we know relatively little about what happens after sojourns come to a close. It shows that people return changed, and that people often struggle to understand themselves, their surroundings, and questions of purpose. Ironically, in many cases, returned sojourners are indirectly encouraged, if not forced, to deal with social identity changes in a very individual, private way. On the other hand, this research shows that returnees often change in positive ways: people participate in their host cultures in more positive and productive ways, are adventurous and open-minded, and in some cases are even made whole.

REFERENCES

- Adler, Peter S. 1975. "The Transitional Experience: An Alternative View of Culture Shock." *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 15(4):13-24.
- Adler, Nancy J. 1981. "Re-Entry: Managing Cross-Cultural Transitions." *Group & Organizational Studies* 6(3):341-356.
- Allen, H.W. and C. Herron. 2003. "A Mixed-Methodology Investigation of the Intrinsic and Affective Outcomes of Summer Study Abroad." *Foreign Language Annals* 36:370-385.
- Association of Americans Resident Overseas (AARO). 2014. "6.32 Million Americans (Excluding Military) Live in 160-Plus Countries." Accessed on June 15, 2014 at <http://www.aaro.org/about-aaro/6m-americans-abroad>.
- Andrews, G, A.C. Page, and M. Neilson. 1993. "Sending Your Teenagers Away: Controlled Stress Decreases Neurotic Vulnerability." *Archives of General Psychiatry* 50:585-589.
- Babiker, I., J. Cox, and P. Miller. 1980. "The Measurement of Cultural Distance and its Relationship to Medical Consultation, Symptomology, and Examination Performance of Overseas Students of Edinburgh University." *Journal of Social Psychiatry* 15:109-116.
- Baker, K.A. 1999. "Acculturation and Reacculturation Influence: Multilayer Contexts in Therapy." *Clinical Psychology Review* 19(8):951-967.
- Bateson, George and Margaret Mead. 1942. *Balinese Character*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Berg, Bruce L. and Howard Lune. 2012. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. 8th ed. Boston: Pearson.
- Black, J. Stewart and Mark Mendenhall. 1991. "The U-Curve Adjustment Hypothesis Revisited: A Review and Theoretical Framework." *Journal of International Business Studies* 22(2):225-247.

- Black, J. Stewart and H. B. Gregerson. 1991. "When Yankee Comes Home: Factors Related to Expatriate and Spouse Repatriation Adjustment." *Journal of International Business Studies* 22(4):671-694.
- Black, J. Stewart, H. B. Gregerson, and Mark Mendenhall. 1992. "Toward a Theoretical Framework of Repatriation Adjustment." *Journal of International Business Studies* 23:737-760.
- Boje, D. 1991. "The Storytelling Organization: A Study of Story Performance in an Office Supply Firm." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 36: 106-126.
- Borman, Kathryn M., Margaret D. LeCompte, and Judith Preissle Goetz. 1986. "Ethnographic and Qualitative Research Design and Why It Doesn't Work." *American Behavioral Scientist* 30(1):42-57.
- Brabant, S., C. E. Palmer, and R. Gramling. 1990. "Returning Home: An Empirical Investigation of Cross-Cultural Reentry." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 14(4):387-404.
- Brown, Lorraine and Iain Graham. 2009. "The Discovery of the Self Through the Academic Sojourn." *Existential Analysis* 20(1):79-93.
- Brown, Lorraine and Joanne Brown. 2009. "Out of Chaos, Into a New Identity." *Existential Analysis* 20(2):341-361.
- Bruner, J. 1987. "Life as Narrative." *Social Research* 54: 11-32.
- Burke, Peter J. 2006. "Identity Change." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 69(1):81-96.
- Burke, Peter J. and Judy Tully. 1977. "The Measurement of Role/Identity." *Social Forces* 55:881-897.
- Burke, Peter J. and Louis N. Gray. 1999. "Where Forward-Looking and Backward-Looking Models Meet." *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory* 5:75-96.
- Carano, Kenneth. 2013. "An Autoethnography: Constructing (&Interpreting) Cross-Cultural Awareness through the Mind of a Peace Corps Volunteer." *The Qualitative Report* 18(35):1-15.
- Castañeda, Martha E. and Megan L. Zirger. 2011. "Making the Most of the 'New' Study Abroad: Social Capital and the Short-Term Sojourn." *Foreign Language Annals* 44(3):544-564.
- Chamove, A. S. and S. M. Soeterik. 2006. "Grief in Returning Sojourners." *Journal of Social Sciences* 13(3):215-220.

- Charmaz, Kathy. 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Clark, Larry. 1971. *Tulsa*. New York: Lunstrum.
- Cox, B. J. 2004. "The Role of Communication, Technology, and Cultural Identity in Repatriation Adjustment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 28(3-4):201-219.
- Cronin, Ann and Andrew King. 2010. "Power, Inequality and Identification: Exploring Diversity and Intersectionality amongst Older LGB Adults." *Sociology* 44:876-892.
- da Silva, Olivia and Sarah Pink. 2004. "In the Net: Ethnographic Photography." Pp. 157-165 in *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*, edited by Sarah Pink. London: Routledge.
- Davidson, Bruce. 1970. *E100 Street*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC). 2014. "Military Personnel and Dependent End Strength by Service, Region Area, and Country." Accessed June 20, 2014 at <https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/appj/dwp/reports.do?category=reports&subCat=milActDutReg>.
- Dessoff, Alan. 2006. "Who's Not Going Abroad?" *International Educator* 15(2):20-27.
- Donnelly-Smith, L. 2009. "Global Learning Through Short-Term Study Abroad." *Peer Review* 11:12-15.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, ed. 1992. *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Ellemers, Naomi, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje. 1997. "Sticking Together or Falling Apart: In-Group Identification as a Psychological Determinant of Group Commitment Versus Individual Mobility." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 72:617-626.
- Fivush, Robyn, Tilmann Habermas, Theodore E.A. Waters, and Widaad Zaman. 2011. "The Making of Autobiographical Memory: Intersections of Culture, Narratives and Identity." *International Journal of Psychology* 46(5): 321-345.
- Furukawa, T. and T. Shibayama. 1993. "Predicting Maladjustment of Exchange Students in Different Cultures: A Prospective Study." *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 28:142-146.

- Furukawa, T. and T. Shibayama. 1994. "Factors Influencing Adjustment of High School Students in an International Exchange Program." *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 182:709-714.
- Gaitán, Alfredo. 2000. "Exploring Alternative Forms of Writing Ethnography (Review Essay)." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1(3):Art. 42. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0003420>.
- Galchenko, I. and F. J. R. van de Vijver. 2007. "The Role of Perceived Cultural Distance in the Acculturation of Exchange Students in Russia." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 31:181-197.
- Gazit, Nir and Yael Maoz-Shai. 2010. "Studying-Up and Studying-Across: At-Home Research of Governmental Violence Organizations." *Qualitative Sociology* 33:275-295.
- Goodwin, Jeff and Ruth Horowitz. 2002. "Introduction: The Methodological Strengths and Dilemmas of Qualitative Sociology." *Qualitative Sociology* 25(1):33-47.
- Gullahorn, John T. and Jeanne E. Gullahorn. 1963. "An Extension of the U-Curve Hypothesis." *Journal* V(I):33-47.
- Hammer, M. R., W. Hart, and R. Rogan. 1998. "Can You Go Home Again? An Analysis of the Repatriation of Corporate Managers and Spouses." *Management International Review* 38(1):67-86.
- Harley, Anne. 2012. "Picturing Reality: Power, Ethics, and Politics in Using Photovoice." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 11(4):320-339.
- Harper, Douglas. 1994. "On the Authority of the Image: Visual Methods at the Crossroads." Pp. 403-412 in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Hayes, Helen. 2007. "(Be)coming Home: An Existential Perspective on Migration, Settlement, and the Meanings of Home." *Existential Analysis* 18(1):2-16.
- Hirschon, J.M., T.R. Eng, K.A. Brunkow, and N. Hartzell. 1997. "Psychological and Readjustment Problems Associated with Emergency Evacuation of Peace Corps Volunteers." *Journal of Travel Medicine* 4(3):128-131.
- Hoersting, Raquel C. and Sharon Rae Jenkins. 2011. "No Place to Call Home: Cultural Homelessness, Self-Esteem and Cross-Cultural Identities." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35:17-30.

- Hofstede, G. 2001. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviours, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Howard, Judith. 2000. "Social Psychology of Identities." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:367-393.
- Hyder, Akmal. S. and Mikael Lovblad. 2007. "The Repatriation Process -- A Realistic Approach." *Career Development International* 12(3):264-281.
- Institute for International Education (IIE). 2009. Open Doors 2009 Fast Facts. Retrieved February 7, 2014 from <http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/>.
- Institute for International Education (IIE). 2013. Open Doors 2013 Fast Facts. Retrieved May 15, 2014 from <http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/>.
- Iyer, P. 2000. *The Global Soul: Jet-Lag, Shopping Malls and the Search for Home*. London: Bloomsburg Publishing.
- Jackson, Bruce. 1977. *Killing Time*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Jacobson, Eugene H. 1963. "Sojourn Research: A Definition of the Field." *Journal of Social Issues* 19(3):123-129.
- Jacoby, Susan. 1997. "Learning to Live with Arrivederci," *The New York Times*, October 12. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/10/12/travel/learning-to-live-with-arrivederci.html>.
- James, William, 1890. *Principles of Psychology*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Jenkins, Richard. 1996. *Social Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Kerry, John. 1971. *The New Soldier*. New York: Macmillan.
- Kvale, Steinar. 1996. *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Leong, C. and C. Ward. 2000. "Identity Conflict in Sojourners." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 24:763-776.
- Lofland, J.A. and L.H. Lofland. 1995. *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observations and Analysis*. 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Longworth, S. 1971. "The Returned Volunteer: A Perspective." *Transitions* 1:11-17.
- Lysgaard, Sverre. 1955. "Adjustment in a Foreign Society: Norwegian Fulbright Grantees Visiting the United States." *International Social Science Bulletin* 7:45-51.

- Madison, Greg. 2006. "Existential Migration: Conceptualising Out of the Experiential Depths of Choosing to Leave Home." *Existential Analysis* 17(2):238-260.
- Martin, Judith. N. 1984. "The Intercultural Reentry: Conceptualization and Directions for Future Research." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 8:115-134.
- Martin, Judith N. and T. Harrell. 2004. "Intercultural Reentry of Students and Professionals." Pp. 309-336 in *Handbook of International Training*, edited by D. Landis, J. M. Bennett, and M. J. Bennett. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Maybarduk, S. M. 2008. "An Exploration of the Factors Associated with Reentry Adjustment of U.S. Foreign Service Spouses." Master's thesis, Social Work, Smith College School for Social Work.
- McConnell-Henry, Tracy, Ainsley James, Ysanne Chapman, and Karen Francis. 2009/2010. "Researching with People You Know: Issues in Interviewing." *Contemporary Nurse* 34(1):2-9.
- McDermid, Fiona, Kath Peters, Debra Jackson, and John Daly. 2013. "Conducting Qualitative Research in the Context of Pre-Existing Peer and Collegial Relationships." *Nurse Researcher* 21(5):28-33.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1956. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Miyamoto, Y and N. Kuhlman. 2001. Ameliorating Culture Shock in Japanese Expatriate Children in the US. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 25(1):21-40.
- Moore, L. A., B. V. Jones, and C. N. Austin. 1987. "Predictors of Reverse Culture Shock Among North American Church of Christ Missionaries." *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 15:336-341.
- Morris, Richard T. *The Two-Way Mirror*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.
- Morse, Janice M. 2007. "Sampling in Grounded Theory." Pp. 229-244 in *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*. Edited by Antony Bryant and Kathy Charmaz. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Nader, Laura. 1972. "Up the Anthropologist -- Perspectives Gained from Studying Up." Pp. 284-311 in *Reinventing Anthropology*, D. H. Hyems, ed. New York: Pantheon Books.
- NAFSA: Association of International Educators. 2003. *Scoring America's Future: Global Education for a Global Age*. Washington, DC: Report of the Strategic Task Force on Education Abroad.

- Park, Robert. 1928. "Human Migration and the Marginal Man." *American Journal of Sociology* 33(6):881-893.
- Pelto, Pertti. 1968. "The Differences Between 'Tight' and 'Loose' Societies." *Society* 5(5):37-40.
- Perna, L. W. 2006. "Studying College Access and Choice: A Proposed Conceptual Model. Pp. 99-157 in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, edited by J. C. Smart. New York: Springer.
- Pink, Sarah. 2001. *Doing Visual Ethnography*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Pink, Sarah. 2009. *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Richardson, Laurel. 1994. "Writing: A Method of Inquiry." Pp. 516-529 in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. London: Sage.
- Roberts, Brian. 2011. "Photographic Portraits: Narrative and Memory." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12(2):Art. 6. Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1680/3203>.
- Rohrlich, B. L. and Judith N. Martin. 1991. "Host Country and Reentry Adjustment of Student Sojourners." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 15(2):163-182.
- Rudestam, Kjell Erik and Rae R. Newton. 2007. *Surviving Your Dissertation: A Comprehensive Guide to Content and Process*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Salisbury, Mark H., Michael B. Paulsen, and Ernest T. Pascarella. 2010. "To See the World or Stay at Home: Applying an Integrated Student Choice Model to Explore the Gender Gap in the Intent to Study Abroad." *Research in Higher Education* 51:615-640.
- Salisbury, Mark H., Michael B. Paulsen, and Ernest T. Pascarella. 2011. "Why do All the Study Abroad Students Look Alike? Applying an Integrated Student Choice Model to Explore Differences in the Factors that Influence White and Minority Students' Intent to Study Abroad." *Research in Higher Education* 52:123-150.
- Sandelowski, Margaret. 1995. "Sample Size in Qualitative Research." *Research in Nursing & Health* 18:179-183.
- Schlossberg, N. 1988. "Coming Home: Transition Back to the U.S.," *Peace Corps Times*, July/August.

- Searle, W. and C. Ward. 1990. "The Prediction of Psychological and Sociocultural Adjustment During Cross-Cultural Transitions." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 14:449-464.
- Selmer, Jan and Lewis S.C. Shiu. 1999. "Coming Home? Adjustment of Hong Kong Chinese Expatriate Business Managers Assigned to the People's Republic of China." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 23(3):447-465.
- Sewell, William H. and Olaf M. Davidsen. 1961. *Scandinavian Students on an American Campus*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.
- Simmel, Georg. 1908. "The Stranger." Pp. 143-149 in *On Individuality and Social Forms*, edited by Donald N. Levine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Siu, Paul C. P. 1952. "The Sojourner." *American Journal of Sociology* 58(1):34-44.
- Smith, S. L. 1998. "Identity and Intercultural Communication Competence in Reentry." Pp. 304-314 in *Readings in Cultural Contexts*, edited by J. N. Martin, T. K. Nakayama, and L. A. Flores. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Press.
- Stets, Jan E. and Peter J. Burke. 2000. "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63(3):224-237.
- Storti, C. 1997. "Re-entry: What Is It?" In *Peace Corps Odyssey: The Voyage Home*. Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps Returned Volunteer Services, Office of Domestic Programs.
- Stryker, Sheldon. 1980. *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version*. Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin Cummings.
- Stryker, Sheldon and Peter J. Burke. 2000. "The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63(4):284-297.
- Suanet, Irina and Fons J.R. van de Vijver. 2009. "Perceived Cultural Distance and Acculturation among Exchange Students in Russia." *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 19:182-197.
- Sussman, Nan M. 2000. "The Dynamic Nature of Cultural Identity Throughout Cultural Transitions: Why Home Is Not So Sweet." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 4(4):355-373.
- Sussman, Nan M. 2001. "Repatriation Transitions: Psychological Preparedness, Cultural Identity, and Attributions Among American Managers." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 25(3):109-123.

- Sussman, Nan M. 2002a. "Sojourners to Another Country: The Psychological Roller-Coaster of Cultural Transitions." Pp. 1-11 in *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*.
- Sussman, Nan M. 2002b. "Testing the Cultural Identity Model of the Cultural Transitional Cycle: Sojourners Return Home." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 26(4):391-408.
- Sussman, Nan M. 2010. *Return Migration and Identity: A Global Phenomenon, A Hong Kong Case*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Szkudlarek, Betina. 2010. "Reentry -- A Review of the Literature." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 34(1):1-21.
- Tajfel, Henri. 1981. *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Teggart, Frederick J. 1925. *Theory of History*. New Haven: Yale UP.
- Triandis, H. C. 1994. *Culture and Social Behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Trilling, Lionel. 1971. *Sincerity and Authenticity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Tsushima, Teresa and Peter J. Burke. 1999. "Levels, Agency, and Control in the Parent Identity." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62:173-89.
- Undheim, Trond Arne. 2003. "Getting Connected: How Sociologists Can Access the High Tech Elite." *The Qualitative Report* 8(1). Retrieved from (<http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-1/undheim.html>).
- United Nations. 2006. "Table 15: Inequality in Income or Expenditure." *Human Development Report 2006*. United Nations Development.
- United States Peace Corps. 2009. *Raw Data Sets*. Accessed January 15, 2014 at www.peacecorps.gov/about/open/data/.
- United States Peace Corps. 2012. *Raw Data Sets*. Accessed January 15, 2014 at www.peacecorps.gov/about/open/data/.
- United States Peace Corps and J. Graul. 1996. Survey of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers." In *Peace Corps Odyssey: The Voyage Home*. Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps Returned Volunteer Services, Office of Domestic Programs.

- Useem, R.H. and A.B. Cottrell. 1996. "Adult Third Culture Kids." Pp. 22-35 in *Strangers at Home: Essays on the Effects of Living Overseas and Coming Home to a Strange Land*, edited by C. Smith. Bayside, NY: Alethea.
- Wang, Caroline C. and Mary Ann Burris. 1994. "Empowerment Through Photo Novella: Portraits of Participation." *Health Education Quarterly* 21(2):171-186.
- Wang, Caroline C. and Mary Anne Burris. 1997. "Photovoice: Concept, Methodology, and use for Participatory Needs Assessment." *Health Education & Behavior* 24(3):369-387.
- Ward, C., Y. Okura, A. Kennedy, and T. Kojima. 1998. "The U-Curve on Trial: A Longitudinal Study of Psychological and Sociocultural Adjustment During Cross-Cultural Transition." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 22:277-291.
- Wilkinson, S. 1998. "Study Abroad from the Participant's Perspective: A Challenge to Common Beliefs." *Foreign Language Annals* 31:23-39.
- Ying, Y.W. 2002. "The Effect of Cross-Cultural Living on Personality: Assimilation and Accommodation Among Taiwanese Young Adults in the United States." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 72:362-371.
- Yu, Xiaojuan, Kim Namhyun, Chen Chih-Chien, and Zvi Schwartz. 2012. "Are You a Tourist? Tourism Definition from the Tourist Perspective." *Tourism Analysis* 17(4):445-457.
- Zimmerman, Julia and Franz J. Neyer. 2013. "Do We Become a Different Person When Hitting the Road? Personality Development of Sojourners." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 105(3):515-530.

APPENDIX A
PRESENTATION OF VISUAL DATA

Erin

Student, Italy, one semester
Teacher, Tanzania, 14 months

Caety

Student, Germany, one year

Student, Chile, one year

Nadia

Fulbright fellow, Jordan, 15 months
Magazine writer and editor, one year

Tim

Peace Corps Volunteer, Zaire (present day Congo), 27 months

Literary translator, East Africa, 17 years

Stephen
Airman, Kuwait, seven months

Emma
Peace Corps Volunteer, Mongolia, two years

Ben

Student, Argentina, five months

English teacher, South Korea, one year

Joel
LDS missionary, Argentina, two years

APPENDIX B

PRESENTATION SCRIPT AND INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Thank you for participating in this study! Before we begin, I'll brief you on the goals of the study, the nature of the questions, your rights as a participant, and the risks and benefits of your participation.

Study goals:

This study aims to understand the experiences of people who have lived abroad for an extended period of time but have returned to their home country. More specifically, this study concerns the process of readjusting to life in one's home country and the role of the abroad experience in everyday life. During the interview I'll inquire about identity -- who you are and how you see yourself now as well as how you understood yourself before and throughout your time abroad. I'm not looking for a specific type of traveler in this study, so don't feel like you have to present yourself in a certain way when we have our conversations -- just be you.

Nature of the questions:

During the interview, beginning with this one, I'll ask you a series of open-ended questions that don't have any "wrong" (or "right") answers. The questions I ask you aren't intended to be overly personal or bring out negative or emotional responses from you, but if you want to talk about emotional things, feel free. No one but us will know what we talked about in our conversations until the thesis is published. By that time, your association with an abroad organization will probably have ceased, if you worked with an organization during your abroad experience. You can expect our conversation to last between 60 and 90 minutes.

The tech side:

This study isn't just about interviews; I'll also be taking portrait-style photographs of you and photographs of your living and/or working spaces during the interview session.

These are intended to be relatively candid, but you'll have the opportunity to collaborate with me regarding some of what's included/excluded from each of the images. I'll also audio record our interview so I can transcribe our conversations later. Finally, I'll use audiovisual equipment to take video footage of our interview, too, which may be edited in the future into a short documentary-style film.

Your rights as a participant:

As a participant in this study, you most certainly have rights. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you don't have to participate any longer than you'd like to -- you can stop your participation right now if you'd like. During any interview,

you are not required to answer any of the questions I ask. If any question makes you feel uncomfortable, stressed, or emotional, you can skip the question. You can also elect to stop any interview at any time for any reason. Finally, if at any point in the future you decide to cease your participation in the study, you can do so without any penalties or loss of benefits. I would like to have our conversations in your home, but if there's another space that makes you feel more at ease, you have the right to choose an alternative location in which to carry out the interview(s).

Risks to you as a participant:

There are very few risks that accompany your participation in this study, including little or no risk of your response to any question having negative consequences in your field of employment or any other situation. You can avoid any stress or unwanted emotional responses by opting not to answer any question(s) you choose. Because of the nature of this study, I cannot guarantee you confidentiality. The portraits I take of you will accompany excerpts of our conversations, so people will be able to connect your image to what you say. However, keep in mind that by the time other people will be able to read the thesis and match your face with your words, you will likely have finished your involvement with an abroad organization with which you may have worked.

Benefits to you as a participant:

Your participation in this study does require commitment on your part, but there are significant benefits, too. You will have the opportunity to talk about your experiences as someone who's lived abroad, and the act of talking about the experience can be beneficial

in processing that experience. You'll also be able to talk about your experiences with someone who understands them, which has the potential to be a healthy way to talk through unique experiences, successes, and frustrations that happen over the course of life abroad. Additionally, you'll be contributing to the field of Sociology in significant ways. Finally, there are material benefits -- you'll receive digital files and prints of all of the photographs I take of you and your living/working spaces at the end of the study, and a digital copy of the completed thesis will be made available to you if you'd like.

Interview Guide

Tell me a little bit about how you got to where you are now. Where did you grow up? Do you feel attached to that place? Why, and how? How did you grow up? Tell me a little bit about your family. Describe yourself before your sojourn.

Let's talk about your sojourn. How old were you when it began? Where did you go, and how long were you there? What was the purpose of your sojourn, if there was an identifiable purpose?

Why did you decide to go abroad? What did you expect to encounter/learn/experience before you left? Did your expectations prove correct or incorrect? How/why? What were you most excited about? Most afraid of? Most nervous about? Tell me about culture shock, if you experienced any. Tell me about some of the things you brought with you on your sojourn that helped you transition into life in your host country.

When did your sojourn end? Tell me about the end of the sojourn -- for example, preparing to leave your host country or the emotions that accompanied leaving.

Tell me about some of the things you learned during your sojourn. How do you think the sojourn changed you? Describe how you understood yourself at the end of your sojourn.

Tell me about your transition back to life in the US. What were some of the most immediately challenging things? Weeks, months, and years after your return, did/do you find those things challenging? If so, how? What sorts of things were unexpected when you came back?

When you came back, what sorts of things did you do to ease your transition into US life? Do you still do those things? Why? If not, how long did you do those things after your return?

Describe yourself as you understand yourself now. What makes you, you? What do you think are your most important attributes, and why? Have these always been the most important to you? In other words, has the importance of certain traits changed? How, and why?

How often do you think of your sojourn? Are there specific moments during your sojourn that come to mind often? Tell me about some of them. Do you think you remember the sojourn in the same way now that you did right after it ended? How so?

What sorts of things did you bring back from your sojourn? Tell me about some of them. Why did you decide to bring them? Why are they meaningful to you? Are they displayed in your living space? How are they displayed, and why are they displayed that way? If not, where do you keep them? Why?

Is there anything you wish I'd asked about that you'd like to talk about? Do you have any remaining or new questions about this study?