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SOJOURNERS' IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION AS A FUNCTION OF CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION: A COMMUNICATION MODEL OF MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

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SOJOURNERS' IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION AS A FUNCTION OF CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION: A COMMUNICATION MODEL OF MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
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DEDICATION

And, now that life had so much human promise in it, they resolved to go back to their own land;
because the years after all, have a kind of emptiness, when we spend too many of them on a
foreign shore. We defer the reality of life, in such cases, until a future moment, when we shall
again breathe our native air; but by-and-by, there are no future moments; or, if we do return, we
find that the native air has lost its invigorating quality, and that life has shifted its reality to the
spot where we have deemed ourselves only temporary residents. Thus, between two countries we
have none at all, or only that little space of either in which we finally lay down our discontented
bones. It is wise, therefore, to come back betimes, or never.

Nathaniel Hawthorne (The Marble Faun,1860/1990)

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"Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not yet seen."

Hebrews 11:1

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vi

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Ubuntu!

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explored the multicultural identity(ies) development of sojourners as a function of their cross-cultural adaptation (CCA). Several theories of CCA, identity, and identity development are discussed and were used as a theoretical framework and explanatory mechanisms for investigating changes in sojourners' identity. Three research questions were proposed to examine CCA experiences and the development of a multicultural identity. An interpretivist approach to qualitative research in the form of individual in-depth interviews with Davis-United World College students ($N = 32$) was employed. Data were analyzed via constant comparative analysis. Findings revealed that Davis-UWC students underwent multiple adaptation that shaped their multicultural identity(ies) development. Several communicative events that shaped the development of their multicultural identity(ies) were identified as were ways in which identity(ies) was/were enacted in communication practices. Based on these findings, the dissertation advanced a Communication Model of Multicultural Identity Development (CMMID) that is detailed along with a discussion of the findings and their implications for CCA and intercultural communication research.

Keywords: Multicultural identity development, cross-cultural adaptation, sojourners, Davis-United World College, identity transformation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A multitude of businesspeople, diplomats, missionaries, and international students live, work, and study abroad all the time. Such individuals, who are abroad for a short period, have been labeled *sojourners.* Their experiences in new cultural environments have received a lot of attention as they are often rife with challenges that prove to be problematic for their CCA—the process that helps sojourners establish a new way of living during and following acculturation experiences (Berry, 2019). One such challenge is the identity conflict experienced as sojourners acculturate to their new environment. This identity conflict is marked by a push and pull between one's heritage culture and the new, host culture. An "increasing number of people find that the [identity] conflict is not between different groups but between different cultural values, attitudes, and expectations within themselves" (Phinney, 1999, p. 27). Intercultural communication scholars claim that this intrapersonal conflict triggers a negotiation of one's identity to either retain or relinquish one's heritage cultural identity while adopting a host cultural identity.

The identity conflict sojourners experience manifests itself in many ways and with varying severity. Sojourners may feel that their heritage culture is not as far removed from the host culture and, thus, experience mild identity conflict and few changes to their cultural identity. Others may acutely feel the difference between their heritage and host cultures and experience intense identity conflict and major changes in their cultural identity (Berry, 1992, 1997). Thus, sojourners may experience varying degrees of internal turmoil that require identity negotiation with the self. Intercultural communication scholars (e.g., Y. Y. Kim, 2005; Ting-Toomey, 2005) have noted that the struggle between retention and shedding of heritage culture (deculturation) and adoption of the host culture (acculturation) eventually leads to identity transformation in

favor of the host culture for most sojourners. Notably, this change in identity occurs because sojourners are able to resolve the identity conflict they experience. However, the process does not emanate forthwith and has been noted as nonsequential (Y. Y. Kim, 2005).

Y. Y. Kim (2005) uses the stress-adaptation growth dynamic to explain the nonsequential nature of the identity transformation process. She offers that acculturative stress from the experience pushes the newcomer to face the stress, resolve the conflict, and adapt to the new environment. This process happens cyclically and upwardly toward greater adaptation as the newcomer grows and faces new challenges to resolve. The continuous cycles of acculturation and identity change facilitate the development of intercultural personhood, which is a state of higher order in which a gradual change in the newcomer's identity leads to an identity that transcends cultural categories. This state occurs when the newcomer feels neither part of nor apart from their heritage and host cultures and achieves an identity indicative of intercultural behaviors and relationship development—an intercultural person (Y. Y. Kim, 2005, 2010).

Nevertheless, identity transformation does not mean transcendence of cultural categories for some sojourners. For these sojourners, identity change means acceptance and adoption of the host culture whilst simultaneously retaining their heritage culture, meaning identification with both heritage and host cultures. Identification with more than one culture is captured by the concept of a multicultural identity. Multicultural identity is defined as endorsing two or more cultures and speaking two or more languages (S. Liu, 2017). This change toward multicultural identity is captured by S. Liu, an intercultural communication scholar who examines the CCA of Chinese living in Australia. S. Liu (2011) found that Chinese businesspeople employed the integration strategy of acculturation while in Australia—learning and adopting the host culture while retaining their heritage culture (Berry, 1980, 1997), which led to an integration of both

their Chinese and Australian identities. One participant was quoted saying, "If you are in a flock of sheep, you need to look like a sheep; if you are in a pack of ducks, you need to look like a duck" (S. Liu, 2011, p. 410). Similar findings were reported in S. Liu's (2015) study of first and second-generation Chinese immigrants in Australia. Participants noted that they shifted their identities so that the Chinese and Australian cultures co-existed and did not merge; participants shifted between the two halves (i.e., hybridity). S. Liu's findings show that not all newcomers' identities are molded toward intercultural personhood as a result of continuous engagement with one's new environment and accompanying identity transformation. Evidently, some newcomers' identity changes lead to negotiation between two identities that are foregrounded based on dialogic, relational, and situational contexts.

Another diverging understanding of newcomers' identity change is proffered by cultural fusion theory (Croucher & E. Kramer, 2017; E. Kramer, 2019). Cultural fusion theory proposes that, when newcomers enter a new society, they adopt the behaviors and traits of the dominant culture but, at the same time, maintain their heritage culture to adapt to the new society successfully. Adopting host cultural behaviors and traits while maintaining their own is based on the notion that humans have an innate drive to maintain their cultural identity because an individual's identity is a significant part of who they are. Thus, as a newcomer adapts, their identity changes. However, the identity transformation is a fusion of the individual's heritage and host cultural identities because the two mutually influence each other. "Fusion presumes a multiplicity of resources, including competencies that can be combined. Fusion is integration. Integration means both mixing and addition" (E. Kramer, 2019, p. 96). Consequently, the theory states that, when newcomers enter a new society, their identities are changed but, at the same time, newcomers also affect the host society's culture, changing the surrounding environment.

Cultural fusion theory diverges from communication scholars such as Y. Y. Kim's descriptions and explanations of newcomers' CCA and identity change in that it acknowledges a mutually influential relationship between a newcomer's home society and their new host society. Whereas communication scholars only focus on the host society's influence on a newcomer, cultural fusion illuminates the changes a newcomer affects on the host society, which, eventually, leads to a fusion of the two cultures. What is paramount in cultural fusion theory is the acknowledgment of an identity change, and that this identity change is toward a blend/fusion or integration of two or more cultures.

S. Liu's studies and cultural fusion theory make a case for multicultural identity development as a result of CCA from a communication perspective. This body of research highlights variations in sojourners' experiences and deals with the identity conflict and identity change they experience. Liu's studies illuminate identity negotiation, conducted through discursive interactions, with self and with others, in the environment in which sojourners operate as they make sense of their CCA experiences. Cultural fusion theory highlights the central role of communication in the fusion of newcomers' identity and their surrounding environment. These two works on CCA and identity change support the concept of multicultural identity in intercultural communication.

Multicultural identity development is even more probable for individuals who undergo two (or more) subsequent adaptations because these individuals may experience identity change in one society and, again, in the next society, and the next one, and so on. Since identity change is inevitable for newcomers (Y. Y. Kim, 2005; E. Kramer, 2019), those who experience two or more subsequent CCAs have the opportunity to experience identity change multiple times (at least twice). Two CCAs reflect a sojourner's experience of adapting to a cultural environment for

4

a short period (e.g., six months for seasonal workers or four years for international students enrolled in an undergraduate degree program) and then moving to a new, secondary, cultural environment to experience adaptation once more. Thus, two or more CCAs reflect adapting to one culture with short or no return to the home country and then relocating to another new culture. Diplomats, businesspeople, missionaries, and their families are among some sojourners who experience two or more CCAs given that they relocate to new cultural environments every few years.

Two or more subsequent CCAs should not be confused with transnational adaptation. The idea of two or more CCAs pertains to adapting to various new and different cultures within a short period, whereas transnational adaptation (Onwumechili et al., 2003) deals with engaging in multiple cycles of adaptation to the same host country and homeland due to transnational travel. For example, an examination of Nigerian transients by Onwumechili et al. (2003) found that intercultural transients undergo multiple cycles of acculturation and re-acculturation to host country and homeland due to transnational travel. Transnational adaptation is facilitated by geographical proximity and telecommunications, and is the result of dual nationality (e.g., Japanese and U.S. American nationality), money remittances (e.g., sending money to relatives in the home country), commercial ties, connections with relatives in the homeland, second homes in the homeland, and frequent visits to the homeland (van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013). Thus, transnational adaptation deals with multiple cycles of acculturation and re-acculturation, whereas two or more CCAs deal with adapting to multiple, new, and different cultures.

The idea of two or more subsequent CCAs offers a new area of investigation regarding CCA and identity change processes. This idea has never been considered relevant, unique, and different from CCA. As a matter of fact, two or more subsequent CCAs are not discussed in the

CCA literature. Some consideration of the idea is present in research regarding third culture building, but it is not explicitly examined as an important factor with unique outcomes in this line of research, either. Third culture building involves numerous cycles of CCA and multicultural identity development. At inception, third culture building was associated with third culture kids (TCK), a term used to describe the children of United States (U.S.) American expatriates and their experiences living in multiple locations abroad. Nowadays, though, the term is used to include children of parents living, working, and studying abroad (Pollock, 1988). TCKs are individuals who come from a first culture, move to a second culture, and form a third culture different from the first or second culture (van Reken et al., 2009). This third culture they form integrates elements of their birth culture and their second or additional culture(s) into a new, third culture of their own. Possessing a third culture means one's behavioral and communication patterns are altered to incorporate a duality or multiplicity of cultures, accompanied by the fusion of the cultures experienced while living abroad. The TCK experience is one way of understanding multicultural identity development. Another way is offered by social psychologists.

A large body of work exists on multicultural identity development and CCA in social psychology. These scholars' interest rests on the acquisition of multicultural identities during CCA by immigrants and refugees. This notion of multicultural identity development is tied to one of Berry's (1980, 1997) acculturation strategies—integration, which notes that individuals learn host culture while retaining their heritage culture. According to acculturation theorists, newcomers who employ the integration strategy develop a multicultural identity. Such an identity entails a high degree of identification with a second culture (e.g., dominant culture), in addition to one's heritage culture (e.g., ethnic culture; Benet-Martínez & Hong, 2014), thus noted

by cultural duality. Another way of understanding this idea is that a multicultural identity involves developing a sense of belonging with other groups in one's immediate social environment, such as regional cultural identities (e.g., U.S. Midwesterner) or culturally diverse larger immigrant or sojourner communities in the society of settlement (e.g., international students or expatriate communities; Liebkind et al., 2016). This range of possible social groups adds complexity to patterns of change in newcomers' identities. For example, Berry et al.'s (2006) study on immigrant youth from across the globe found that those who employed the integration strategy experienced little to no acculturative stress and reported high involvement in both heritage and host cultural practices (i.e., multicultural identity). Similar results were reported in a meta-analysis on immigrants and refugees' acculturation by Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) and by Ward (2013) about young Muslims in New Zealand. Thus, the integration strategy is associated with healthy adaptation, positive psychological and sociocultural adjustment, and multicultural identity development.

Sojourners' adaptation has been the focus of ample research in the field of communication over the past 40 years. Acculturation research can be traced back to the early 1930s as a topic of interest in cultural anthropology and to the 1960s in social and cultural psychology (Berry, 2019; Y. Y. Kim, 2005; Lakey, 2003). This interest in acculturation stemmed from globalization and immigration. The topic also received increased attention due to cross-continental travel, transnationalism, and the resultant intermingling of racially, ethnically, and culturally different others. Major topics in adaptation research have focused on acculturation strategies (Berry, 1980, 1997), psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Ward, 2001), uncertainty and anxiety management (Gudykunst, 2005), the role of communication in

adaptation (Y. Y. Kim, 2001, 2003), identity transformation (Y. Y. Kim, 2003, 2005), and identity negotiation (Ting-Toomey, 2005), to name a few.

Communication research, specifically, has mainly focused on sojourners' challenges with psychological and sociocultural adjustment and coping (Qi et al., 2019), identity change and negotiation (Pitts, 2006), intercultural relationships (Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013), communication apprehension and language competence (Matera & Catania, 2021), intercultural communication competence (Meng et al., 2017), and, more recently, the influence of social media on acculturation (Ju et al., 2021). Adaptation research in intercultural communication scantly addresses multicultural identity development. Historically, theories of intercultural communication have only addressed identity transformation toward the host culture (e.g., Y. Y. Kim, 2005) and identity negotiation in interactions (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 2005). Furthermore, no model of identity development exists in intercultural communication to explain such duality or hybridity in the cultural identity of immigrants or sojourners. This dissertation builds on current knowledge about identity transformation during CCA to extend and include the process of multicultural identity development that, it is contended, some sojourners undergo. To this end, the purpose of this dissertation is to build on current literature and propose a theoretical model of multicultural identity development of sojourners by exploring how, where, and when multicultural identity develops.

This dissertation also provides a new perspective on how identity transformation during CCA is understood for sojourners' identity change and introduces the idea of unique differences between two (or more) subsequent sojourns and, thus, CCA. Examining the multicultural identity development of sojourners is significant to the study of CCA because it can provide insight into the different identity transformation and negotiation processes that sojourners experience. This

8

dissertation broadens the scope of existing knowledge to include a differential understanding of identity change. Past research has focused intensely on identity change toward the host culture due to the expectation held by many societies that newcomers should assimilate and blend into the host/dominant culture. For example, Y. Y. Kim's (2005) integrative theory of cross-cultural adaptation is built around the idea of newcomers' assimilation to the dominant culture. This approach requires shedding of the heritage culture and has been noted as the unlearning of one's heritage culture and learning/adopting of the host culture. This understanding of CCA and its outcomes are outdated and no longer representative of current trends in newcomers' adaptation to a host culture. Furthermore, it exposes the ideological blinders that communication scholars examining CCA possess. Past theories of CCA have been primarily descriptive in nature (Sussman, 2000), providing a conceptual understanding of CCA processes for the times when they were developed. These theories still hold true nowadays; assimilation is still a functional way of understanding individuals' CCA experiences and resulting identity changes. However, there is more than one functional way of understanding CCA. Modern-day individuals often cross borders and move between cultures freely. They desire to acculturate and hold on to their heritage culture in lieu of assimilating and shedding their heritage culture. Therefore, prescriptive theories can explain their CCA experiences better than descriptive ones because they provide guidelines on what to do to achieve specific outcomes (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; e.g., integration strategy to retain heritage culture and adopt host culture). Prescriptive theories also offer differential, yet functional, ways of adapting and experiencing identity change.

These unavoidable changes to how individuals adapt to new cultures are evidenced by recent research on CCA. For example, Y. Liu (2018) found that Chinese international students studying in the U.S. maintained strong ethnic ties with other Chinese individuals in their

9

immediate environment and practiced Chinese customs more than U.S. customs during their sojourn. In another instance, Croucher (2008) found that North Africans immigrating to France maintained and practiced more aspects of their culture compared to the French culture to facilitate healthy CCA. These studies provide an impetus for re-evaluating previous knowledge of CCA, especially as it pertains to assimilationist perspectives. Knowledge of identity transformation during CCA requires updated arguments considering migration and relocation patterns as well as cultural changes that the modern world has witnessed and undergone.

Over the past 20 years, globalization and the increase in cross-border travel have significantly changed the demographic profile of societies. In many countries (e.g., Belgium, France, Germany), once monocultural societies have turned into plural societies. For example, the recent displacement of Ukrainians in 2022 has caused many to seek shelter and safety in foreign lands. Whether voluntary or involuntary, people are crossing borders daily. Sojourner, immigrant, and refugee populations are rising significantly by the day. In the U.S. alone, there are approximately 46.2 million immigrants reported as of November 2021 (Camarota & Zeigler, 2021). In 2019, 3.2 million nonimmigrants—workers, students, exchange visitors, diplomats, and other representatives, resided in the U.S. temporarily (Baker, 2021). This number was an 11% increase from 2018. International students make up over a million of that number. A 2018 report estimated 1,094,792 international students studying at varying degree levels in the U.S. Although this number has decreased by 15% since 2020, due to COVID-19 (Open Doors, n. d.), international students still make up a significant number of nonimmigrant residents in the U.S.; if previous records are anything to go by the trend will likely increase post-COVID-19. These numbers are similar in other parts of the world as well. In Europe (i.e., the European Union, EU hereafter), 23 million non-EU citizens make up the population. Workers and students compose

over 20% of that number (European Commission, n. d.), showing the significant impact sojourners have on the changing demographic profile of nations. More importantly, these numbers suggest there is a need to study the adaptation and identity processes of sojourners within their new cultural environments. Changes in the environment– for instance, interracial marriages, increased immigration, bilateral trade agreements, frequent cross-continental travel, information technology, civil conflict, environmental and economic disaster, multiculturalism policies– impact where individuals go and how they adapt to new environments. Considering how these factors may impact CCA can provide additional knowledge and understanding of a familiar phenomenon. Thus, current strategies and outcomes of adaptation may no longer be relevant or applicable to modern-day sojourner experiences.

Importantly, notions of identity change toward intercultural personhood or transcendence of cultural categories are no longer the only way of being in a new environment. Policies that allow individuals to live their heritage culture while learning host culture and successfully integrate both into their sense of self, such as those mentioned above, show that uncovering new ways of understanding the identity processes of newcomers is needed. This is especially true for those individuals who are often marked and categorized based on their extrinsic markers of race and/or ethnicity (Liebkind et al., 2016). For them, the pressure to shed, change, and blend toward the dominant group in the new society has historically been immense. Now, with societies reconsidering their national policies more and more, these individuals may enjoy a more positive and healthier CCA. Moreover, such individuals could resolve their identity conflict constructively and, in doing so, reduce the acculturative stress that has been associated with CCA. Additionally, providing them with a roadmap to understanding their identity changes and their new emergent identity while adapting to a new culture may be liberating and may alleviate

the confusion that accompanies the process. The theories describing and explaining the CCA process can be found in social psychology and communication.

Many theories have been advanced to explain CCA. This dissertation employs the integrative theory of cross-cultural adaptation (ITCCA; Y. Y. Kim, 2001, 2003, 2005) and acculturation theory (Berry, 1980, 1997) as theoretical frameworks to help describe the phenomenon of adaptation and the accompanying identity transformation as well as explain the variation in adaptation strategies that can be employed to facilitate multicultural identity. The dissertation also incorporates ideas from social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and identity negotiation theory (INT; Ting-Toomey, 2005) to explicate identity development through communicative human action. SIT explains how self-categorization into a social group and interaction with group members facilitate group identification and social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). INT describes how the value and salience content dimensions of identity are at play and (re)negotiated in communication with others (Ting-Toomey, 2005). In other words, how individuals (re)negotiate the standards or expectations of behavior and the strength of cultural group affiliation they hold in their mindset with the self and in relation to others in interactions. This dissertation does not attempt to test any of these theories but rather uses them as theoretical frameworks, descriptive tools, and explanatory mechanisms for the identity conflict experienced during CCA and the resulting identity transformation toward the multicultural identity development of sojourners.

This dissertation adopts a descriptive and explorative approach to investigating sojourners' multicultural identity development. The focus is on sojourners because of their global significance. In addition to their sheer number, they are a group of people who contribute to local communities, their culture, and their economies in multiple ways. Safdar and Berno

(2016) share that sojourners bring innovative ideas, technology transfer, intellectual knowledge, rich culture, including dress, food, and language, and stimulate the economy through spending billions of dollars on tuition, accommodation, as well as discretionary spending. This group permeates local people's neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces. They are local people's neighbors, colleagues, students, and professors, interacting with them daily. They foster global citizenry, provide opportunities for intercultural experiences, and the development of intercultural competence for locals (Safdar & Berno, 2016). They are valuable members of societies that impact and shape communities globally.

Scholars started examining sojourners' CCA in the 1970s, with early research primarily focused on immigrant and refugee populations (Benet-Martínez, 2012; Berry, 1989; Sam & Berry, 2006). Expatriates were the first group of sojourners whose acculturation patterns and experiences grasped and shifted scholars' attention from immigrants and refugees. The focus soon shifted even more, albeit temporarily, to international students because of the exponential rise in their enrollment in higher education across the world, annually. For example, in addition to the U.S. international student enrollment discussed above, the U.K. recorded 605,130 international students (Studying in UK, n. d.), Australia 637,910 international students (Australian Government, Australian Trade and Investment Commission, n. d.), and Canada 638, 960 (Statista Research Department, 2021) international students enrolled in their colleges and universities in the 2020-2021 year. Additionally, international students became an increasingly important source of income for higher education institutions and economies of host countries. For example, Davis United World College Scholars Program (Davis-UWC hereafter) has been the source of more than 40.5 million USD to The University of Oklahoma in scholarships and grants since 2008 (The University of Oklahoma, 2021). These numbers reflect the significant

impact international students have on university campuses. The institutions benefit financially from their presence, and their peers and educators receive intercultural exposure, participate in the exchange of ideas, research development, and so forth.

The forgoing contextual background of sojourners necessitates researchers to examine their lived experiences. Thus, this dissertation focuses on a specific group of sojourners, international students, who are part of Davis-UWC. These students constitute an interesting participant sample due to several reasons. First, Davis-UWC students have unique CCA experiences. These students leave their homeland as adolescents between the ages of 16-19 years old to attend high school in various parts of the world, through the United World College (UWC) program. After completing the UWC program and attaining their International Baccalaureate diploma, they then move once more to attend university in the U.S. In some instances, Davis-UWC students do not even return to their home country before relocating to the U.S. to start university, causing them to be away from their home country for more than three to four years at a time.

The United World College (UWC) is a prestigious program that recruits adolescents who perform exceptionally in their local high school curriculum. The UWC is a global movement that uses education to effect positive change throughout the world. The history of the UWC is predicated on the idea that:

> …if young people from different backgrounds were educated together, they could build an understanding which could prevent future conflicts. …they would learn the empathy that enabled them to listen and consider other perspectives, even if they were very different from their own. They would learn the strength to stand for what was right, even if the risk

was great. And they would learn to be resilient and to learn from mistakes rather than give

up. (United World College, n. d., n. p.)

The UWC movement has national committees that oversee the application and placement

process of applicants in over 155 countries; they also have 18 high schools and colleges across

the world. According to its mission and goals, the movement seeks to provide valued educational

experiences to high school students while preparing them to become compassionate, empathetic,

and responsible individuals who will engage in lifelong action toward a world of peace,

collaboration, and understanding. UWC schools and colleges grant students partial or full

funding to complete their high school education abroad. Students matriculate with an

International Baccalaureate diploma—a high-quality secondary-school credential (United World

College, n. d.).

Additionally, selected students, who have matriculated from UWC schools and colleges,

are granted an opportunity to continue higher education in the U.S. through the Davis-UWC

Scholars Program. This program, in which students are fully funded, started with a few colleges

and universities in the U.S. (i.e., Colby College, College of the Atlantic, Middlebury College,

Princeton University, and Wellesley College) but has since expanded to include 99 U.S. colleges

and universities, such as Columbia, Cornell, The University of Oklahoma, University of

Michigan, and Yale, at which students can complete a four-year undergraduate degree.

Currently, approximately 3,100 students from 164 countries are part of the Davis-UWC Scholars

Program and are enrolled in colleges and universities in the U.S. (Davis United World College

Scholars Program, n. d.). Davis-UWC students often stay on to complete graduate degrees after

obtaining undergraduate degrees. Doing so means their time abroad extends past the two to six

years (high school plus undergraduate degree) of living away from home to eight to ten years,

potentially. Y. Y. Kim (2005) notes that the longer the sojourn, the more inevitable identity transformation is for a newcomer. Thus, these students have a higher likelihood of engaging in CCA, experiencing identity conflict, and identity transformation than the average international student.

Second, this dissertation examines the experiences of Davis-UWC students as a unique group of international students whose experiences diverge from other international students in that they have experienced two subsequent CCAs and are, therefore, more likely to develop a multicultural identity. As prefaced, the purpose of this dissertation is to examine the multicultural identity development of sojourners, as a function of two or more CCAs. Davis-UWC students' experiences provide data that can facilitate theorizing about multicultural identity development, including a Communication Model of Multicultural Identity Development (CMMID), which this dissertation seeks to propose.

Third, Davis-UWC students' unique experiences have not been considered in CCA research. Davis-UWC students are not only different from the average international student, but they are also not quite the same as TCKs. Contrary to TCKs, Davis-UWC students travel and live abroad without their families for two to three years at the tender age of 16, while completing the International Baccalaureate diploma and then moving to another foreign country to complete their higher education. TCKs live abroad with their families (sometimes starting at a very young age) and often return to their home countries to attend college (van Reken et al., 2009), which makes their experience different from that of Davis-UWC students.

Fourth, Davis-UWC students are also different from the average international student in that they have previous CCA experience before moving to a secondary foreign location. A previous CCA experience means that they have already acquired different skills, characteristics,

16

and experiences in their first CCA that may be used and may affect their second CCA. Additionally, they may have experienced identity conflict and identity transformation in their first CCA, which may then be re-evaluated when they experience identity conflict and transformation during their second CCA. These reasons outline why Davis-UWC students make a fascinating and unique sample for this study.

This dissertation employs the interpretive paradigm and relies on a qualitative method for its inquiry. Interpretivism, also known as social construction or the constructionist paradigm, assumes that reality is socially constructed and is present amongst people. This means that reality is highly contextual, shared and constructed through social interaction, and confirmed through intersubjective consensus (Lindlof & Taylor 2019; Rogers, 1994; Tracy, 2020). For interpretivists, knowledge is fragmented, produced, and reproduced through interaction, and practiced with others and the environment. They also believe knowledge consists of collectively shared interpretations of individuals' lived experiences and they place value on insiders' knowledge (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019; Littlejohn & Foss, 2010; Tracy, 2020). For interpretivists, an investigation is value-laden, meaning research is impacted by the researcher's experience (Tracy, 2020).

Qualitative research logically flows from the interpretive paradigm and captures the *in vivo* experiences of the population under investigation. Qualitative methodology is the systematic collection and analysis of unstructured, text-rich, and meaning-centric representations (i.e., data; Bisel & Adame, 2017). Qualitative research allows the researcher to gain insiders' perspectives through storytelling as well as understanding, in this case, of how sojourners process their experience, which can help illuminate salient aspects of their CCA and the resulting development of a multicultural identity. As such, qualitative methodology is best suited for this project to (a)

examine the two subsequent CCA experiences of Davis-UWC students and their resulting

identity transformation, (b) examine whether their identity transformation progresses toward the

development of a multicultural identity, and (c) theorize about a CMMID of sojourners.

This dissertation encompasses five chapters. Chapter I is the introduction, which presents

a brief review of literature on sojourners' identity transformation during CCA, and outlines

arguments for an alternative view of identity change during CCA. Chapter II presents relevant

literature on identity and CCA. Here, key theories that provide theoretical and conceptual

grounding for this research are presented. First, a discussion on identity and identity

development is offered. Second, literature on identity transformation and CCA is provided.

Third, literature on multicultural identity development in relation to variations in adaptation

strategies is presented. Fourth, an interdisciplinary perspective on models of identity

development is offered. Fifth, a proposition of multicultural identity development in sojourners,

based on the synthesis of CCA literature, is proffered. Sixth a CMMID for sojourners is

discussed.

Chapter III introduces the proposed method. In this chapter, the participant sample,

procedures, data collection, and form of analysis are presented. Specifically, participants were

Davis-UWC students attending college/university in the U.S. who were recruited through

purposive and snowball sampling. Data was collected using individual in-depth interviews

(Lindloff & Taylor, 2019; Tracy, 2020) conducted online via Zoom. A modified constant

comparative analysis (Charmaz, 2000, 2006; M. Kramer & Crespy, 2011) was employed to

analyze the data.

This dissertation employs an interpretive and qualitative approach to examining the

multicultural identity development of sojourners. As a sojourner myself, this study is aided by

18

my own CCA experiences, and I use these experiences to inform the data collection and analysis process. As an international student from Namibia, I have experienced two major sojourns to the U.S., first as an au pair for two years, and then as an international student to date. During my first sojourn, I was young, and CCA was easy. Upon reflection, I can say I assimilated well, was able to comfortably weave, and functionally fit within the U.S. culture. After returning to my home country for five years, I then returned to the U.S. again for a second sojourn, this time as an international student. During my current sojourn, I have been questioning assimilation as the default strategy of adaptation. This time, I noticed the internal and external manifestations of my behavioral and communicative interactions were equal to hybridity or fusion of my various cultural repertoires, which reflects the multiplicity of my own cultural identity. As such, this body of work taps into my own sojourner experiences as I examine others' stories. Admittedly, I am not a Davis-UWC student, nor have I experienced CCA in two new and different cultures. However, my CCA experiences have added layers to my cultural identity and have given me the impetus to examine this phenomenon in others. Notwithstanding my own experiences, I have actively worked to allow theory to guide my inquiry into this phenomenon.

Chapter IV reports the findings of this dissertation. The findings answer the three research questions posited. The findings of two CCA experiences of Davis-UWC students and how they compare to current CCA research are reported. A discussion of how the two CCA experiences facilitate the development of multicultural identity and how this identity is reflected in Davis-UWC students' communication practices is offered. Communicative events shape sojourners' multicultural identity development, and this identity is enacted in communication practices. The chapter concludes with a proposal for the CMMID of sojourners.

Chapter V is the discussion of the findings. In this chapter, the findings of each research question are summarized, then connected to CCA and multicultural identity development literature from the field of intercultural communication and social psychology. In particular, insights are offered into the role of communication in identity development, the centrality of people in cultural and language learning, the influence of adaptation patterns on identity transformation, and the importance of language in identity transformation during CCA. The chapter concludes by providing practical implications and sharing limitations and directions for future research.

Chapter VI is the conclusion. In the conclusion, the findings of the dissertation are summarized and final thoughts are offered on sojourners' CCA and multicultural identity development as a function of CCA.

CHAPTER II

IDENTITY

> The epigenetic principle states that anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole. (Erikson, 1959, p. 52)

Identity can be viewed from multiple perspectives, including the psychological understanding that deals with personality traits and attributes. However, the focus of this dissertation is on social or group-level identity; specifically, the multicultural identity development of sojourners. Thus, I purport the mutuality of identity with the sameness of self, concerning sharing "some kind of essential character with others" (Erikson, 1959, p. 102). In this chapter, I explicate identity development from a psychosocial perspective using Erikson's theory of psychosocial identity development, discuss cultural identity development, and the role of communication in identity development. I also address identity transformation during CCA, present the idea of sojourners' multicultural identity development, and conclude with a review of various models of identity development that can aid in the conceptualization of a CMMID for sojourners.

Identity Development

Identity is synonymous with self-concept, subjectivity, and subject positioning. Sigmund Freud presented identity or the inner self as a psychosocial process that is developed through the integration of self within a group, linking oneself to the group, and learning to interact with the group and others in the environment (Erikson, 1959). In this sense, identity refers to self-evaluation within a social role or category (Hecht et al., 2005; J. Kim, 1981), and self-definition and self-identification with a social environment that influences self and behavior.

Similarly, Erikson (1959) describes identity development as an epigenetic process shaped by past, present, and future interactions with social actors and the environment. He notes

that identity is dynamic rather than static, constantly forming through psychological (internal) and social (external) elements within the individual's realm (J. Kim, 1981). Erikson explains identity development as follows. Two temporal contexts, ego identity and history, govern identity development. Ego identity development state is noted by the individual and the historical developmental state is noted by the community or group to which the individual belongs. Ego identity is the accrual of experiences from childhood to the end of adolescence, which prepares the individual for adulthood. Ego identity is subjective and born out of self-sameness and continuity in confirmation by others. The historical development state impacts the individual by considering the influence of the community or group in the ego identity process. The two, individual and group developmental states, are mutually constitutive in the development of the ego identity.

Erikson asserts that identity formation is a lifelong development process, which is largely unconscious and shaped by psychosocial experiences. In his theory, Erikson offers eight stages of identity development (see Erikson, 1959). Stages five (adolescence 12 – 18 years old: identity vs. confusion) and six (adulthood 18 – 40 years old: intimacy vs. isolation) are of importance to this dissertation and explicated next. These stages are important because they cover the age range of most sojourners (e.g., diplomats and international students) and particularly the population examined in this dissertation (Davis-UWC students). Erikson's theory starts by explaining three major phases of identity development (i.e., ego identity) - introjection-projection, identification, and identity formation. Introjection-projection is the phase of early childhood development that deals with the inception of an individual's identity, the basis for later identification. During pre-adolescence, much of what an individual experiences happens through introjection-projection and identification. Introjection-projection happens during infancy between mother and child and

22

is later influenced by those in the child's environment. At this stage, the child incorporates others' (e.g., family) images of themselves with their own. This phase is accompanied by identification. As the child goes through early childhood, identification occurs as they base their identity on satisfactory interactions with trustworthy and meaningful role representations within their environment (Erikson, 1959).

Pre-adolescence is followed by adolescence. According to Erikson (1959), although identity development is an ongoing process, it reaches its peak during adolescence, when individuals experience an identity crisis, a period of reflection and exploration. Reflection is a time of drawing stock of one's identity up to that point. Exploration occurs when individuals search for their sense of self. At this time, childhood identification ends, and identity formation starts. This is the fifth stage in Erikson's theory, and it is marked by identity versus role confusion. For Erikson, identity formation occurs through reconfiguration—the selection of parts of childhood identity that the individual refuses to accept as self and amalgamation of all childhood identifications. The new identity, known as self-realization, emerges and becomes true through the endorsement and recognition of the new person by society, through the process of mutual recognition. Mutual recognition is noted by ascription (views of an individual's identity communicated by others) and avowal (how an individual views their own identity; Collier, 2005), the two processes important in identity formation. Erikson explains that identity formation happens through the resolution of the crisis, critical incidents, or a series of turning points that facilitate evolving configuration and reconfiguration, a successive ego synthesis and resynthesis of identity, which propel the individual onto the next stage of their identity development (Erikson, 1959).

Alternatively, Marcia's (1966) work, based on Erikson's theory, offers four identity statuses that are similar yet different to Erikson's explanation of identity formation. Marcia asserts that adolescents undergo either (1) diffusion (lack of commitment or search for identity), (2) foreclosure (commitment to an identity without exploration or questioning), (3) moratorium (exploration of identity), and (4) identity achievement (commitment to identity after identity crisis). These statuses are slightly different than what Erikson presents because they acknowledge that some adolescents may not experience an identity crisis and might be content with the identity formed during pre-adolescence (diffusion or foreclosure). Support for this proposal comes, for example, from Phinney et al.'s (2006) work that examined the identification of immigrant youth across the globe. They found that some youth possessed a diffused profile, whereas others possessed what was termed an ethnic or national profile (foreclosure), and most had an integration profile (moratorium or identity achievement). These findings support Marcia's four statuses and offer partial support for Erikson's theory of identity exploration and crisis. Most importantly, these stages, especially moratorium, explain what happens during identity crisis (the exploration of identity), which is relevant to the discussion of identity transformation.

Stage six of Erikson's theory, intimacy versus isolation, is predicated on the successful resolution of identity confusion and identity formation. Inability to resolve the identity crisis experienced during adolescence may push an individual into isolation, which may result in difficulty making friends and real exchange of fellowship. However, if a reasonable sense of self is developed, the individual may also develop the ability to create intimacy with others. Interpersonal intimacy is noted as the ability to engage in conversation with others about feelings, desires, dreams, plans, wishes, and expectations. The person who can develop

relationships with others is also seen as one who can be a productive citizen of society, one who can love, and work (Erikson, 1959).

Based on both Erikson's and Marcia's explications, identity development is a process of progression, expansion, and complexity. The foregoing briefly outlines the general development of identity over the lifespan of an individual, from a psychosocial perspective, using Erikson's (1959) theory of psychosocial identity development. To summarize, individual identity is shaped in mutuality with the community through social and environmental interaction. Identity is contextually and interactionally constructed and negotiated with self and with others in discursive interactions. Essentially, there is no pre-discursive identity. Identity is continuously negotiated and contested in and through discursive practices (K. Hall, 2000; S. Hall, 1999), meaning identity is actively constructed, produced, and negotiated in public discourses and social interactions (S. Hall, 1999; Hecht et al., 2005; Liebkind et al., 2016). Discursive interactions allow individuals to take an active role in defining themselves in relation to various other social groups in their environments.

Furthermore, they provide occasions for self-definitions and the development of self-labels as exemplified by Verkuyten's (1997) study of Turks living in The Netherlands and the discursive construction of their identity as Turkish and Dutch. In this study, Verkuyten found that Turks used everyday talk to define themselves in their relationships with others. Participants negotiated their identity as foreigners, minority group members, and Turks living in The Netherlands. Their experiences and citizenship status facilitated their self-categorization and self-label as Dutch, Turkish Dutch, and Dutch Turk. These self-definitions were also predicated on their relationships with spouses and children, family members, other minorities, and the

community at large. Verkuyten's study emphasizes the discursive nature of identity development and the importance of agency, specifically self-definition as it pertains to identity development.

Viewing identity as discursively constructed takes into account culture, society, self, and agency. Thus, individual identity development occurs in congruence with group-level identity development, as explicated by social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), meaning that these identities are developed in a similar manner. SIT posits that identity is complex, multiple, and overlapping. Social identities are self-conceptions derived from knowledge of and membership in a social group where membership is a result of self-categorization, group membership salience, commitment and attachment, values and beliefs, behaviors, and so forth. Belonging to a group equates to feeling comfortable in the group and possessing a positive feeling about group membership. Culture is one such social group. Individuals develop identification with a cultural group through socialization or acculturation. During these processes, cultural identity development occurs, detailed next.

Cultural Identity Development

Scholars of anthropology and sociology view cultural identity as developed in and through discursive interactions. Hence, their views of cultural identity are rooted in social interactionism and emphasize both the communicative and relational aspects of culture. Intercultural communication scholars' perception of cultural identity stems from these understandings of culture (Chen, 2017; K. Hall, 2000) in that they view identity as discursively developed and constructed through communication (Hecht et al., 2005). Historically, cultural identity has been strongly tied to ethnicity (origin or heritage) and geographic location. Culture has been constrained to distinct and discrete groups of people and rooted in ascription by group members and avowal by self (Barth, 1969). Past understandings of culture note that individuals

26

were born in a culture, and, through socialization, learned and adopted that culture (Jensen et al., 2011). In most societies, this process of learning culture remains true. However, globalization, cross-continental travel, intermingling of peoples, and mass media have complicated these conceptions of cultural identity because these factors provide an alternative way through which individuals learn culture (Jensen et al., 2011); thus, the development of cultural identity has changed in the past decades. This section addresses past and present understandings of cultural identity and cultural identity development and provides insights into the complexity of cultural identity development as it relates to CCA.

Cultural identity is a person's identification with a specific cultural group (Chen, 2017). Culture is defined as the shared and learned system of beliefs, values, attitudes, language, and norms (Chen, 2017; Cionea, 2017) that can be historically transmitted and is enacted by groups through social interaction (Collier, 2005). Alternatively, culture is a system of shared meaning that is effective in shaping reality (K. Hall, 2000). Identification is described as the strength of association within a particular group (Liebkind et al., 2016) and is at the heart of cultural identity development. K. Hall (2000) describes identification as dealing with the recognition of common origin or shared characteristics, an ideal, or solidarity and allegiance with another person or group. Identification, similar to identity, is also a continuous process, always in construction and never completed. Most profoundly, identification obeys the logic of more-than-one, which explains the complexity of identities as multiple, fragmented, intersecting, never singular, and always in the process of change and transformation. Consequently, cultural identity is based on individuals' lived and situated experiences.

Chen (2017) and Collier (2005) offer various overlapping characteristics of cultural identity development that can explain how individuals come to identify with a culture.

27

Specifically, Chen posits multiple characteristics of cultural identity—developmental, spatial, distinct, relational, and multifaceted. Two of these characteristics—developmental and relational—are pertinent to this dissertation. According to Chen, cultural identity sprouts from developmental and relational characteristics. The developmental characteristic of cultural identity specifies that individuals are not born with cultural identity but that they develop it over a period of time through socialization and avowal. The relational characteristic of cultural identity refers to the interactive nature of cultural identity development. It highlights cultural identity as a network of interconnected and interdependent relationships between self and group members (Chen, 2017). This characteristic of cultural identity facilitates the occurrence of interpenetration and mutual transformation between self and the group.

Cultural identity is also related to ethnicity as well as rapid transformations caused by globalization. First, cultural identity is closely tied to and intersects with ethnicity, but cultural identity does not subscribe to notions of primordialism or essentialism (van de Vijver, 2017) as was believed in the past. Essentialism or primordialism is the theoretical position anthropologists held that those who occupy an identity category are fundamentally similar to one another and different from others (Bucholtz & Hall, 2006). These ideas about people no longer hold true because current understandings of ethnicity reflect ethnic identity as an individual's sense of self as a member of a certain ethnic group, avowed through self-identification, feelings of belongingness, commitment to the group, and shared values and attitudes toward the ethnic group. Although ethnicity is understood as the sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group based on ancestry and descent, ethnicity is not always salient to everyone. In some cases, ethnicity varies situationally over time and throughout an individual's lifetime (Liebkind et al., 2016). Importantly, ethnic identity raises the role of culture in identification and, although tied to

historical experiences, it is not necessarily tied to ethnicity. Culture can be changed, adjusted, and acquired as a result of differing cultural contact, such as through acculturation. Thus, culture can be transformed and take on a new meaning or significance during the acculturation process (Liebkind et al., 2016).

Second, for many, direct or indirect exposure to diverse cultures (e.g., mass media, travel, growing up in multicultural environments) facilitates the development of cultural identity (Jensen et al., 2011). Research on adolescents and young adult immigrants in the U.S. shows that these groups are more open and willing to change their beliefs, attitudes, behaviors, and identification based on their acculturation processes (Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Phinney et al., 2000). The culmination of these experiences moves many to identify with and feel a sense of belonging to multiple cultural groups. Thus, cultural identity is the adoption of cultural complexes, "[the] customary practice and beliefs, values, sanctions, rules, motives, and satisfactions associated with [one or more cultural groups]" (Whiting & Child, 1953 as cited in Shweder et al., 1998, p. 872). Cultural identity involves making conscious choices about the culture with which one identifies (Jensen et al., 2011) or the cultural community to which one feels a sense of belonging.

In sum, in the present milieu, cultural identity development no longer stems only from ethnic heritage or geographic location. Many factors, including globalization, the free movement of culturally diverse peoples, and mass media facilitate the development of cultural identification. More importantly, avowal or self-identification goes hand in hand with cultural identity development, which leads individuals to identify with multiple cultural identities. The next section continues the discussion of cultural identity to further explicate how cultural identity development leads to identity transformation during CCA.

Sojourners' Identity Transformation

Sojourners experience some of the most profound and all-encompassing changes as a result of their various pursuits abroad. Through active engagement with the host environment, they learn unknown concepts and develop new sensibilities, attitudes, and behaviors. The outcome of these continuous changes is a transformation in their identity, toward what Y. Y. Kim calls intercultural personhood (Y. Y. Kim, 2005, 2017a). According to Y. Y. Kim, CCA inevitably involves some degree of internal conflict between loyalty to the original identity and the necessity to embrace the new identity, meaning that identity conflict is more than likely to occur. Human plasticity enables individuals to withstand and work through the conflict and learn and acquire new cultural habits that transform the person as they continue engaging with their new environment. Y. Y. Kim further states that someone who develops an intercultural identity possesses a psychological orientation and personhood and views themselves as neither part of nor apart from any particular culture, thus highlighting the boundary-crossing nature of such an identity. A "…gradual and often unconscious identity transformation from a largely monocultural [for some] to an increasingly intercultural identity that is no longer rigidly defined by the parameters of any single culture" emerges (Y. Y. Kim, 2017a, p. 2). This identity transformation, as outlined by Y. Y. Kim, is said to be the result of the challenges faced during CCA. The following paragraphs explicate this process, starting with CCA, different CCA strategies, and various outcomes of the process.

The sojourner experience is predicated on building a healthy functional relationship with one's environment. Doing so requires sojourners to undergo CCA during their different pursuits abroad (Gudykunst, 2005; Y. Y. Kim 2001, 2003, 2005, 2011; Nishida, 2005). This process has been examined by scholars in anthropology, communication, cross-cultural psychology,

sociology, and social psychology from various foci of the experience, resulting in multiple terms such as acculturation, adjustment, assimilation, integration, and adaptation being used to describe different aspects of the process (Berry & Sam, 2016; Y. Y. Kim, 2005). The various foci of such research are exemplified by the distinct models and theories of adaptation present in literature. For example, aspects of adaptation are explained through Oberg's (1960) model of culture shock, Lysgaard's (1955) U-curve model, Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963) W-curve model, Berry's (1980, 1997) model of acculturation, Ward's (1990) model of psychological and sociocultural adjustment, Y. Y. Kim's (2001, 2003, 2005) ITCCA, and Gudykunst's (2005) anxiety/uncertainty management theory of strangers' intercultural adjustment. Y. Y. Kim (2005) notes that these various ways of theorizing about CCA experiences cause fragmentation in understanding the process. Thus, Y. Y. Kim describes CCA as an all-encompassing process that includes acculturation, assimilation, coping, adjustment, and integration. Below, each major concept is defined to offer an overarching definition that can defragment and streamline the understanding of CCA.

Adaptation, the long-term outcome of acculturative changes, is an encompassing term that includes psychological (feeling well), sociocultural (doing well), and intercultural adaptation (establishing harmonious intercultural relations; Berry & Sam, 2016). Acculturation is defined as the acquisition of some but not all cultural elements of the host culture (Nishida, 2005). The process involves cultural and psychological changes that lead to adaptation (Berry & Sam, 2016; Pitts, 2017). Assimilation is the acceptance of all host cultural elements. It is noted as a unidirectional process that involves increasing acceptance of the dominant group's culture and complete internal and value changes within the sojourner (Nishida, 2005). Coping and adjustment are a sojourner's psychological responses to cross-cultural challenges such as culture

31

shock, homesickness, and communication apprehension (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Integration is the maintenance of some degree of one's original culture while simultaneously seeking to be a member of and engaging in social participation in the new society (Berry & Sam, 2016). These different terms used to describe CCA are subsumed in one definition: "the entirety of the phenomenon of individuals who, upon relocating to an unfamiliar sociocultural environment, strive to establish and maintain a relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationship with the environment" (Y. Y. Kim, 2005, p. 380). This definition will be used in this dissertation to provide a collective understanding of the entirety of sojourners' experiences of adapting to a new cultural environment. Doing so streamlines the discussion and offers the reader a quick point of reference for what is meant by CCA.

CCA unfolds through the learning of new cultures through communicative interactions with locals and the new environment (Y. Y. Kim, 2001). However, the process is plagued with challenges of functioning in the new environment. Some of these challenges include a low motivation to adapt to one's new environment due to a short period of stay within the host culture (Gudykunst & Y. Y. Kim, 2003), as is the case, for example, of short-term exchange students. Other contributing factors are related to (a) communication (host communication competence, host social communication, ethnic social communication), which are various ways in which the sojourner interacts with the new environment and those in the new environment. These forms of communication serve as instrumental, interpretive, and expressive ways in which the sojourner learns host communication and behavioral patterns and acquires communication competence in the new culture; (b) environment (host conformity pressure, host receptivity, ethnic group strength), which influences the extent to which a sojourner participates in the new culture. These influences shape the degree to which the sojourner successfully adapts to the new

culture; (c) predisposition (adaptive personality, ethnic proximity/distance, preparedness), which

deals with the sojourner's disposition, mental and emotional readiness, motivation, volition,

ethnocultural background, and so forth in relation to the enterprise of living abroad; and (d)

intercultural transformation (functional fitness, psychological health, intercultural identity

development), which is the progressive internal change that occurs within the sojourner and that

influences their habitual patterns of cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses through the

process of deculturation and acculturation (see Y. Y. Kim, 2005 for a more detailed discussion

on these factors). By the same token, the experience can also be regressive, leading the

newcomer to reject the new culture and cling to their heritage culture or reject both host and

heritage culture (see the discussion on Berry's acculturation theory below). These factors do not

only determine the degree of CCA a sojourner will experience during their sojourn but also the

degree of identity conflict, including conflict stemming from adaptation expectations (Berry,

2003; Berry & Sam, 2016), such as receptivity, tolerance for uncertainty, presence of cultural

pluralism or diversity in the host society, expectations of assimilation toward dominant culture,

institutional structures, and multiculturalism policies (Pitts, 2017), and resulting change that may

occur while living away from home.

Change is at the core of CCA and is characteristic of the conflict sojourners experience

between the desire to retain their old cultural identity and the need to adopt a new cultural

identity (Gudykunst & Y. Y. Kim, 2003; Y. Y. Kim, 2005). Identity crisis, as explained in

Erikson's (1959) theory of identity formation, in which commitment to different roles is central

to and marked by stages of diffusion and moratorium during identity formation, applies to

sojourners' identity transformation as well. These two stages deal with uncertainty and

indecision in making role choices and commitments to goals and values of identifying with

heritage or host culture society. Identity crisis is a predictor of internalizing and externalizing

problems in newcomers (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016) and, thus, can be extended to include

sojourners. As such, the conflict sojourners experience manifests itself in a push and pull

between change and stability as the host culture controls sojourners' survival and functioning by

putting coercive pressure on them, frequently, to adapt (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). Their transformation

unfolds over time, through a gradual process of stress, adaptation, and growth.

Y. Y. Kim (2005, 2017b) explains CCA as a nonlinear, dialectic, and cyclical process

that is propelled by a continuous draw-back-leap pattern induced by the stress of adaptation.

Each stressful experience brings about a temporary setback that forces the sojourner to make

adaptive changes, including reorganizing knowledge at their disposal and leaping forward to

reengage with the host society so that cultural learning and internal change can occur. These

activities bring about new self-reintegration and cultural growth that occurs at the expense of

other cultural aspects; the process continues until the sojourner develops capabilities to cope

effectively with the stress caused by the demands of the new society. Though the intensity

decreases, the stress does not depart. The stress caused by the demands of the new society is

further exacerbated by the internal identity conflict sojourners experience as a result of adaptive

changes that go hand-in-hand with a fight between how much to retain (acculturation) or let go

(deculturation) from one's old culture. The high levels of stress resulting from the internal

conflict (degree of acculturation and deculturation) are represented by the stress-adaptation-

growth dynamic.

Y. Y. Kim (2005, 2017b) uses the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic to explain how the

problematic and growth-producing experiences that sojourners undergo in their new cultural

environment work together to alleviate or resolve identity conflict and facilitate identity

transformation. According to Y. Y. Kim, the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic is undergirded by the open-systems principle of homeostasis, which states that all human beings want to achieve equilibrium. Stress (internal and external) causes disequilibrium because the sojourner does not perceive themselves to have the capabilities to meet the demands of the new society. Thus, they are motivated to return to homeostasis and achieve harmony with the new environment, which could be accomplished via the active development of new habits. Stress is the psychological force that drives the growth that happens during CCA. The growth of some aspects of identity occurs at the expense of others. CCA follows a pattern that "juxtaposes psychological integration and disintegration, progression and regression, leading to a state of reintegration and personal development" (Y. Y. Kim, 2017b, p. 3). The stressful experience of disintegration, through tension and conflict within an individual's internal system and the external environment, results in self re-categorization and self-renewal (i.e., identity transformation).

Identity transformation in the ITCCA is posited to be related to a high degree of assimilation (Gudykunst & Y. Y. Kim, 2003; Y. Y. Kim 2005), which occurs when sojourners experience maximum convergence to the host cultural patterns and minimum maintenance of the home cultural patterns. Assimilation does not equate to completion of CCA, though. Y. Y. Kim maintains that CCA is a lifelong process that operates on a continuum from minimally adapted (low degree of adaptation) to maximally adapted (high degree of adaptation) individuals. A high degree of CCA is synonymous with functional fitness, a state of confidently interacting with the host culture. At this stage, sojourners are said to have achieved host communication competence, an accomplishment of the desired level of proficiency in communicating, developing harmonious intercultural relationships, experiencing life satisfaction, a sense of belonging, and so forth (Y. Y. Kim, 2005; Y. Y. Kim & McKay-Semmler, 2013). Additionally, not all sojourners reach

assimilation. Some may acculturate enough to participate in the new society functionally, whereas others may completely reject the new society and remain in ethnic enclaves. These alternative forms of CCA are explored later in this section (see Berry's acculturation strategies section).

A few examples of studies provide support for Y. Y. Kim's theory. An examination of the role of communication in successful adaptation is showcased in McKay-Semmler and Y. Y. Kim's (2014) study of Hispanic youth's CCA in the U.S. They found that host communication competence led to effective host interpersonal communication competence, psychological health, and functional fitness. Another study on highly educated foreign nationals by Y. Y. Kim and McKay-Semmler (2013) found that direct or face-to-face interactions or host interpersonal communication between newcomers and locals in the U.S. were correlated with functional and psychological well-being. As it pertains to identity transformation, Pitts (2009) reported that her examination of U.S. students living abroad for 15 months revealed they used talk or interpersonal communication to facilitate progressive identity transformation that helped them with functional, psychological, and social well-being. Similar results were reported by Hotta and Ting-Toomey (2013) in their study on international students' intercultural friendships. They also found that engagement in interpersonal communication with host nationals and the new culture facilitated students' identity transformation. These examples provide support for Y. Y. Kim's theory. However, a sojourner's adaptation is a life-long process. Individuals vary in their degree of CCA, which is explained by a different perspective on newcomers' adaptation, advanced by John Berry.

Berry's (1980, 1997) acculturation theory (see Figure 1) explains the different strategies—assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization—individuals may choose to

adapt to a new culture and the accompanying internal conflict they may experience (Ward, 2008). Berry's theory is predicated on the argument that psychological, social, and cultural factors, which create acculturative stress, impact the adaptation experiences of new settlers. Assimilation is thought to entail relinquishing one's cultural identity and absorbing the dominant group identity. Integration is viewed as maintaining a balance between heritage and host cultural identity. Separation leads to the maintenance of an independent existence within the dominant society. Marginalization is alienation resultant from the loss of both heritage and host cultural identity (Berry, 1992, 1997, 2008). The theory notes that CCA may produce differing results–some sojourners may adapt very well, whereas others experience a lot of difficulties (Berry, 1992). Based on this insight, Berry's theory states that, when sojourners enter a new culture, they are faced with a decision to acculturate (and to determine to what degree) or to reject the host culture (and maintain the home cultural pattern). Each decision determines the nature of the adaptation process (degree of acculturation and deculturation) and the strategy that a newcomer may choose. Thus, newcomers are faced with a push and pull, change or retain, acculturate and deculturate, from the inception of CCA.

Figure 1

Berry's (1997) Theory of Acculturation

Cultural Maintenance

		Yes	No
Contact with Host Society	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Separation	Marginalization

Note: Figure adapted from Berry (1997)

Berry (1980, 1992, 1997) states acculturative changes, such as shifts in behaviors (the learning and unlearning of a repertoire) and acculturative stress (stressful psychological factors that cause behavioral conflict), influence day-to-day functioning in the new culture. Acculturative changes occur across six areas of functioning: language, cognitive styles, personality, identity, attitudes, and acculturative stress. Language refers to learning and competently speaking the host language. Cognitive styles refer to structural refinement in internal information processing. Personality deals with disposition, including openness to and ability to endure the pressures of the adaptation process. Identity references a shift away from previously held individual and ethnic group identity. Attitudes refer to intergroup and lifestyle preferences that change during adaptation. Finally, acculturative stress is manifested by identity confusion, anxiety, uncertainty, and depression that influence the newcomers' health and well-being while adapting (Berry, 2019; Pitts, 2017). These changes also differ in degree based on the acculturative strategy one adopts, with the most learning and shedding occurring when the assimilation strategy is used and the least occurring when the separation strategy is used. Of particular importance to this dissertation is the integration strategy, which allows for considerable learning of the new culture and limited heritage culture shedding. The integration strategy is also associated with positive psychological and sociocultural outcomes (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Pitts, 2017; Ward, 2013; Yoon et al., 2013). Notably, the integrative strategy is most successfully enacted in societies open to and that celebrates diversity and multiculturalism (Berry, 1997, 2008). Mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, meaning that both the dominant and nondominant groups should accept the prospect of living as culturally different peoples within the same society.

The integration strategy is pertinent to the discussion of identity transformation in this dissertation because it differs from the popular view of CCA in that most literature on adaptation proposes an increase in the degree of acculturation toward assimilation (e.g., Y. Y. Kim, 2005), especially in the case of long-term adaptation. Contrary to this notion, assimilation is not the only form of CCA; there are different ways of going about the process (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Redfield et al., 1936). The integration strategy proposes hybridity or fusion of two or more cultural repertoires over time. The integration strategy entails a negotiation between the use of heritage vs. host cultural repertoires in private versus public spheres. Individuals may find themselves reverting to heritage cultural behaviors and communicative practices at home, with family, or within their ethnocultural community. They may engage in host cultural behaviors and communicative practices in school, at work, or in social gatherings during interactions with host nationals or culturally different others (Berry, 1992). This notion was confirmed in a study by Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2003) who found that Turks acculturating in the Netherlands switched between host and heritage communicative and behavioral patterns in public and private spheres, noting a duality or hybridity in culture.

Multiple studies have examined the use of the four acculturation strategies outlined in Berry's acculturation model. Almost all these studies have reported that the integration strategy was the most desirable for positive and healthy acculturation because it allows the maintenance and practice of heritage culture as well as the adoption and social participation in the host culture (Berry, 2019; Berry et al., 2006; LaFambroise et al., 1993; Phinney et al., 2001). Moreover, integration is associated with positive psychological and sociocultural outcomes (Ward, 2013). By the same token, some studies have argued that the process of dealing with two cultures places a burden on the individual; therefore, the integration strategy may lead to stress, identity

confusion, and increased cognitive load (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Nevertheless, a meta-analysis of 141 studies examining the acculturation of 23,197 participants (immigrants, refugees, and sojourners between the ages of 10-70 years who used the integration strategy) revealed better adjustment—psychological, sociocultural, and health-related adjustment for participants; those who reported better adjustment were bi/multicultural individuals. These results show a stark difference compared to those who are oriented to one culture only (dominant or heritage). These latter individuals may experience adjustment costs, resulting from rejection by or lack of belongingness with members of the other culture, which may be associated with a challenging CCA (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

The foregoing literature provides an understanding of newcomers' CCA experiences. It also offers two perspectives for understanding and examining the same phenomenon. The ITCCA provides an understanding of CCA, accompanying challenges, and the outcome of the adaptation experience, specifically, the continuous identity transformation toward intercultural personhood. Berry's acculturation model offers strategies that individuals can employ during CCA. Importantly, Berry provides an alternative to assimilation in the form of integration, which offers a choice of an adaptation strategy for acculturating individuals. This bears weight because it acknowledges not only a preference by acculturating individuals, but also the changing demographics of nations due to factors discussed earlier, and the resultant intermingling of peoples. Both Berry and Y. Y. Kim assert that CCA facilitates identity change within a newcomer. The most significant difference between the two theories is the way that identity change is explicated. Y. Y. Kim posits progressive identity change that eventually leads to intercultural personhood, whereas Berry's integration strategy makes a case for the development of bi/multicultural identity for acculturating individuals. The following section explores the

bi/multicultural identity development of newcomers associated with the integration strategy and begins theorizing about sojourners' multicultural identity development.

Multicultural Identity Development

As discussed, the cultural integration strategy of acculturation has been associated with the development of a bi/multicultural identity (see Table 1). Scholars in social and cultural psychology (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013) have used Berry's acculturation theory to explain the development of bi/multicultural identity in immigrants and refugees. As previously noted, bi/multicultural individuals possess a high degree of identification with a second culture in addition to a dominant culture (Benet-Martínez & Hong, 2014) and are characterized by cultural duality/hybridity, or fusion/blendedness. Bi/multicultural identity is subjective, not objective. Perceptions and experiences of cultural overlap and compatibility are rooted in self-identification. This identification is different from intercultural personhood (Y. Y. Kim, 2005), which proffers identity transcendence beyond heritage or host culture – a higher order identity.

Table 1

Representation of CCA (Berry's Strategies) and Identity Outcomes

Description	Adaptation Strategy	Identity Outcomes
Competent in and identified with both host and heritage cultures	Integration	Blended/Fused
		Hybrid/Dual/Alternating
Competent in both cultures, identified with Host culture only	Assimilation	Mainstream
Competent in both cultures, identified with heritage culture only	Separation	Heritage
Competent in both cultures, identified with neither host nor heritage culture	Marginalization	Instrumental

Relevant work on multicultural individuals who have been exposed to, have internalized two or more sets of cultural meaning systems (Van Der Zee et al., 2016), and navigate between different cultural orientations through cultural frame switching (Hong et al., 2000) comes from work by many scholars (e.g., Bender & Ng, 2009; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Benet-Martínez et al., 2006; Hong et al., 2000). Furthermore, cross-sectional and longitudinal studies provide evidence of the benefits of a bi/multicultural identity among immigrants and refugees (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Matsunaga et al., 2010). Such benefits include psychological well-being (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013), positive attitudes toward out-groups (e.g., Brewer & Pierce, 2002), bilingualism (e.g., Han, 2010), cognitive complexity (e.g., Benet-Martínez et al., 2006), more intercultural friendships and higher interconnectedness between these friends (e.g., Mok et al., 2007), creative performance (Leung et al., 2008), and more.

These studies have also allowed multicultural identity theorists to derive variations in multicultural identities, meaning there are different types of multiculturals. For example, Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) identified two types of bi/multiculturals (see Figure 2): blended/fused and alternating/hybrid. Blended/fused bi/multiculturals integrate both identities, whereas alternating/hybrid identities remain integrated yet separate. Phinney and Devich-Navorro's (1997) study demonstrates the differences between these two types of identities. In their study of 46 Mexican-American and 52 African-American adolescents, they found that blended bi/multiculturals viewed their identities as different but not in conflict with each other. Individuals who had blended identities were reluctant to choose one identity over the other. Alternating bi/multiculturals perceived their identities as disparate, with distinct values, norms, and so forth, and experienced conflict between the two identities. Alternating bi/multiculturals

42

viewed their responses as situational and contextual. Thus, they switched between their two identities. These results highlight an important aspect of multicultural identities: that the cognizance of different components of individuals' bicultural experiences is paramount. The degree of identity blendedness, identity conflict, and cultural frame switching should always be considered in the discussion of multicultural identity (Cheng et al., 2014).

Figure 2

Types of Bi/Multicultural Identity, based on Berry's Integration Strategy
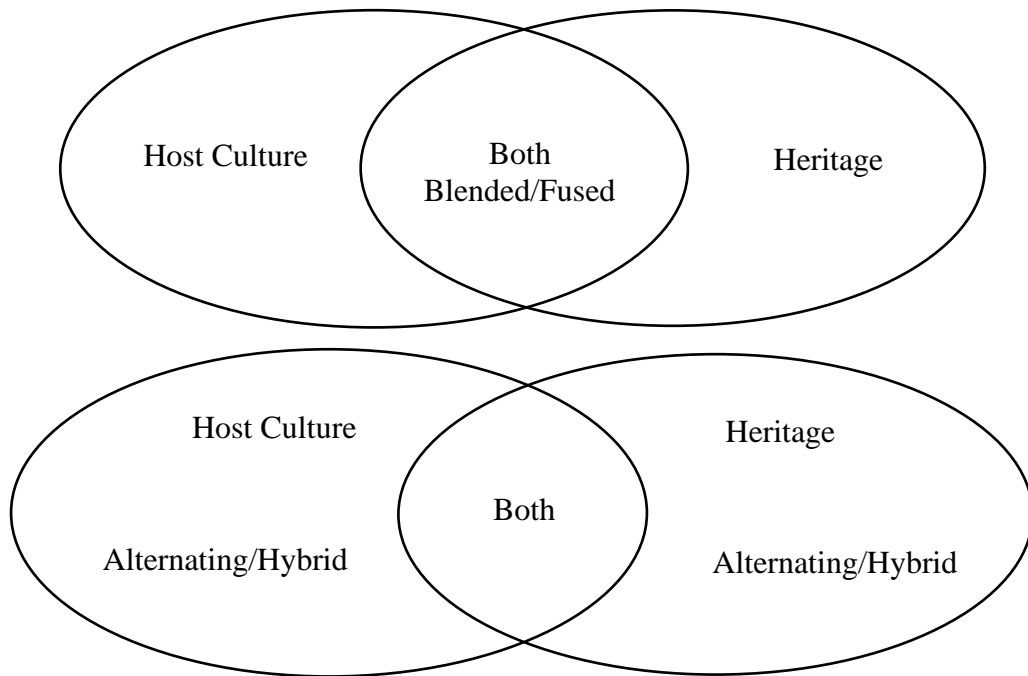
Further evidence of differences in the types of multicultural individuals is offered by Cieslik and Verkuyten (2006) in their study of Polish Tatars. The authors reported that Polish Tatars simultaneously identified as Tatar, Muslim, and Polish. They found that these individuals experienced no inconsistency in identifying with their Mongolian ancestry and Polish history. These different identities reflected the reality of their lived experiences and, most importantly, the hybridity of their identity. In another instance, Noels et al. (1996) found that Chinese students

in Canada identified with both identities but enacted each identity separately when the situation called for it, showing frame-switching, associated with a separated or dual bi/multicultural identity in sojourners. Similar results were reported by Phinney et al. (2006) who found that ethnic minority adolescents and adults showed that multiple ethnic and national identities may co-exist successfully.

In addition to these studies on multicultural identity, sojourners' functioning in a new host culture is significantly influenced by language. Y. Y. Kim (2005) discusses the importance of language as an indicator of functional fitness and Berry (1997) points out that lack of language proficiency can induce acculturative stress, both signifying the importance of language to successful CCA. All humans possess a language identity that signals distinct connection between language, culture, and identity. This connection is a critical element in intercultural experiences (Jackson, 2017). Language is an important component of culture (Jepperson & Swidler, 1994) and can index social group membership (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Nevertheless, multilingualism (i.e., the use of two or more languages; Jackson, 2017) does not necessarily equate identification with a specific culture. In the past, many persons within a society spoke multiple languages because of overlapping boundaries and intermingling of peoples (Bucholtz & Hall, 2006; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 2004). For example, in societies such as Macedonia individuals were known to speak more than one language (Irvine & Gal, 2000), which came from different forms of being. For some, the ability to speak more than one language was viewed as an investment or the result of trade/doing business, a way to secure one's future (Irvine & Gal, 2000). For others, such as the Fula, Wolof, and Seneer from Senegal (Irvine & Gal, 2000) or the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk Native Americans in the U.S. (O'Neill, 2016), geographical dispersion and overlap allowed these communities to intermingle, intermarry, and possess multiple linguistic repertoires that enabled

them to interact with those within their cultural environment. Consequently, this intermingling and intermarriage created multicultural and multilingual individuals who exemplify the multiple and fluid nature of identity.

Multilingualism is also a consequence of colonialism. Many colonial masters forced their language on local communities so that locals could communicate with them. Many colonialists mandated countries to teach their languages in schools as part of the curriculum. For example, in my home country, Namibia, individuals learned German, English, and later Afrikaans. These languages were also taught in schools. Today, most Namibians can speak either all three or at least two of these languages, in addition to local tribal languages. These are just some examples of how multilingualism is manifested as part of individuals' cultural repertoires and is not necessarily tied to cultural identification. Nevertheless, language can index signs of difference (Irvine & Gal, 2000). In other words, linguistic forms can index social groups or social identities. Signs of difference are often rooted in language ideologies, or the conceptions and uses of language held by observers and speakers of the language (Kroskity, 2004). Western European elites saw language as an authentic indicator of ethnic or cultural identity (Irvine & Gal, 2000). However, this claim was proven to be untrue, as in the case of Macedonia referenced above. The ability to speak more than one language is not an indication of social group membership alone, it also indexes cultural and world histories.

Furthermore, Hill (1999) writes of syncretism, the mixing of semiotic materials to assert or enact an identity. Syncretism is noted as a performance of identity in order to accommodate others or form connections with interlocutors. Syncretism can be confused with code-switching, but it is more than code-switching. Syncretism is the result of political potency or urbanity and is often an active and strategic effort by speakers to manipulate language as the performance

45

warrants (i.e., in the pursuit of the goal of an interaction; Hill, 1999). For example, during intercultural negotiations, businesspeople can insert phrases or words from each other's language to signal affiliation, respect, or psychological distance. In communication terms, these efforts are known as immediacy behaviors or accommodation in interactions. Such syncretic uses of language showcase political savvy or urbanity and can help or hurt negotiation. Syncretism is a tool that can be used by those who are multilingual. Although it can be active and strategic, continuous use can become natural and unconscious. This is often seen in interactions where multilinguals of the same social group (e.g., Mexican Americans) gather, when they weave between two languages (e.g., Spanish and English) to meet their interaction goals.

The geographical overlap that facilitated multilingualism in the past is now replaced by border crossing resulting from globalization, transnational movement, and mass media. As a result of these factors, individuals are able to learn a second, third, or more language. Proficiency in a language is no longer the ultimate goal. Crossing paths with people or visiting countries for business or pleasure grants opportunities to learn words, phrases, or engage in conversational proficiency of a language (Agar, 1994). This allows individuals to move fluidly between languages. Additionally, it has turned many monoglots into polyglots who can strike up a conversation with just about anyone. Immigrants, refugees, and sojourners often turn into polyglots, whether by virtue of growing up in a multicultural society, hailing from a multicultural family, or moving to a new country for various reasons.

The ability to speak more than one language provides an inside look into another culture. Agar (1994) posits languaculture, a necessary tie between language and culture. According to Agar, language is the bridge between two parts, a connection that brings two cultures together and allows users of a language to grasp the nuances, inferences, or references of a culture

46

contained within the language. Knowing one is understanding the other. The connection between language and culture is made clear by the use of the language by second-language speakers. The cultural influence in language is often lost on them because they use language objectively, instead of subjective (Agar, 1994). For example, Agar shares his work on the English language use of drug addicts in the Washington D.C. area and how they used a plethora of words to conceptualize the instrument used to deposit drugs in the system, the tool used to accentuate the veins, and the effect of the drug after injection. In isolation, these words have a denotative meaning; however, adding culture to the mix, the connotative meaning escapes those not part of that culture. In this way, culture and language are closely tied and, thus, language is a window into a culture.

In summary, language and culture are interconnected. Language is a component of culture. Although language can index social group membership, it can also serve a utilitarian function. Language can be used as a way to learn a new culture, connect with people in the new culture, or as a performative tool used to enact an identity or meet an interaction goal. Multilingual individuals are multicultural in nature, whether by virtue of belonging to more than one social group or being exposed to numerous cultures and thus languages growing up. Multilingualism is also the consequence of CCA. When sojourners move to a new environment, they are more than likely to learn the local language. If they already speak the language, they may learn local variations of the language such as living in the South of the U.S. versus living in the Midwest. Learning a new language is equal to cultural socialization (Jackson, 2017). "The degree of acculturation will vary depending on their agency (e.g., amount of investment in language and culture learning) and access to the host language and culture (e.g., degree of host receptivity; Jackson, 2017, p. 3)." The degree of cultural identification based on language

proficiency will vary because of little intercultural awareness and sensitivity, and weak sociopragmatic competence in the newly acquired language (Jackson, 2017). Multilingual identity is connected to multicultural identity development as the newcomers learn the language and thus the culture, which they may view as their own, as they enact their multicultural identity in interactions.

The literature discussed above provide support for the notion of multicultural identity development. They also offer a foundation for examining this phenomenon from a communication perspective. Acculturating groups, such as sojourners, often develop complex identities that undergo continual change as a function of the acculturation process. Identity change toward a multicultural identity is even more probable for individuals who go through two or more subsequent CCAs. Acculturating in multiple, new, and distinct cultural environments with a short or no period of re-acculturation (returning to the homeland) between adaptations is a phenomenon scantly examined in adaptation research. Granted, not all sojourners experience this phenomenon. However, as discussed in the introduction, Davis-UWC students, the population of interest in this dissertation, undergo this experience and can offer valuable insight into it.

Despite the lack of investigation into this phenomenon, there are individuals who experience more than one CCA, and examining the patterns of such CCAs can offer added information to adaptation research. When experiencing two or more subsequent CCAs, the acculturating individual would experience some or a similar degree of social and psychological adjustment and accompanying challenges in subsequent sojourns as they would during an initial sojourn. However, as past research affirms, CCA leaves indelible imprints on individuals' identities – in most cases, toward identity transformation. Two or more subsequent CCAs could result in multiple cultural identity changes within the acculturating individual. During the initial

48

sojourn, the sojourner experiences identity changes. These changes are added to the novel changes sojourners may experience when they move to a second, third or more, new, and different societies, resulting in multiple identity transformations and, thus, multicultural identity development processes.

Such notions are reflected in the examination of Nigerian transients by Onwumechili et al. (2003). This phenomenon and its effects on sojourners' CCA have not been explored in the acculturation literature. Importantly, factors such as similarity and differences of each sojourn (areas of convergence and divergence), including challenges, adaptation strategies acquired, the similarity of sojourning countries/societies, and acquired cultural learning affect the second (and likely subsequent) sojourns. For example, newcomers may have had a challenging first sojourn because their heritage culture is drastically different than the host culture. They may have experienced a profound difference in language, customs, traditions, and values in the first sojourn, which may have caused high levels of acculturative stress that may have led to difficulty with sociocultural and psychological adjustment. The second sojourn may not be associated with a high degree of acculturative stress; thus, CCA may be less challenging, and newcomers may experience minimal sociocultural and psychological adjustment. Moreover, strategies for positive adaptation learned during the first sojourn may come in handy, be applied, and alleviate possible anxiety and uncertainty experienced during second sojourn. These are just some possibilities that may occur between the two sojourns. A similar pattern may occur for subsequent sojourners. Thus, the investigation of multiple subsequent CCAs can provide clear comparisons that may inform current research on CCA.

Adaptation research has not explicitly studied two or more subsequent CCAs. However, regional differences in acculturating host communities have received attention in cross-cultural

49

psychology. Bourhis et al. (2010) used case studies of two North American host communities,

Los Angeles, CA, which has greater racial and ethnic diversity than most states in the U.S., and

Montreal, Quebec, which is a majority Francophone and a minority Anglophone region

compared to the rest of Canada. They examined how host societies' (Los Angeles and Montreal)

perspectives on acculturation differed from the national policies (U.S. and Canada) and

perspectives regarding immigrant CCA. Their findings revealed that host nationals in both host

communities preferred the integration strategy, which is different from the U.S., where the

assimilationist CCA is favored on a national level, and different from Canada, which is a

majority Francophone society that is partial to French culture and language. The results were the

same for acculturating immigrants, who also preferred integration as an acculturating strategy.

These findings confirmed past research on Berry's acculturation strategies in which integration

offered the best outcomes for immigrants.

These findings make an argument for two subsequent CCAs in that they show differences

in culture can affect immigrants', refugees', and sojourners' adaptation experiences, even on a

regional level. Consequently, research about two subsequent CCAs can offer insight into how the

same individuals experience CCA in distinct locations, and what outcomes can be expected as a

result. Based on the above, and the population of interest in this dissertation, the first research

question is advanced to examine two or more subsequent CCAs of sojourners. Thus, the

following is posited:

> *RQ1: How, if at all, do sojourners (Davis-UWC students) describe their cross-cultural*
>
> *adaptation (CCA) to more than one country?*

Furthermore, an argument is advanced that individuals who experience two subsequent CCAs

are granted more opportunities and are more inclined to develop a multicultural identity. This

argument is examined in this dissertation with empirical data from the CCA of the participants of interest. This point is further explicated in the method section of this study.

This section has explored multicultural identity development mostly from a social psychological perspective. However, this dissertation aims to investigate the same process from a communication perspective by examining the communicative properties of the identity developmental process. Interpersonal communication plays an important role in cultural identity transformation (Y. Y. Kim, 2005; Y. Y. Kim & McKay-Semmler, 2013; Ting-Toomey, 2005). ITCCA (Y. Y. Kim, 2005) and INT (Ting-Toomey, 2005) offer paths to understanding the mutually constitutive relationship of communication and identity. Identity is formed through discursive practices and identity is enacted through discursive interactions (Hecht et al., 2005). ITCCA shows how engagement with various actors in the new environment facilitates identity change (e.g., host communication competence, host social communication, ethnic social communication), whereas INT shows how different dialectical tensions impact one's identity.

INT offers five identity tensions that are present in interactions with others. These are: (1) security-vulnerability (degree to which individual feels secure or vulnerable in interaction); (2) inclusion-differentiation (degree to which an individual feels included or stigmatized during interaction); (3) predictability-unpredictability (degree to which the individual can predict the behavior of an interactant or outcome of the interaction); (4) connection-autonomy (degree to which the individual feels connected with or separated from an interactant); and (5) consistency-change (degree to which individual feels that their identity is stable or is transformed over time through interactions; Ting-Toomey, 2005). What is relevant to this dissertation and tied to Erikson's (1959) theory of identity formation and ITCCA is the fifth tension, identity consistency vs. identity change. This dialectical tension speaks to identity diffusion and

moratorium, and the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic, as discussed previously. Ting-Toomey (2005) explains that identities are multiple and enjoy salience based on interactions, which means identities are negotiated and foregrounded depending on dialogic, relational, and situational context. Negotiation is a transactional interaction process whereby individuals in an intercultural situation attempt to assert, define, modify, challenge, and/or support their own and others' desired self-image. The more secure, included, and connected individuals feel, the more likely they are going to be open to identity change (i.e., moratorium), and the more likely the identity change is going to be a healthy one. However, if the individual experiences the opposite tensions within interactions with others, they are likely to be resistant to identity change and hold on to their old identity (i.e., identity diffusion; identity consistency). A balance between identity rootedness and rootlessness (i.e., homeostasis) is ideal to promote dynamic identity growth, adaptation, and positive and healthy functional fitness in a new society (Ting-Toomey, 2005). INT and ITCCA function as guideposts that will help this dissertation identify and explain the communicative aspect of a sojourner's multicultural identity development. Specifically, they will help explain how identity change occurs and how the new identities are negotiated with the self and in relation to others.

Despite these numerous examples of multicultural identity development, and regardless of self-identification as multicultural as well as the degree of acculturation, some members of minority groups with visible extrinsic markers are likely to label and be labeled by others based on their ethnicity, race, or nationality. Individuals can identify with multiple minority/majority groups and show various social identity complexity (Liebkind et al., 2016). However, others may not acknowledge and affirm their identity. Many immigrants and sojourners experience this lack of acknowledgment in their new societies because they are read and unread in interactions. Thus,

continuous negotiation and management of their identities take place in interactions. Next, I turn to three different models of identity development that can aid in the conceptualization of sojourners' CMMID.

Identity Development Models

This section provides an overview of three major models of identity development. The purpose of the overview is to ascertain whether these models can provide a roadmap toward theorizing about a CMMID of sojourners. This section takes on an interdisciplinary approach to reviewing models from counseling and social psychology. The Nigrescence model of Black identity (Cross, 1991), the multigroup ethnic identity measure (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007), and White racial identity development models (Hardiman, 1982; Helm, 1984; Ponterotto, 1988) are reviewed (see Table 2). Each model is discussed, and areas of convergence and divergence are identified to parse out stages that may be relevant to theorizing about sojourners' CMMID. The section will conclude with a discussion of these models in relation to the CMMID.

Several racial/minority identity development models have been advanced for Blacks/African Americans. Among the most prominent is the Nigrescence model of Black identity (Cross, 1991). According to Burt and Halpin (1998), this model highlights the importance of self-concept or personal identity and references group orientation or group identity in the racial identification process. Personal identity deals with an individual's personality characteristics. Group identity deals with the cultural norms that connect groups of people. These norms act as a guide to how the group perceives and reacts to their environment. The Nigrescence model advances five stages of identity development: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment. Each stage is a

53

progression toward an achieved sense of self about the group and deeper identification with

Blackness.

Table 2

Models of Identity Development

White Identity	Nigrescence	MEIM
Lack of awareness • Self as racial being	Pre-encounter • Identifying with dominant identity	Avowal • Self-categorizing, Self-defining/labeling
Encounter • Expanding knowledge about race and racial issues	Encounter • Rejecting dominant culture, alignment with Black culture	Exploration • Personal involvement with ethnic group social practices
Immersion • Breaking down of former knowledge; acknowledging Whiteness	Immersion-emmersion • Being engrossed in Black culture	Affirmation • Belonging and attachment to group
Identity Conflict • Feelings of guilt or rejection; pro-minority or pro-White stance	Identity conflict • Rejecting of dominant identity and internalization of Black culture	Identity conflict • Oscillating between experimentation and commitment
Internalization • Newfound identity; cultural transcendence	Internalization • Being comfortable with Black identity	Commitment • Being secure sense of group membership

The first stage, pre-encounter, is punctuated by the individual identifying with the

White/dominant culture. During this stage, the individual will likely reject their own culture. In

stage two, encounter, the opposite happens—the individual rejects identification with the White

culture and seeks to align their identity with Black culture. During stage three, immersion-

emmersion, the individual utterly rejects the White culture and is completely engrossed in Black culture. Stage four is marked by the internalization of the Black culture. During this stage the individual is comfortable with their blackness and enacts the Black identity. The final stage is the internalization-commitment stage. Here the individual achieves comfortability with their identity and is committed to transcending and confronting all forms of racism and cultural oppression (Burt & Halpin, 1998). The Nigrescence model explains how the Black identity is developed in relation to the dominant identity.

The multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM) has been developed to measure the strength of identity of various ethnic groups. Phinney (1992) explains that the measure provides a means of examining adolescents' degree of identification with their ethnic group. The measure is rooted in self-identification with a particular ethnic group, and, thus, is different from the Nigrescence model above, even if the person may identify, ethnically, as Black. Importantly, the measure starts with self-identification, belonging to a particular ethnic group. Four constructs— self-identification and ethnicity, ethnic behaviors and practices, affirmation and belonging, and ethnic identity achievement—provide a framework for the measure. Self-identification and ethnicity deal with how individuals self-select, self-categorize, and self-label their ethnic identity. Ethnic behaviors and practices are degrees of personal involvement in the ethnic group's social activities and cultural traditions. Affirmation and belonging encompass engendering positive feelings, a sense of belonging, and attachment toward the group. Ethnic identity achievement involves the exploration of the ethnic identity and is the start of a secure sense of group membership (Phinney, 1992).

The MEIM does not include specific aspects of ethnicity, such as cultural values and cultural beliefs. The measure only considers core components of ethnicity as discussed above.

Essentially, the measure uses two categories, exploration and commitment, and 12 items to measure ethnic identity development. Exploration measures learning about one's ethnic group and participating in ethnic cultural practices, whereas commitment deals with positive affirmation to the group. The measure and the two categories are based on SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and sense of commitment, as explained by Marcia (1980). The measure notes a very important relationship between exploration and commitment. The two are mutually constitutive, meaning, commitment leads to exploration and more exploration leads to stronger commitment. The MEIM offers considerable insight into ethnic identity development. Other models, such as the one discussed below, diverge from examining minority identity development to investigating dominant identity development.

Literature in counseling identifies three White racial identity development models used to train and equip White counselors with knowledge about White identity development. Sabnani et al. (1991) incorporated Helms' (1984) White racial consciousness development model, Hardiman's (1982) White identity development model, and Ponterotto's (1988) racial consciousness model to center the awareness of and acceptance of Whiteness and its historical, cultural, and societal implications in the development of the White racial identity model. A summary of these three models produces an integrated model of White racial identity development with six stages (lack of awareness of self, interaction with members of other cultures, breakdown of former knowledge—conflict, pro-minority stance, pro-white anti-minority stance, and internalization; Sabnani et al., 1991).

Stage one in the model notes the lack of awareness of self as a racial being. The second stage is rooted in the expansion of knowledge regarding race and racial matters. This stage pushes Whites to acknowledge their whiteness and examine their cultural values. Self-

examination is often followed by guilt, depression, and anger resulting from the realization of the realities of their role (whether conscious or unconscious) in racism. During stage three, the individual attempts to either alleviate the feelings of guilt or reject the internalized racist beliefs and whiteness. Stage four marks the individual's retreat into the White culture and away from intercultural contact. The retreat is a result of rejection by the minority group and is characterized by feelings of hostility and fear. The final stage notes development of the White racial identity. During this stage, the individual internalizes the newfound identity. This stage is also marked by cultural transcendence. Individuals develop an expanded worldview, new multicultural interests, and respect for cultural differences. These models do not present a linear progression through the stages of development but, instead, offer a complex movement back and forth between several of the stages in which negotiation of one's identity and processing of newfound knowledge regarding the self and other minorities take place (Daniels, 2001).

The goal of the review of identity development models above was to ascertain whether the stages explicated in these models offer a guidepost for the development of a CMMID. That is, can these stages inform the analysis and findings of this dissertation and, ultimately, be used in conjunction with identity transformation and adaptation literature to derive a CMMID? The models reviewed offered areas of convergence with and divergence from each other. In terms of areas of convergence, the models followed a similar stage model and converged across five stages. First, the pre-encounter and encounter stage is marked by an individual assessing their identity and identification in relation to the dominant identity. These stages seem to be plagued with identity conflict and identity negotiation. These stages are described in all models as a juncture in a person's identity development process at which they experience intense resentment of their heritage culture, which manifests as rejection of their heritage identity. The pre-

encounter and encounter stages are also a moment during which individuals explore and learn more about their heritage identity, and gain perspective about who they are and how they fit into the social environment. This stage aligns well with stage five of Erikson's (1959) identity formation, in which identity confusion is experienced, and moratorium takes place.

Second, the immersion-emersion, assimilation, or interaction stage is the beginning of self-exploration as this human being with a newfound identity. Third, the internalization, awakening, or breakdown of the former knowledge stage is marked by identity conflict between the old and the new. This stage can be seen as experimenting with the newfound identity, including questioning the status quo in society and getting involved in social activism that can bring about social change for an individual's social group within society. Fourth, the rebellion stage, not noted in all the models (for instance, the MEIM), marks opposition to or fighting against the grain, actively opposing or challenging the dominant culture. This stage is an outright rejection of the dominant culture and group. Fifth, the commitment, consciousness, or evolution stage is marked by identity transformation and new identity development. In this stage, an individual develops an achieved identity, an identity that emerges or develops at the end of the various stages the person has undergone.

These models diverge only in a few ways. The Nigrescence model and the MEIM model are mostly focused on minority group identity, whereas the White identity model is focused on dominant group identity. The Nigrescence model and the MEIM model are focused on identity conflict between heritage and dominant identity, whereas the White identity model is focused on identity conflict between perceived White identity and historic White identity. That is, the White identity model notes how individuals realize their role in the ills of the times (i.e., racism) and must contend with their Whiteness. This realization brings about multiple emotions, including

guilt, which they try to alleviate. However, when they try to alleviate these emotions, at times, they experience rejection from minority groups and retreat to their White identity. Hence, the White identity development model deviates from the minority identity development models in that the conflict is with perceived vs. actual/historical White identity. Minority identity models explain the conflict between choosing the heritage identity over the dominant identity and vice versa. Thus, the minority models are not focused on conflict within one identity but between two identities.

Finally, the MEIM model diverges from the Nigrescence model, and the White identity model given that its proposed identity development starts with avowal. The individual self-categorizes, self-identifies, and self-labels as being part of a certain ethnic group. The other two models do not address avowal (an individual's self-attribution as part of a social group). This may be because the other two models are based on race, whereas the MEIM model is based on ethnicity, which is a different identity; people may identify with ethnic identities that are different from their physical appearance (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM model offers important information about identity in this regard. That is, some identities operate based on self-identification or avowal and not ascription, a compelling point that aids the argument for multicultural identity development.

These areas of convergence and divergence highlight significant aspects of these models. However, they also highlight their shortcomings. These models do not address the complexities of identities of individuals who claim to belong to more than one culture. That is, the models fail to address the duality, hybridity, or blendedness of such individuals' identities. First, the models note that individuals choose one identity over the other, thus failing to explain the bi/multicultural nature of some individuals' self-concept. Second, the models note a rejection of

one's heritage identity and feelings of shame or embarrassment caused by the heritage identity. For most individuals who claim a bi/multicultural identity, there is little or no shame about and embarrassment with their identity because they are the same and both. Meaning, that their identification is rooted in both identities because both identities are part of who they are or define themselves to be. Thus, if someone is bi/multiracial, bi/multilingual, or bi/multicultural, the different parts of who they are should not lead to embarrassment. Embarrassment experienced about different parts of one's identity is often the result of external forces, such as prejudice or discrimination, rooted in sociohistorical factors (e.g., the one-drop rule and biracial identity in the case of Asian-Americans; see Toomey et al., 2013; or the African-American identity; see Cross, 1991). This point also touches on rejecting the dominant identity once affinity for the heritage identity is developed, as specified by several of the models. This point also reveals a shortcoming in understanding the complexity of a dual, hybrid, or blended identity. Third, the models use self-actualization, which is synonymous with heralding the heritage identity at the expense of all other identities, which, once again, neglects to acknowledge the multiplicity of some individuals' identities.

The shortcomings of these models provide an impetus for developing a model that can capture identity processes for those who identify with more than one identity. Scholars in counseling and social psychology, for instance, have developed models for bi/multicultural identity development, given the shortcomings of the previously discussed models. One such developed model is the bicultural identity integration model (BII; Huynh et al., 2011; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2007) note that bi/cultural individuals differ in the way they negotiate and organize their bi/multicultural identity. The bicultural identity captures the degree to which biculturals perceive their multiple identities as compatible

60

and integrated versus oppositional and difficult to integrate. The BII model is subjective and

geared toward measuring individual differences in bi/multicultural identity organization and

management. The model measures bi/cultural identity on a dichotomy between high BII and low

BII, using a 5-point Likert scale measure. Both (high/low BII) identify with host and ethnic

culture and endorse integration (Berry, 1980, 1997). However, they differ in their ability to

create a synergistic integrated cultural identity.

As mentioned, the BII is subjective and based on managing dual cultural identities. Thus,

it encompasses two different psychometrically independent components. The BII focuses on

measuring blendedness (cultural overlap vs. distance; e.g., I feel part of a combined culture vs. I

am simply a Moroccan who lives in France) and harmony (cultural harmony vs. conflict; e.g., I

find it easy to balance both Moroccan and French cultures vs. I feel caught between the two

cultures). The former deals with the degree of dissociation against perceived overlap between

two cultural orientations. Predictors of cultural distance include closedmindedness, low cultural

competence, and linguistic domains (e.g., accent) in relation to the host culture. The latter deals

with the degree of tension/clash against perceived harmony between two cultures. Predictors of

conflict include strained host relationships, neurotic disposition, and experiencing discrimination

(Huynh et al., 2011; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Empirical research on BII has flourished,

especially in relation to behavioral, cognitive, and psychological variables. For example, a study

by Cheng et al. (2006) investigated the behavioral responses of bi/multiculturals to cultural cues

from their environment. They found that those individuals who were high BII (biculturals who

perceived their cultural identities as compatible) responded with culturally appropriate behaviors

compared to those individuals with a low BII (biculturals who perceived their cultural identities

as conflicting). Another study by Chen et al. (2008) examined the BII in relation to

psychological adjustment. The researchers investigated mainland Chinese immigrants and Filipino sojourners in Hong Kong, and Hong Kong Chinese individuals' psychological adjustment based on the BII. They found that participants with high BII (mainland Chinese immigrants and Hong Kong Chinese) were better adjusted to Hong Kong culture than those with low BII (Filipino sojourners). These studies provide support for the benefits of high bicultural integration (harmony/compatibility) in relation to low bicultural integration (conflict/distance).

Research on bi/multicultural identity is scant in the field of communication (Heo & Kim, 2013). However, some scholars have shown a keen interest in aspects of biracial/bicultural identity (e.g., Asian-Caucasian) negotiation, development, and language acquisition. The studies described below used INT as a theoretical framework for their investigation. For example, Toomey et al. (2013) investigated the meaning construction of bicultural/biracial Asian-Caucasians and their intergroup communication strategies. The authors found that respondents employed eight communication strategies, such as bicultural construction of integrated identity and identity buffering, to aid them during their intergroup interactions. A double-swing identity model was presented to show the fluidity of their integrated identity enacted in intergroup interactions. In another study, Lu (2001) examined the bicultural identity development of new Chinese immigrants and their children. He found that participants had a strong desire for the preservation of heritage culture and engagement with host culture toward a bicultural identity. Bi/multicultural negotiation and bilingualism is also examined in Clark's (2017) study on German American youth. Clark found that German and US American cultures aligned over norms, values, and traditions and differed in parental control, environmental concern, and celebrating traditions. Additionally, parents' desire to raise bilingual children was found to be strong, even though German language proficiency varied across the sample. These studies

62

foreground different aspects involved in negotiating a multicultural identity and provide further impetus for examining the factors that contribute to multicultural identity development. These studies also focus on multicultural identity development from a biracial perspective and do not address the experiences of sojourners. Nevertheless, they center duality, hybridity, and multiplicity of identity and use INT as a theoretical framework, supporting the impetus of this dissertation.

In summation, the foregoing literature outlined the identity development process, overall. Each section offered insight into how the process unfolds. Latter sections honed in on identity conflict and identity transformation as a function of CCA experienced by newcomers. The discussion above shows that multicultural identity development of newcomers is a pertinent area of investigation in social psychology research. The phenomenon, however, receives scant attention in intercultural communication. Furthermore, social psychologists have designed models that can explain and capture multicultural identity development in newcomers. Intercultural communication scholars primarily examine issues surrounding such an identity but have not explicitly investigated how such an identity comes to being through communication - no theory or explanatory model is offered to trace or track the multicultural identity development of newcomers. To that end, the purpose of this dissertation is to build on the presented literature and theorize about the CMMID of sojourners by exploring how, where, and when multicultural identity develops. Based on this literature, the following research questions are advanced to uncover how sojourners develop a multicultural identity.

> *RQ2: What kinds of communicative events do sojourners (Davis-UWC students) report as being important in shaping their multicultural identity(ies)?*

RQ3: How, if at all, do sojourners report these events help them enact their multicultural

identity(ies) in communication practices?

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the two CCA experiences of Davis-UWC students and their resulting identity transformation toward the development of a multicultural identity. The goal of this dissertation was to propose a theoretical model of multicultural identity development for sojourners. To attain this goal, this dissertation employed a qualitative method using individual in-depth interviews. This chapter is organized as follows: First, I discuss the participants and participation criteria for the dissertation. Then, I explain the procedures–recruitment and data collection for this research. I conclude the section with a discussion of how I analyzed the data and applied several of the methods of verification outlined by Creswell (2007).

Participants

I used purposive and snowball sampling for recruiting participants for this dissertation. Purposive sampling allowed me to make informed judgments about the sample of individuals to interview and to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). Snowball sampling granted me access to individuals of interest who shared similar attributes, characteristics, or experiences, through referrals (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). I used four eligibility criteria that I derived from the literature to generate my purposive sample. To participate in this study, participants (1) needed to be 18 years or older. This minimum age limit ensured that the participants qualified as consenting adults in human subject research; (2) needed to have undergone two adaptations, first as teenagers attending high school in a country other than their country of origin, participating in the UWC program, and second, as Davis-UWC Scholars Program college students in the U.S. This criterion was paramount for examining the

theorized CCA in two separate countries advanced in this dissertation and its influence on identity; (3) needed to be international students at four-year degree-granting colleges and universities in the U.S. This criterion was added to ensure that all participants had similar knowledge and experiences of attending college at a four-year institution, instead of a junior college or community college. Additionally, Davis-UWC students come from similar UWC high school backgrounds and enjoy privileges (scholarship that covers tuition, room and board, and stipend) that differ from the average international student studying in the U.S., thus impacting their CCA experience; and (4) needed to be at least first-year students in their second semester or beyond. One semester of coursework completion was an important requirement for this dissertation given previous research findings. Specifically, Hotta and Ting-Toomey's (2013) study on international students' CCA and intercultural friendship development highlighted that participants would be motivated to adapt and likely actively engage with the host culture and the adaptation process if staying in the U.S. for at least a semester.

Thirty-two participants ($N = 32$) were recruited for this dissertation. There are no "a priori rules for determining optimal sample size" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019, p. 151) for qualitative research. Nevertheless, sample size was commensurate with data saturation in this dissertation. Tracy (2020) offers three measures that will ensure efficient saturation: narrow sampling selection criteria, distribution of experience and knowledge among participants, and strategically structured interview questions. First, Davis-UWC students are representative of a narrow sample because they are a homogeneous group with similar experiences (i.e., attended UWC-high school and U.S. college/university). They not only attend high school in a foreign country, but they also undergo a standardized program, the International Baccalaureate. Furthermore, they enjoy privileges mentioned above that the average international student does not, including a built-in

social network of UWC alumni that aid in their CCA. Hence, their experiences deviate from the average international student. Second, the participants recruited for this study attended high school in multiple countries across five continents and were attending college at various institutions across different regions of the U.S. during this research. They also varied across the type of institution (private vs. public), degree types (Bachelor of Arts vs. Bachelor of Science), degree majors, and class standing. These differences provided for a wholesome sample with distribution of knowledge and experience among them. Third, the interview questions were strategically designed to extract information about participants' two CCAs and multicultural identity development to answer the three research questions proposed for this dissertation.

The participant selection criteria for this dissertation were derived from the literature discussed in this dissertation and also followed Tracy's (2020) measures for ensuring quality data was collected and data saturation was reached. Saturation is reached when additional data no longer adds new insights, significance, or substance to already collected data (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). Toward the end of the interview process ($n = 25$), I noticed participants described their two CCA experiences and resulting identity transformation in a similar manner, thus adding no new contexts or insight to the already collected data. Thus, 32 participants allowed for data saturation.

The following demographic information was recorded to generate a profile of the type of Davis-UWC students included in this study. Participants had been between 16 and 18 years of age ($M_{age} = 16.63$; $SD_{age} = 1.54$) during their first sojourn ($M_{Length\ of\ Sojourn} = 2.5$ years; $SD_{Length\ of\ Sojourn} = 1.54$). They were currently between 18 and 28 years old ($M_{age} = 21.53$; $SD_{age} = 12.52$) during their second (current) sojourn ($M_{Length\ of\ Sojourn} = 2.5$ years; $SD_{Length\ of\ Sojourn} = 1.36$). Continents for their first sojourn included Africa ($n = 5$), Europe ($n = 13$), North America ($n =$

4), South Asia ($n = 5$), South America ($n = 2$), and South-East Asia ($n = 3$). The country for the second sojourn was the U.S. and the regions of sojourn were Midwest ($n = 11$), New England ($n = 2$), South ($n = 2$), and Southwest-Central ($n = 17$). Continents and regions are reported instead of countries and states to protect participants' identities. Participants' gender distribution was balanced; there were 15 females and 17 males.

Participants were from varied ethnicities and nationalities. Interestingly, more than half of them viewed ethnicity and nationality as identical concepts (e.g., French or Italian). Furthermore, half of the participants did not identify racially. Only participants hailing from African countries readily identified as Black. Participants who were from Asian, European, and South American countries did not identify in terms of race. Often, their responses were that they did not have conceptions of race in their country and were forced to think of race when they came to the U.S. For example, Panama said: "I come from [native country], which is a very homogeneous society. Everyone's White, we have almost no foreigners comparatively. So, I never really thought of myself as a White person." Another participant, Weekend noted: "…they [U.S. Americans] made me think more of who I am based on my skin, which I hadn't thought before because [native country] is not a diverse culture at all, I would say." In another example, Achilles shared: "The whole concept of race, I think it's a very Western idea…. I had no conscious [sic] of race back home." Although participants were from various countries, the majority of them were the only ones from that country. Participants were from Africa ($n = 12$), Asia ($n = 4$), Europe ($n = 9$), North America ($n = 1$), South America ($n = 5$), and another region ($n = 1$). Participants were all polyglots and spoke between two to nine languages ($M_{Language} = 2.55$; $SD_{Language} = 1.73$). Their academic class standing included first-year students ($n = 7$), sophomores ($n = 5$), juniors ($n = 13$), seniors ($n = 8$), and a graduate student ($n = 1$).

The reported demographic information highlights participants' diversity—they were from five continents of the world, and all attended high school in countries other than their home country, some similar to their cultures, others vastly different than their own. All participants attended college or university in the U.S., and, although most of them attended college in Southwest-Central U.S., the remainder were scattered across the Midwest and East Coast of the U.S. Participants' ages also varied, and gender was balanced well, albeit there were slightly more males than females. These attributes afford a wholesome sample that is within the parameters and focus of this dissertation.

Procedures

Recruitment

Following IRB approval, I recruited participants with the assistance of the Admissions and Recruitment Office of the Davis-UWC Scholars Program at a Southwest-Central University, through participant referral, and through my social networks. I emailed the Davis-UWC Scholars Program office to solicit their help with recruiting students in their program. I provided them with my IRB-approved recruitment email that they then forwarded to Davis-UWC students using their listserv service. I also shared a flyer with my social networks, which they then posted on their various social media platforms (e.g., UWC Alumni Facebook Group). Lastly, participants referred other individuals who would be interested in participating in the study through word of mouth (e.g., text messages).

The recruitment email and flyer prompted participants to contact me via email if they met the eligibility criteria for the study and were willing to participate. Participants from all over the U.S. responded to the various forms of recruitment. Once participants expressed interest, they were asked to schedule an interview with me using Calendly, a calendar management software.

Once they scheduled the interview, a Zoom link and meeting invitation was shared with them through Calendly. The invitation included instructions about the meeting, such as making sure they were in a quiet and private location with a stable Internet connection. Participants then accepted the invitation, and the meeting was scheduled.

Data Collection and Interview Protocol

This dissertation used individual in-depth interviews to collect data. In-depth interviews, guided question-answer conversations (Tracy, 2020), are qualitative research tools that allowed me to gain information about peoples' life-world stories (Kvale, 1999; Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). Interviews offered the participants and me the opportunity for mutual discovery, understanding, and explanation through the unfolding of their life-world stories (Tracy, 2020). They also made it easier to interrogate participants' experiences and helped them delve deeper into their known and taken-for-granted experiences as they shared their CCA stories. I chose interviews so that I could take a stance of deliberate naivete, which called for me to approach data collection void of presuppositions or judgments while maintaining openness to surprising and unexpected findings that could inform the research questions (Tracy, 2020). This task required me to constantly check my biases and remain objective throughout data collection and analysis.

I met with participants at their scheduled time over Zoom. According to Tracy (2020), mediated platforms, such as Zoom, offer multiple advantages, including the tendency for individuals to disclose more freely, feel safer, less guarded, and more sociable than they would feel if the interview were conducted in person. By the same token, mediated platforms may have drawbacks as well. Privileged information carries the risk of being accessed by others, given the way the Internet operates. Nevertheless, I put several safeguards in place to protect participants' privacy. At the beginning of the interview, I asked participants to think of a pseudonym and

70

change their Zoom display name to the chosen pseudonym. Then, I shared my screen and asked

the participants to read through the consent form with me. At the end of the document, they were

asked to answer a set of questions about consent, the use of direct quotes from their interview,

with pseudonyms, and their willingness to participate in member checks. Then, participants were

given the opportunity to ask questions about the purpose of the study and any concerns they had

prior to consenting and beginning the interview. All thirty-two participants consented and agreed

to be contacted to participate in member checks and provide feedback. Oral consent was

followed by collecting demographic data (e.g., age, period of sojourn, class standing, etc.), after

which the interview commenced. Interviews were approximately 60 - 75 minutes long ($M_{interview}$

$= 68.56$ minutes; $SD_{interview} = 12.52$ minutes). Upon completion of the interview, participants

were compensated for their time with a $30 cash payment.

I used an interview protocol consisting of semi-structured questions (see Appendix A) to

guide participant interviews. I wanted participants to share their lived experiences of CCA and

identity transformation with me. So, I started with a very general question that would help them

recall their experiences. My initial interview protocol was structured in a linear manner that

separated participants' two adaptation experiences. I designed the questions in this way to allow

participants to differentiate between the two experiences. Doing so also addressed RQ1, dealing

with the two CCAs participants experienced. For example, the initial set of questions centered on

the first sojourn and then the second sojourn (e.g., "Tell me about your first (second) experience

as a UWC (Davis-UWC) student adapting to a new country."), and so forth. I then moved into

the second set of questions, designed to answer RQ2 and RQ3, which focused on their identity

change toward multicultural identity development (e.g., "Tell me how adapting to a new culture

influenced who you are?" and "How did this experience influence how you talk to or relate to

others"). This structure of questions proved to be challenging for extracting relevant information about identity change and multicultural identity development from the participants. I found that this approach placed too much focus on CCA and not enough on identity change. Consequently, after the first two interviews, I revisited the interview protocol and centered identity change as a function of CCA (see Appendix B). Pivoting inquiry in this manner foregrounded identity change in participants' responses. After I completed all interviews, I used Rev.com, a professional transcription service, to transcribe the audio files. Transcripts provided a visual and tangible representation of all my audio data, producing 625 pages of single-spaced material. I then used the transcripts and audio recordings to conduct data analysis.

Data Analysis

A constant comparative analysis (Charmaz, 2000) was employed to analyze the data. Constant comparative analysis is a systematic, meticulous, and iterative approach to qualitative data analysis rooted in rigorous coding and conceptualizing of data (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). I started the analysis by reducing data through filtering (separating data that answers the research question from data that is not relevant to the research questions), sorting (grouping data addressing similar topics pertinent to the research questions), and organizing (assigning codes to the topics based on coherent meaning; Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). I first read and re-read the transcripts so that I could filter and sort through data and identify the data most relevant to the research questions. This process allowed me to group data into preliminary codes based on research questions. Data reduction was important as it helped reduce the possible cognitive load I could experience during open coding (Bisel et al., 2014). I wanted to be thorough in considering all the data but, at the same time, set aside data that could have caused diversion from the RQs. After this process, I started open coding, as outlined by Charmaz (2000, 2006).

To begin open coding, I used Owen's (1984) criteria for identifying repetition (i.e., repeated terms, words, or phrases used in responses), recurrence (i.e., use of different words but reflecting similar underlying meanings), and forcefulness (i.e., tone of voice that reflects strong emotions). According to Lindlof and Taylor (2019), open coding opens up an inquiry. Open coding is performed iteratively by coding data line by line, and constantly comparing participants' responses (e.g., views, accounts, experiences) and previous codes to one another, based on their coherent meaning, not by arbitrary grammatical resemblance (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019), until all the data are accounted for, and exhaustive and equivalent categories can be identified. I listened to the recordings while reading the transcripts iteratively. This process allowed me to immerse myself in the data and re-live the participant interviews. Doing so facilitated clarity and coherence as I worked through the data and assigned summative labels to different codes based on thematic analysis. Summative labels were derived from participants' *in vivo* language. I wanted the labels to capture the participants' descriptions of their experiences. These summative labels were later used to further label themes within the next steps of the analysis.

After open coding was completed, I moved to focused coding. At this point, I reviewed each code with its summative label and developed a decision tree in which I started collapsing codes and condensing labels into categories and subcategories. During this process, I started comparing codes so that I could identify those that were similar or reappeared frequently to collapse them and form conceptual categories; in doing so, I could start shaping and developing my analytic framework (Charmaz, 2000, 2006). During focused coding, I also started initial theoretical memo writing so that I could start fleshing out the thematic meaning of the categories articulated (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). To do this, I took notes of observations in the data and

documented my reactions to puzzling or ambiguous findings I encountered. A good example is when participants kept stating that they were change-makers. I wondered where that came from and why they thought of themselves as such. This is a finding I wrote down so that I could further interrogate what they meant by being change-makers. Furthermore, I jotted down initial ideas and keywords, such as "people," "lose yourself," "UWC bubble," "being cultural educators", and "the box" that participants kept repeating, and what they may have meant in relation to CCA theories. Doing so facilitated sensemaking and interpretation of the data collected (Tracy, 2020). Memo writing helped me start mapping data to literature and exploring my musings about what the data could mean.

Memo writing ushered me into axial coding. Axial coding is a cyclical process that required me to go back and forth between categories until I could observe interrelationships and theorize about the data. During axial coding, the researcher gradually settles on understanding categories, what they mean, refer to, and how they are different from each other (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). At this point, the author can engage in initial conjecturing and identifying interrelationships between categories and theorizing about findings while synthesizing them with existing literature (Charmaz, 2000, 2006). Through axial coding, I was able to draw conclusions and formulate explanations about how two CCAs could facilitate the development of multicultural identity. These findings are discussed in the next chapter.

Validation Strategies

Finally, to complete the data analysis process, I employed several validation strategies. Such strategies capture how researchers ensure their findings are authentic and credible (Creswell, 2007), meaning, they give voice to all participants and are reflective of participants' lived experiences and life-world stories. Creswell offers seven validation strategies that

researchers may employ to check the veracity of their findings. He suggests researchers should employ at least two of the seven strategies; I used four of his recommended strategies to enhance the credibility of this dissertation's findings.

First, I engaged in a persistent examination of collection and analysis. According to Creswell (2007), the overlap between collection and analysis allows the researcher to move back and forth between data collection and analysis to inform and refine understanding and check distortions that may arise from misinformation or disconfirmations from data collection and analysis. Moving continually between collection and analysis ensured that I critically appraised the findings and constantly updated interview tools to collect the most accurate representations of participants' experiences. During my first two interview sessions, I realized that how I had organized the interview protocol was not conducive to conducting an effective interview. I realized that participants were not able to talk about their adaptation experiences and the resulting identity change linearly or chronologically. They constantly weaved back and forth between adaptation experiences and how that influenced their identity. Consequently, I revisited my interview protocol and reshuffled the way I asked the questions. Instead of starting with the multiple adaptation experiences, I moved straight into talking about how the two experiences influenced their identity. For example, the first question now stated: "Tell me how adapting to a new culture influenced who you are as a person (i.e., your identity)." The remainder of the questions followed a similar line of questioning where identity was always part of the conversation. For example, if the participant said, "Adapting to a new culture was life changing", I would follow up on that statement with, "How did adapting to a new culture change you?", "Tell me a story that illustrates the changes you noted in you?," or "Were these changes more

prominent during your first or second sojourn? How so, can you explain?". Participants'

responses to these questions allowed me to collect data relevant to all three research questions.

More importantly, they provided me with a fresh perspective on identity as a function of

CCA. Through these interviews, I realized that individuals did not view identity change as a

separate entity of CCA but rather that CCA and identity were interdependent, similar to identity

and communication. The one influences the other and vice versa. Making this change in the

structure of the interview protocol shifted the way participants talked about their experiences. In

addition, it allowed participants to talk freely about their experiences and identity transformation

while I subtly guided the conversation with probing questions that aligned with those listed in the

interview protocol. After each interview, I revisited my interview questions and thought

deliberately about how to structure them best to achieve an optimal balance, where participants

talked about their multiple adaptations in relation to their identity transformation.

Second, throughout this dissertation, I have acknowledged my researcher bias.

Researcher positionality is a way for researchers to acknowledge and clarify bias related to the

phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2007). From inception, I have engaged in a reflexive-

reflective process. I have shared extensively about my experiences as an international student

who has undergone identity transformation and have acknowledged that my interest in this

research stems from my self-identification as an individual who has developed a multicultural

identity as a result of CCA. Although my CCA was not in two different cultures, as is the focus

of this study, I also shared how my experiences may have shaped my analysis and interpretation

of the data. Hence, I have shared, acknowledged, and stated my positionality as a researcher

conducting an interpretivist qualitative dissertation.

Third, I used negative case analysis. According to Creswell (2007), negative case analysis is the consideration of deviant cases or disconfirming information that may be present in the data collected. Negative case analysis ensures that all data collected is accounted for and alternative experiences with the phenomenon under study are captured, considered, analyzed, and reported. Negative case analysis also provides an alternative understanding of the phenomenon studied (Creswell, 2007). I conducted a negative case analysis of three cases that departed from and disconfirmed the findings of this dissertation. To analyze the data from the three cases, I followed an analysis similar to a modified constant comparative analysis (M. Kramer & Crespy, 2011). My first reading of the three transcripts alerted me to the fact that these three cases were different from the rest of the participants' experiences of identity transformation. So, I extracted the data on how these cases were different from the rest. I then proceeded to analyze how the three cases were similar or different from each other by comparing their stories of identity change iteratively until it was clear that their identity change corresponded with each other in that all three participants experienced identity change that led them to feel as if they belonged anywhere and nowhere. The findings from these three cases are discussed in Chapter IV: Findings.

Fourth, I used member checking, a process of soliciting participants' views on the credibility of the author's interpretations of the data. Member checking is a critical tool for establishing the credibility of findings (Creswell, 2007). After the initial analysis was complete, I emailed participants the findings and asked them to write a short summary of their initial reactions, question the findings, or affirm the findings. I also asked them to indicate if part of the experience was omitted given the context and focus of the study. Three participants returned

their member checks, and all three affirmed the credibility of the findings. One participant, Ella, stated:

> …it was truly emotional for me [to read the findings]. I don't think there has ever been a way for me to articulate my experiences at UWC and the U.S. in such a clear and organized fashion…. I am in awe of how perfectly articulate our experiences were highlighted, in a way that most of us cannot…. I do not think there was anything missing.

Another participant, Katie shared: "I do agree with the primary conclusions, and it was extremely interesting to read your work. I liked the contrast yet connection between S_1 and S_2 you described and personal statements are a great addition to your [research questions]." Finally, Sunshine provided her opinion on the results:

> I thought the findings of the research were quite intriguing! I found the research to be quite accurate in terms of the themes it dealt with in regards to language, adaptability and being a global citizen. It was validating to see other people describe their experiences at UWC as similar to mine, it caused me to think about the emotions and transitions I went through in my time at UWC and how it influenced me afterwards.

Given these three participant responses, minor adjustments were made based on the member checks. Two of the three participants who responded to the member checks asked that I make changes to some of their direct quotes, such as changes to descriptions (e.g., "post-soviet countries" instead of "soviet countries") and changes to pronouns (e.g., "he" vs. "she"). Based on these three participants' affirmation of the credibility of the results, I also concluded that other participants would likely find the findings of the dissertation to be reflective of their experiences. Therefore, the findings were deemed to be credible.

This section outlined the method for this dissertation. I utilized an interpretive approach using a qualitative method–individual in-depth interviews. The key rationale for selecting the interpretive paradigm for this dissertation was to capture the epistemological claim that reality cannot be accessed directly, but that humans access it based on their experiences. I wanted to capture Davis-UWC students' CCA experiences and their resulting identity transformation by

using *in vivo* language that carries their distinct realities. In-depth interviews allowed me to access this reality and collect language representative of such reality. My own experiences as a sojourner, specifically an international student, carry a similar reality and provided me with an emic (insider) perspective (Berry, 1989; Lindlof & Taylor, 2019), which assisted me in building rapport with participants and identifying instances that required further interrogation during the interviews. Similarly, my theoretical knowledge of CCA and identity transformation literature and theories carried weight and allowed me to hone in on experiences that helped participants articulate their responses better.

Although my sojourner experiences resembled those of my participants, I was also an outsider, which provided me with an etic perspective (Berry, 1989; Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). I am not a Davis-UWC student, and I did not experience CCA in two different countries. Therefore, I approached this research with naivete so that I could gain a deeper understanding of what Davis-UWC students' experiences entailed and could teach me about adapting to two different cultures, and how that impacted one's identity. Consequently, I relied on my disciplinary knowledge and theory to inform my line of interviewing and analysis. The combination of insider and outsider perspectives proved to be prudent because it allowed me to perceive the data through emic and etic analytical lenses (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). My perceptions of the emic analytical lens helped me understand Davis-UWC students' reality, expressed through their use of language and shared experiences. I have heard them shared many times by myself, other international students, and participants in previous CCA research. "Metaphorically speaking, [I] not only [took] a walk in their shoes, [I] also [understood] what shoes meant to them" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019, p. 122). This subjective stance was very helpful in conducting the interviews and filtering, sorting, and organizing information during analysis.

By the same token, I was able to activate an etic analytical lens because my objective stance allowed me to quickly pick up on novel and different experiences whilst interviewing and working through the stages of data analysis. By oscillating between subjectivity and objectivity during analysis I was able to use my experiences and theoretical knowledge to aid in the analysis. Doing so also reminded me to reflect on my experiences while being painstakingly aware of and checking my biases during analysis. The next section outlines Chapter IV, the findings of this dissertation.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In this section, I explicate the dissertation findings as they pertain to the proposed research questions. The dissertation's three research questions asked about Davis-UWC sojourners' CCA and the communicative events that have influenced their development of multicultural identity(ies) and helped them enact such (an) identity(ies) in their communicative interactions with others. The constant comparative analysis undertaken to answer these questions revealed several themes for each research question, described below.

RQ1: How, if at All, Do Sojourners (Davis-UWC Students) Describe Their Cross-Cultural Adaptation (CCA) to More than One Country?

Davis-UWC participants used a variety of adjectives to describe their CCA experiences. As a reminder, CCA is defined as an all-encompassing process that includes acculturation, assimilation, coping, adjustment, and integration (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). These various processes that characterize CCA were also present in the language participants used to describe their experiences, which showed a corresponding understanding of the concept and the experience under discussion. For instance, the description of the CCA experience that Katniss provided stated:

> …adaptation is a form of growth. It's like development. The evolution theory. How some birds adapted, and others didn't. So, when you adapt, you find ways to still be you, but you in a different environment. That's how I see it. And, I wouldn't say it's fun. It's really hard to adapt. It's very, very hard to adapt.

Hence, CCA will be used as an all-inclusive concept for these expressions of adaptation. Although participants weaved back and forth between the two sojourn experiences with respect to identity transformation, they were able to clearly distinguish between their two sojourns (indicated as S_1 for the UWC experience and S_2 for the U.S. college experience henceforth).

81

Findings revealed five overarching themes for each sojourn that described participants' CCA (see summary of themes in Table 3). Some themes from both sojourns have the same label because the experiences were described as similar, signaling similarities between S_1 and S_2 experiences. The themes with distinct labels for each sojourn signal differences between the S_1 and S_2 experiences. These themes are discussed comparatively and in relation to each other in what follows.

Table 3

Themes: Descriptions of CCA Experiences

S_1: United World College (UWC)	S_2: U.S. College and University
CCA happening in a bubble	CCA happening in a bubble
CCA as a challenging process	CCA as an easy process
CCA as a matter of survival	CCA as surprising
CCA as a period of growth	CCA as a period of fostering identity
CCA as an impactful experience	CCA as an impactful experience

CCA in S_1 Sojourn Happening in a Bubble

The most glaring similarity between the two experiences, as identified by participants, is that both experiences occurred in a "bubble," an in vivo metaphor that participants themselves utilized to describe their experience. The bubble did not only refer to the location of most of the UWC schools and colleges/universities but also the fact that participants were contained in a space where most of their interactions were with other students attending the same institutions and faculty and staff who worked at these institutions. Participants reported minimal interactions with other local host nationals in the cities or nearby cities where their institutions were located. Katie described her experience in this manner:

When we were in S_1 country, I don't think we got to experience what ordinary [domestic] people do. It's a bubble, and the same way [U.S. university] is a bubble too. We go to this private college, live in the city of 17, 000 people, and most of us do not even speak to local people and learn about their life. I know that it's just one part of it, but I don't think that I actually experienced life either in [S_1 country] or the U.S.

Hence, their CCA experience focused on the culture and people within the bubble in which they lived.

Further demonstrating the conditions of their CCA in S_1 country, participants shared that they did not get a chance to experience the countries in which they sojourned because, in most cases, the UWC boarding school was located on the outskirts of a city or away from the city center. For example, Gregory described the UWC location in this manner: "…it was such a secluded area…. I didn't even think there would be a school located in the middle of nowhere." Another participant, Peter, said: "Our school was deep, deep in a countryside…. It was nothing around. Nothing. Just fields of sheep and cliffs…." These descriptions were exemplary of most UWC school locations, with only a few described as close to a city center.

Other participants described the colleges and universities they attended in similar ways. In the description of his campus, Gregory shared: "…it was a pure farm…corn, wheat…no way that a college is located here…. Funny enough, there was a huge college located in the middle of nowhere." Katie said this about her college: "It is very isolated…. The closest city is an hour drive away…. So, you are very much here…. There's literally nowhere you can go to." These descriptions of the locations of their institutions showcased why participants thought of their schools as a bubble. Although some schools were located in or closer to big cities, participants expressed limited access to these cities due to a lack of public transportation, a car, or financial resources. Hence, they considered their school locations a bubble.

Another reason why participants thought of their experience as occurring in a bubble was the degree of local culture they were able to experience. Participants talked extensively about the fact that they did not experience nor knew much of the local cultures in which they sojourned. For S_1, participants shared that they felt like they were visiting a host of countries and were experiencing cultures from those countries within the UWC schools they attended. The UWC model is designed to bring young adults from all across the world to attend school and learn from each other. This model is intended to create change-makers and instill a sense of a global community amongst the students. Thus, any given UWC school could have between 80 – 120 countries represented (United World College, n. d.). For example, one participant said there were over 80 countries represented at their school. Another stated they had students from at least 90 countries at their school. These numbers are representative of the variety of countries and cultures present in a specific school. However, participants' interactions with the local culture outside their schools were limited.

Furthermore, based on these representations, some participants described UWC as "the great social experiment" and "The United Nations." These descriptions speak to the breadth of diversity represented at each school, but this is also the reason participants described S_1 as a bubble. For example, Mike stated: "I guess, in a way, even though we're adapting to the [S_1 country] culture, there was this sort of bubble that you were learning from the own school cultures." Another participant, Diana shared this: "…we were still in the UWC bubble, which tends to happen even if our residences were in the city." Another participant, Switzerland, said: "The school was a bubble that was isolated to itself. The interactions mostly took place between the students within the school. And there wasn't a lot of interaction with the outside

community." These quotes show that most participants' cultural exposure was to these different countries represented at the school, not the local host cultures in which they sojourned.

This notion of a bubble was also reported by participants for their U.S. college/university experience. In their responses, participants acknowledged that their college experience was within the American context, meaning that, although they were in the U.S., their CCA occurred in the college/university culture. Most participants attended predominantly White institutions (PWI), which means they were primarily exposed to the dominant cultural group - White Americans. Furthermore, although they were able to interact with domestic students in classrooms, on group projects, and in study groups, most of these interactions did not move beyond these contexts. Participants reported having difficulty developing and maintaining friendships with domestic students, which could have aided their exposure to U.S. culture. Participants stated that most domestic students showed little interest in developing and maintaining friendships with them. Even those friendships made in the classroom only extended to that environment and fizzled out by the end of the semester. Tesla explained her challenges as follows:

> I don't think I have that many friends that are from the U.S. The only ones I have are from work, and I only see them at work. So, now that I don't work where I used to work before, I don't think I'll ever really bump into them or see them. Also, because classes are so big, so everyone just goes to class, and I don't know, no one really talks to anyone. So, I never really converse [with] people from my classes. Only a few people I'll talk to from class, and they were all black, too. So, we would just do homework together. And then, after that class is over, we never speak again. So, it was hard for me to get domestic friends.

Peter described his challenges in this manner:

> I don't have any American friends because it's just been so hard, first of all, to establish a common ground, to have similar experiences. And second of all, it's just hard to get to know some of my American friends.

85

Frenkie's opinion why he could not make friends was slightly different, although he also noted

that life experiences were dissimilar and the challenges of being an international student did not

resonate with American students:

> And then when trying to make friends from the U.S., then you realize how ignorant the world can be sometimes and how international students don't count in many things at the university… we haven't even gone through the same experiences… We are not living the same experiences…. And most of the time even making an effort doesn't count. People just come to class. They leave as soon as class finishes and don't talk to anyone, everyone walks with AirPods on.

Such challenges with developing domestic friendships pushed participants to gravitate toward

the international student community, which, in turn, created another bubble. Furthermore,

participants described attending college as being in an academic bubble, where they had little to

no access to actual American culture, and that their experience was more reflective of

college/university culture (e.g., football culture). For example, Anne noted: "We don't know the

U.S. as a big country, we just know [our university] and our community at the [university].

Essentially, participants' CCA to two cultures was described as occurring in various

bubbles (e.g., cultural, academic, geographic) with little engagement with locals and the host

environment. The next theme discussed pertains to the challenges and ease with which

participants adapted to the two cultures.

CCA as a Challenging vs. Easy Process

Participants described their S_1 as a challenging experience. They used adjectives such as

"difficult," "intense," "hard," "painful," "a struggle," "overwhelming," and "scary" to describe

their CCA experience. For instance, one participant, Larissa, expressed the difficult nature of the

sojourn in this way:

> I felt lost in a way that, yeah, I didn't have anybody to talk [to], I didn't have anybody to cry, I didn't have anybody to ask for help, I didn't have anybody to say the way I was feeling. So, of course we do have classmates, of course we do have teachers, of course we

86

have mentors, but it's not the same thing as your family. So…you are in a country that it's not your country first, it's a different culture, it's different people, it's different point of views, and it's kind of, they drop you there and you have to figure out on your own how to make it work.

Larissa's description of feeling lost and being without a support system is one way of describing the experience. Another comes from Alternativo who had an insightful description of S_1 that showcased the challenging nature of the experience. He described the experience as "becoming comfortable with the uncomfortable." Alternativo said:

We had to watch out our words, how we moved, how we talked, how we hugged, how we did everything. This was so stressful because we were sensitive, and we didn't want to make other people uncomfortable with our actions…. We learned to be comfortable while being uncomfortable.

The experience of adapting to an environment with so many different nationalities, ethnicities, and cultures was uncomfortable to participants because of the high degree of exposure to different perspectives, ideologies, worldviews, values, religions, languages, and so forth they experienced. This level of exposure meant that participants had to become resigned with being uncomfortable until they could become comfortable.

In addition to being challenging, participants described the experience as overwhelming. Anne recounted the experience thusly: "So, it was a lot of information, all at once, with people from all over the world around you…a lot of things happening at all times." The overwhelming nature of the experience made participants realize how painful exposure to many new conditions could be, including personal growth. To express the painful nature of the experience, Lupita shared:

It's going to be painful. I'm making it sound so scary. Painful. It's not bad pain though. It's you just becoming more who you are meant to be. You lose a lot…like self-limiting ideas that you had about what you think is possible in life…for you…you just become you….

Together, these quotes highlight the challenging nature of participants' S_1. They also highlight the different aspects of the CCA experience in terms of challenges faced during one's first sojourn to another culture.

As much as S_1 was challenging, participants shared that S_2 was easy. Descriptions of S_2 as easy included participants using language such as "just another country," "already know the struggles," "was not as scary," "already exposed to different cultures," "less intense," "no culture shock," "different from expectations," "not as challenging," "a continuation," or "diminished severity." For example, one of the main reasons participants thought S_2 was easy was because they had already experienced a high degree of psychological and sociocultural adjustment during their S_1. Thus, CCA to the U.S. was deemed easy. Panama illustrated this idea as follows: "Coming here [U.S.], I had to figure out a lot of things…but I already knew you have to go and get a bank account, you have to get a SIM card, you have to get a social security number, find a job." Panama said he knew some of the processes involved in adapting to the U.S. because he already had experience with these aspects of the CCA process.

Similarly, Cardi shared: "So, coming here [U.S.] was very smooth for me. I'm not going to lie. It was not like the whole emotional rollercoaster I went through in my UWC…. I knew what to do and what to expect because I already had an exposure towards different cultures in UWC." Cardi felt that because of this cultural exposure during her S_1 she was able to easily adapt to S_2 country. Unlike Cardi, Berlin felt that she had already experienced the U.S. through different mediums. She shared: "American culture? I'm not shocked because I have seen it mostly in TV and stuff. So, when I [got] here, I'm like, well, I know this stuff. You know?" Tesla, too, had exposure to the U.S. through media. She said:

> So, I feel like integrating into [U.S.] culture was not hard for me because I was already so used to it, used to the American culture, even if I was never really in America. Because I

88

used to watch Disney Channel growing up and all that, so I feel like I was already prepared to see all of everything I saw. That's why I didn't have a culture shock, because I just knew what was going to be... I wasn't shocked by anything I saw.

For these participants, adapting to the U.S. was easy because they had previous experience of adapting to a new culture or they had previous exposure to the U.S. Previous exposure to different cultures during UWC provided them with the wherewithal to adapt to the U.S. Furthermore, the pervasive nature of U.S. entertainment content through mass media influenced participants' perceptions of the U.S. and made them feel like they were knowledgeable about U.S. culture; so, they had diminished expectations of how much difficulty they would have adjusting to the U.S.

As much as some viewed the S_2 experience as easy because of previous exposure, some viewed it as easy because they saw it as a continuation of the initial CCA. In Scott's opinion, the U.S. was just a continuation of his CCA experience. As he stated: "I was more mentally challenged in [S_1 country]. And, yes, I think the U.S. is just like an expansion. I'll be trying to expand some things from what I did in [S_1 country]." Thus, based on participants' responses, the first sojourn produced more challenges (detailed in the next theme) that participants had to deal with and overcome than the second sojourn. It appears that the strategies learned in the first sojourn made the second sojourn less challenging. For the most part, experiences deemed new or different were labeled as surprising (also detailed in the next theme). The next paragraphs report findings on the survival vs. surprise CCA experience.

CCA as a Matter of Survival vs. CCA as Surprising

In terms of S_1, participants described their experience as a matter of survival. This theme encompassed descriptions of "feeling lost," "losing yourself," "feeling unseen," "learning a new language," "difficulty with self-expression" in a new language, "seeking help," "forgetting

purpose/goals of sojourn," and "difficulty fitting in." Participants shared that these different aspects of their S_1 determined the success of their CCA, which is why they were deemed to be a matter of survival. For example, the diverse nature of the UWC experience made participants feel lost, as if they did not know where they belonged. In a previous quote reported under the challenging theme, Lupita shared that she felt lost because she had no support system. In fact, all participants expressed feeling lost initially. However, they quickly found their bearings as they found solace in the company of a roommate or other individuals from their home country. Feeling lost was further exacerbated by the fact that participants often did not speak English proficiently. English was the language of choice for the UWC and International Baccalaureate program. Many participants had to learn English within the first quarter of the program. Not being able to speak the language led to difficulty in self-expression. Cardi described the experience as such:

> It was hard, especially English…my English was not good at all. It was broken. I could not even talk to people…. Sometimes I could not even understand what the teacher is saying, what my peers are saying…. I could not participate in class and everything because of my English and everything.

Not being able to speak English fluently also made the participants feel unseen. Scott expressed the following:

> …it's been harder for me to have people listening to what I think, express my ideas, and actually being heard by some people. I think yes, I became more stubborn in that way…. Now I had to put three times more effort and actually be confident in what I'm doing to actually do those things.

Scott found his inability to express himself frustrating, which led him to feel as if others did not hear his opinions and did not pay any attention to him. Lack of English proficiency did not only mean that participants felt unseen, but it also meant they felt excluded. As Panama noted, he sometimes felt excluded because he could not connect with all the students, initially, because

most of them formed cliques and hung out together. Exclusion led to difficulty fitting in, as

Oscar shared:

> So, the first time coming into my second year at UWC, I had made friends, I knew how to do the International Baccalaureate, I knew how to deal with living in [S₁ country]. And so, even though I didn't necessarily notice this myself, a lot of my friends around me told me, oh, you look a lot more calm, you look a little more composed. And that was just really nice feedback to get, because I did feel a lot better. I did feel just like I was actually fitting in, which is definitely something I didn't feel in my first year at UWC. So, that was really nice.

Difficulty fitting in also meant that many of the participants tried everything to fit in with others.

Doing so escalated losing themselves for some. For example, Encanto noted: "At first, I didn't

know who I was at all. It really was just like, I'll go with anything, whether I feel right or wrong

about it, it doesn't matter." Consequently, lack of English proficiency pushed participants to seek

out the familiar; that is, familiarity in language, ethnicity, or cultural background. For example,

many participants shared that they gravitated toward people who spoke their language. Oscar

shared:

> I would definitely see the Latin American students hang out with each other because we speak Spanish and because we were trying to find a space where we did not have to just exhaust ourselves from speaking in [a] foreign language all the time, from having to explain our culture to other people…. And I definitely felt like a lot of other students who shared languages would do the same.

Oscar's explanation of searching for familiarity was reflective of most everyone's experience at

UWC. The initial shock of meeting so many vastly different individuals made participants

retrieve to the comfort of things familiar to them: familiarity in language, familiarity in heritage,

familiarity in culture, and familiarity in people.

Lack of language proficiency also had consequences in the classroom, where many of the

students were not able to participate fully. For example, Anne shared:

> I didn't know that much English and then just hearing accents of people teaching me in English, but [S₁ country] people teaching me in English and then New Zealanders teaching

91

me in English. I was just so confused of all these accents. I couldn't understand anything they were saying. For the first two months, I was just sitting in class like: You could be speaking to me in Chinese, and it would be the same thing. I have no idea what you just said.

Luckily, the IB program included language classes that helped participants build their proficiency. Essentially, participants' survival in S_1 was, by and large, predicated on their ability to speak English. English was used as an overarching language that was meant to bring the student body together. Once participants were able to gain English proficiency, they were able to connect with others, express themselves, participate in their classes, and revert their attention to the purpose of their sojourn. English was not a factor in participants' S_2. At the time of their S_2, participants were fully equipped with the language needed to adapt to their new culture (U.S.). Nevertheless, the new culture presented its own idiosyncrasies.

Participants described their S_2 CCA as surprising. Under the surprising theme, participants noted that their experience was "interesting," "weird," and "unexpected." The experience was interesting because, as mentioned in the CCA in S_2 as an easy process theme, they thought that they would have an easy transition because they had a general idea of what U.S. American culture was going to be. However, they were surprised that what they had seen on television, movies, and music videos was far from the American culture they experienced. For example, Achilles noted:

In Hollywood movies, they show you the big stuff, L.A., New York, the big cities, Avengers. I came to [Southwest state], so it wasn't much interesting, just basically empty spaces and one-floor houses, MPC [multiplayer characters] all over the streets, not much going on, to be honest, so yeah.

Despite their claim of familiarity with U.S. American culture, participants found the regional cultural diversity surprising. More so, they were surprised that not all cities in the U.S. were metropolitan cities, such as New York.

Participants also found American ethnocentrism and egocentrism surprising and unexpected. Participants shared that they were surprised that most Americans thought of the U.S. as the best country and that they had very little knowledge of other cultures. For example, Ella stated:

> I think the U.S. has a lot of potential because it is a melting pot for a number of religions, cultures, ethnicities, but it's just that people need to get over this mindset of we're the best. We don't need to know anything anymore.

Many participants shared Ella's sentiment, noting that Americans should move away from the mindset that the U.S. is the world, meaning that Americans often have very limited knowledge of countries, people, and cultures beyond the U.S. Participants felt that such a mindset was limiting, and this was evident in interactions with Americans. For example, Frenkie was confronted with such an interaction. He noted: "When I say, I'm from [Latin American country]. Oh, is that in Africa? Is that in Europe? It's like, those first comments are, is like, oh, I'm just not even going to make an effort with this person like that for starters." Tesla shared that she had similar yet different experiences in her interactions:

> … really how their perception of Africa is. I've had a couple of American friends ask me like, "Do you live in a hut?" When people used to tell me, people ask questions like that, I was like, I don't think anyone's ever going to ask me this question. But last semester, like three people asked me how my house looks. They were actually genuinely curious, so I wasn't even offended. I was like, wow, these people, they actually think... Wow. I was so shocked.

Such interactions revealed that most Americans know very little about the world because of the egocentric and ethnocentric perceptions of the U.S. as a world super-power. Chiefly, participants wanted to relay that the U.S., in all its glorious diversity, had a lot to offer but not paying attention to other cultures in the world was limiting.

Participants also found it unexpected that the academic curriculum and in-class discussions revolved around very few issues and events outside the U.S. Thus, they felt very

underwhelmed with the American-centric curriculum, especially given that they were coming

from a program that was so globally focused. Participants found the lack of diversity in the

American academic curriculum and the polarization of politics in the U.S. that infiltrates every

aspect of American's lives, unnerving. As Andrey noted:

> It seems like society in U.S. is extremely divided and polarized into the two big parts that is directly related to the politics. In [my university], when most of the domestic student body is leaning towards the democrats, it feels very weird to think: how can I be challenged if everyone thinks the same way?

Peter expressed a similar sentiment in his story about the American academic curriculum. He

said:

> I came here and became very critical of the way I'm taught here because of UWC. I took sociology of cities or something like that. And during the class of sociology of cities, how many cities outside of America were mentioned? None. Zero. America is the world.

Participants found this focus on the U.S. concerning and expressed that teachers and students in

the American classroom could benefit from a more global-centric approach to some courses.

Participants also thought their S_2 CCA experience was surprising due to how big

everything was, from portion sizes to roads, cars, and homes. Anne was really surprised by how

exaggerated everything in the U.S. was. She stated: "…everything is huge, they like to

exaggerate everything. So, you would ask for a pizza, and they would give you a huge thing….

And if you want to be comfortable, you're going to be extra comfortable." Sherlock also shared a

similar experience from his first visit to the fast-food restaurant Sonic. He said:

> I ordered a large drink thinking it was going to be the same size large that I had experienced my whole life. Then the cup came out and the Sonic large is larger than other larges across all other restaurants.

In a similar vein, Sherlock and Peter were also surprised at the consumerism and wasteful nature

of American culture. As Peter noted:

I came here [U.S.], and I was shocked at the amount of plastic that's used, the amount of non-reusable things that are used…. [At UWC] we care so much about what we eat, how we eat, if the canteen does something which is not seen as environmentally friendly, people go crazy. And I go to university, which has so many people, and there's so much waste.

The U.S. is known for super-sizing meals and huge trucks. It is part of the American culture, and participants expressed their surprise about the fact that everything was granted in excess.

Furthermore, participants found the rugged individualism pervasive in the U.S. culture surprising yet interesting. For example, Scott shared that an in-class discussion on innate human rights led to American students stressing the "right to have weapons" as an innate right. Scott said he was amazed. He said: "I'm pretty sure no one will say back home, my right is to have weapons, [they will] probably [say] access to food, education, and shelter." For Scott, such values were surprising yet interesting. Another value attached to individualism that participants talked about was the fact that people did not necessarily care for each other. This was mostly expressed in musings about roommates, neighbors, and people they met along the way. For example, Achilles shared that he did not know who his neighbors were, even though he had been living in the same apartment for three years. Tesla shared that her roommate would lock her door and never say hello to her when their paths crossed in the apartment. These actions were surprising to participants, and they attributed them to individualism.

In addition, participants thought their difficulty making friends with domestic students was also surprising. For example, Lupita shared:

I've tried to make friends with Americans for sure…. I have been texting two girls. One of them I met in one of my classes. And I've just been asking like trying to foster that friendship like, "How are you?" Blah, blah, blah. She has not responded to me. She ghosted me for real and it hurts.

Lupita's experiences of trying to develop domestic friendships were the same for an overwhelming percentage of the interviewed participants. Some of their efforts at making

domestic friendships were rewarded but those friendships were usually with Americans who had

lived abroad or were from immigrant households. Only three participants noted that they

developed domestic friendships easily. One of the three guessed it was probably because he was

a White European male. The other said he actively looked for opportunities to develop domestic

friendships. He was a White Latino male. Domestic friendships were challenging to participants

because they were able to make so many friends from so many different parts of the world at

UWC, so it came as a surprise to them that they were struggling to make friends with domestic

students in the U.S.

Finally, participants found racism, discrimination, racial awareness, and concerns of

safety and security surprising and unexpected. Alternativo, for instance, was surprised to learn

about the racism he would possibly experience as a Black man in America. He expressed his

concern thusly:

> There was just a lot of racist stuff going on in the U.S…. It made me scared because before the police talked to me, they would see my skin color and they would not want to understand who I am…. Here [U.S.], I'm afraid of my life almost every day just because I'm Black.

Safety was not a concern only for Black students, but also for most students because they felt

they were not welcomed in the U.S. given that they were foreigners. For example, Diana noted

she was really surprised that her expectations for safety and security were violated. She said:

"…I felt safer in [S_1 country] than I do in the U.S., which is, I think the craziest thing…you have

to assume everyone has a gun more than the opposite, and so you have to prepare your

interactions." These concerns of safety were expressed given participants' personal experiences

in the U.S. and their consumption of local mass media, such as news and recent events

surrounding the Black Lives Matter movement (e.g., George Floyd) and the COVID-19

pandemic (e.g., #AsianHate).

96

For some participants, such as Weekend, the U.S. made them acutely aware of race and

Whiteness: He stated:

> It [U.S.] made me think again and again about my privileges mainly because of my race
> mainly, and I cannot hide that. And all of these things combined together, they made me
> think more of who I am based on my skin, which I hadn't thought before, because [native
> country] is not diverse culture at all, I would say.

These concerns about race, racism, and discrimination that participants found surprising were

also identified as reasons why CCA in one culture could not fully prepare one for CCA in

another. Participants noted that the S_1 sojourn could not have fully prepared them for the S_2

sojourn because of country-specific issues, such as governmental policies, race relations,

economic conditions, culture, and so forth, which can all affect how sojourners' CCA progresses.

Participants' descriptions of their multiple adaptation indicate the type of situations they had to

deal with as they were adapting to the two different environments.

A Period of Growth vs. A Period of Fostering Identity

Participants described their S_1 experience as a period of growth. Under this theme,

participants spoke of "independence," "becoming responsible," an accelerated march into

"adulthood," "turning points" in life, "questioning upbringing," "accepting changes," and

"transformation." Thus, this theme addresses the identity conflict and identity change that

resulted from participants' CCA experience. Participants shared extensively about how quickly

they had to grow up because of their newfound independence. However, this independence

meant being responsible for themselves. For example, Adam expressed his independence this

way:

> For the most part, it was mostly financial issues in a sense. As I committed to myself that
> I told my parents: Please do not ever send anything to me…. It was not a challenge. It's a
> good kind of challenge. I'll try to be independent. I'm going to pay for everything that I
> acquire, so things that I need, that I require, my bad. And so, things that I need, so I try to
> be independent to the fullest kind of extent of it.

Consequently, participants were able to march into adulthood and were, suddenly, "adulting." In other words, participants had to learn how to organize their schedules, make meals, do laundry, manage finances, and especially manage their time because they no longer had their parents telling them what to do when and/or how. They had to learn self-reliance, accountability, and responsibility.

The S_1 experience also came with a lot of turning points that were the result of gaining new knowledge and, therefore, questioning the old, such as questioning their upbringing. This meant that participants started questioning their values, beliefs, religion, attitudes, and behaviors. For example, Frenkie questioned his upbringing in the following manner. He said: "…being in an environment where everyone thinks differently and where everyone comes from different places, it just makes you wonder who you actually are and why you are the way you are…" The more participants were exposed to the diversity of individuals during their S_1, the more they were able to see areas of their own culture that were problematic or nonsensical.

Considering these aspects of their culture led to participants undergoing identity conflict. Katniss really battled with identity conflict. In her response to how the experience influenced her identity, she expressed:

> …there are some things that you were told that really just doesn't [sic] match the new environment in which you are. It becomes that conflict between your home and the new environment. And it also becomes that conflict between deciding who you are going to be, and deciding what part of the advice that you are given you are taking. So, you get to a point where there are things that you have to leave behind, and you have to choose. What am I leaving behind and what am I taking with me?

In most cases, the identity conflict was resolved by accepting the unavoidable changes that being exposed to new knowledge, perspectives, and ways of being brought. By the time they left their UWC program, participants could not deny the identity transformation that had taken place.

For many participants, S_2 was a period of fostering their evolved identity. Suffice it to say, some participants reported further changes to their identity, which I will discuss in-depth momentarily. However, most participants felt like they had to protect, nurture, and reinforce their new identity. For example, Weekend expressed that UWC was a training ground where one built their identity, while in the U.S., that identity was being tested. He said: "UWC was a training type thing. Now [in the U.S.], you're being challenged." Put another way, Anne shared:

> …coming to the U.S…. and being surrounded by people that do not think like you, that have different political views, that have different views of the world, that they don't want the same changes. They want different changes, they want opposite changes. It's both a challenge and something good.

Participants felt that their newly evolved identities were threatened and needed to be protected, reinforced, and molded continuously because the newfound ideologies, beliefs, values, and attitudes they developed in the S_1 sojourn were in opposition to the ideologies, beliefs, values, and attitudes of people in the S_2 sojourn. Part of this need to protect their evolved identity stemmed from the partisan polarization of political ideologies that infiltrate the American way of life.

However, participants who had lived in the U.S. longer marched into adulthood at an even more accelerated pace. Their preoccupation was with the future – internships, jobs, and graduate school. As Berlin noted:

> But then here, now you have responsibilities. The U.S. is growth [that] you're seeing that you're getting [a] certain age, you have to do stuff. You have to look for stuff, let's say internships. So, it's about the next phase.

This preoccupation with the future further ushered participants into adulthood and maturity. Contemplating their future also allowed participants to appreciate some of the good aspects of American culture, such as opportunities, freedom of expression, individuality, and the ability to achieve financial independence. For example, Summer stated:

> I would say American culture, definitely individualism, and respect towards individual's decision-making process, or the agency over their own life, as well as my own. I think I incorporated it in my identity in a way that, oh, I'm me first, my career first, my beliefs first for me, and for you, it should be yours.

These different American cultural values are some ways in which participants recognized the second wave of identity change they experienced. As much as some participants clung to and protected their new and evolved identities developed in S_1, a few of the participants allowed S_2 to leave an imprint on their identity. Thus, their S_2 experience facilitated a secondary identity change. These participants felt a shift in their identity to accommodate the new values from the U.S. culture that agreed with and harmonized with their existing values. This shift and secondary identity change are also expressed in the last theme, CCA as an impactful experience, which pertains to the impact the two CCA experiences had on sojourners' lives.

CCA as an Impactful Experience

Participants described both CCA experiences as having an impact on their lives. Nonetheless, S_1 was described by most participants as being more impactful than S_2 because it had been the first-time participants left their home country and traveled abroad. As Encanto stated:

> Well, going to [S_1 country] already that was a lot of firsts. First time in a plane, first time out of the country, first time traveling by myself at a really young age, first time in a country where it's basically only English all around you.

For some, however, S_2 was labeled as more impactful than S_1 because it was the longest period participants had lived abroad. This was the case, though, for only three of the thirty-two participants. Even for those who had a longer stay in the U.S., S_1 still had more of an impact on their lives compared to S_2.

The impactful S_1 experience was described as "special," "most valuable," "extraordinary," "incredible," "wonderful," "beautiful," and "life-changing." Descriptions for S_2

included "different" and "good." Participants described S_1 as a special and most valuable experience because of the degree of exposure to other cultures they experienced during this first sojourn. As has been reported, participants met people from all over the world and were granted a front-row seat to peoples, cultures, and experiences that one can only receive by traveling to and visiting these different countries for very short periods of time. As Encanto shared: "[It felt like,] oh, hey, I know a bit [about] Greece here, I know a bit [about] Zimbabwe like this. Oh, your people speak like this and it's just like, almost like very, very tiny…going to those places." Thus, S_1 felt like a trip around the world in which one was exposed to different countries and cultures over a two-year period.

The experience was also described as extraordinary and incredible because of the context in which participants were introduced and exposed to these other individuals. Cardi described it as:

> I saw there were so many people from all around the world who don't look like me, who don't speak like me, who don't act like me. Their ideas, like the way they look at their life, the way they look at other people, and even themselves, was [sic] completely different from how I used to think. It was just like culture shock for me.

The impact of so many people gathering in one location highlighted the variation in diversity, beyond nationality, race, religion, and ethnicity. Participants spoke of being introduced to gender identities, perspectives, values, and worldviews among many other social identities that they had never encountered or knew existed.

The experience was dubbed wonderful and beautiful because, despite all these differences, participants were able to co-exist and learn from each other. As Weekend shared: "…when you bring an Israeli person with a Palestinian in the same room. When you get to this point that you feel mature enough to sit down and discuss. I feel like this is [a] point of inflection." Alternativo expressed a similar sentiment. He shared: "It was just very beautiful for

me to see my Israeli friends, really playing, being friends with Muslims, with Palestinians, and all that. These are things that you can only see in UWC or a very special place like that." Scenes such as these were reported as the norm on UWC campuses and the reason why many labeled the experience as wonderful and beautiful.

Finally, participants noted the experience was life-changing because they viewed it as transformational. They did not envision returning to their old selves following their S_1. "Horizon widening," "eye-opening," and "enlightening" were some descriptions used by participants to describe their experience, under the life-changing theme. As Sunshine boldly stated: "…it really cracked me open…it reintroduced me to myself because there were things that I didn't know about myself that being in that environment opened me up to, both good and bad." Other expressions of how life-changing the experience echoed similar sentiments. Ella shared:

> …shortly after those couple few weeks, months passed, I ended up taking off my hijab, which is probably the biggest thing I've ever done in my life because that's pretty much going against every social expectation, every religious expectation, every cultural expectation my parents, my culture, my society had for me…

These stories of life-changing experiences showed the indelible impact the S_1 experience had on participants. Such drastic life-altering experiences were not reported for S_2.

Participants acknowledged that the S_2 experience was simply different. For example, Panama noted that his S_2 experience was different because he was more focused on academics and his career. He stated: "I learned more about specifics of the future work that I'm going to do and that kind of stuff. So, I guess it's different." Another participant, Ella, stated:

> America, I feel like, really pushed me towards more activism than [UWC] did because in [UWC], everyone comes from different countries who has issues. And we're all vouching for each other, but here you come, and you actually see the problems happening in front of you.

These impacts that S_2 had on participants were less drastic and were the result of the growth and maturity that comes with age.

S_2 as a good experience was reflected in several stories shared by participants. These stories centered on their ability to earn money or take advantage of certain opportunities available to participants. The experience was labeled good because it alleviated the stress that comes with being an international student. For example, Summer shared that she enjoyed financial opportunities:

> I don't think I would be able to earn that much as a student anywhere else, or I would have access to all the scholarship fellowships opportunities that I had. So, in a way, [the] American dream is a dream. But there are so many financial opportunities here.

Oscar provided another perspective in this regard. He said:

> …this happened just a few months ago in the United States, I'd made some good money from my work study, and I was just talking with my Guatemalan friend, and I was like, "Oh, I want to go to Guatemala." And I literally just bought my plane tickets at 2:00 AM, just because I wanted to go.

More participant stories spoke of S_2 as a good experience given the ability to afford commodities that they were not previously able to afford. The good experience also came from little worry about the usual hardships, such as finances, international students are prone to experience.

The foregoing findings answers RQ1: How, if at all, do Davis-UWC students describe their CCA to more than one country? Findings revealed that participants described the S_1 experience as more challenging and impactful than the S_2 experience. Nevertheless, S_2 experiences had their unique challenges and impacts, albeit minimal. Additionally, during the S_1 experience, participants experienced numerous identity conflicts and changes compared to the S_2 experience. Participants noted that the reason for these differences between the two experiences was, essentially, because one came before the other. Nevertheless, participants acknowledged that their S_2 experience could not equate to the culture shock value they experienced during their

103

S_1. This assertion was due to the nature of the UWC program and the exposure to countries and people from across the world they received. However, they also experienced culture shock in their S_2 country. Importantly, both experiences were described as living in a bubble, which meant that participants did not adapt to the cultures of the countries of their sojourn but rather the culture(s) present in their bubble.

This dissertation introduced the idea that two or more subsequent sojourns can offer new information to the study of CCA. I discuss these new insights in the next chapter. Presently, I turn to the conversations with participants that revealed their S_1 and S_2 sojourns occurred in short succession to each other. Data analysis revealed that the vast majority of participants returned to their home countries for a year or less after the S_1 sojourn. A few were not able to return due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the restrictions placed on travel during the pandemic. Those participants traveled directly to their S_2 country of sojourn. In the literature review, I discussed that little to no return to the home country between sojourns could affect sojourners' adaptation. The findings of this dissertation help explain further these impacts on the CCA process. Based on these findings, I advance a sensitizing concept, *multiple adaptation*, to encapsulate participants' two subsequent sojourns to two new countries with little to no return to their home country. Multiple adaptation, its definition, and boundary conditions are discussed extensively in Chapter V. Next, I turn to the findings for the second research question.

RQ2: What Kinds of Communicative Events Do Sojourners (Davis-UWC Students) Report as Being Important to Shaping Their Multicultural Identity(ies)?

Data analyses revealed six major themes related to the communicative events sojourners engaged in that shaped their development of a multicultural identity during CCA. These themes are: (1) in fellowship with others, (2) through classroom discussions, (3) through CAS

(creativity, activity, service), (4) through heated debates, (5) through language learning, and (6) through learning by doing. Participants reported these events as happening in relation to other people and the new environment for both sojourns. The assertion that multiple adaptation makes the development of a multicultural identity more probable was reflected in the findings for this research question. Participants reported language and cultural learning in both sojourns. However, the learning that facilitated the development of their multicultural identity was minimally influenced by the local people or culture. As discussed in RQ1, this learning happened mostly due to those within participants' immediate surroundings, their cultures, and the culture of the immediate new environment (i.e., UWC culture and college/university culture). Thus, communicative events were centered around interactions with other UWC students, faculty, and staff and, in the U.S., with other international students. Interactions with host nationals and host culture were reported as well. However, those were viewed by most participants as having minimal influence on shaping their multicultural identity.

In this analysis, I examined whether participants' CCA experiences were indicative of the development of a multicultural identity. Thus, the focus was on moments or events in which interactions with interlocutors could lead to cultural or language learning as well as how participants talked about those events in relation to their identity. Participants' responses to these experiences revealed moments of enlightenment, in which they were able to recognize stark differences between different cultures, but also grew to have an appreciation for these differences. Below I discuss each of the six themes related to the communicative events that shaped participants' multicultural identity(ies).

In Fellowship with Others

Under this theme, communicative events such as "chatting in the canteen/cafeteria" during lunch, "late-night conversations with roommates," "going on trips" and expeditions with newfound friends, and other shared experiences were identified as factors that shaped participants' multicultural identity. For example, Andrey described his cafeteria experiences in this manner:

> I just remembered it was so easy to sit down in the cafeteria with people that you don't know and start a conversation…. Okay, now, I know this about this guy or this girl or about his or her place of origin…. I had more of those encounters, and I was really happy to learn something new every day.

Achilles also shared:

> The caf [cafeteria] experience in UWC is a lot different than the caf here, because at UWC you go to the caf, you see a table with three people, you go sit with them, because there's no point of just sitting on your own, right?...[I'm] really emphasizing sitting down at a table, having discussions with people. I learned a lot just discussing stuff with people in the caf.

Joining any table during chowtime and just striking up a conversation was common in participants' S_1 but not necessarily the case in S_2. Achilles shared he learned this the hard way. He said: "Here [U.S.], it's kind of weird to do that. You just don't go sit with strangers, apparently. I learned that the hard way." Nevertheless, S_2 experiences were more in line with late-night conversations with roommates and going on trips with friends, as Katniss stated:

> I think for the first time, I had the best roommate experience that spring, because it was like a match made in heaven. We understood each other. We talked so much, and it was really nice. And she is American, as crazy as it is because Americans can be weird, but it was really nice.

Anne also spoke about chatting with her roommates at night and how that time was enlightening to her. She said:

> …when I went to UWC and suddenly I have my roommate[s] from Thailand…from Kenya and my best friend is from Zimbabwe. And I start having so many friends that are from parts so different from the world. I started learning about how they lived, and it was so

different than how I used to live. And they were learning about how I live as well. And it was this exchange of knowledge that I don't think I would have ever had.

Participants' experiences with conversations in the cafeteria or with roommates were further reflected in their shared experiences in undertaking expeditions or vacationing together. Dieter told a great story of his experience traveling with friends:

> I was in [city name], the capital, for five weeks straight and staying in a house of seven people [from Europe, South Asia, and North America]. And it was just a special experience just living by ourselves, very early stage in our life. Cooking our own food, traveling [S_1 country] just by ourselves. And every weekend we would have national dinners, and everybody would cook their own food. And it was an amazing experience, just learning more about each other.

The stories of shared experiences with friends in both sojourns were plentiful. They were stories of hiking in Germany, watching the sunrise with monks in India, drinking coffee at a café in Armenia, taking in the different foods being cooked, fried, and baked in the streets of Hong Kong, or walking down the streets of Germany enjoying Turkish kabobs. Participants spoke of these shared experiences as moments when they (friend group) would simply fellowship, talk, and get to know each other. In these moments, culture was shared. Whether it be learning words or phrases from someone's language or stories from their hometowns, within these moments, participants noted that they learned, taught, and gained knowledge of multiple different ways of being, knowing, and doing. In essence, cultural and language learning occurred.

Through Classroom Discussions

Classroom discussions were one of the communicative events that participants repeatedly pointed out that influenced their identity transformation. For S_1 some pointed out a class known as *Theory of Knowledge* that all UWC students take. From participants' descriptions, this was a class in which they learned about and discussed contemporary issues. Topics ranged from politics, religion, abortion, world peace, LGBTQ+ rights, gender identity, sexual orientation, and

107

so forth. Participants rated this class as one of the experiences that really pushed them to revisit

and reconsider their cultural values, beliefs, religion/faith, attitudes, perspectives, and

worldviews. Alternativo described the class in this way: "Theory of Knowledge basically asked

you to question things, think critically." Alternativo further shared how this class exposed him to

many topics. For example, this was his first time being exposed to the LGBTQ+ community;

conversations about their rights were eye-opening to him. He stated:

> Being in [S$_1$ country] in the UWC, I had this firsthand experience with being friends [with] and really having them telling me what their experience is about and is like daily. That experience really changed my perspective about LGBTQ issues and their own groups, their own community, their own issues, their own struggle. I became more open-minded, more sensitive, and even more, I would say, advocate for their rights, for their safety.

For Lupita, this class taught her about the atrocities committed in the name of religion that made

her question her religion/faith and her beliefs. She shared:

> [Y]ou can imagine I grew up in a Christian family my whole life…. Now, I'm in this new environment. I'm learning about all these things that have been done in the name of faith. And I'm like... I might be in the wrong faith like, mmm... You mean to tell me that people were... Priests were raping children and like...What do they call this? Molesting boys? And all of it was hidden in the name of it [Christianity]. I had no idea. So, that shook me and made me feel, wow. Okay. Maybe this is not the right path to take.

This class not only exposed participants to new truths and different social identities but also

made participants question their upbringing. For example, Oscar talked extensively about how he

started to question the cultural values with which he grew up. He shared:

> …it's not until you're across the world that you start looking back at your own country and you're like, I don't agree with this…in my home country, nobody questions these things because they're all just taken for granted. And so, I think it allowed me to question my own culture and my own national understanding.

For some, this class was overwhelming. But for others, this class was enlightening and motivated

them to reevaluate previous perceptions about many issues and, particularly, their culture. The

class also made them assess their social identities and sit with the internal conflict they

experienced given the newfound knowledge–the inception of gradual identity change. Sit with

their internal conflict means that participants took some time to work through their internal

conflict given the new information attained. Doing so gave them time to re-evaluate their values,

beliefs, attitudes, and so forth.

Classroom discussions were also brought up in S_2. Participants were intrigued by how

much of the U.S. culture was influenced by politics. Scott talked about how politics was steeped

into the fabric of U.S. society and how the conversation always seemed to end up being liberal or

conservative. In his interview, he stated:

> …from my perception, a lot of my conversations here in the U.S. end up either like
> Republicans or Democrats, and that's the main argument sometimes. So, I think I got used
> now to hear more ideas that are polarized in those two ways, and everything end ups in a
> political theme

Similar to Scott, Oscar, Lupita, and others echoed that discussions seemed to always land on

politics, which, at times, impeded learning but also facilitated understanding of the U.S. culture.

Participants also expressed that their course choices in S_2 were influenced by exposure to

numerous cultures at UWC, which led to them selecting classes that could help them explore

their cultural interests further. An example of such a class that aided in the molding of a

multicultural identity was a course about food from around the world that Gregory mentioned.

He shared:

> We had a taste testing class the other day where our teacher introduced us to spices from
> all around the world, and foods from all around the world…. For example, we had, I think
> it was fish paste or fish sauce, which has a very strong smell… [I thought] Oh, this isn't my
> cup of tea, but I would understand why you like it. And then maybe it's something I'll try
> later on, but it's just not something that I'm familiar with now.

Participants shared that classroom discussions were an integral part of the IB program and their

college classes. Engaging in in-class group discussions, working on group projects, or being part

of a study group were all ways in which participants learned from their teachers and peers.

Hence, classroom discussions were part of the communicative events that shaped participants'

multicultural identity(ies).

Through CAS (Creativity, Activity, Service)

Creativity, activity, and service in sync with the IB curriculum are the cornerstones of the

UWC program. Participants talked about CAS endlessly and shared how these events taught

them lessons about themselves and others. CAS is considered a communicative event because of

the types of events that participants reported they engaged in with CAS. For example, Katie

talked about her collaboration with a local theater group in [S_1 country] which was a meaningful

experience for her. She shared that she could not speak [S_1 language] but, somehow, she was able

to work with this theatre group and put up an art show that was well received. Katie's rendition

of the story was as such:

> It was a theater dance performance about the perception of cancer. It connected women of
> different ages…. The whole project was in [S_1 language], and I didn't speak [S_1 language]
> well…. We got to speak to these women and hear their stories and participate, despite that
> language barrier…that was one of my most, I would say, transformational experiences
> because of [the] nature of the project.

These types of artistic expressions were also part of the conversation in S_2. As Ultimatum shared:

> At UWC, there was UWC Day where everyone would go and wear the traditional wear,
> and some people would represent their country…. Here [U.S.], I had to represent [native
> country]. And I did it. And then I also performed at an African night. I've never performed
> before as in for something related to Africa.

These performances helped participants explore their artistic side, but they also granted them an

opportunity to interact with others in the production and, as a result, learn from them. As noted

by Katie, these events were often transformational, meaning participants were able to learn new

aspects about themselves and learn about others' cultures, which aided in the identity

transformation process.

Activity was another way in which participants engaged with others. Sports was one way in which they could hang out and learn from each other. Quentin shared how sports brought his team together at a UWC sports tournament. He stated:

> … I was the leader of battle sports activity, which for CAS week in both years, we went to camp. Oof. In the forest in the middle of nowhere, in some forgotten islands but it was amazing. I mean like paddling, when it was raining and wavy. There, really, like sometimes we were scared [for] our lives because the waves were super high, but we make it and returning to camp, cooking together, getting warm around the fire, and then going to the tents… that's events [sic] that are also very meaningful…

Interestingly, sports were one of the events that participants identified helped them adapt to S_2. For example, Adam shared that he joined the swimming and diving team at his university to meet friends. Mike also said he joined many extramural clubs, such as volleyball, at his university to meet friends. He said: "…whenever I went to [S_1 country], I tried a few sports. And then, whenever I went to the U.S., I made a few American friends, and we did intramurals and some volleyball in volleyball club." Thus, activity was not just a way to play sports, but also a way to build community and friendships through sports. Through these relationships, participants were able to help shape different dimensions of their identity.

Service was one of the events participants talked about at length. Service was geared toward the local community, and a lot of the participants engaged in service events that helped improve the environment. For example, Elizabeth shared what she and her friends did for service: "[In S_1 country] we used to do cleanups, beach cleanups and trash walks, and we would pick up the trash in the city and things like that." Numerous stories followed a similar storyline. Service not only allowed participants to build camaraderie, memories, and friendships with their friends but also granted them an opportunity to interact with locals while doing good deeds. Service was a prominent feature in S_2 as well. Participants shared that they volunteered and took part in university-wide service opportunities. For example, Dieter shared how he felt about

111

service: "And it just makes me more compassionate, more interested in helping. I was an executive member of the [Community Service Event] where I was in the outreach committee where I worked with my vice chair…That was a great experience." Through service, participants were able to not only help the local communities but also express values of care, advocacy, and community. These were also moments in which cultural knowledge was transferred and learned. These CAS allowed participants to find a new talent to hone or creative interest to pursue, it helped them rediscover their passions for a specific sport or learn to play one, and it helped them identify causes that became dear to them, such as environmental sustainability, for which they now advocate. These CAS activities were the beginnings of developing a global mindset as they molded participants into viewing the world outside of their culture. Most importantly, they developed skills, such as advocacy, that were further developed, strengthened, and enacted in S_2.

Through Heated Debates

Heated debates (i.e., stimulating conversations about controversial issues) were one of the communicative events that participants enjoyed. Some noted that it was a natural consequence of attending UWC. Achilles, for instance, said:

> Here [U.S.], it's just new stuff that I'm doing, basically, like debating, for instance. I wasn't doing a lot of debating at UWC. I mean, I had a lot of heated discussions, but not in the way I do it here.

Debates often involved stimulating conversations over several issues, stances, and topics, including cultural beliefs, politics, religion, and so forth. Participants shared that these debates happened with friends, classmates, and parents. As Weekend noted:

> …there are words in English though, that are really offensive to LGBTQ community…. So, this word, it's not okay. So, we do have these words in [native language] and when friends were saying these words, before, I wouldn't really pay attention to them. But now, when I was hearing them, I was like, wait, what? You better not say it again.

Debates were also a way in which participants became learners and teachers. They would learn about others' cultural beliefs, values, worldviews, and perspectives, and, in turn, share their own. For example, Diana shared that,

> …my direct family, my parents, my sister…[they] say things that after leaving and being educated myself and making that mistake myself and learning from it, I'm like, no this is not okay…[it is] words being used or expression being used…now literally makes me feel uncomfortable and I say stuff about it…I am more likely to say things, comment on things like that.

But these debates were also teaching moments, in which participants corrected parents or friends from home about certain attitudes and beliefs they held. For example, Lupita expressed that she educated family members about views on consent in sexual encounters:

> But I do have moments where I tell my cousin, Hey, guys, this and this and this…. When it comes to consent, I've talked about consent a lot with my family, specifically the young boys in my family about what consent is because consent is not a thing back home.

Debates helped participants learn how to talk through conflict, how to practice negotiation, humility, patience, and compromise, but also when to speak up and set the record straight about cultural knowledge, albeit in a constructive manner. As Sunshine stated:

> ...in my literature class where I was the only Black girl…we were analyzing poetry. And I remember how one of my classmates who is of Indian descent, but grew up in the UK was speaking, [we] were analyzing a Guyanese poet. And he spoke about how African childhoods are sad. And I remember pausing and looking at him and I was like, did you grow up on the continent? And he said, no. And I'm like, so which childhood are you speaking about? Because I had a happy childhood and I'm African. So, where are you getting your data from? And he was starstruck that that was a question that was asked by him, so I think we choose our battles.

Thus, heated debates helped them assert and refine their identity but also learn different perspectives that could help them understand cultural differences, and humankind as a whole, better. Heated debates are a communicative event that helped shape participants' multicultural identity.

Through Language Learning

Language became an important centerpiece in this dissertation. Language learning was the key to being part of the every communicative events discussed so far. Language also allowed participants to connect with others in their surroundings. Participants did not only learn to speak English, but they also learned words and phrases from roommates and locals and enrolled in third language classes at some of the UWC programs as well as at their colleges and universities. For example, participants reported learning German, Spanish, Thai, Hindi, Zulu, and many other languages, officially and unofficially. Participants such as Andrey and Tesla reported that they decided to learn Spanish as a third language in S_2 because of their UWC experience. Other participants just picked up conversational proficiency to connect with others or to make interacting with locals easier. As Sunshine stated:

> And how also, as time went on, [I] picked up a bit of [S_1 language] in order to make that process [bartering] easier, which would come as a shock to some people. Because I'm Black and here's this Black girl speaking a bit of [S_1 language] to try and bargain.

Learning words and phrases of the local languages or from their friends did not only serve a utilitarian function but also became a window into these cultures as well. Language became a way for participants to express who they were in interactions. Interestingly, participants observed that the language that they spoke changed the way they expressed themselves. Peter noted:

> I think I developed a way how to communicate in English that's separate from the way I communicate in [native language], in a way that learning English taught me all those phrases. Inclusivity. I can look at it, come up with all those phrases. Diversity. There are a lot of those words. Community. Sustainability. All those words in English that I learned, acquired during my time at UWC, that sort of shaped the way I think. And in [native language], there is no word "sustainability." There is no word such as diversity that you use in such an extent as you use in English.

Increased language learning led to an increased cultural repertoire from which participants could draw in interactions. It also indexed a duality in who they were as the next participant explained. Diana observed the impact of language learning when she spoke English. She said:

[T]he person that I became from being close to them [friends from other countries] all the time, that quick-witted, exaggerating, I don't know how to explain, but people, the way that they are, kind of became a little bit of how I was, too, but in English…. But I noticed that when I switched back to [native language], my personality is a little bit different from what it is in English, or the way that I say things, or the way that I interpret things is a little bit different. And it's not just humor, like openness, the way that I look at things is a little bit different, I think, than what it is in [native language], and when I'm speaking [native language] or when I'm surrounded by [native] people.

These representations of language were expressed by many others, especially those who spoke gendered languages or those who did not grow up learning English in school or at home. For them, self-expression looked and sounded different in English. Some even referenced being two different people depending on the language they used, further demonstrating the changes to their identity shaped by the experience.

For some participants, language determined how they addressed the faculty and staff at the UWC schools. Being able to use the local tongue with these individuals made participants feel connected to them and the local culture. As Larissa shared:

I did have to change, especially when it comes to saying please, thank you. We just have a routine, for example, in the cafeteria that you have to say, good morning Baabe, is a word of respect for them. So, you cannot just say good morning, it's disrespectful. You have to call them mister, which I think in their [S_1 country] language, it was Baabe. So, you have to go and say, Good morning, Baabe, how are you doing today? May I please have food? Thank you. Kind of thing. You cannot just go: Good morning, and then you give them the plate. They are even going to be the ones greeting you and show you that you have to do that.

Another participant, Gregory shared his experiences with forms of address and greeting rituals.

He stated:

Obviously, they had different greetings, depending on if you're an elder. Depending on how old you are, for example, for me I would greet a teacher, you would put your hands together in a Y and do a small bow. If it was an older person or a monk, you would put your arms together and do a deeper bow.

Language as a vehicle for cultural learning was present in many of the stories that participants told me. They viewed these different aspects of language as enlightening and highlighting

115

differences and similarities between cultures. More importantly, language provided them with a second self…and a second identity that they could foreground, depending on the language they used in interactions. This duality of identity that language offered came as a pleasant and valued surprise to participants because, for some, it even determined their communication behaviors in interactions.

For most, language was a safe haven. Many participants discussed how being able to speak their mother tongue alleviated the stress and anxiety that accompanied learning English and constantly communicating in English. Often, that meant that they were able to connect with students from the same cultural heritage (e.g., East African; Eastern European, Southern African; or LatinX or Hispanic). For example, Cutey said she spoke French with her East African friends. She shared:

> [East Africans] are almost the same…. So, our languages are pretty much similar. We can understand each other. So, we met other two [East Africans]… So, it was four of us the first night we got there, which was nice. And then we got, so, [native country] is a Francophone country. So is [another girl's East African country]. [This East African country] is probably changing to Anglophone, but it was Francophone. So, everything is done in French back home.

Similar to Cutey, Katie also experienced language as a safe haven. She stated:

> The first year that I came, my friend group was four post-Soviet Countries. It was four of us […]. We were perfect representatives of Eastern Europe…. We met this teacher. Her parents were Russian, and we talked a little bit. She spoke Russian and we spoke Russian together…

Finding others who spoke the same language was not only a safe haven but a way for these participants to also learn about each other's cultures. For example, Anne shared that her S_2 friendship group consisted of Latinos. However, they were from different Latin American countries. She said: "I reconnected with that part of me. And now I'm friends with Colombians and Cubans and Chileans and Salvadorians. And I started knowing more about Latin America as

well." Furthermore, the ability to speak their heritage language provided participants with a

sense of home and a community where they could cook food, fellowship, and enjoy each other's

company. In this quote, for example, Anne paints another vivid picture of her experience:

> …I feel like us getting together as Latinos was important for us, because it gave us this sense of stability, we can speak in our language when we are together, we can eat our food when we're together, we can reconnect with what we actually are. It gives us this sense of stability in a country that is foreign to us, in a culture that is foreign to us, in a language that is foreign to us. I met this Latino community there [U.S.].

Language learning was a communicative event that allowed participants to connect with others,

express their identity, release stress and anxiety, and build a community. Language learning was

also a way for participants to learn about others' cultures and teach others about their cultures.

Importantly, language learning transformed participants' identities. Through language,

participants were able to mold and foster multicultural identity(ies).

Through Learning by Doing

Learning by doing was an important factor in shaping a multicultural identity. Learning

by doing is a communicative event because participants were able to learn about different

cultures through doing—that, is, by enacting cultural rituals, traditional dances, cooking food,

learning languages, celebrating traditional holidays, and so on. One significant event that all

participants spoke about was culture week, a week at UWC during which participants showcased

their culture. Students from each region or ethnic heritage (e.g., the Middle East) put on a show

that included various aspects of their culture, including food, dress, dance, music, and so forth.

These activities provided exposure and opportunities for learning to those in the audience. Oscar

described culture week in the following manner:

> …it's not until you see people speak their mother tongue, or dance their traditional dances or cook their traditional food that you're like, okay, I think this is very different to me, but also, it's just really beautiful to see all this diversity and the student body. And so, I

definitely have very beautiful memories from other people's culture weeks, and also just me participating in Latin American culture week.

Oscar's view of culture week aligned with Quentin's account of the same event. Quentin provided the following colorful picture of his culture week experience:

> Then we had a presentation in the caf [cafeteria]…we made a circle and then we made a flash mob, I think, where somebody stood up to dance and all Latinos joined. And it was amazing. I led one dance, a [native country] dance in that moment…oof... I don't know, the rush I was in it because we were preparing…. And this [native country] dance is one of my favorite [native country] dances and being able to me, representing [native country] in that moment, making people from all different countries back [native country], dancing the [native country] song in front of this super international community. It just couldn't get better.

The most impressive aspect of culture week was that some students took part in the culture weeks of overlapping cultural regions. This meant that they would perform more than once. This was the case for Berlin, who participated in multiple cultural showcases:

> In UWC, we used to have the culture night. And I will try to participate in almost everything, even that which is not my culture, I'll try to do because it's an experience… once, I was in the African culture night, and then again, I was in the Middle East. And then I was in the European culture night. So, it was a whole range…because I'm like a dancer myself. So, I tried to learn the different dances. So, it makes me feel connected to them.

These culture weeks offered many opportunities of cultural learning from groups of people from all over the world, much like, in a sense, an international exposure over a period of a year.

Learning by doing was also reflected in participants' stories about joining cultural groups and student organizations in S_2. For example, Cutey shared her experience when she joined an Afrobeats dance group at her college/university and how dance helped her learn more about other cultures.

> I definitely can do cultural dances from different countries. About, I'd say, six or seven countries, like Europe and from everywhere. And when you learn about these dances, you learn about the cultures of the people, because the dances really talk a lot. They tell about how people live and everything.

Participants shared that many of these cultural groups and student organizations provided a platform for them to learn about others' cultures. These occasions also strengthened their own cultural identity. For example, Alternativo's national pride stemmed from a student organization he was a member of winning a much-coveted cultural award. Winning the award as a newly formed student organization for students from his country made him feel proud that they were able to showcase their culture and be rewarded for it in this manner. These different acts of cultural learning through doing shaped participants' multicultural identities. For them, all these various cultural interactions added layers to their identity.

Communicative events offer the first pieces of the puzzle in the design of the CMMID proposed in this dissertation. These events highlight discursive practices that shape and mold multicultural identity(ies). Importantly, these events illuminate K. Hall's (2000) and S. Hall's (1999) perspective that there is no pre-discursive identity, that identity is co-constructed communicatively in relation to others and the environment. These events also point to the fact that the domestic people and cultures of sojourns had minimal influence on shaping participants' multicultural identity(ies). Most of the cultural exposure came from other UWC students in S_1 and international student communities in S_2. Nevertheless, cultural learning occurred, and layers were added to participants' cultural identity(ies), which speaks to the development of multicultural identity. Next, I turn to the findings for RQ3, which addressed how participants enacted their multicultural identity(ies) in interactions.

RQ3: How, if at All, So Sojourners Report These Events Helped Them Enact Their Multicultural Identity(ies) in Communication Practices?

The communicative events reported for RQ2 helped shape the development of Davis-UWC students' multicultural identity(ies). These events also acted as a learning tool for enacting

119

multicultural identity(ies) in interaction with others. Data analysis uncovered seven themes that answer RQ3 [i.e., encapsulate how participants enact their multicultural identity(ies)]. These themes are: (1) friend of people, (2) living in the grey, (3) the chameleon, (4) the cultural teacher-learner, (5) the diversity champion, (6) a cosmopolitan, and (7) a competent communicator. I discuss each of these themes below.

Friend of People

This theme centered on participants' social networks and how these networks led them to create a community for others. Becoming community creators was one way in which participants thought they were paying forward the goodwill of others they had experienced. Participants expressed that the S_1 experience made them value both differences and similarities within people. Valuing the unique attributes of people allowed them to be open to intercultural friendships and be a support system for each other.

First, participants highlighted their intercultural friendships in this manner, as Anne, for instance, put it: "So I went to [S_1 country] and I had friends from literally every other country and culture and skin color and hair textures. For me, it was like I was living in a movie." Another participant, Andrey, said he wanted to find his "guys," in a way, a group of friends with whom he could "hang out," "go out," "play sports," and "find girls." He called his social network a "lucky find." He said:

> When I came to [S_1 country], for me, it was very important to find so-called my guys…so I was just lucky enough to find the same group of boys that were coming from all over the place. From India, from Switzerland, from Singapore, from Netherlands, from Costa Rica, from all around the world.

The S_1 experience was also why their S_2 friendships reflected an intercultural social network. For example, Panama said: "…most of my friends are now from very different countries,

backgrounds, cultures…" As illustrated in the above quotes, participants were exposed to diverse

peoples and, thus, this exposure was reflected in their social networks.

Furthermore, these social networks developed into lifelong friendships that became a

second family. Many participants viewed their friendship group as their family. For example,

Sunshine called her friendship group her sisters. She said:

> …my friendship group. Ah, man, I call them my sisters because really them being in my life, they have truly transformed my life…one was from Angola…the other three, one from Uganda, one from Kenya, and one from Tanzania, they just naturally became my friends.

The idea of family was undergirded by expressions such as "unconditional love," "support

system," "always be there for me," and so forth.

Having an intercultural social network was also the reason why participants noted that

they were community creators. For them, knowing and understanding what it felt like to be

excluded, unseen, lonely, or lost propelled them to create spaces for others where these other

individuals felt safe, accepted, and welcomed. Switzerland said he learned to provide safe spaces

for others where they felt they could find a place to fit in and be accepted by others. In

recounting his S_1 experience, Switzerland shared how he wanted to create a community for

others by helping them. He said: "You know what, let's help someone out and make them

comfortable. Make it easier for them to settle in." Tesla had a similar idea of creating community

spaces through kindness. She said:

> …you live with people from all over the world, so there's going to be differences. And it made me appreciate kindness more…little acts of kindness you would do to people. You don't think of how it would affect them. So, I never used to try to be [kind]. [Now] I go out and do that one act of kindness…[because] I feel like what got me through UWC a lot was someone just being kind to me for no reason or just helping me with something I need help with when they didn't need to.

Being community creators was also a way for these students to create a support system for themselves and other international students who often felt sidelined at domestic institutions in their S_2, as Frenkie demonstrated in this statement:

> There's a big community of internationals that we're all going through the same thing. So, we just support each other and that's what's nice. I guess it's nice that we're so many going through the same thing, and we support each other. And you actually live with these people. So, it's like you form a little family that supports you with anything.

The friend of the people theme highlights that those who are multicultural surround themselves with culturally different others. As has been illustrated so far throughout this section, befriending those who were different from them was inescapable. Although participants reported that being surrounded by so much difference led them to retreat to the familiar, after adjusting to their new environment, intercultural friendships flourished. As a result, now, these Davis-UWC students could not imagine a homogeneous social network. They actively sought out diverse people because they know it stimulates learning and growth. Thus, the friend of the people theme epitomizes diverse social networks as a characteristic of a multicultural individual.

The Diversity Champion

A diversity champion is an individual who possesses a profound appreciation for diversity. These individuals understand that diversity stretches beyond race, ethnicity, or gender identity. A diversity champion holds diversity as a core value and seeks out diverse spaces whenever they can or wherever they go. The understanding of what diversity means was reflected in participants' responses. For example, Sunshine shared:

> At UWC, I got to see diversity in every sense of the word, even though UWC speaks about diversity in that peripheral level of, oh, people coming from different countries, people from different financial backgrounds. It was very interesting for me to be able to see people who came from the same country, came from similar backgrounds, were in different social groups, had different ways of thinking and how that diversity looked different based on what topic we were [discussing].

Scott echoed Sunshine's perspective. He said:

> Because I think some people have [an] idea what is diversity and they will be like, oh, I am diverse. I have a friend that's Muslim, or like, oh, I have Latino friends, Black friend, Asian friend. I went to Spain in the summer. But, actually, being involved in a community in which people is [sic] diverse, like different religions, ideas, perspectives, sharing all the time, 24/7, not like one day. Is diversity. [That is diversity], not like you go for holidays to Mexico.

These descriptions of diversity show that participants had a deeper understanding of what diversity was and became champions for diversity.

Participants also embodied diversity when they talked about themselves. For example, the idea of a diversity champion was embodied in Elizabeth's description of herself. She said:

> I think I just was exposed to their different cultures and different points of view from the beginning. So, I just appreciate the beauty of that, because internationality is a culture itself, I think. Friends that speak with different languages that have different values than you, that's it's something that I want to have in my life and for a long time.

Her views on being a champion for diversity are also present in Cardi's perspective on seeking out diverse spaces. Cardi stated:

> I did not like the idea of being exposed to different cultures. I just didn't like the culture because they were different for me. But with time I realized, oh no, there are so many people all around the world. And even in future, I'm going to interact with different people who are not like me.

Summer echoed Cardi's views:

> I think also, diversity of ideas, and backgrounds in the U.S. that it became such a big part of me that I will be constantly seeking the situations where I can be among different people who can be contributing equally to the space of the setting. So, I will probably be seeking spaces with no dominant culture. I'll be seeking multicultural spaces, international work spaces, if it's possible to have no dominant culture.

The embodiment of diversity turned out to be a way of life for participants. Their worlds have been altered, never to return to a previous state of ignorance or oblivion. This notion is imprinted on them not only embodying diversity but making it part of their core values.

Some viewed diversity as a core value that they have developed and, thus, tried to enact in their daily lives. As Gregory stated:

> So being here [U.S.], it's being able to embrace my culture, being in clubs like the International Club Executive Team, I'm able to try to bridge the gap between domestic and international students and showcase all the diversity and cultures that we have here. For most of these students, this is their exposure to different cultures.

The diversity champion is the enactment of a multicultural identity because it implicitly means there is an appreciation for and value of people, their identities, lived experiences, and knowledge. Being a diversity champion ties into the other themes in this section, such as being a friend of people and being a lifelong learner, as noted in the cultural teacher-learner theme. Thus, this attribute is complementary to the other characteristics of a multicultural person discussed.

The Cultural Teacher-Learner

The cultural teacher-learner is an individual who becomes the teacher of culture and is also curious to learn about others' cultures. For this theme, participants shared numerous stories of answering questions about their culture. They admitted feeling like a cultural representative or ambassador during both sojourns, which meant they became acutely aware of their nationality. As Peter stated: "…you'[re] never [nationality] until you leave [native country]." He further stated:

> I was never [native country]. I was from [city name]. I was from a big city. Suddenly when I came to [UWC high school] I became [native country], and people were like, oh, you're in the city where the [number] World War started. I'm like, yeah… And they were like, oh my goodness. Can you tell me more about the history of [native country]?.... I had zero clue about the history of [native country]. I had to educate myself very quickly.

Being a cultural ambassador meant they had to brush up on their knowledge about their own country and teach others about their culture. For example, Panama stated:

> Being [nationality], not a lot of people back then even heard about [native country]…back then, a lot of people would be confused. They would ask: Is that a part of [another country]? Where is it? What language do you speak? All that kind of stuff. So, explaining my roots

124

and where I'm from and what my culture is also made me identify with my culture a lot more.

Adam also shared how he came to view himself as a representative of his culture:

When I was in [native country]…I see myself like everybody else…in a sense we have the same culture, come from same places, speak the same language…[UWC] you take a lot more initiatives into representing your culture to the other world to say: Hey, this is me…this is where I come from. This is my culture.

The enormous cultural exposure they had in S_1 also meant they became cultural ambassadors and teachers. Furthermore, because they learned so much about other cultures, participants shared that they became cultural teachers of other cultures to family and friends, often correcting them about misperceptions of cultures with which they were familiar. Anne shared how she approached one such situation:

My parents, they're really open-minded…when I came back and I started talking to them and teaching them about what I had learned, they were actually excited to learn as well. They went to [S_1 country] to visit me once, and they met my best friends, a girl from Kenya, a girl from Zimbabwe and my mom started crying because then she would see everything that I was telling her.

Participants developed an immense appreciation for culture and people and, thus, they dubbed themselves lifetime learners who were always open to and remained curious about cultures. As Dieter acknowledged:

I think [I am] someone who opened themselves in UWC to interact with people and learn from them, I think the rule works for, it just works in U.S. as well. Personally, I am who's always have hunger for learning more about from people. Even if they are the worst people in the world or the best people in the world, you can still learn from anyone, even if it's a little bit of everything.

Thus, they enjoyed continuous learning about new cultures. Being both teacher and learner, sharing their cultural knowledge, was the one characteristic participants were proud of and that adds to the list of attributes of a multicultural person.

The Chameleon

The chameleon is an animal known to change its colors to blend in with its environment for the sake of survival. The chameleon theme is, thus, reflective of adaptability, flexibility, and fluidity in various contexts, whether situational, dialogic, or relational. Participants spoke of being able to fit in anywhere, as Oscar noted:

> …personally, at first, all these things felt very overwhelming [UWC experience] and they were definitely the most challenging things that I've done in my life. But I think looking back at it, I'm very well aware of the fact that if I could turn these things around in [S_1 country], I can definitely do it anywhere else.

Adaptability and flexibility to any environment describe openness and willingness to change to suit the needs of any environment or interaction. This is reflected in their ability to talk to anyone, as Dieter shared:

> So, I'm always open and interested in talking with people, new people. So, in that sense, yes, I think in UWC I understood the value of it. And just in U.S. I continue it, I think that's the way it is.

Ella also affirmed:

> You learn about opening up. You learn about being more receptive. You learn about differences with someone else, whether it's language, culture, ethnicity, whatever it is, and you learn how to work around it and still make a connection.

Participants shared that, because of their S_1 experiences, they were more willing to engage with strangers, get to know them, and possibly build relationships if the situation allowed.

The chameleon theme was truly reflected in the stories about communication practices participants engaged in when it came to behavior, language, accents, and dress. They pointed out acts of codeswitching as the situation dictated. For example, Diana talked about mimicking her interlocutors' behaviors. She shared:

> I [have] realized that I really, especially, if I'm close to you, I tend to adapt [my] mannerism as well when I'm communicating with you…especially when people are not from the same culture or not with the same place or something that or very much different [from me] … I replicate those mannerisms while communicating.

Similar, yet different from Diana, Tesla and Ultimatum spoke about manipulating their accent to facilitate better understanding between themselves and their interlocutor. Ultimatum shared he would change his accent depending on his interaction partner. He said:

> …accents, that's the one thing that I do, as soon as I go to a new place, I try to copy the accent as much as possible, because if I don't, they tend not to understand me. That would be the one thing that I change when I go to new place, my accent…

Mimicking or changing behavior or accents to reduce the psychological distance between themselves and others is just another way participants demonstrated the chameleon effect. Cutey, however, talked about another way. She mixed two languages by borrowing words from one or the other to speak in complete sentences. An instance she told me about occurred when she went home and spoke her native language, but she would mix it with English. She shared: "…as much as I can speak [native language], when I don't have to be speaking proper [native language], I tend to mix it with a lot of English or French." These communicative behaviors were just a few examples of how adaptable participants could be in interactions. Another is codeswitching. Codeswitching was a way for Berlin to showcase her diverse heritage as she moved between cultural identities. She shared:

> I'll wear a hijab to school, but it doesn't mean that because I'm a very religious person. I'm not a Muslim, but I wear hijab…it's part of my culture and I identify with it, even though I'm not Muslim, we wear hijab back home. We wear abaya, and then the next day I'll wear a short dress.

These examples of codeswitching were part of their everyday interactions. Participants would weave through these different dimensions of who they were as they were presented with different communication contexts. They also took pride in being able to codeswitch and viewed it as a sort of superpower that they could turn on or off depending on the situation.

Finally, the chameleon theme also captures the ability to think differently. Participants pointed toward thinking differently when they talked about being different than the average person in their country. As Katie pointed out:

> UWC provides a nice platform for critically assessing parts of you. I know I'm thinking of something ethnocentric, looking at the world from your own lens because of your background and at UWC, you get a chance to step back and understand that, okay, I may think that way because I'm from [native country] and someone from another country sees things very differently because this is where they grew up, and sometimes helps you to reassess.

The chameleon is a theme that derives from being an informed person, someone who has lived among different peoples and, thus, can manipulate different communicative behaviors accordingly. Thus, adaptability or flexibility are learned behaviors that often have roots in growing up amongst diverse groups of people or environments. Some participants came from one-child households or self-proclaimed homogenous countries. For them, adaptability and flexibility were acquired during S_1. Most participants, however, came from homes where they shared rooms with siblings, had large extended families, or grew up in diverse societies. For these participants, adaptability or flexibility expanded to include newfound ways of enacting these traits as a multicultural person.

Living in the Grey

Living in the grey is a theme that manifested in participants' constant reference to life not being black or white, right or wrong, not living in a box or boxed in, or any similar metaphor used to express the limits of their culture. For example, Ultimatum talked about things not being black or white when he noted: "My [time] at UWC was more going from a state of being sheltered to being exposed and understanding, not just understanding, accepting that things do not always fit into a box or are black and white." Lupita put it this way:

> What I have learned…is [the] grey…. Things are not always black and white. There's a lot of grey. There's a lot we don't know. There's a lot of questions we haven't asked about different belief systems and the way things are done, not just personally…but also the way things are done culturally, the way things are done in different contexts. It's not black and white. There's a lot of grey and it's not a bad thing to explore that grey side…

Black and white also encompassed thinking about what was deemed true or correct and by whose standards. Larissa questioned the right or wrong of her culture:

> You always grow up, knowing that the way it's supposed to be. Going to UWC helped me answer the question, why? Yeah, and not accepting everything and always evaluating if it's right or wrong. That whole switch created a lot of impact in my interaction with my family, and I realized that when I was home…I was having a lot of disagreements because of the way I think and the way I do things and the way they do it.

Larissa's sentiments of right and wrong led to the idea of being boxed in or boxing others in because of the limits their heritage culture had created for them. However, Switzerland noted that he tried everything he could to avoid being boxed in by his heritage culture. He said:

> Back home it's much more like [being] boxed in. That social pressure to conform doesn't work for me. I have always been rebellious from a young age. So, I am never boxed in on my ideas or my stances on certain things. It's more like: Okay, for now this makes sense to me. But it's not permanent.

Ella noted that she stepped out of the box, and now, her views were against the grain of what she had previously known to be true. Ella noted:

> I feel like that gradual one step at a time has taken me far outside that box that I don't know how to get back in the box. Honestly, I don't want to because I'm happy, and I'm content where I am because at this point I feel like I've become so liberal that I pretty much go against every social, religious, cultural expectation there is view, opinion, whatever, when it comes about religion, when you talk about culture, when you talk about ethnicity, when you talk about the LGBTQ, when you talk about honor killings, whatever, everything I have the exact complete opinion of.

Reevaluating the black or white, right or wrong, and being boxed in by their culture, led participants to a state of leaving judgment about people's way of being behind. One participant's story about being nonjudgmental and accepting people and their differences (and, in doing so, validating their identities) was representative of this fact. Alternativo shared:

129

I would say that everybody has their own "why," their own reason to do things. We should not judge anybody because our own culture informs us that their culture is wrong. People always have a reason to do whatever they do. Before you judge them, you probably want to understand why they're doing certain things.

Thus, living in the grey means moving beyond what one knows, and learning, appreciating, and understanding that difference does not mean wrong, it just means there are many other ways of moving through the world, and that is okay.

Participants also talked about how living in the grey allowed them to engage in critical thinking. Andrey explained his critical thinking thusly: "…[UWC] made me an open-minded person, a person who can take different perspectives into account before making a decision or making a judgment." Achilles also said his critical thinking emerged because of his UWC experience. He said:

So, anything that was once normal or a given for you, that's just how things are back home, are not anymore, right? You don't have to eat with bread all the time. Bread is not really common in all other cultures, right? And, so, you get this realization of, oh, maybe things could go different, and you start to critically think of the stuff you believe in…

The living in the grey theme illuminates the complexities of cultures. Participants realized that there were so many possibilities, and everything was not black or white nor right or wrong. There was a lot of grey in between. Thus, participants noted that being nonjudgmental and accepting of people helped them be open to differences. Living in the grey can be equated to perspective-taking or cognitive complexity, often equated with individuals who possess intercultural competence and, thus, a characteristic of being a multicultural person.

A Cosmopolitan

Participants also viewed themselves as global citizens. They labeled themselves global citizens because they felt they could live and survive anywhere, had a global orientation, were advocates for change, and, therefore, saw themselves as environmentalist and activists. For

130

example, Katniss viewed herself as a global citizen; Adam and Lupita shared her sentiment.

Adam noted that he could live anywhere in the world because the UWC had prepared him to be

able to do so. Lupita had similar feelings saying, "If tomorrow they told me: Hey, you are

moving to Australia or you're going to India. I'll be like, yea, for sure. Let's go." Thus, being a

citizen of the world was an attribute participants possessed. Furthermore, this attribute influenced

their perspectives. For example, Alternativo shared that he developed a global orientation

because he possessed a global perspective on many issues. He said:

> …today I'm more internationalist. I am more cosmopolitan. I don't understand the world
> from the [native country] perspective only anymore. I understand the world in a more
> global perspective… I think I'm more tolerant. I'm more sensitive. I'm more advocate for
> peace, stability, sustainability around the world because I met people whose communities
> back home were suffering.

Elizabeth also stated that she possessed a global orientation and was, as a result, aware of many

events happening around the world. For example, she stated:

> [I am] aware and also tell people whenever I meet them, and I want to talk with them about
> topics, that there's more stuff happening in the world. Just the thing is we just don't know
> about them…because of the media coverage that is selective.

Viewing themselves as global citizens with a global orientation stemmed from all the exposure

participants had received. They had friends in different parts of the world that were affected by

war, famine, civil conflict, environmental disaster, climate change, and so forth. Being globally

oriented was a way for them to express care for their friends' well-being and concern for others

around the world. This global orientation also stemmed from a lot of the UWC values that had

been instilled in them. Many of these values reflect global awareness and advocacy that can help

humanity in many spheres of their lives and foster peacebuilding across the world.

131

The overwhelming consensus was that participants were advocates for change because

they had been introduced to so many causes that had become part of their values. For example,

Sherlock stated:

> Understanding that advocacy has to go beyond groups you can identify with…. [My] advocacy has fully extended…to other people and advocating for groups that I'm not even part of. I was a big part of helping organize all the reproductive rights, brought [them] on campus, which I don't identify with the group that would have issues with reproduction rights, but definitely extending that advocacy to other people and understanding that because they stood up for you at one point, it is necessary that you stand up for them just because that is how the system works.

Frenkie echoed Sherlock's view of extending advocacy beyond groups they identified with when

he said:

> I think something about what someone's saying or the way someone's acting, usually I would just shut up and not say anything and just keep it to myself. But now, if I think for example, if someone makes a homophobic comment or racist comment or sexist comment, I'm actually going to expose them. I'm actually going to say like: Did you really just say that?... Do you actually think that way? I guess [UWC] made me more vocal [whereas] before…I just stayed quiet and let it pass.

Advocacy also translated into activism, which came in different forms. For example, Panama

attended protests, as he shared:

> When the war [Ukraine v. Russia] started three months ago, me and my friends would go downtown to protest every weekend with the rest of the Ukrainian community…. It felt great. And we did a lot of volunteering and fundraising, so it felt like I was actually doing something and was able to help people…

The cosmopolitan theme taps into the evolved worldview and diverse vantage points that

participants were introduced to in both sojourns, but especially in S_1. This theme also focuses on

global concern and care for others. Many participants said that they felt immense care and

concern for the well-being of others. When they heard about atrocities happening in different

parts of the world, they thought about a friend that was from there, and they worried about how

events may affect those people's lives. Thus, global concern, global orientation, global

perspectives, and advocacy are factors that permeate the cosmopolitan theme.

Competent Communicator

The competent communicator is a theme that manifested in participants' descriptions of

communicative behaviors in which they engaged when interacting with others. Participants listed

"open-mindedness," "mindfulness," "active listening," "self-awareness," "patience and

tolerance," and "empathy and compassion" as behaviors they actively engaged in during

conversations with others. For example, Diana described her open-mindedness in this way:

> So, to me, I think being open-minded it's just being able to listen to others, whether it be
> what they're saying, how they're acting, their cultures, their languages, their traditions
> without judging first. And then accepting that it doesn't necessarily just because you grew
> up a certain way, doesn't mean that's the only right way to grow up.

Elizabeth articulated her open-mindedness differently. She said:

> So, open-mindedness, it would be in a situation where you have a set system of ideologies
> or a way of thinking, and people are trying to change that way of thinking, and you're not
> reluctant to listening to them…and you try to see things from their perspective and you
> learn to also appreciate their perspective, recognize the value of it…there have been a lot
> of occasions where I've had to change my opinion because when I learned and understood
> someone else's, it resonated better with me.

Open-mindedness opened doors to other communication behaviors that followed when one was

open to people and being influenced. Among those was the ability to be mindful in interactions.

Participants shared how they now understood what others went through and were more

considerate of people's lived experiences in interactions. Doing so enabled them to practice

mindfulness in conversations. For example, Gregory made this statement:

> I realized that, okay, our cultures are very different, and most of these people [Americans]
> have never left their city or the state…. They weren't exposed to all these different cultures.
> I don't blame them. I just know they weren't privileged enough to have this experience that
> I went through.

Cutey also shared her perspective on mindfulness by saying:

...being conscious about how I talk to people is also based on what I know about their background, their country and everything, being around them. So, basically everything goes with who you're talking to...and how the person might take your words or the ways of communicating or just whatever you are doing with them or why you interact with them.

Mindfulness is an attribute that allowed participants to pause and be reflective in interactions. Mindfulness was also how they provided others a voice, practiced awareness of the space they took up in conversations, and monitored their language use and behaviors in interactions. For example, participants talked about being aware of themselves and their subject positions in conversation; therefore, they practiced self-awareness and self-monitoring in conversations. Anne described her self-awareness in the following manner:

I feel I'm more aware of what I'm saying. Before, I would just say things...now, I have learned that many things that we say are controversial. Now I take more...time for thinking exactly what I'm saying and the words that I'm using to express what I'm saying.... I think all these experiences have helped me take the time to actually think of what I'm saying and not just say stuff.

More importantly, mindfulness was associated with active listening, a recurrent communication behavior that participants pointed out. Participants talked about practicing active listening as a way to deepen their understanding of issues, people, and cultures. For example, Andrey stated:

It did change who I am mainly because of the things that I told you about regarding being more open minded, being more open to others and being more sensitive to others. In that sense, I just think I became more of a listener, I would say, more of a listener. Yeah, that's how it changed me ... just more of a listener to different people without any prejudices that I might have had before.

Oscar also observed changes in his listening behaviors. He said:

And, so, I think it just really taught me these abilities to really listen to others, really try to think of just ways to again, navigate sometimes difficult conversations, because at UWC, sometimes we would talk about controversial issues in school.

Thus, mindfulness led to many other communicative behaviors that enabled participants to foreground others and their experiences while practicing self-awareness and self-monitoring in interactions.

Finally, empathy and compassion for people and their lived experiences was a consequence of having diverse social networks. The UWC experience left an indelible impact on participants' lives and, as a consequence, they now showcased a better understanding of people's experiences, and tried to validate those experiences in interactions. As Oscar shared:

> …I became a lot more empathetic with other people's perspectives because I do feel like…some people would feel very defensive about their own values and very reactionary sometimes. And so, I do think it was very important to think to yourself. Okay, I might not agree with this person, but I can actually see the reason behind why they think this way. And I do think that's just so important in having a conversation, just actually understanding where people are coming from and not just projecting what you think other people are thinking.

Taken together, the communication skills highlighted in this theme are what Mike expressed about himself: "I also really learned to communicate much better because, since expectations for communication are…very different in different places, being aware of them and putting them into use is something else that I learned." The competent communicator encompasses communication behaviors that reflect intercultural competency. These different communication skills are learned behaviors that stem from traversing intercultural spaces and practicing these skills daily. As has been evident in participants' stories, they have been continuously exposed to differences; therefore, learning to get comfortable with and overcoming differences have helped them acquire these communication skills. Furthermore, the UWC program had been a training ground for them to hone and perfect these skills.

The seven themes that answer RQ3 revealed that participants enacted their multicultural identity through communication practices that included befriending people that were different yet similar to them. Participants reported having primarily intercultural friendships with other international students. Some participants reported having friendships with domestic students.

However, those individuals were usually first or second-generation Americans who understood participants' lived experiences because they had immigrant parents or family members.

Participants reported becoming champions of diversity by embodying diversity, seeking out diverse spaces, and taking on diversity as a core value. They discussed not being willing to compromise diversity because there was so much to be learned by putting oneself in diverse spaces, among diverse people. Participants also stressed that the ability to adapt to different environments and people granted them the capacity to connect with others and build mutually beneficial relationships. Adaptability also gave them the ability to accommodate others or confirm, modify, and tailor their language, behavior, or dress toward an occasion. The ability and freedom to adjust in communicative interactions provided them with pride.

For participants, part of being diversity champions stemmed from being adventurists who were curious about others and their cultures. Thus, willingly teaching others about their culture and continuously learning about others' cultures remained an attribute that they wanted to enact. Hence, they described themselves as lifelong teacher-learners. The living in the grey theme stems from learning about distinct cultures and people. Understanding that there are many truths in the world, and one's cultural knowledge is just one truth, enabled participants to step outside of the box that was their culture, and remove limitations from their own and others' beings. Living in the grey is part of the reason why participants were able to become competent communicators. Their sojourn experiences gave them enough room to practice and the wherewithal to implement their competencies. The findings for RQ3 provide the second piece of the puzzle for the development of the CMMID. The next section uses findings from RQ2 and RQ3 to articulate this model.

The Communication Model of Multicultural Identity Development

The communicative events identified as shaping the development of multicultural identity(ies) in RQ2 and the enactment of multicultural identity in communication practices reported in RQ3 are the components that I relied on to conceptualize the CMMID. In addition to these two components, I used participants' responses to a set of interview questions that asked them about their multicultural identity directly, not captured in the research questions. This set of questions preceded the interview questions about the communicative events and communication practices reported in the findings of RQ2 and RQ3 and were meant to get participants to think about their identity and what influenced it. The questions enquired if participants self-identified as multicultural (avowal), if others viewed them as multicultural (ascription), if they felt a sense of belonging and identification with the cultures of their sojourn, and to what degree they felt like they belonged or identified with these cultures. Finally, I asked them whether they had incorporated any aspects of the two cultures in which they had sojourned in their identity and communicative behaviors.

These questions were pertinent to the discussion of multicultural identity development because they reflect the literature discussed in this dissertation. According to S. Liu (2017), bi/multicultural identity starts with self-identification; though this is valid and true, identity scholars stress the importance of ascription in identity. The two processes (avowal and ascription) solidify one's identity. Nevertheless, bi/multicultural identity can exist solely through avowal, similar to other identities such as gender and sexuality. Additionally, avowal comes from a sense of belonging and identification (Jensen et al., 2011). Therefore, examining multicultural identity development in tandem with a sense of belonging and identification is pertinent. Furthermore, collecting data about how aspects of these cultures are evidenced in behavior strengthens participants' self-identification. Next, I report the findings to the set of

questions about multicultural identity explained above. After this data is presented, I move to

articulating the proposed model.

Self-identification (Avowal) and Multicultural Identity(ies)

To assess whether participants self-identified as multicultural, they were asked: "Do you

consider yourself a multicultural person? If yes, what aspects of yourself would you say reflect

your multicultural identity?" The analysis of this question revealed that half of the participants

self-identified as a multicultural person. Here is an illustrative quote:

> Yeah, the experience in [S_1 country] really helped me understand that I could be anything
> I wanted, and I didn't have to put myself in boxes, in this sense of, I didn't have to be
> Sherlock from [native country]. I could just be Sherlock and then have everything else be
> decided by me other than by a piece of government paper. So, for example, the biggest
> thing was [the people of S_1 country]. I still say I went to school in [S_1 country], and I
> consider myself very much [S_1 country native] at heart. And so that's self-identification
> and I think understanding that was big part of UWC is like, it's good to self-identify
> yourself and to place yourself in places that you want to be rather than somebody else
> telling you what boxes to put yourself in. (Sherlock)

When asked why they considered themselves to be a multicultural individual (i.e., what aspects

reflected the identity), participants provided responses such as the one in the following quote:

> The kind of music I listen to, it's not just music from one culture because I listen to lots of
> different music. The way I speak, I guess, because I still sometimes catch myself saying
> some words and phrases that are very distinct to [S_1 country]. For example, I sometimes
> still catch myself saying "giving an exam" instead of "taking an exam". And that's a very
> [S_1 country] thing to say and my friends make fun of me for that. The kind of friends that I
> have, because I have friends who come from different cultural backgrounds, the kind of
> classes that I take, because a lot of people in this university, they specifically want to take
> classes about American politics, American economics, a lot more narrow than I take, I
> would take classes in [S_1 country] policy and European economy and that kind of stuff. So,
> in those ways, for sure. (Panama)

These two quotes demonstrate two important aspects of a multicultural identity—self-

identification and characteristics of a multicultural person. The quotes also show that participants

who avowed a multicultural identity had a discrete understanding of what such an identity meant

or entailed and how an individual with such an identity communicates, enacts behaviors,

interests, and so forth. Their understanding of multicultural identity(ies) cements the conception

of multicultural identity as an individual encounter rooted in self-identification.

Thirteen participants did not self-identify as multicultural. These participants asserted

that they could not claim to have a multicultural identity because the people of the country of

their sojourn would not identify them as part of these cultures. Furthermore, they wanted to be

respectful of the culture, identity, and lived experiences of these individuals and, therefore, did

not want to claim their identities. Two representative quotes that reflect this notion state:

> …whenever people think that they're multicultural, I honestly tend to think that's not true. I think you always hold onto your ideas and your values in many ways. And even when you don't hold onto them, you explicitly make the choice to not hold onto them. I don't think it's something that naturally happens. So, I don't think I am a multicultural person. I would say that I am a culturally aware person, which I think is what everyone becomes. (Mike)

and

> …I think saying that I am [a] multicultural person would be a disservice to those cultures because I've only experienced pieces of those cultures and not the culture in the entirety and I haven't embodied the culture in the entirety…I think I would be remiss, and it wouldn't be giving enough respect and honor to those cultures for me to claim that I am multicultural. (Sunshine)

Interestingly, these individuals readily claimed what I labeled "pan-cultural identities"—that is,

Pan African, Pan-Latino, and Pan-European. Pan-identities are those identities that reflect

personal identification with the history, culture, or politics of a specific region (Merriam-Webster

Dictionary, n. d.). Accordingly, pan-identities in and of themselves are indicative of multicultural

identities. A quote representative of this perspective notes:

> I found a community with a Latin community that I never realized I was Latina. And suddenly I see that a lot of other people have similarities with me. It gave me a big part of my identity, because now I can probably say like: Yes, I'm Latina. And before, I was just [native country nationality] and I didn't even know that Latinos were such a thing. I think it helped me realize who I am with a context and skin and culture, that before it was just me, and I didn't know who I really was. (Anne)

The "pan identities" are clearly additions to participants' heritage identities. Similarly, other identities such as internationalists and cosmopolitans are added to the conception of cultural identity, making a case for multicultural identity development. Granted, the initial purpose of this dissertation was to examine whether CCA to these countries of sojourn facilitated multicultural identity. Nevertheless, as data collection progressed, it became evident that participants' CCA was to the UWC and college/university culture, and not the cultures of the countries of sojourn. Consequently, this added new insights into how CCA research should be conducted going forward. Research should delineate whether it examines adaptation to the dominant culture or regional culture of a country. The findings of this study show that both UWC students and international students adapted to the cultures of their institutions and not necessarily the countries of their sojourn.

Finally, three participants did not self-identify as a multicultural person. Two of the three participants shared that the sojourn experience heightened their sense of heritage and their national identity. They said that, although they appreciated the experience and it widened their horizon, they only felt a sense of identification to their heritage/ethnic identity. The third participant, however, stated that they did not feel as if they belonged to their heritage culture nor to the two cultures of their sojourn. These individuals' experiences are discussed in the negative case analysis section.

Ascription of Multicultural Identity(ies)

Participants were asked if others were able to identify them as multicultural. Findings were not clear on this question. However, most participants were not sure if others could identify them as multicultural. A representative quote of the ascription of multicultural identity states:

I'm not sure. I think so, depending on their cultural education, too. Yeah. I think it depends a lot on how other people know about other cultures and how the extent to which they can judge these different culture differences. (Alternativo)

Consequently, ascription was found to be mostly lacking in others' ability to identify whether someone is multicultural. Although, as expressed in the quote above, if people were knowledgeable about different cultures or concepts such as multicultural identity, such identification may be effortless. Evidently, in the past, people were misconceived as belonging to a certain ethnic group based solely on the language they spoke. Certainly, markers of identity, such as language, customs, and norms, can be indicative of a multicultural identity and easily identifiable. However, historical enforcements of the one-drop rule, nationalism (Anderson, 1983), and mestizo culture (Lewis, 2000) have left ideologies of being both and other (i.e., bi/multicultural identity) behind, erasing different parts of who a person is (e.g., being White and Black for mixed-race individuals and substituting it with a Black only identity) to meet the identity politics of the time. As more and more individuals identify as multicultural, others can start seeing, accepting, and acknowledging different parts of individuals' identities, including those facilitated by CCA.

Sense of Belonging or Identification with Cultures of Sojourn

Participants were also asked if they felt a sense of belonging to the first culture and then the second culture to which they sojourned. All participants reported a sense of belonging to the S_1 country and culture. A sense of belonging was described by participants as "I feel connected," "sense of home," "because of the people" [UWC friends], "it's where I grew as a person." A sense of belonging, then, was tied to a sense of home, the people, and experiences in the S_1 country. They qualified this answer with statements such as "I felt at home there," "it was my

home for two years," "the people were welcoming," "I have memories there," and so forth. A

representative quote for this idea was provided by Switzerland, who said:

> I definitely do. If I had a chance to go back, if you were like: Here's a flight ticket to [S_1 country] for two weeks. I would take it without blinking an eye immediately going back. And it's always been a goal of mine to reunite with my friends in [S_1 country]. Because just based on the two years that I spent there, I feel it's a third home. Just based on how the people have treated me and the time that I've had there, I feel welcome.

As much as S_1 was associated with feelings of home, participants said they did not feel a sense of

belonging to their S_2 country. The answers provided for this question were, "I do not feel at

home," "I do not feel welcomed," "I am always reminded I am a foreigner," "I have not

experienced American culture," and so on. A quote representative of this sentiment states:

> I don't feel the same here [at home]. I think the people that I've met here, domestic people that I've met here, they just didn't give me the reasons to believe that this is my place. It's just a feeling that I have…. I do not feel a sense of belonging. (Andrey)

Interestingly, participants admitted that they felt a sense of belonging to their college/university

institutions/culture. This admission was not surprising given that participants indicated they had

adapted to their college/university culture and not the broader culture of the U.S. This quote from

Diana represents this idea: "I do feel more of a sense of belonging to [the state], to [the college

town], [the university] specifically. [The university] has become a refuge…it felt like a place that

I felt comfortable in." Consequently, participants' sense of belonging was to the

college/university, maybe even the college town or state in which they lived, but certainly not to

the entire S_2 country.

All participants said that they did not feel a sense of identification with the countries and,

thus, cultures of their sojourns. This was an interesting finding given that participants identified

as multicultural. The literature reviewed in this dissertation notes that identification is one aspect

of identity development and that self-identification (i.e., avowal) with a specific culture is

enough for an individual to be part of that culture. Participants felt a sense of belonging to their S_1 country of sojourn but did not feel a sense of identification with the country. This finding is not surprising given that the previous findings reported in this dissertation indicated that participants' CCA was to the UWC and college/university culture and not the countries of sojourn; thus, their identification was to these cultures and not the cultures of the countries of their sojourns.

Incorporation of Cultures in Identity(ies) and Communicative Behaviors

Finally, participants were asked what aspect of these cultures they incorporated into their identity and communicative behaviors. Participants provided a variety of answers ranging from obvious aspects of cultures, such as food, dress, music, and language, to deeper aspects, such as family values, spiritual values, practicing respect, and so forth. Many of the communicative behaviors have been reported in RQ3, so will not be recounted here.

The findings regarding multicultural identity development and enactment provide an impetus for a CMMID. The presented literature highlighted a substantial gap in CCA research pertaining to the multicultural identity development of newcomers. Communication scholars continue to borrow from social and cultural psychology to explain such identities. For example, Toomey et al. (2013) employed the BII model to make a case for examining how bicultural individuals communicate with their social networks. In another instance, S. Liu (2011) used social psychology literature on multicultural identity development to make a case for duality/hybridity and blended/fused identities of Chinese individuals living in Australia. I had to resign to similar use of social psychology literature to make a case for multicultural identity development for sojourners. The model proposed in this dissertation will be one of the only models that describe the development of a multicultural identity from a communication

143

perspective. The proposed CMMID was conceptualized by employing the findings of this dissertation and is described in detail below.

The CMMID

The CMMID highlights the communicative aspects of identity development. Thus, this model focuses on communication events and behaviors that shape and mold newcomers' identity(ies) into (a) multicultural identity(ies). Admittedly, some newcomers enter a new society with multicultural identities. For these newcomers, the CCA experiences add new cultural layers to (an) already existing multicultural identity(ies). Individuals who view themselves as multicultural hold two or more cultural identities, speak two or more languages, and function effectively in two or more societies. Their identification is rooted in self-identification (S. Liu, 2017).

Findings from this dissertation were used to map the stages individuals undergo as they are adapting to a new cultural environment. The stages focus on communicative aspects of the CCA experience. Sojourners' multicultural identity is shaped in stages by communicative events and the enactment of communication practices as the sojourner undergoes CCA. Three conditions to highlight within this process are: First, these two components (events and practices) are not tied to a specific stage of the developmental process but are experienced and refined as CCA and learning occur. Thus, these components are experienced at varying degrees between the different stages of multicultural identity development. Second, identity change occurs at different paces for sojourners based on their CCA. Some may immerse themselves into the CCA process quickly, whereas others may take their time and be more cautious. As such, time spent in each stage may vary based on the degree of a sojourner's adaptation. Additionally, sojourners may advance, regress, or skip stages depending on their CCA experience. Third, identity change

is predominantly gradual, unconscious, and manifested over the period of sojourn. For most, the identity change only becomes evident when they take time to reflect on the process or upon return to their home country. Thus, the identity change process manifests differently for each sojourner, depending on their CCA experience.

The proposed CMMID (see Figure 3) conceptualizes that a multicultural identity(ies) occurs over five major stages: 1) adjustment, 2) immersion, 3) integration and redefinition, 4) embodiment, and 5) refinement. Note that these stages do not necessarily occur in a linear fashion, meaning sojourners can advance to one stage but then regress back to an earlier stage or can skip a stage altogether. The time a sojourner spends in each stage also varies depending on a multitude of factors such as previous CCA experiences, the strength of one's ethnic or cultural identity, their openness to change, and so on. Each stage is discussed in what follows.

Figure 3

Visual Representation of the Communication Model of Multicultural Identity Development
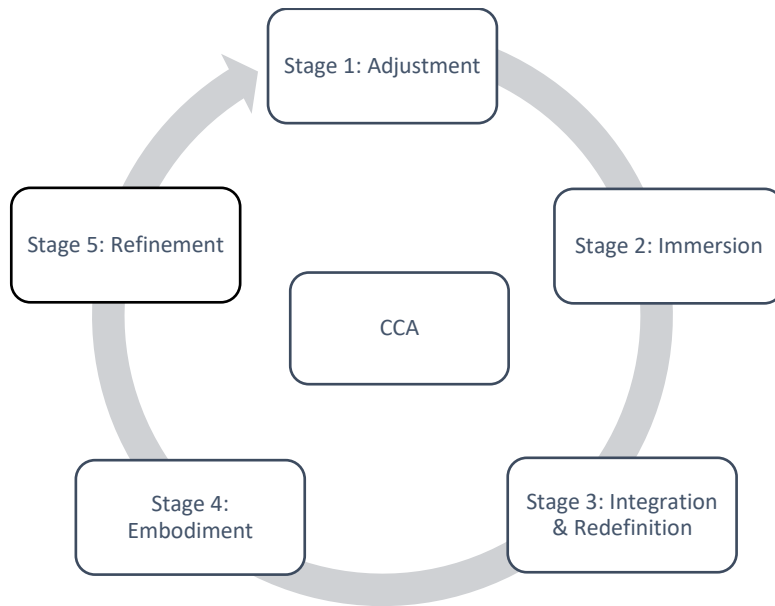
Stage 1: Adjustment. The first stage of the CMMID is the adjustment stage. Naturally, this stage deals with CCA. This is the stage in which sojourners undergo psychological and sociocultural adjustment and work out coping strategies for the new environment. In this stage, a sojourner's identity undergoes minimal change. Sojourners do a great deal of observing, examining, and canvassing to determine how they will proceed in the new environment. They feel lost and lonely and have problems fitting in as they are trying to figure out how to be themselves in the new environment. These feelings also motivate sojourners to seek out the familiar. So, they build friendships and community with those who share a similar heritage in terms of culture, language, or geographic proximity.

Alliances with culturally similar individuals allow participants to source information, practice language, and feel safe and secure in their new environment. Most sojourners appreciate the comfort these aspects bring. However, once they reach a satisfactory level of confidence in their knowledge, ability to speak a language, and sense of safety and security, they are willing to venture further away from these communities. Exploring the new environment at this point does not mean ties are severed with their former community. The community remains *home*; however, new friendships and communities outside of the culturally similar individuals are fostered. Some sojourners, however, remain tethered to the culturally similar community and experience a slower (if at all) identity change process. Nevertheless, through a lot of trial-and-error, sojourners reach a point of confidence where they feel comfortable enough to move to the next stage.

Stage 2: Immersion. Stage 2 deals with immersion. In the immersion stage, sojourners have opened up and feel more inclined to engage with the new environment – a free-fall of sorts. However, opening up also means they are acquiring new and distinct information. Sojourners engage in a great deal of learning while they are meeting new people, learning about their

cultures, their experiences, and learning about the new/host environment and its culture. They receive a lot of information that often makes them question their existing and long-held cultural knowledge, values, beliefs, norms, rules, attitudes, behaviors, and so forth. Questioning their own culture results in identity conflict, which necessitates them to review, reevaluate, and recalibrate their knowledge. This stage is also a phase of mutual learning, in that sojourners also teach others about their culture, which results in them becoming cultural representatives and ambassadors of their own culture. They start learning more and more about their culture so that they can effectively represent it to others. This learning and representation of their culture lead to cultural pride, cultural appreciation, and cultural identity salience. This stage also indicates an important aspect of CCA, adopting the integration strategy of acculturation as the desired strategy for adapting to the new environment. This derivation stems from the evidence provided, that participants became cultural representatives and ambassadors and experienced heritage cultural identity salience, and so on. Hence, they were inclined to practice heritage culture in the new environment, indexing cultural integration.

The substantial amount of cultural learning that occurs during this stage results in improved functional fitness in the new environment. Sojourners feel more confident in their ability to communicate with others. Thus, they venture out and make friends with culturally different others, speak up in classroom discussions, engage in debates, and learn more about their environment. Doing so, allows them to gain and absorb more information that leads to even more learning, while slowly building communication competencies. Cultural learning also pushes sojourners toward both conscious and unconscious, and fast or gradual identity change. Sojourners may stay in this stage for a while because a lot of identity negotiation takes place during this stage. They test the bounds of their identity as the body of knowledge is found

lacking explanations and responses as they engage with culturally different others and the environment as well as undergo a multitude of experiences while adapting to the new environment.

Some individuals in sojourners' new and old environments may celebrate and affirm the identity changes that the latter undergo, whereas others may shun or reject them and their new identity(ies). Experiencing identity security or insecurity in interactions may propel sojourners to explore further these new dimensions of their self or slow down their identity change processes and retreat to their old way of being. Some sojourners may disregard others' view of their identity change if they are satisfied with the changes they are undergoing. These decisions are part of the identity negotiation process and are continuous as the CCA experience unfolds. The identity change is never complete, though, and is always in the making. Progression to the next stage can be expected when sojourners have found answers to questions about their heritage culture that emerged as a result of being exposed to a wealth of new information, and when a satisfactory compromise has been reached. Such as compromise means that the sojourner has identified what aspects of their heritage culture to retain and what aspects of the host culture to adopt. At this point, they are ready to progress to the next stage.

Stage 3: Integration and Redefinition. Stage 3 is the period of integration and redefinition. During this stage, sojourners have accepted the identity changes that they have undergone as a result of CCA. They have decided how to negotiate and blend their heritage and host cultures. Crucial to mention here is that the integration of these two cultural identities (heritage and host) can occur as blended/fused identities or dual/hybrid identities. Also, previous definitions of bi/multicultural identity(ies) have stressed that individuals hold both heritage and host culture in equal regard. Findings of this study show that heritage identity takes precedence

148

over any new-formed identity. Therefore, multicultural identity performance is situational, dialogic, and relational.

During this stage, sojourners also commence experimentation with how to communicate their newfound identity to others. They may start by attaching their sojourn experience when introducing themselves, sharing stories of their time abroad, or their ability to speak a second or third language with interlocutors. These are the beginnings of the redefinition process that goes on until they can find suitable and seamless expressions that can encompass their multiplicity or multicultural identity. During this stage, sojourners have built up confidence in their newfound identity, language ability, cultural knowledge, and intercultural friendships. They are also more inclined to participate in novel experiences, such as traveling to unknown countries, and are less reticent of differences in people or cultures. Sojourners have also decided the type of causes, topics, stances, and issues they value and support. All these factors determine how they refine this integrated identity they now possess even further. They no longer see themselves as only belonging to their heritage culture but as evolved human beings that have multiplicity in their identities. This multiplicity manifests itself in communicative practices such as ways of thinking, use of language, reactions to situations, and so forth. They now have multiple cultural repertoires to access in response to situational, dialogic, or relational encounters. During this stage, sojourners have progressed to even greater functional fitness than before.

Stage 4: Embodiment of Multicultural Identity(ies). Stage 4 is the stage in which the embodiment of (a) multicultural identity(ies) occurs. At this stage, sojourners have avowed their multicultural identity(ies). Thus, their being reflects a multicultural person. During this stage, participants enact their multicultural identity through communication practices. For example, they have intercultural social networks, seek out diverse spaces, are able to adapt to various

situational, dialogic, and relational contexts, remain curious about others and their cultures, engage in global consciousness, express concern for global issues, and practice communication competence in interactions. This stage is punctuated with further learning and growing while actively performing the communication practices that reflect a multicultural individual. Further learning and growth may continue as the sojourner starts a new job, moves to a new city, or encounters culturally different others within the sojourn. Every new environment offers new information that the sojourner is exposed to and, thus, can add new layers to their identity. Notably, the multicultural individual continues to seek out spaces where learning and growth can occur, such as jobs at multinational companies or multicultural neighborhoods to settle down, because identity is always evolving.

A caveat of this stage is that some sojourners may not avow a multicultural identity even though their communicative patterns reflect a multicultural identity. Some may avow a variation of the multicultural identity described thus far. These individuals know that a change has occurred but are reticent to label the change as multicultural identity. These individuals possess a strong sense of identification with heritage identity and a weak sense of identification with any other culture. Consequently, their self-concept is primarily rooted in their heritage culture, yet their communication practices are indicative of a multicultural person.

Stage 5: Refinement. Stage 5 deals with refinement. This stage is labeled as refinement because identity development is never complete, but rather it is fluid and continuously evolving. The refinement stage acknowledges that new experiences can add to (a) multicultural identity(ies) and, therefore, further shaping and molding may occur. This stage also takes into account the idea of multiple adaptation. New sojourns may provide new opportunities for CCA and, thus, identity change. This stage also signals the cyclical nature of the CMMID.

150

Consequently, once newcomers reach this stage they may stay in a constant state of molding, fostering, and refining their multicultural identity(ies) or restart at any other stage (based on past sojourn experiences) as they enter a new culture. Importantly, newcomers may move much faster through the initial CMMID stages due to learning that may have occurred during previous CCA experiences.

Although the CMMID outlines several stages of multicultural identity development of sojourners, recall that these stages do not occur in a linear progression as participants may move back and forth between stages based on what the CCA experiences in the new environment dictate. For example, moving to a new region of the same country may offer different cultural aspects to which to adjust and may present the sojourner with new people in their environment with whom to build relationships. These and many other CCA experiences can set the sojourner back to any one of the previous stages based on the degree of exposure, cultural similarity, and difference.

The CMMID is a proposal for how sojourners may develop a multicultural identity while living abroad. Sojourners' adaptation may seem transient, but many sojourners spend at least a year or two in a new environment. Depending on their CCA, the experience can have indelible impacts on their identity and life. This model tries to capture one of those impacts. Markedly, the CCA experience leaves many feeling lost and in search of more than what the experience can offer. Below I discuss three cases that meet this criterion.

Negative Case Analysis

This section discusses disconfirming cases revealed during the analysis. Disconfirming or negative cases are those cases that deviate from the overall findings and provide an alternative way of understanding the CCA and multicultural identity process (Creswell, 2007). Three cases

151

were identified as deviating from the other participants in respect to multicultural identity

development. Unlike the other participants who expressed that they were multicultural or that

they did not identify as multicultural because of their heritage identity salience, these individuals

noted a sense of not belonging to their home culture. Instead, they experienced a loss of heritage

culture in some regard. For example, Ultimatum shared:

> I think I don't have a culture…. I've been away from my country for so long, I can't speak
> my language…now that I want to [go] back, it's like I'm an outsider. I don't remember the
> traditions. I don't know all this stuff. And it feels like I'm a foreigner trying to relearn or
> learn for the first time or observe a community or a group of indigenous peoples.

This sense of not belonging to one's heritage culture was also expressed by Frenkie. He stated:

> So, I don't identify myself with the typical [native country] culture…. So, if people say
> like, yeah, culture is where you come from, I don't identify myself with the practices and
> the way people think and the culture there. So, sometimes I feel that I don't even have a
> culture…

Katie did not express a loss of culture but expressed a sense of not belonging at home in this

way:

> I know that I don't quite belong at home anymore because I was away for such a long
> time…in my mind, back home is the same as it was five years ago, but it's not the case
> because people are changing in a way or living their lives. The changes are happening,
> [but] in my mind, everything is the same.

These feelings of loss of culture and sense of not belonging to heritage culture influenced

Ultimatum's perception of why he could not identify as a multicultural individual. He said: "I

don't think I can ever identify as multicultural until I find one [a culture] that I can say that, okay

this is mine. And then we can work our way up from there." These perceptions of identifying

with a specific culture before identifying as a multicultural individual may stem from the identity

conflict that participants such as Ultimatum may experience by belonging to an ethnic group in

name only. For other participants, such as Frenkie, it was a rejection of his heritage culture

because he did not want to be boxed in and limited by the bounds of his culture. He shared a story that represents this rejection:

> …last week when I got home, I was wearing a white pearl necklace. And then my aunt and my mom were like: Oh yea, [is] it a gift for your mom? You carried it [on your neck] so it wouldn't get lost. And I was like: No, they're actually mine. Like what's up with it? It's just a necklace. So, things like that.

This story highlights how his choice of jewelry, like many other changes to his identity, seems outside of the expectations of a heterosexual male in his country. In his interview, Frenkie felt his culture boxed him into cultural expectations of gender roles, gender norms, religion, and many other cultural aspects that he shared with me at length. This example in Frenkie's story may seem trivial but it is an example of the larger cultural limitations and expectations that he did not feel he identified with any longer, and also the reason why he felt lost.

Another reason participants felt a sense of loss and felt lost is because of their sojourn experiences. Participants readily admitted that the experiences were very enriching, and they learned a great deal from attending the UWC program and college/university in the U.S. However, they also thought that the experience did not give them enough sense of belonging to be able to claim they truly belonged to these countries. For example, Katie said: "So you are between places, you don't really belong anywhere, at least [at] this age. I don't know, maybe later in life, if I decide to have a family or something like this, I would feel otherwise." Frenkie had similar feelings of in-betweenness, as he shared:

> My two biggest friends are from [Latin-America] …my UWC friends are from [South-East Asia] and [Europe]. So, I've understood a lot more about the way they think and the way the culture is. But at the same time, I've detached myself from the [native country] culture. The culture that I thought was my culture. So, at [times] it just feels like, I am everywhere, but [not] anywhere. I belong everywhere, but I don't belong anywhere.

Ultimatum, too, shared Frenkie's sentiments. He said:

153

> I don't identify as American. I don't identify as [another country], I don't identify as [S$_1$ country]. I know I am not really accepted there. Home is [native country] but I don't know anyone there. So, that's my whole thing. It's like my biggest fear is that I don't have a culture…

Participants' sense of loss or feeling as if they did not belong anywhere is not uncommon for sojourners who have lived away from home for an extended period of time. CCA research discusses such feelings extensively and notes that they are consequences of being away from one's home culture for a long time (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). These feelings of loss become more evident when the sojourner returns home with the expectation that things have not changed, only to find that life has gone on without them. Onwumechili et al. (2003) explain that perceptions of an unchanged homeland are common for sojourners returning home. The realization that things have changed at home, and how much they have changed as well, plant a seed of not belonging in sojourners' minds. The more time they spend away from home increases the psychological distance between home and the self.

Frenkie and Ultimatum, however, are two unique cases that diverge from only feeling a sense of not belonging. Frenkie rejected his culture and did not feel any sense of belonging to either one of his sojourn countries. He only admitted to a sense of belonging to his university because of his friendship bonds with his international student community. Ultimatum felt he had no culture, and, therefore, did not belong anywhere. These two cases indicate that participants are experiencing a deeper identity crisis that goes beyond the objectives of this dissertation. From my perspective, these participants are working through their identity crisis through introspection in an attempt to find themselves, given all their experiences, which is a process of self-discovery. In terms of the focus of this dissertation, these three cases were outlined as disconfirming cases because they went against the grain of most findings and showed that the multiple sojourn experience can lead to other outcomes that do not include the development of a

multicultural identity. For some, this degree of exposure can lead to feelings of loss, feelings of rejection of their heritage culture, and feelings of in-betweenness – belonging everywhere and nowhere. These findings are further discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter IV in relation to the literature presented in Chapter II. I specifically discuss how the findings of this dissertation advance CCA literature and introduce the concept of multiple adaptation as it pertains to identity transformation toward a multicultural identity. I also discuss the proposed communication model of multicultural identity development for sojourners and how such a model adds to the identity literature in intercultural communication. I conclude with presenting theoretical and practical implications and share limitations and future directions for continuing the conversation on multiple adaptation and multicultural identity development for sojourners.

I discuss the findings in relation to each research question. As a reminder, the research questions for this dissertation were:

> *RQ1: How, if at all, do sojourners (Davis-UWC students) describe their cross-cultural adaptation (CCA) to more than one country?*
>
> *RQ2: What kinds of communicative events do sojourners (Davis-UWC students) report as being important to shaping their multicultural identity(ies)?*
>
> *RQ3: How, if at all, do sojourners report these events helped them perform their multicultural identity(ies) in communication practices?*

Multiple Adaptation

The first research question focused on sojourners' multiple adaptation. I define multiple adaptation as individuals' adaptation to two or more countries with a short or no return to the home country between sojourns. As presented in this dissertation, CCA research provides an extensive body of work. However, the idea of adapting to multiple new cultures with a short

period of return home has not been explicitly examined. I define short return as within a year after the previous sojourn. Research on transnationalism somewhat resembles the concept of multiple adaptation but does not quite encapsulate the notion of CCA to multiple new cultures. Transnationalism is the repeated cross-border movement between the same two societies (e.g., U.S. and Mexico; Onwumechili et al., 2003). Transnationalism diverges from multiple adaptation in that it examines movement between the same two societies, whereas multiple adaptation examines adapting to multiple and different new cultures—a first sojourn, followed by a second, or third, and more, to different cultures. For example, diplomats are often sent on diplomatic missions every two to three years. Each diplomatic mission occurs in a different culture. These cultures may be relatively similar or vastly different. Each sojourn, thus, requires CCA. Multiple adaptation, then, is adaptation to two or more new and different cultures. Multiple adaptation is different from CCA in that it highlights the differences and similarities in CCA that can be experienced in different cultures. Multiple adaptation also facilitates the development of a multicultural identity. Transnationalism is also different from multiple adaptation given that it deals with acculturation and reacculturation to host and home country, whereas multiple adaptation is concerned with CCA that happens consecutively, with a period of short or no return to the home country. These characteristics of multiple adaptation set the boundary conditions for the concept. I derived these boundary conditions from the participant sample in this study; they are the first group of sojourners with which the concept of multiple adaptation has been studied.

Findings pertaining to RQ1 have revealed that some of the existent knowledge in the CCA literature on how individuals adapt to a new environment is still highly relevant. For example, participants still reported experiencing culture shock, feeling homesick, difficulty with

language, uncertainty in role behavior or fitting in, difficulty developing domestic social relationships, and so forth during their initial sojourn, S_1. They also reported gravitating towards familiar things and people and seeking shelter and social support from those individuals with whom they shared language, heritage, or cultural similarities. They reported that doing so enabled them to have a positive and fulfilling CCA. These findings are in line with previous CCA research and have been noted and investigated extensively (e.g., Y. Liu, 2018). By the same token, participants also reported that, once they felt confident in their language proficiency and functional fitness, they were able to venture out and develop friendships with culturally different others and engage with their surroundings. Finding the confidence to remove the tether with the ethnic enclave they created for themselves is a step toward acquiescing to the environment and its actors. This is also a step toward healthy CCA and an indication of increased functional fitness in the new environment. Additionally, participants reported experiencing extreme identity conflict that continuously challenged them to question their upbringing cultural values. Doing so moved them to experiment, experience, and evaluate their cultural values and reconfigure how they wanted to move through the world. Participants reported this exercise as painful yet necessary. This exercise also constitutes the first manifestations of identity transformation, where the sojourner engages in internal negotiation or intrapersonal communication to resolve the internal conflict (Phinney, 1999) they are experiencing (Y. Y. Kim, 2005).

The S_1 sojourn experience described by participants maps well with current literature on CCA. The experiences describe initial psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 1997) and the slow and gradual acculturation (Berry, 1997) that leads to the development of functional ways to be themselves in the new environment (Y. Y. Kim, 2005).

Nevertheless, findings revealed additional information about S_1 that adds new insights to CCA research. This dissertation inquired whether, given global trends on people's movements, sojourners engage in adaptation strategies outside of assimilation, and how those strategies affect their identity transformation. Specifically, Berry's integration strategy was posited as a viable strategy that allows acculturation while retaining one's heritage culture and, thus, molding a multicultural individual (i.e., multicultural identity). Furthermore, the idea of prescriptive (what ought to be) rather than descriptive (what is) theory was posited to explain sojourners' acculturation patterns. Evidence to this effect is discussed below.

The findings of this dissertation revealed that participants did, indeed, adopt the integration strategy of adaptation for their S_1. The use of the integration strategy was evident in participants' admissions that they allowed the adaptation process to challenge who they were but, at the same time, the process made them acutely aware of their national, ethnic, or mixed-race cultural identity. Challenges to their identity facilitated identity change, whereas awareness of where they came from allowed them to maintain aspects of their heritage identity—those parts of who they were that they were not willing to let go or forget. Participants also admitted that the values of their heritage culture were the reasons they had been able to attain opportunities such as those represented by S_1 and S_2; therefore, relinquishing them completely would not be right. Thus, the first new insight from this dissertation's findings is that sojourners rely on the integration adaptation strategy given that it allows for the adoption of new cultural elements while retaining old cultural ones. Most importantly, integration (instead of assimilation) is the default strategy for those sojourners who show pride in their heritage identity and would like to retain key aspects of that identity in the new environment. Acculturation theorists in communication have insisted that assimilation is the most viable strategy for positive and healthy

159

adaptation (see Y. Y. Kim, 2005 for discussion). This study, in accordance with many others (e.g., S. Liu, 2011), has found that assimilation is just *one* functional way to adapt to a new environment. Integration is another. Despite integration being a longstanding alternative strategy proposed by Berry (1997), many scholars still deem assimilation as valid. Assimilation may be a valued strategy for many sojourners who feel an affinity toward the host culture and a desire to fully immerse themselves in the culture during their sojourn. Many benefits stem from doing so. However, acknowledgment within communication theory that integration is also a viable strategy for sojourners is needed. As mentioned in the literature review, scholars such as Croucher and E. Kramer's (2017) cultural fusion theory are part of the early waves of change in the reconceptualization of CCA. The findings of this dissertation continue this wave of change. The findings of integration strategy as a viable and preferred strategy of CCA were evidenced when participants shared that the sojourn experience heightened their heritage identity saliences (e.g.," I never felt more [nationality] than in S_1 country"). Heritage identity salience while adopting elements of the host culture (in this case UWC or college/university culture) demonstrates Berry's (1997) integration strategy, thus confirming participants' use of this strategy.

Additionally, for S_1, findings revealed that the immediate environment and its culture have more influence on sojourners' adaptation than the overall/dominant culture of the country in which participants sojourn. This conclusion was drawn based on participants' pattern of adaptation, as revealed by the dissertation's findings. Participants expressed that S_1 occurred in the bubble that is the UWC campus, and that their CCA and identity change was the result of the UWC culture and not the country of their sojourn. Although these may be by-products of this sample, it is feasible this experience could happen for other types of sojourners as well. For example, the military is normally confined to their military base and interactions are primarily

with those in their immediate environment who may be co-nationals with varied ethnic identities, aspects which may also impact military members' identities. Intermingling with different ethnicities may generate a military base culture specific to the location of the base (i.e., regional culture) that can result in identity change. Similarly, expatriate communities (diplomats, businesspeople, missionaries) are known to cluster and build localized communities that act as support systems. Although they venture out to tend to their duties, they retrieve to the expat community in which they spend most of their time. Therefore, their experiences can be representative of the experiences of participants in this dissertation.

This finding makes a case for local or regional CCA experiences, not necessarily adaptation to the broader/dominant culture of a country, as the CCA literature has posited. That is, sojourners' identities are mostly influenced by those in their immediate environment. Continuous interactions with them facilitate cultural and language learning, both factors that were found to facilitate identity transformation in this dissertation. The finding also taps into the concept of culture in relation to CCA. When researchers examine CCA, the implicit understanding is that they are investigating newcomers' adaptation to a new country and, thus, culture. Y. Y. Kim (2005) divorced culture from country and conceptualized CCA as occurring in a new environment. The context of the new environment is determined by the population under investigation (see Y. Y. Kim, 2003 for evidence). Despite this knowledge, an overwhelming number of CCA research studies examine adaptation to a new country and in relation to the dominant culture. Furthermore, regional differences within countries offer possibilities for alternative CCA experiences for newcomers. For example, Bourhis et al. (2010) found that Los Angeles, California and Montreal, Quebec supported an integrationist approach to newcomers' CCA. This is an interesting finding because both cities are in regions that support

161

the assimilation approach to adaptation. Thus, similar adaptation differences could exist in a culture such as the U.S., in different regions, depending on newcomers' environments. Such findings support the idea of adapting to regional culture instead of the overall/dominant culture of the country. This is a thought-provoking argument, given that not all countries are as big and widely spread out as the U.S., with 50 different states. However, one cannot assume a lack of internal diversity between regions within a country. If internal diversity within different regions is assumed, then the argument presented here has merit that ought to be investigated further.

Another point that provides further support for this assertion is the fact that numerous newcomers, particularly international students, have limited access to transportation, leaving them in siloed areas. For example, participants in this dissertation expressed that they could not experience the countries of their sojourn to the full extent of their peoples and cultures because they often did not have transportation (e.g., owned a car) or they lived in a region that limited their mobility because it lacked proper public transportation infrastructure. Although owning a car has not been widely discussed in the CCA literature, it was repeated as a limitation by several participants. Thus, transportation may be a big concern for newcomers, such as international students, because not having access to reliable transportation means their mobility is limited to their immediate environment—that is, the places that they can visit on foot or using a bicycle. Many think public transportation services such as Uber and Lyft are worthy alternatives. These services, however, charge rates that a lot of newcomers cannot afford. Thus, lack of mobility limits newcomers' ability to experience the country of their sojourn extensively, leaving them confined to their immediate environment of residence. This finding further supports the argument for regional adaptation because it stresses the idea of being confined to the immediate

162

environment and, therefore, only adapting to the culture of that environment instead of the broader, dominant culture of the country of sojourn.

These findings and the idea of regional adaptation are part of the conversation on descriptive vs. prescriptive theory. Regional or localized adaptation is a novel thought that emerged in participants' descriptions of their CCA, which alerted me that this was a new way to view and understand CCA. Geographic localization of culture as an element of CCA moves beyond what is and highlights what ought to be for how newcomers adapt and how scholars should examine the phenomenon. Evidently, culture retains a convenient tendency to differ across geographic regions (Hofstede, 1980). To clarify, I am not proposing that examining CCA to dominant culture should be discarded. My assertion is that regional adaptation should be part of the conversation and/or the type of adaptation (i.e., adapting to dominant culture) should be explicitly stated in research reports. Doing so further avoids conflating functional fitness based on regional adaption to functional fitness as a result of adapting to the dominant culture. Notably, regional culture is a component of the broader dominant culture. Nevertheless, a distinction between types of adaptation can offer insight into the degree to which newcomers adapt to the dominant culture as opposed to the regional culture (e.g., Midwest). Importantly, this idea of regional adaptation along with cultural fusion theory offer prescriptive theoretical understandings of CCA. Other significant ideas that can add to this conversation are evidenced in the comparison between participants' S_1 and S_2 sojourns.

Findings from the S_2 sojourn experiences described by participants add significant knowledge to the CCA literature as well. This dissertation aimed to compare S_1 and S_2 to examine whether similarities and differences were present between the two sojourns. Findings revealed that, indeed, there were quite a few similarities and differences. First, participants

163

reported two major similarities between the two sojourns: 1) living in a bubble and 2) the degree of impact that the sojourn had on their lives. Participants noted that both sojourns happened in a vacuum, meaning they perceived their adaptation as occurring in a bubble. Participants in this dissertation were international students. Previous research conducted by Biwa (2020) also found that international students perceived their CCA to involve adapting to college life (the bubble) and not necessarily the culture of the country of their sojourn. Similar findings are reported in this dissertation in which participants described their CCA as adapting to UWC culture or their college/university culture. A few acknowledged that they were familiar with their college town culture. Thus, their adaptation to the college towns where their colleges/universities were located further echoes the argument for regional adaptation advanced previously. College towns were reported as being within thirty minutes to one hour from the nearest major city. The distance between the two cities meant that the college town was viewed as part of the college/university bubble to which participants adapted. Despite adapting to the culture of the college town, participants quickly negated that assertion, noting that the culture of the college town in which they were did not equate to the country's culture. This negation shows that participants had a perception of what the U.S. culture is and they did not see it in their college towns; but, it also highlights the fact that many college towns often feel like a bubble because they house people from all over the world associated with the college/university, who are educated and informed about global issues, have liberal ideas, thoughts, values, and so forth, with which participants identify. Thus, adaptation occurs in a bubble.

Another aspect of the bubble adaptation process is that participants reported little interaction with host nationals in the country of sojourn. They perceived this limited interaction with locals as a reason why they did not experience the whole culture of their country of sojourn

164

and, thus, cannot claim to have adapted to *the* culture. According to Y. Y. Kim's (2005) theory, host interpersonal communication is a key factor in positive CCA. Thus, participants' assertion that limited interaction hindered their CCA to the new culture is valid. The minimal interaction and exposure to host nationals and host culture also motivated participants to become engrossed in the culture and people in their immediate surroundings. As reported in the findings, this meant more exposure to those from a similar cultural background and to other international people from various cultures in their environment. The continuous engagement with these individuals and their cultures led to their identity transformation toward a multicultural identity. Thus, host communication (in terms of both cultures of sojourn) had a limited impact on participants' adaptation. Nevertheless, communication with others in the environment in and of itself proved paramount to adaptation and identity transformation, demonstrating the importance of this aspect of CCA. The discussion of RQ2 results further explores this argument.

Participants noted that both S_1 and S_2 were impactful to their lives. However, S_1 was overwhelmingly identified as more impactful than S_2. Important to note here is that S_1 was mostly deemed as more impactful because it was the first time participants had lived abroad, which meant participants were away from their families for the first time. Being on their own without their usual support system seemed lonesome and scary. Participants were suddenly solely responsible for themselves—a thought that can be overwhelming at 16 years old. Additionally, my observation was that S_1 was also labeled more impactful because of the UWC program and culture. UWC's mission is to bring young people from across the world together to learn from each other. Participants reported being confronted with so many differences— differences in race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, religion, thinking, perspectives, behavior, values, beliefs, experiences, and much more, which can be overwhelming. As a matter

of fact, participants admitted feeling overwhelmed by having to be exposed to so many different people.

Furthermore, participants' ability to communicate effectively, with cultural sensitivity and diplomatic eloquence, was frightening and exhausting at the same time because they did not know what was acceptable and not acceptable. Thus, the environment required continuous learning. Being exposed to such a high degree of difference is not easy, and one cannot walk away not feeling the impact of such an experience. Additionally, the IB is one of the most rigorous academic programs in the world. Participants reported how challenging the IB curriculum was. They then compared it to their first and sophomore year in college/university and noted their college classes were less challenging and required less work than the IB program. They also noted that the IB program had prepared them for college/university in that they learned college writing and studying strategies at UWC that most college students struggle with in their first and second year of college, which made college/university much easier. Considering these two aspects of the UWC experience, it is no wonder participants labeled S_1 as more impactful than S_2. Participants admitted that the S_2 experience was less impactful because it did not compare to the UWC experience. In the U.S., they were attending PWIs, so the majority of the school population was White Americans. A PWI pales in comparison to a student body from up to 120 countries in respect to diversity. This is not to say that participants' college campuses lacked diversity altogether, it just means they did not have as much diversity as participants' S_1 UWC schools did. Hence, the S_2 experience was less impactful, but, nevertheless, made an impression given its differences from the S_1 experience and also constituted the beginning of participants' development into adulthood.

S_2 was labeled as different due to the degree of familiarity participants possessed with the U.S. culture. Many had had exposure to American media and had preconceived notions of the culture. For others, S_2 was different because it was their first taste of true independence (and freedom). Such independence came with a lot of responsibility, both personal and fiscal. True independence meant that they were completely self-reliant. They no longer relied on parents for financial assistance, but rather worked a student job, were responsible for their personal health and well-being, made tough decisions, maintained good grades, and graduated on time. Participants acknowledged that they felt like adults for the first time. They also shared that they were future-oriented and were constantly pursuing various opportunities such as internships, jobs, fellowships, or graduate school. Thus, S_2 was different because the focus of the experience was different. The focus was on growing into an adult and thinking about the future.

In sum, S_1 and S_2 were similar in that CCA was deemed to occur in a bubble and they both were impactful. The experiences of participants in the S_1 country are not likely to be that of the average sojourner. Even when they enter a new culture that is distinctly different than their heritage culture, sojourners may never experience a CCA similar to the Davis-UWC scholars' experience. The impactful nature of the S_1 experience, however, corresponds to CCA literature. Acculturation theorists contend that the first time away from home and cultural similarity or distance can indelibly impact the CCA experience and degree of identity change (Berry, 1997; Y. Y. Kim, 2005). This dissertation results are in line with this assertation. Second, the learning that occurs during the S_1 experience makes the S_2 experience less severe. Sociocultural learning has been examined by acculturation scholars (e.g., Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Taft, 1977), who show that learning, indeed, happens and aids in future sojourns.

S_2 was considered vastly different from S_1 in two major ways: 1) how easy the CCA was, and 2) the degree of identity change that took place. Participants identified S_2 as easier than S_1 because they had already dealt with the challenging aspects of a CCA experience and learned how to adapt to a new environment. Participants said that S_2 was easy because they had already undergone the most demanding CCA experience during UWC. Essentially, they already knew what to expect when adapting to a new environment. They also noted that familiarity with the U.S. reduced the degree of uncertainty about the new environment they experienced because they already had an idea of what to expect in the U.S. My conclusion, though, is that learning occurred. Participants applied what they had learned during their S_1 to their S_2. For example, participants knew that the first few months in a new environment would be stressful. So, they paced themselves and allowed themselves more grace as they learned how things worked in the new culture. They also realized the value of a support system and, therefore, quickly attached themselves to the international student community on campus. For example, many students reported seeking out and taking advantage of resources geared toward international students. Some shared they joined student organizations to find a support system and make friends. Importantly, they understood it took a while to find one's place in the ecosystem (i.e., fitting in). Thus, they were more patient with finding and maintaining a social network. A significant advantage in S_2 that made CCA easy was the ability to speak the local language, which had been one of the biggest challenges that participants reported having to overcome in S_1. Not expending enormous cognitive energy toward language learning and applying the cognitive resources to other areas of CCA alleviated pressure as participants navigated the new environment during their S_2. Consequently, the easy nature of S_2 stemmed from learning in their previous sojourn and applying that knowledge to the new environment.

The second difference was that identity change was nonexistent or minor in S_2 compared to S_1. Participants reported that the CCA in S_2 did not lead to identity change for some because they found a lot of what they experienced in the U.S. surprising. Experiences in the classroom and on campus made them feel like they were not welcomed because they were constantly reminded that they were foreigners. For some, the American-centric curriculum reduced their ability to relate to course content. For others, the animosity and racial discrimination they experienced in the classroom made it hard to feel at home at the university/college. For most, the difficulty of developing domestic friendships led to building a community of international students, which limited contact with host nationals even further. Finally, the heightened issues of race, racism, and discrimination in the country made many feel their safety and security were at risk. Therefore, participants felt the need to protect their evolved identity acquired during S_1, and, for the most part, treated their U.S. experience as transient.

The above relates to the notion of host receptivity as articulated by Y. Y. Kim (2005) and addressed by Berry (1997). Host receptivity is the degree to which the new environment is accepting or open to newcomers. Host receptivity is often discussed in relation to host conformity pressure, the pressure exerted on newcomers to adopt and enact normative patterns of communication and behavior of the host culture (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). Host receptivity and conformity pressure are influenced by the degree to which newcomers can impact the surrounding host environment. Cultural fusion theory highlights the importance of the influence newcomers have on the new environment. Host receptivity and conformity pressure acknowledge that such influence from sojourners can determine how welcoming the host society is to newcomers. Furthermore, Berry (1997) asserts that multicultural policies or favorable immigration policies alleviate the conformity pressure and aid the host receptivity of newcomers.

Participants in this study did not feel a sense of belonging or safety and security in the S_2 culture, which accentuates the national perception of newcomers in the U.S. Anti-immigrant rhetoric is pervasive in the U.S. and could be the reason participants did not experience a sense of belonging to the S_2 culture. Hotta and Ting-Toomey (2013), for instance, reported in their study of international students' adaptation to the U.S. that students felt marginalized (e.g., discriminated against) despite longing to belong, be included, and be accepted by groups in their new environment. They also reported that participants wanted to feel acknowledged and seen as valuable guests that have something (e.g., intercultural resources) to offer to the college/university community. Thus, the degree of host receptivity and the country's social climate are related, and affect how welcomed newcomers feel in this environment. Even more so, host receptivity can influence sojourners' CCA and degree of identity transformation that occurs for sojourners. Although the participants in this dissertation felt a sense of belonging and identification with their college/university culture, the overarching rhetoric in the U.S. concerning immigrants precipitated down to the local level and was experienced by participants in various ways (e.g., classroom interactions with other students). Importantly, participants' sense of belonging to their college/university mostly stemmed from their own social networks, meaning the international community they created for themselves.

Participants in this dissertation shared that they had an extensive international community and network of international students that acted as a collective outgroup vis-à-vis the dominant group (White Americans) on the college campuses they attended. Forming long-lasting relationships with domestic students remained elusive. Similar struggles with friendships were reported by Hotta and Ting-Toomey (2013), who noted that international students felt interpersonal rejection from domestic students because they were perceived as being too

different. Hotta and Ting-Toomey's finding aids my assertion that domestic students may experience low motivation and possess limited intercultural communication skills to engage in conversation with international students and build relationships with them. Ting-Toomey (2010) argues that motivation and communication skills to engage in intercultural interactions are two key factors in effective intercultural communication. Thus, these two factors may explain the reluctance of domestic students to engage with international students. This statement may also be true for international students. However, the findings of this study and others, such as Hotta and Ting-Toomey's, demonstrate that international students are eager to make friends with domestic students but repudiation from host national students persists.

Another important aspect of this discussion pertains to the short-term nature of sojourners' sojourn. The constrained time living abroad offers limited opportunities and motivation for both parties (i.e., sojourners and domestic individuals) to invest time in fostering an interpersonal relationship. This assertion was found to be true for international students in Hotta and Ting-Toomey's (2013) study. International students felt that their time abroad was too short to build deep and long-lasting relationships with domestic students. This finding, although true, is only partially relevant to the findings on intercultural friendships in this dissertation. Participants in this dissertation built strong, deep, and long-lasting friendships with other international students, despite the time constrain of their sojourn. So, suffice it to say, more factors are at play when it comes to difficulty developing intercultural friendships with domestic students. Interrogation into intercultural friendships from host national students' perspective is paramount to uncover the root of these challenges and to compare both parties' attitudes toward intercultural friendships. Also, variations in friendships made with different host ethnic groups

171

(e.g., White vs. Latino vs. Black) could grant further understanding of the differences in propensity to engage in intercultural friendships among U.S. Americans.

For a few of the participants, the S_2 CCA experience had an influence on their identity. For these individuals, the identity change was minor yet consequential. For example, participants shared that they had come to appreciate the rugged individualism, freedoms, capitalism, and opportunities that the U.S. presented. They noted that they had adopted these values as part of their own value system. For example, they had taken to the idea that one could change the course of one's life and work toward personal and financial success. The opportunities are available in the U.S. for a person to achieve that. In another instance, individuals' freedoms in the U.S., such as freedom of expression, freedom of speech, freedom to become whomever you want, were viewed as liberating and without bounds. These participants did not have these kinds of freedoms in their home countries, so, they grew to value them in the U.S. Thus, the main difference in terms of identity change between S_2 and S_1 was the degree of identity change, meaning the extent to which participants' identities were transformed to include (a) multicultural identity(ies). Identity transformation is a function of CCA (Y. Y. Kim, 2005), and these findings show that a second adaptation can lead to another wave of identity change (i.e., multiple adaptation led to multiple identity transformations). The findings of this study show that identity changes are more subtle in the second sojourn than in the first sojourn, but it is my contention that the culture of sojourn greatly influences the degree of identity transformation. The stress-adaptation-growth dynamic outlines the intense stress that sojourners may experience because of the demands of the new environment (Y. Y. Kim, 2005), meaning the proximity or distance of new sojourn culture to sojourner's heritage culture impacts intensity and extent of demands of the new environment. These demands push the sojourner to rid themselves of their disequilibrium and return to a state

of homeostasis. In accordance with the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic, Ting-Toomey (2005) asserts that the identity consistency-change dialectic is at play in a new environment. The more open individuals are to the experience, the more likely they are able to experience "[a] sense of identity dislocation and stretch in the spiraling cross-boundary intercultural contact" (Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013, p. 552) in which identity change is more likely to occur than stability. Thus, identity transformation is the result of CCA, and the more demanding the new environment, the more likely sojourners feel motivated to meet the demands of the new society and, hence, reduce disequilibrium and reach homeostasis.

The discussion on the comparison between S_1 and S_2 highlights the following. First, viewing the adaptation experience as occurring in a bubble limits participants to their immediate environment and, thus, the culture of their immediate environment, instead of the overall/dominant culture in the new environment. Second, both experiences were labeled as impactful. However, the impact of CCA is dependent on which experience comes first, the degree of cultural difference between one's own culture and the sojourn culture, and the demands the host culture places on a sojourner's adaptation. For example, balancing language learning, a diverse student body, a demanding curriculum, and CAS activities placed pressure on participants and, at times, demanded more than they could manage. Thus, the demands of the host culture can differ from one culture to the next. Importantly, this impact is dependent on the quality of the CCA (i.e., the experiences that the sojourner collected that made the CCA positive and memorable), not the quantity or amount of time spent in the new CCA. More importantly, the quality of CCA influences the degree of identity transformation that occurs. Third, learning occurs during the first sojourn; therefore, the second sojourn is easier in terms of the degree of uncertainty, cultural expectations, and adapting to the new environment. A caveat here is that the

degree of familiarity and knowledge about the new environment adds to the ease of the CCA experience, which means that, if a sojourner has little knowledge or has had little exposure to the second new environment, their CCA may not be as easy as noted above, and may present its unique challenges. Fourth, the most and major identity transformation occurs during the first sojourn, due to it being the first time sojourners are confronted with so much difference; they must re-evaluate everything they have ever known. Most of the identity change comes from them having to adopt new ways of being in the new environment. It also stems from working through what they have always known to be true and identifying inconsistencies, idiosyncrasies, myths, and so forth attached to their cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Notably, if the first sojourn happens in a culture similar to that of the sojourner, the degree of identity transformation may not be as vast. However, I contend it will still entail more change compared to the transformation that occurs in the second country of sojourn because it would still be the first time sojourners live away from their social networks, support systems, and everything they know. The change will come from rebuilding those systems in the new environment and, thus, acquiescing to the influence of those in the new environment. The second sojourn leads to minimal identity change, especially if the CCA experience quality is low. Participants equated the quality of the experience with how welcoming the culture was, how sojourners were treated, and how safe and secure they felt in the new environment.

The four main areas of comparison presented above are not exhaustive. A different group of sojourners who have undergone multiple adaptation may indicate other areas of saliency. However, these initial findings show that there are differences between two consecutive sojourns that warrant further consideration in research on CCA. These findings also add to the current body of work on CCA. Intercultural communication scholars have written extensively about the

CCA experience; most of what is known about the experience was present in the dissertation findings as well. This bodes well for CCA research. Nevertheless, the findings of this dissertation introduced a new idea, the concept of multiple adaptation, and provided relevant comparisons between two sojourn experiences that happen within a short period of time from each other. The idea of multiple adaption has implications for other areas of adaptation research as well. Not only does it impact our understanding of identity change, but it also impacts factors investigated under CCA such as anxiety/uncertainty management in new environments, cultural schemas developed as a result of such experiences, re-entry research, social and intimate relationships, and so forth. All these factors have only been examined as they pertain to one sojourn. Nothing is known about the alternative, multiple sojourns, and multiple adaptation. Furthermore, this dissertation's findings pointed out regional adaptation along with multiple adaptation. Descriptive models view the acculturation experience as uniform (Sussman, 2000), meaning that acculturation is expected to follow a certain pattern (i.e., variants of the same process) in a new environment, framing these acculturation processes as equivalent. Yet, doing so lacks consideration of variations in the experience based on regional differences (within country variation); in other words, consideration of variance in the response to changing environments and sociocultural contexts (Sussman, 2000). Admittedly, host conformity pressure, host receptivity, and immigration policies have been part of the adaptation literature (Berry, 1997; Y. Y. Kim, 2005). However, regional stances on these factors have not been centered in the discussion. This dissertation highlights multiple adaptation and a subset of regional adaptation to inform and add to CCA literature and, specifically, adaptation patterns. Valued attention should be accorded to these new patterns of adaptation so that current knowledge of CCA can be expanded to include these new variations. The findings of this dissertation align

175

with past CCA research, but, at the same time, offer a fresh perspective on a familiar

phenomenon and provide a new understanding of adaptation patterns.

Multicultural Identity Development

The findings of this dissertation also answered two additional research questions. These

questions are closely linked as they describe the communicative events that shape multicultural

identity development and how multicultural identity is enacted in communication practices.

Communicative events such as fellowship with others, classroom discussions, CAS, heated

debates, language learning, and practicing different cultural traditions and rituals helped shape

the development of participants' multicultural identity through daily interactions with actors in

their environment. Communication practices such as having diverse social networks, fostering

diversity, possessing global awareness, and enacting communication competence in interactions

showcased the characteristics of participants' multicultural identity. Importantly, these two

components (communicative events and communication practices) aided in the conceptualization

of the proposed CMMID that this dissertation advanced.

First, the communicative events revealed provided an understanding of the role

communication plays in shaping a multicultural identity. Communication is a transactional

endeavor, which means there is immense co-creating of meaning during interactions. The

transactional nature of communication also means individuals' identities are asserted, defined,

modified, challenged, and/or supported in interactions (Hecht et al., 2005; Ting-Toomey, 2005).

Findings confirmed that these transactional interactions facilitated mutual identity change within

sojourners. As K. Hall (1999) notes, there is no identity before discourse, which emphasizes that

identity is discursively constructed and reconstructed. This idea was reflected in participants'

narratives, supporting the notion of no pre-discursive identity (K. Hall, 1999). The

communication theory of identity (CTI; Hecht et al., 2005) also explains the relationship between communication and identity by further stressing the notion of identity as discursively constructed. According to Hecht et al., "identity is formed, maintained, and modified in a communicative process and thus reflects communication" (p. 262). What is more, Hecht et al. assert that identity is "acted out and exchanged in communication" (p. 262), showcasing that communication externalizes identity. The two then, communication and identity, are a function of each other and are interdependent.

Furthermore, the immensely diverse student body in S_1 provided many opportunities for mutual influence of identities. The continued fostering of diverse social networks in S_2 offered further space where mutual identity influence occurred. Additionally, the nature of the UWC program—classroom discussion and CAS—was designed to affect change in sojourners' identities. The stories told were those of radical change where upbringing was questioned and existing knowledge was broken down to make room for a new set of knowledge that included an expanded worldview. Social interactions, such as those discussed above, are part of social processes (Hecht et al., 2005) that shaped the participants' multicultural identity and added to their cognitive schema to help them understand and interpret the social world around them. This cognitive schema reflects the increased cultural repertoire from which participants could draw in interactions, thus activating the various loci of identity (i.e., layers of identity) in social interactions (see SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1986 for discussion on various social identities as foregrounded in interactions; Hecht et al., 2005).

The communication events found to shape participants' multicultural identity(ies) are unique to Davis-UWC scholars. Nevertheless, general types of events can be sourced from the list of events reported in this dissertation. First, in fellowship with others simply references

continuous interactions with others (host nationals and culturally different others). These interactions are outlined in Y. Y. Kim's (2005) ITCCA as paramount to adaptation and identity transformation. Thus, sojourners should always seek out fellowship with others. Second, classroom discussions are a communicative event that is unique to international students and visiting scholars. However, this event reflects discussions with others, which can take place in various contexts and occasions. For example, discussions can take place at work for businesspeople, diplomats, and seasonal workers, or during church gatherings or missionary expeditions for missionaries. Third, CAS highlights engagement in activities such as volunteering, advocacy, and creativity. Sojourners can easily engage in these activities outside a formalized context such as that presented by the UWC program. Spending time volunteering at a local church or children's shelter, engaging in activism such as #BlackLivesMatter, and learning to play a local sport (e.g., baseball) are culture-rich environments in which sojourner's identities can be molded. Fourth, heated debates resemble any discussion in which contemporary, controversial issues are discussed or in which cultural teaching and learning can occur. Heated debates can occur at kitchen tables or during holiday celebrations, and so forth. Thus, heated debates are relevant to sojourner's adaptation experience and identity transformation. Fifth, multicultural identity(ies) shaped through language learning align with entering any new society. Even if a sojourner can speak the local language, there are always regional variations in language, whether it be accent, slang, or dialect that a sojourner has to learn in order to adapt successfully and be able to communicate with locals. Sixth, learning by doing reflects multicultural identity(ies) being shaped by actively participating in cultural practices in the new environment. Learning by doing includes participating in local traditions, customs, rituals, food, dress, and so forth. Sojourners automatically are introduced to a new culture in their new

178

environment so, by engaging with the culture, they can learn by doing and mold their multicultural identity. Based on the foregoing, the communicative events derived in this dissertation can be applied to various types of sojourners. The situational context may differ in terms of the new environment in which the sojourner finds themselves, but the events can be easily transferred to a new cultural context. Multiple investigations using these events as guideposts can confirm these events (or more) as possible predictors of communicative events that shape multicultural identity(ies) development. Naturally, quantitative materials must be designed based on subsequent findings so that a measure can be developed to test these events as predictors of multicultural identity development.

Second, sojourners enacted their multicultural identity through communication practices. The communication practices outlined in the findings demonstrate what Hecht et al. (2005) call the loci or layers of identity enacted based on situational, relational, and dialogic contexts. The loci of identity are the four layers in which identity resides; they explain how identity is foregrounded in interactions. Hecht et al. propose the personal (individual layer), enacted (communication layer), relational (relationship layer), and communal (group layer) as the four layers of a person's identity that represent different aspects of their identity. These four layers can be in concert or in conflict with each other and can never exist isolated from each other, which means these layers are interdependent with each other. These layers are reflected in the enactment of participants' communication practices. Participants expressed how they practiced perspective taking as they engaged with culturally different others, which employs the personal, communication, and relational loci of identity in that participants used their self-understanding (personal) in particular situations to enact their multicultural identity(ies) (communication) in relationship with others (relational). Another application of the four layers is the characteristics

179

of the group (communal layer) that demonstrate the enactment of multicultural identity(ies) in interactions. A good example is the characteristic of a cosmopolitan that is communicatively enacted when participants showcase mindfulness and empathy towards others through global consciousness and concern. Many other examples of communication practices can be provided. This view of identity stresses the relationship between communication and identity and how the loci of identity are present in and enacted through communication practices.

Furthermore, the communication practices that emerged in the findings paralleled the communication practices of interculturally competent communicators. Ting-Toomey (2010) outlines several factors that indicate competency in intercultural interactions: knowledge, motivation, and skills used to interact effectively and appropriately with members of different cultures. The communication practices outlined in the findings of RQ3 show that multiculturals acquired the necessary knowledge through CCA to interact competently with culturally different others. They also have the motivation to do so because they expressed an appreciation for diversity, they actively sought out diverse spaces, and possessed a global orientation and consciousness. Finally, multiculturals acquired communication skills, such as open-mindedness, active listening, mindfulness, empathy, and cognitive complexity, that enabled them to interact with others effectively and appropriately. They were able to monitor themselves and adapt to the situational, dialogic, and relational contexts occasioned in interactions. Thus, these communicative practices align with intercultural sensitivity, intercultural competence, and intercultural communication competence. Importantly, these characteristics are the attributes outlined by Ting-Toomey (2010) for effective conflict management and, elsewhere, for effective mediators and negotiators. These characteristics are easily transferred to sojourners who undergo CCA and develop a multicultural identity as a result of the process. Furthermore, these

characteristics are easily observable in other sojourners and measurable using quantitative methods in order to generalize across all sojourners.

Communication Model of Multicultural Identity Development (CMMID)

RQ2 and RQ3 provided the necessary information to develop a model of multicultural identity development for sojourners. Findings from the dissertation revealed that multicultural identity is, indeed, avowed, meaning it stems from self-identification. This finding is in line with communication scholars (e.g., S. Liu, 2017) and social psychology scholars (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007, 2013). An additional finding reflects that multicultural identity can exist and be enacted without self-identification. Some participants did not avow a multicultural identity; however, their descriptions of themselves and their communication practices were indicative of a multicultural identity. Although the identity is unrecognized, its effect is at play. "The lack of identity awareness may be explained conceptually through the phenomenal self or the working self-concept (Markus & Kunda, 1986), which [refers] to a part of self-knowledge present or not present in our awareness at a particular time" (Sussman, 2000, p. 363). Despite the fact that culture is part of the self, cultural identity may not always be explicitly recognized. "Like a fish in water, culture surrounds an individual, albeit its impact is seldom a salient feature of [the] individual's self-concept; individuals rarely recognize the imprint of their own culture and its ubiquitous nature" (Sussman, 2000, p. 363), let alone the imprint and ubiquity of another culture. Moreover, this finding reveals that past ideologies, which posit that culture indexes ethnicity, race, and nationality (Barth, 1969; Jensen et al. 2011), similar to the idea that language indexes social group membership (Bucholtz & Hall 2006; Irvine & Gal, 2000), are still held by many. These notions that culture and ethnicity are mutually exclusive and can only be accessed based on origin, heritage, or geographical location, while true for most, are more complex and

nuanced for others. Participants were reticent to avow a multicultural identity based on ideologies of culture and salience of their heritage culture. However, admissions of "pan-identity" (e.g., Pan-African), UWC identity, and college/university identity (labeled regional identity) were readily claimed. These identities also add a layer to existing identities and are part of one's multicultural identity. Thus, multicultural identity for sojourners is both avowed and enacted without avowal.

This assertion seems controversial but speaks to the complexity of identity. Reticence in claiming an identity, although one might see oneself as such, is part of past ideologies of identification that were placed upon people (e.g., one-drop rule, primordialism). These past conceptions make it harder for people to claim identification with certain identities, although their experiences are similar to those of host nationals. For instance, many individuals with hyphenated identities (e.g., African-Americans, Asian-Americans) in the U.S. are still sidelined or are asked to go back to their countries, despite being citizens of the U.S. (e.g., during COVID-19, see #AsianHate). Mixed-race individuals have also felt as if they must choose between two wholes of who they are (see Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1992). For sojourners, the avowal of any cultural identity is even more elusive because of their visa status and continuous reminders that they are foreigners. These factors complicate the conversation on identity and identification because, although participants in this study eagerly expressed feeling a sense of belonging to their countries of sojourn, they sternly denied feeling a sense of identification to both countries of sojourn.

Furthermore, the negative cases outlined in the findings concerning MID and the model highlight significant boundary conditions of the model. The first boundary condition is that the CMMID cannot be used to explain and/or address an identity crisis that does not stem from

CCA. The participant from the negative case who expressed feelings of not having a culture, not belonging anywhere, and not identifying as multicultural may be dealing with an identity crisis that is much deeper than the one caused by CCA. Hence, such an identity conflict cannot be incorporated in, explained, or solved by the CMMID. In other words, the theorized model does not address identity conflict that does not stem from sojourners' CCA. The second boundary condition is that the CMMID does not address identity conflict that stems from the rejection of heritage culture as a result of CCA. The participant from the negative case who shared that they no longer identified with their heritage culture may be dealing with previously held, festered, and fostered contempt for their heritage culture that may have surfaced as a result of CCA. A rejection of the heritage culture as a result of CCA is not within the domain of the CMMID, though. The third boundary condition indicates that the CMMID cannot be used to describe or explain the phenomenon of belonging nowhere and everywhere following CCA. This type of identity crisis is rooted in a sense of not belonging to either heritage or host culture. Such notions reflect identity conflict related to two opposing cultures that may be in conflict with each other, to the extent that the sojourner cannot claim either as their own. Such identity conflict may also indicate rootlessness—alienation from heritage and host culture, and/or yearning for a home that does not exist (e.g., notions of an unchanged home country or romanticizing home culture), and yearning for a sense of home in the heritage culture. Feelings of belonging nowhere and everywhere are not encapsulated in the CMMID and, thus, fall outside the scope of MID explained by the model. These three boundary conditions highlight the conceptual integrity of the model and outline identity conflict and identity transformation discussed in the CMMID.

In addition, the idea of culture being tied to adaptation to the dominant culture only during CCA is inaccurate based on the findings of this dissertation. Participants reported

adapting to UWC culture and college/university culture, which, then, resulted in cultural identification. In this instance, CCA and identity change were toward UWC and college/university culture. This finding has implications for how identity change is examined and how multicultural identity is understood. Social psychologists have examined this phenomenon in terms of ethnic and host cultural identity. Given the findings of this dissertation, multicultural identity could extend beyond ethnic and host cultural identification and include regional cultural identification as well. For example, U.S. Americans already claim regional identities (e.g., South, Midwest, East Coast, West Coast). Even within geographical regions identities differ by state (e.g., Texan, Michigander, New Yorker). So, the argument follows that multicultural identity(ies) can include these different layers of people's identities. Scholars (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Ting-Toomey, 2005) claim that identities are multiple, overlapping, and complex. Thus, such cultural identities can be included in the conversation on multicultural identity development.

Furthermore, sojourners who find themselves living in these regions must first adapt to their immediate environment before they can adapt to the dominant culture of the country. For example, I lived in Michigan for ten years. During my time in Michigan, I had to adapt to local cultural idiosyncrasies such as driving. In Michigan, there is a turn, known as the Michigan left, which is "an intersection at which left turns are restricted. Instead, to turn left, drivers must continue straight through the intersection or turn right, then make a U-turn at a median crossover" (Michigan Department of Transportation, n. d., n. p.). These and other Michigan-specific cultural traditions, such as Lake life, Detroit Tigers baseball, college football (Go Blue!), Motown, and Motorcity, became part of my life and, thus, my identity. Hence, including regional cultural identities as part of sojourners' adaptation and identity transformation is needed and warranted.

Another key aspect of this idea of regional cultural identities questions previously held assumptions about culture and offers an enlightened understanding of culture in CCA research to include cultural adaptation in all its forms (region, UWC, college/university, international community, etc.). As previously mentioned, Y. Y. Kim (2005) divorced culture from country when she wrote about *culture in the new environment* in the ITCCA. The theory's assumptions can be applied to a newcomer entering any new environment and adapting to the culture of that environment. Granted, the context in which the theory has been used, applied, and examined has been predominantly intercultural. Nevertheless, the assumptions of the theory are that culture is present in any new environment and newcomers must adapt to the new culture in order to have cognitive, affective, and operational competence in the new environment (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). Furthermore, effectively adapting to that culture can have positive outcomes, one of which is identity transformation. Hence, taken together, Y. Y. Kim's assumptions provide an explanatory mechanism for the stance taken here regarding regional adaptation. Using Kim's insights, I purport that regional culture is one of the first cultures sojourners adapt to when entering a new society. This stance must be further investigated, of course. So, much of what CCA researchers should consider in the investigation of newcomers' adaptation is to what degree a newcomer is adapting to the region of sojourn compared to the dominant culture of the sojourning country (and the direction of their identity transformation, if this is part of their inquiry).

One of the key reasons why Huynh et al. (2011) and Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) developed the BII was to capture bicultural identity organization and management. A meta-analysis by Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) revealed that many of the measures for bicultural identity were focused on measures of behavior (e.g., Unger et al., 2002) and attitudes (e.g., Berry et al., 1989) instead of identity changes based on CCA. Importantly, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez

185

(2013) noted that individuals' CCA processes are not uniform and that bi/multicultural identity presented individual variations. According to Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2007), bi/multicultural individuals differ in the way they negotiate and organize their bi/multicultural identity. The issues illuminated in the measures of bicultural identity as a function of CCA further proved insufficient for measuring fundamental individual differences in the experience and meaning associated with being bi/multicultural. Important variations noted by Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2007) included personality, disposition, contextual pressures, and how acculturation and demographic variables impact the bi/multicultural identity formation. These are also some of the factors noted in the findings of this dissertation as influencing participants' multicultural identity. Therefore, multicultural identity development differs between individuals based on these factors. Similar to identity transformation, the process is highly dependent on the person and their CCA experiences.

However, the CMMID deviates from the BII in two important ways. The CMMID focuses on more than two cultural identities, whereas the BII focuses only on ethnic and host cultural identities (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). The CMMID explicates and describes communicative events and behaviors that lead to multicultural identity development, whereas the BII measures the organization and management of two identities (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Thus, the CMMID does not deal with the psychological state of identity but rather the sociocultural state of identity, meaning the CMMID describes events that shape identity in relation to transactional communication and communication practices that are enacted as a result of a multicultural identity. This also means that an individual may possess more than one cultural schema, script, or repertoire from which they draw in communicative interactions. The BII measures the compatible and integrated versus the oppositional and difficult to integrate aspects

186

of bicultural identity, which are psychological states. Thus, the CMMID diverges from the BII in these two ways. The CMMID aligns with the BII in that multicultural identity development is a function of CCA. Specifically, the use of the integration strategy during adaptation is a similarity between the two models. The ability and freedom to retain some aspects of one's heritage culture while adopting some aspects of the host culture is the main function of the integration strategy. Both models hold this to be foremost in the process of bi/multicultural identity development.

The CMMID has five stages: adjustment, immersion, integration and redefinition, embodiment, and refinement. These stages were informed by models of identity development discussed in the literature and were derived based on findings from RQ2 and RQ3. The first stage, adjustment, deals with sojourners' CCA processes. This stage acknowledges CCA as a key function of identity transformation while living abroad, meaning that sojourners' identities are influenced by a series of events, signified by psychological and sociocultural adjustment. This stage also recognizes that identity change is not necessarily experienced immediately, and that the process takes a while before identity changes can be observed. Adjustment deals with a great deal of observation, experimentation, evaluation, and recalibration.

Stage 2, immersion, was also informed by models of identity development insofar as the models were in agreement that immersion is necessary for change to occur. Erikson (1959) and Marcia (1966) confirmed that exploration and experimentation are necessary for identity development during adolescence because these aspects lead to healthy identity crisis resolution. Thus, this stage explains how immersion leads to identity conflict, resolution, and change.

Stage 3, integration and redefinition, discusses the identity change and negotiation in which sojourners engage as they try to blend these identities. This stage also discusses how and when sojourners enact integrated identities as blended/fused or dual/hybrid. The identity

integration and redefinition stage is informed by Phinney and Devich-Navarro's (1997) MEIM because it deals with self-identification (avowal) as multicultural. Phinney and Devich-Navarro expressed avowal as the beginning of ethnic identity development. However, the CMMID views avowal as resulting from CCA experiences, and, therefore, only occurring after adjustment and immersion have occurred.

Stage 4 of the model is the embodiment of a multicultural identity and is reflected in the enactment of communication practices. Participants seek out interactions and friendships with diverse people and show communication competence in intercultural interactions. They have a global orientation and awareness, and express care and concern for global issues and events. This stage is similar to the internalization of identity discussed in various models in the literature. Internationalization is marked by a secure sense of self and performance of avowed identity. Sojourners are comfortable with the changes that have occurred and search for continued learning and growth in their immediate environment.

Stage 5 is a stage of refinement. This stage acknowledges the evolving nature of identity and makes provision for multiple adaptation (see Figure 3). The CMMID should not be understood as linear, though. Sojourners may advance through the stages in a linear fashion; however, regression is possible depending on a sojourner's CCA. Since identity change is a function of CCA, CCA facilitates the conditions for these changes to occur. Thus, a sojourner can skip or spend minimal time in the adjustment phase if the culture they are adapting to is similar to their home culture or a previous culture of sojourn. By the same token, a sojourner may skip the adjustment stage, then realize the new culture is more dissimilar than similar to their home culture or a previous culture of sojourn and regress to the adjustment stage.

This assertion comes from the findings of this dissertation. Participants whose S_1 country was Canada thought the U.S. would be similar and they would adapt to the U.S. easily. Yet, they were confronted with U.S. specific challenges, such as racism and discrimination. Although these differences were labeled as surprising rather than challenging, they were still unanticipated country-specific factors with which sojourners were faced in a new society that could cause them to regress in the model stages. Another example is the infrastructure for public transportation. Many participants from this study came from European and Asian countries where public transportation is very efficient. They found the limited infrastructure for public transportation in smaller U.S. cities surprising. Limited mobility, as evidenced in the findings, impeded effective CCA. These examples illustrate instances in which sojourners may skip a stage and regress after the fact.

The CMMID offers a much-needed alternative to identity transformation toward the dominant culture. The model offers sojourners freedom and options to acculturate to a new society by integrating aspects of both heritage and host culture. The model also proposes ways in which sojourners can integrate cultural communication schemas, scripts, and patterns in communicative interactions. The model is, at this time, only a proposed theoretical framework that will require further iterations. Nevertheless, this dissertation takes the first steps toward articulating its structure. Next, I discuss the theoretical and practical implications of this dissertation's findings for CCA and intercultural communication research.

Theoretical Implications of Multicultural Identity Development and CCA

The findings presented herein add several theoretical contributions to the study of CCA and identity transformation. First, sojourners' multicultural identity development is a function of CCA. Second, quality interactions with people determine the quality of the CCA experience.

189

Third, the quality of the CCA experience determines the degree of identity change. Fourth, the length of sojourn does not equate to the quality of the experience nor the degree of identity change. Fifth, language acquisition facilitates identity change, in addition to CCA. These arguments are detailed below.

First, sojourners' multicultural identity development was found to be a product of their CCA. Figure 4 depicts the process. Participants leave their home country for their first sojourn. Through transactional communication during CCA they are able to engage in cultural and language learning. The continuous engagement with those in their immediate environment facilitates the initial multicultural identity development. Then, participants either return home where they experience re-acculturation, or travel to the second sojourn culture where they undergo another CCA, noting multiple adaptation and resulting in another identity change for some. Figure 4 also highlights that participants' multiple adaptation facilitated identity transformation. This finding confirms past research on CCA and identity transformation (e.g., Pitts, 2009). However, a key finding of this dissertation, which deviates from past CCA research, was that identity transformation was the result of adaptation to the immediate environment, namely the UWC culture and college/university culture, and not necessarily the dominant culture of the countries of sojourn. This finding, as discussed in the previous section, contributes to the CCA literature, and offers theoretical implications for the study of CCA.

The findings further revealed that sojourners' identity transformation was toward a multicultural identity, a result similar to S. Liu's (2011) examination of Chinese immigrants living in Australia. The findings of this dissertation revealed that the primary causes of changes to participants' identity stemmed from cultural learning facilitated by interactions with those in their immediate environment and by learning a variety of languages (see Figure 5). This finding

is in line with CCA literature on interpersonal communication as integral to healthy CCA and the identity transformation of sojourners (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). However, this finding departs from past knowledge of the process by highlighting that communication within the new environment does not have to entail interactions with host nationals of the country of sojourn. The findings revealed that interactions with those in the sojourners' immediate sphere also have an important influence on sojourners' CCA and identity transformation.

Figure 4

Multicultural Identity Development
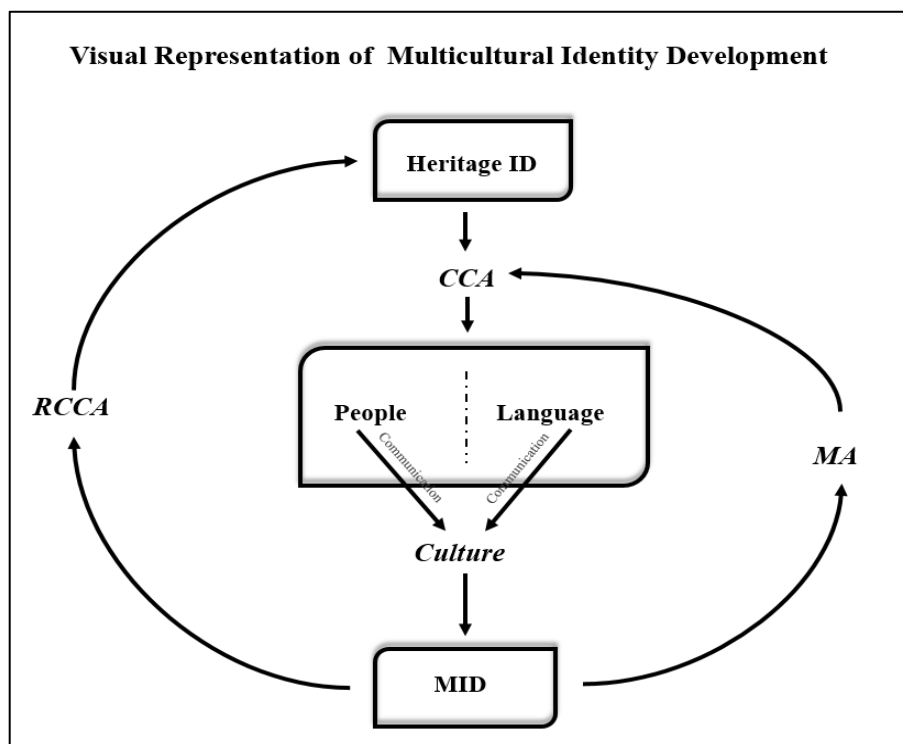
Note: MA = multiple adaptation; RCCA = reacculturation

Second, daily interactions with people in their immediate sphere facilitated several aspects of the CCA process for participants. Their interactions manifested in varied contexts with diverse groups of people. Participants were able to learn and practice the language used in the environment through interactions. These opportunities offered moments in which culture was

transferred, taught, and learned. Furthermore, the different contexts through which participants interacted (e.g., living quarters, cafeteria, classrooms) allowed them to build relationships that further shaped their identity. Through time and numerous conversations, their identities were molded to where they were able to incorporate different aspects of the knowledge obtained in their identity. These findings correspond to past research on identity being co-constructed in discursive interactions (K. Hall, 1999; S. Hall 2000; Hecht et al., 2005; Ting-Toomey, 2005). Hence, communication with people in one's environment facilitates the transfer of language and culture, as well as adaptation and identity change. Communication that facilitates cultural and language learning in the new environment does not have to be with host nationals as purported by Y. Y. Kim's (2005) ITCCA.

Figure 5

Cross-Cultural Adaptation

Visual Representation of Cross-cultural Adaptation
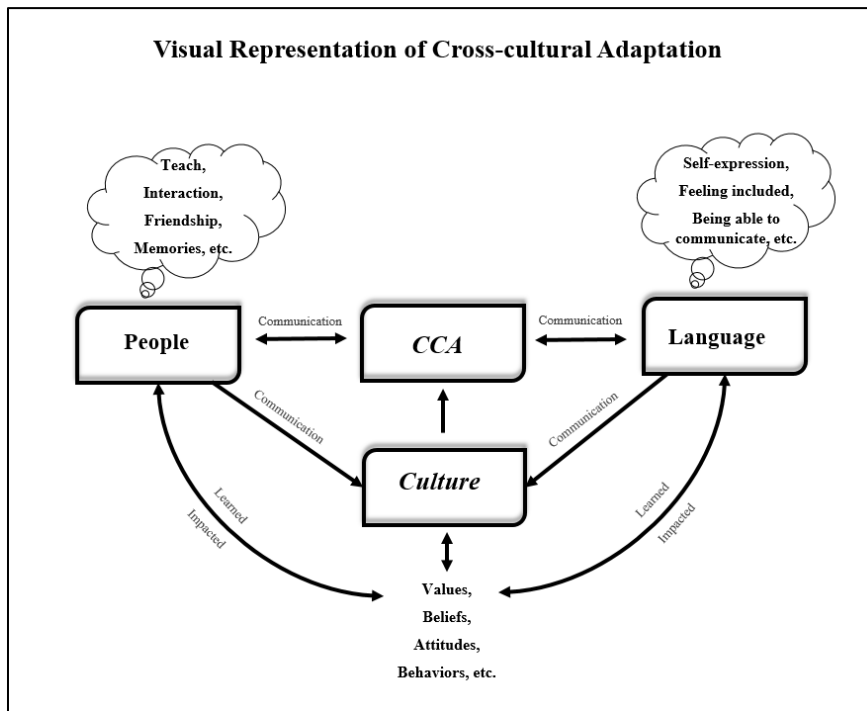
The findings also revealed that cultural learning happened through various mediums. Participants learned culture through instruction, imitation, and observation. Much of the participants' CCA was mired in a continuous loop of cultural learning. Sharing rooms, classes, trips, and meals with culturally different others offered very little opportunity to escape cultural learning. However, cultural learning also occurred in the classroom where literature, geography, history, and politics from different parts of the world were discussed and analyzed. Cultural learning also took place in formal settings where culture was transferred through demonstrations in culture weeks at UWC. Different mediums, for example, TikTok, Instagram, television, and so forth offered platforms through which culture could be consumed and learned. These various ways through which culture is learned are supported by Jensen et al. (2011) in their discussion of how cultural appreciation can lead to cultural identification. Jensen et al. assert that cultural learning instances, such as the ones described above, are valid ways in which culture is learned and enacted. Cultural identity involves making conscious choices about the culture with which one identifies (Jensen et al., 2011) or the cultural community to which one feels a sense of belonging. Although findings of the study revealed that participants were reticent to claim cultural identification with the culture of their countries of sojourn, they readily claimed identification with UWC culture and college/university culture. These findings affirm that cultural identification resides with the person and a sense of belonging to a culture does not equal identification.

The above findings point to an important aspect of CCA. Many of the stories that participants told involved people. People were centered in their interactions, experiences, and learning. Many participants' responses referenced people as the reason why they had a "good experience," or a "memorable time," the "time of [their] life," or an "unforgettable time."

193

Additionally, people were also the reason why participants were able to "overcome challenges," "resolve problems," "defeat loneliness," "go through the difficult time," and so forth. They also noted people as the reason why they had a "family," "sisterhood," or a "support system," and a "community." Essentially, people determined the degree to which sojourners enjoyed and flourished during their adaptation. Importantly, the difficulties and challenges participants experienced during CCA were mitigated by the fact that they had people who cared for and who were willing to help them through those times. Thus, people and the quality of their interactions influenced the quality of participants' experiences and, thus, sojourn and CCA experience.

This conclusion has theoretical implications for CCA research. It illuminates that the quality of interactions with people can mitigate challenges experienced during CCA, especially those related to functional fitness. In fact, such interactions influence the quality of the entire CCA experience. By the same token, the opposite side of this argument holds true. Low-quality interactions with people can exacerbate challenges related to CCA and influence the quality of the entire experience. Thus, a healthy adaptation for sojourners, this dissertation revealed, is predicated on high-quality interactions with others in their immediate environment. This finding adds to the CCA literature because past research has focused intensely on host national communication as integral to healthy adaptation, and viewed ethnic communication as needed and helpful in the initial stages of adaptation but detrimental to CCA as the sojourn progresses (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). However, the findings of this dissertation indicate that people in the immediate environment who facilitated CCA were not necessarily host nationals but a collection of individuals from different parts of the world. Similarly, all participants attended PWIs, and most of their interpersonal interactions were with other international students. Host national interpersonal communication was minimal.

Given this data, it can be concluded that quality interpersonal communication with people in one's immediate environment (except co-nationals) can facilitate identity change. I make the exception for co-nationals instead of co-ethnics here because many of the participants reported sharing time with people from their regions, such as Latin America, East Africa, Southern Africa, Eastern Europe, and so forth. Ethnically, these individuals may have similar histories, but, culturally, they are very diverse. This assertion stems from participants' admissions that they learned about "other Latin-American countries" or "Southern African countries have different values," and so on. Thus, I hesitate to use the term co-ethnic and rather stress co-nationals as possibly interfering with effective CCA (Y. Y. Kim, 2005).

Third, people were found to be integral to the degree of identity change participants experienced. The more participants allowed themselves to be enthralled in the culture of their immediate environment, the more they were exposed to and interacted with other people. CCA research confirms that identity transformation is the result of continuous interaction with the actors and the environment (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). However, identity change can only occur if the newcomer allows the conditions of the environment to shape their identity toward transformation. As discussed above, people in the newcomers' environment determine the quality of interactions and, thus, the experience. Hence, people are facilitators of quality experiences and degree of identity change. This contention may not seem groundbreaking; however, identity negotiation theory notes that, the more secure, included, and connected individuals feel in interactions, the more likely they are going to be open to identity change (i.e., moratorium), and the more likely their identity change is going to be a healthy one. However, if the individual experiences the opposite tensions within interactions with others, they are likely to be resistant to identity change and hold on to their old identity (i.e., identity diffusion; identity

195

consistency). A balance between identity rootedness and rootlessness (i.e., homeostasis) is ideal

to promote dynamic identity growth (Ting-Toomey, 2005).

Quality interactions with people meet the criteria for feeling secure, included, and

connected in conversations, leading to identity change over time. Being able to engage in quality

interactions where these criteria are met also signals participants were able to overcome the

dialectical tensions associated with negotiating their identities in interactions (Ting-Toomey,

2005). For example, participants were able to overcome their own uncomfortability in

interactions ("getting comfortable with the uncomfortable") and effectively deal with their own

vulnerability as exposed by their environment (e.g., attitudes toward LGBTQ+ individuals).

Doing so allowed them to understand those that were different from them and to uphold their

identities in interactions. Overcoming their own identity insecurities also allowed them to make

others feel valued and included. These participants have worked through their dynamic

cognitive, affective, behavioral, and ethical struggles (Ting-Toomey, 2005) to arrive at a place of

being transformed by the culture of their environment (i.e., multicultural identity). This is further

evidenced in their communication patterns. For example, mindfulness, one of the communication

practices highlighted in the findings, indicates that participants were able to "fluidly function in

an 'effortlessly mindful' state of shifting among multiple cultural mindscapes and multiple

cultural identity issues" (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 225). Mindfulness allowed them to shift their

frames of reference to include understanding of cultural differences among those in their

surroundings and to search for avenues to connect and befriend each other.

Fourth, this dissertation's findings revealed that the S_1 CCA impacted participants more

than their S_2 CCA. The fact that the S_1 sojourn happened first was pointed out as the most

common reason why the experience was more impactful. The second most common reason was

that, even though it was shorter than the S_2 sojourn for most, the quality of the experience made it more impactful than their S_2 sojourn. Therefore, an assertion is offered that the length of sojourn does not equate to a quality experience nor degree of identity change. CCA research asserts that the longer the sojourner stays in a new environment, the more inevitable identity change toward the dominant culture (Y. Y. Kim, 2005). However, the findings of this dissertation showed that almost all participants showed little sense of belonging to the U.S. compared to their S_1 sojourn country, despite their length of stay in the U.S. All but three participants confirmed that they did not feel a sense of belonging to their S_1 country, in addition to the UWC culture. S. Liu et al. (2019), in their examination of the acculturation of 20 older (56-86 years old) first-generation Chinese immigrants living in Australia, found that place of residence only provided older immigrants a geographic sense of home. The feeling of home only came from their identity and belonging built through their social and familial relationships and adherence to heritage cultural traditions. Their results support the contention that the length of sojourn does not necessarily affect the quality of the CCA experience nor the degree of identity change.

Fifth, language is another vehicle through which participants learned culture. Agar (1994) asserts that language and culture are connected in that language offers a window into culture. Findings revealed that participants learned multiple languages, including English—considered the carrier of globalization (Kasanga, 2010), and, through language, were able to learn and enact culture. Language was also the way through which they were able to express themselves, build connections, participate in classroom discussions, and feel included. Language proficiency considerably increased their confidence to the degree that it provided them with the wherewithal to explore and seek out opportunities for further learning and growing. A crucial finding of this

dissertation is that language and identity are interrelated. Not only is language a vehicle for communication, but language was also identified as imperative to self-expression, learning, self-esteem, relationship building, and, importantly, to successful CCA.

Language learning was a salient feature of this research because the majority of participants were multilingual and many did not speak English (the language of instruction at UWC) when they arrived in their S_1 country. Findings revealed that language was a function of identity transformation. Participants expressed features of their native language, such as gendered language or vocabulary, that either deviated from English or did not exist in their language. Learning English, specifically, indelibly affected their linguistic forms of expression as well as behavioral forms of expression. Boroditsky et al. (2010) highlight how language can influence different cognitive abilities such as temporal and spatial perceptions as well as thought. In other words, language can influence the way one thinks about the world around them. The findings of this dissertation support Boroditsky et al.'s assertions on the relationship between language and thought because participants pointed out how the way they thought was impacted by learning English. Also, the way they spoke in relation to the formulation of ideas before granting them utterance was impacted. This knowledge about language can be further used to help explain why participants reported codeswitching behaviors (Ting-Toomey, 2010) based on the language they were speaking. Language created new neurological pathways where performance scripts were stored, accessed, and then enacted in interactions based on situational and contextual needs. Language then impacted their identity and the way in which they expressed themselves in interactions.

Additionally, past research has thought of language as indexing social groups and social group identification (Bucholtz & Hall, 2006; Irvine & Gal, 2000). In this instance, language

198

indexed social group identification but also became a functional tool to facilitate CCA. Language

indexed social groups in that many participants gravitated to co-ethnics who spoke the same

language as them, which allowed them to reduce the uncertainty and anxiety of being in a new

environment and to satisfy a sense of safety and security. Y. Y. Kim (2005) acknowledges that

this is a normal part of CCA because co-ethnic communication facilitates healthy initial

adaptation and allows newcomers to source information about their new environment and receive

the necessary support to adapt. Y. Y. Kim, though, cautions that extended co-ethnic

communication can hinder newcomers' CCA. Thus, co-ethnic communication should be limited.

Participants in this dissertation reported that their use of ethnic language became intermittent as

confidence in English proficiency increased. Venturing beyond ethnic enclaves is good for

effective CCA. Thus, the findings of the study align with Y. Y. Kim's assertion.

Different forms of language learning also extended past English. Participants were able to

learn the language of their S_1 country, in addition to English, as part of the UWC curriculum.

Some also learned different languages from their friends at school. This led to the use of

different languages to connect to others, eased local shopping and exploration, or expanded

participants' cultural repertoire. Interestingly, language mixing was the result of new language

acquisition. For example, those who spoke the same ethnic language mixed English with the

ethnic language when engaged in informal chatter. Hill (1999) calls this act syncretism, and

notes that it is the result of mixing two or more languages in interactions. This act is, at times,

conscious and purposeful, such as to show familiarity, affiliation, or reduce psychological

distance; in other instances, it is unconscious as the multiple languages become easily accessible

to the individual in interactions (Hill, 1999). Syncretism is often practiced by bi/multilingual

individuals who have a high level of proficiency in multiple languages and use these languages

in interactions. Thus, language was a key way culture was transferred and identity was transformed during CCA.

Practical Implications of Multicultural Identity Development and CCA

The findings of this dissertation have several practical implications for CCA and identity transformation. Before I outline the practical implications, I want to emphasize, again, that the Davis-UWC students' S_1 experiences were unique and most sojourners will probably not experience that degree of diversity of peoples in their lifetime. Nevertheless, despite this caveat, this dissertation found that Davis-UWC students adapted to their immediate environment and not the dominant culture of the countries of their sojourn. This finding has practical implications for sojourners as they ready themselves to live abroad. Based on these findings, I alert sojourners that there is more than one functional way to adapt to a new environment. Assimilation is not the only way. The integration strategy of acculturation offers a viable alternative. Also, the first phase of their CCA to a new cultural environment will mostly involve the immediate surroundings, a phenomenon I have labeled regional adaptation. Sojourners should grant themselves grace and patience as they learn and experience this new environment before they immerse themselves in the dominant/host culture. There is nothing wrong with knowing your immediate environment first before venturing out into the broader culture. Furthermore, sojourners should know that interaction with host nationals is not the only way to achieve functional fitness in the new environment. Communicative interactions with actors in the new environment—culturally different others and/or host nationals—can equally facilitate CCA. However, this should not deter or demotivate sojourners from actively pursuing quality interactions and relationships with host nationals. Furthermore, identity change due to CCA can be toward the regional culture and not necessarily the dominant culture. Thus, sojourners may

identify with the regional culture first before they identify with the dominant/host culture. Sojourners should not be alarmed by this change as it broadens their cultural repertoire and adds layers to their cultural identity.

In addition, sojourners should be aware that forming quality interpersonal relationships with host nationals can be challenging and take longer than anticipated. But this should not deter them from seeking opportunities and occasions where such bonds can be formed. When they are formed, such relationships can enrich their CCA experience. Also, developing quality interpersonal relationships with culturally different others besides host nationals can be life-changing and provide favorable circumstances for the development of life-long friendships, as well as finding communities and support systems in the new environment. So, sojourners should be aware that building interpersonal relationships (especially with host nationals) can be demanding and laborious but beneficial once forged.

Second, sojourners who engage in multiple adaptation should know that their first sojourn experience could be more impactful than their second experience. This knowledge is important to sojourners so that they understand that not each sojourn will be as anxiety and uncertainty producing as the first sojourn. Sojourners should know that sociocultural learning occurs, in that they learn "best practices" or strategies for adapting to new cultures during their first sojourn. These strategies can ease the transition process in a secondary location. A caveat here, however, is that sojourners should always prepare for their new culture of sojourn, to familiarize themselves with the culture and its culture-specific and unique idiosyncrasies (e.g., saliency of race in the U.S.). Conducting research on the new culture can result in a less challenging sojourn and reduce anxiety and uncertainty. In addition, depending on the cultural proximity or distance to their heritage culture or culture of second sojourn, the experience may

be diminished in severity in respect to sociocultural and psychological adjustment. Furthermore, identity change may be moderate to minimal depending on these same factors. Nevertheless, sojourners should be aware that each culture, despite cultural proximity/similarity, may be culturally different (e.g., U.S. vs. Canada). So, each sojourn should be approached with positive intentions yet manageable expectations.

Third, identity transformation is a theorized outcome of CCA. Multicultural identity development is identity change linked to the integration strategy of CCA. Sojourners who employ the integration strategy should know that their identity may be shaped by communicative events that lead to the development of a multicultural identity. Self-identification with either regional or host culture may be the natural result of developing a multicultural identity. However, sojourners should be cognizant that their reluctance to avow such an identity does not take away from their experience or identity change and will always be present in their communication practices. Importantly, ascription or expectations of others viewing them as members of the culture should not deter them from identifying with a culture to which they feel a sense of belonging. Sense of belonging and self-identification are sometimes all that is needed to boldly claim and participate in a culture.

Fourth, if they are open to the prospect, sojourners should know that the multicultural identity process manifests through stages. Therefore, they should allow themselves time to experience each stage and not rush the process. This is also true for CCA. Patience with the self and the environment can avoid rushing through the stages only to regress when moving too quickly through each phase. There is no shame in regressing, recomposing, recalibrating, and then forging forward, though. Sojourners should grant themselves grace in the multicultural identity development process. Finally, sojourners should be aware that their identity

development is never complete, and that each intercultural experience offers an opportunity for growth and identity change. Thus, they should embrace such experiences and welcome change. I now turn to practical implications that address international students and higher education practitioners and university administrators.

Participants noted that the various offices working with international students (e.g., International Student Services or International Student Office) do very well introducing the host national culture to them. They reported there were many resources provided by these offices that allowed them to experience cultural traditions such as football games, Thanksgiving, trips to local attractions, and so forth. However, most of these activities involved other international students, which limited the opportunity and ability to connect with domestic students and form meaningful friendships with the latter. So, even though these activities are welcomed and appreciated, international student offices should collaborate with student organizations with high domestic student membership to facilitate intercultural friendship development.

Participants also shared that they found initiating domestic friendships challenging, partially because domestic students often did not understand the challenges international students faced, so they had limited shared experiences over which they could bond. Especially at PWIs, participants felt they were not able to relate to the domestic student body because domestic students took their own privileges, such as the freedom to work off-campus jobs for higher wages or owning a car, for granted and trivialized international students' challenges, such as taking classes in a second language. To improve domestic-international student relations, colleges/universities should invest more into providing spaces for mutual learning where students, both domestic and international, can learn about and from each other. Programs such as conversational partners, peer mentors, shadowing during first-year orientation, and so forth could

be helpful as they can provide opportunities for domestic-international student relationships to develop and flourish. Once relationships are built, mutual cultural learning can occur, similar to how it occurred in the reported findings. These relationships further grant international students direct access to host culture or regional culture, which can further shape and mold their multicultural identities.

Participants also shared that domestic students showed very little interest in cultural learning opportunities presented through events that international students hosted. They shared that most people who attended events hosted by international student organizations were mainly other international students. Such events are prime opportunities where intercultural relationships between domestic students and international students can be developed. However, because they are poorly attended by domestic students, the relationships that are built are between international students. One solution could be to ask sororities and fraternities at colleges/universities to promote attendance at these events as part of their semester-long list of events to enhance intercultural competence and cultural sensitivity. Most PWIs have a Greek Life body, which could help bridge the gap in domestic-international student relations.

Another aspect of cultural learning that was pointed out by participants, though not reported in the results, is the idea of mutual cultural learning. Participants noted that often college/university-wide international events, such as fashion shows, only involved participation from international students. One-sided cultural learning made participants feel like show ponies on display for locals' amusement and entertainment. They felt that such events should include involvement from domestic students as well who could showcase the local culture. Mutual cultural learning would alleviate international students' feeling like "they are paraded at a zoo"

or are "cultural tokens" for the college/university to receive accolades for being a diverse institution.

Finally, a few participants expressed how much they enjoyed chatting with me about their experience because it allowed them to reflect on their CCA. Based on this knowledge, I propose an exit interview for international students that would be administered before they graduate or transfer to another school. Receiving feedback from willing participants may help international student offices and college/university administration improve their services, help domestic-international student relations, improve international students' experience, and build a community for everyone at the institution. Exit interviews may come in the form of short surveys or questionnaires that ask international students about their experience attending the university, ask about their cultural learning, academic and social challenges, resources used during their time at the school, and highlights of their experiences. Information sourced from such an interview could help international student offices evaluate their cultural learning programs and acquire recommendations they may consider further. The same office and other university departments could assess which resources are mostly accessed by international students and how they can further invest in the development of those programs. The challenges international students may list can allow these entities to develop further resources that can aid how students deal with these challenges. These are just a few recommendations.

The above discussion outlines the practical implications of this dissertation. The implementation of these implications may lead to international students experiencing CCA outside of the bubble that is college/university culture, and, instead, experiencing local culture. More domestic friendships and cultural learning experiences with locals can not only improve domestic-international student relationships but also the overall CCA of international students. A

205

healthy and impactful CCA leads to identity transformation, and, quite possibly, multicultural identity development. Finally, the above discussion alerts sojourners to possible ways in which their CCA can be affected, and their identity can be changed. My hope is that these practical implications make them aware that there is more than one functional way to adapt to a new environment and more than one functional way to experience identity transformation in a new environment.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

This dissertation has several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, retrospective interviews always run the risk of memory recall. It is well known that memory often fails and, when memory fails, our mind fills the gap with information that is not necessarily accurate. Nevertheless, Baxter and Bullis (1986) note that people are likely to remember and recall experiences that are salient to them and made impressions on them. CCA and the accompanying identity transformation are especially momentous times in the lives of Davis-UWC students and, ultimately, sojourners. Thus, although recall may have affected some experiences participants discussed, it is unquestionable that these experiences were salient. Participants described their multiple adaptation experiences as "life-changing," "life-altering," "transformational," "the best time of [their] life," and so forth. I am, however, acknowledging that the sequence of events that led to their described experiences may be fuzzy and harder to recall. Researchers should bear in mind that participants can find retrospective interviews challenging and should, therefore, design strategic interview questions that aid in memory recall, such as questions that can activate, transpose, and allow participants to relive the experiences associated with the phenomenon under study. Furthermore, future examination of CCA experiences could use focus groups in addition

to retrospective interviews to aid in memory recall through chaining—a consequence of hearing others talk about their experience that evokes memories of the same experience.

Second, the multiple sojourn experience is a lengthy experience that can span over a ten-year period. An average sixty-eight-minutes interview can only scratch the surface vis-à-vis the breadth or depth of the experience. Thus, the findings of this study offer only a snapshot of the multiple adaptation and identity transformation experiences of participants. Future researchers could target a specific aspect of the multiple adaptation experience. For example, Biwa (2020), in her examination of turning points of international students during CCA, found that participants viewed their adaptation experience based on different layers—academic, social, and personal. Similar observations were made in this dissertation. Participants differentiated between their CCA experiences and shared academic, social, and personal aspects of adaptation. For example, participants shared extensively about the challenging nature of the IB program and noted how this rigorous program was helpful in preparing them for university. They also talked about the freedom or independence that came with college life but that the choices made during college (e.g., courses to take, choosing a major, or changing a major) had significant consequences on their lives. Participants' focus on academics as part of their cultural adaptation could be due to the purpose of their sojourn—to attend high school or college. However, these different distinctions of the process (i.e., academic, social, or personal) can provide richer and more nuanced data targeting a specific experience (e.g., international student instruction and advising) instead of lumping the entire experience under one project. Richer data on, for example, academic adaptation can provide colleges/universities with ways in which to support international students. These are just a few examples of the type of data that can be sourced from examining one of the dimensions of international students' CCA.

Furthermore, the multiple adaptation phenomenon is a new and understudied idea. This dissertation is the first to examine the differences between two adaptations to two new and different cultures. The findings of this dissertation outlined comparisons between the two sojourns that should be investigated further to assert if they are, indeed, present in other multiple adaptation experiences. Future research should examine the multiple adaptation of other sojourners to determine if there is an overlap between the findings of multiple adaptation outlined here and that of future investigations. For example, diplomats are a unique group of sojourners who are most likely to experience multiple adaptation. Examining their multiple adaptation and comparing it to the findings of this dissertation can be the first step in expanding knowledge on multiple adaptation. Furthermore, examining diplomats' adaptation may produce interesting results in that their diplomatic status between each assignment or sojourn (e.g., ambassador vs. aid) can impact the quality of their sojourn and degree of contact with host nationals. Their experience may also be different because they enjoy diplomatic privileges (e.g., financial support) that most sojourners do not have, which can significantly impact the quality of their sojourn compared to international students or seasonal workers.

My assertion is that the best way to build on the current knowledge of multiple adaptation is to examine the experiences of each group of sojourners and then map the findings against each other. Only then can real theorizing commence. The Davis-UWC students' experiences are unique. However, the characteristics of TCKs and international students match the demographic and sojourner status (age, visa status, student) of Davis-UWC students. Their experiences can closely align with the essence of the Davis-UWC students' experiences. Also, TCKs are, at times, also international students so, their experiences may be comparable to the Davis-UWC. Therefore, in addition to diplomats, TCKs and international students' experiences can be the next

208

step in examining multiple adaptation. Further examination of this phenomenon can continue the conversation on CCA and the ways in which it is changing given global trends of travel and population migration.

Third, participants of color hinted at a different experience in relation to their Caucasian counterparts, both at UWC and now, in college. Communication scholars, such as Raka Shome and Bernadette Marie Calafell, have acknowledged that nationality, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status play a pivotal role in sojourners' adaptation experiences and, therefore, should be considered when examining sojourners' adaptation. A few participants spoke of being marginalized during their adaptation experience and noted that the way they were treated by other students (and sometimes faculty and administrators) affected their adaptation experience. However, for the same reason, there were numerous individuals who treated them with respect and admiration and offered friendship and support. This helped them and facilitated a healthy and positive adaptation. Thus, keeping these social identities in mind when examining sojourners' adaptation can add significant insight into their experiences.

Fourth, the findings of this dissertation revealed participants did not spend a lot of time reflecting on their own experiences. If anything, they engaged in a "highlight reel" of their experience with other Davis-UWC students. Revisiting highlights of an experience does not equate to quiet reflection that acknowledges the impact of the experience and degree of identity transformation, or, in their words, period of growth. When asked if they had ever reflected on this experience, more than half of the participants stated that they had not considered or reflected on the entirety of the experience (e.g., first and second sojourn plus identity transformation) but that they readily engaged in "Remember that time?" conversations with their friends or other UWC alumni. They also noted that they freely shared they had lived abroad before coming to the

U.S. with interested parties, but this information sharing does not equate reflection. A few participants noted that they had engaged in reflection in the past. In their case, reflection allowed them to understand the changes they had undergone and allowed them to make a conscious decision about who they were or their identity. For example, one participant noted that she wanted to become a specific type of person, and the U.S. allowed her to become that person. However, molding that person took introspection and trusting the outcome of that introspection. Thus, most sojourners do not pause, take in, and reflect on their experiences. A lot of the changes they have undergone only become evident when they return home.

Fifth, this dissertation set out to discover if sojourners developed a multicultural identity. Even though some participants in this study readily admitted to developing a multicultural identity because of their CCA experience, some participants had a perceived ideology of what it meant to be multicultural. In other words, their perceptions of culture influenced their views of what it meant to possess a multicultural identity. As discussed in the literature review, culture, language, and ethnicity are often viewed as primordial or essentialist; an ideology of multicultural identity being tied to these primordial notions was evident in participants' responses to the question "Do you consider yourself a multicultural person?". This is a limitation given participants displayed a different understanding of multiculturality than the theorized notions in the literature and the current dissertation. Even though some did not self-identify as multicultural, their responses regarding their identities showcased a multicultural identity. For example, participants said "I am Latina/Latino", "I am European," or "I am African"—all identities that have a layered meaning beyond national or ethnic identities. Furthermore, participants would state that they identified with UWC or their college/university culture but did not consider such a statement to be rooted in multicultural identity. Future research should define

multicultural identity further, in more nuanced ways, focusing on what such an identity is and what it is not – i.e., multicultural identity is not just associated with national culture or ethnicity. Doing so may allow participants to divorce the primordial understanding of a multicultural identity from the contemporary definition of multicultural identity. Providing this understanding of multicultural identity can also offer more in-depth reflections from participants about their own multicultural identity.

In this dissertation, the stories participants told of communicative events and communication practices were exemplary of the development of multicultural identity. Only half of the participants in this dissertation viewed themselves as multicultural individuals. The CMMID offered five stages of multicultural identity development to capture the development of this identity. This model is the first of its kind in intercultural communication literature to explain multicultural identity and describe the communication processes involved in shaping, molding, and fostering such an identity. The findings of this study revealed that multicultural identity development is a function of CCA. This finding is rooted in previous CCA research that notes identity transformation as the outcome of effective CCA. The CMMID captures how, why, and when the identity is developed and why it remains fluid and evolving. Nevertheless, the CMMID is new, and much research is needed to further improve this model to reflect the multicultural identity development of all sojourners. For example, to be able to generalize the findings and apply this model to sojourners' identity transformation as a function of CCA, the model should be tested across different sojourner groups. Thus, the model presented here is in the first phase of model development—articulation and conceptualization of the phenomenon. The next stage would be to examine the multicultural identity development of another sojourner group (e.g., international students who are not Davis-UWC scholars) and determine whether they

also develop a multicultural identity as a function of CCA. Examining their experiences and using them to check the credibility of the stages of CMMID can allow me to venture into examining the experiences of other groups until I can confidently show that the stages are representative of and capture the process of multicultural identity development as a function of CCA for sojourners, in general. Once enough data is collected to compare the experiences of different sojourner groups, the next step of model refinement can commence.

I conjecture that the findings of this dissertation will be comparable to other sojourners' experiences and that the communication events and communicative practices presented here will be minimal in difference but that some additions may be made to these events and practices. I also conjecture that a certain predisposition in sojourners would facilitate openness to the development of a multicultural identity. Such a sojourner would be adventurous, a cultural connoisseur, and likely to take risks even while being afraid or reticent of the experience. This sojourner would also possess a malleable cultural identity and understand that identification with one culture does not rob them of another culture, but that cultural layers are additive to one identity and can co-exist with each other. In other words, such as sojourner would possess secure heritage cultural identification and be open to adding layers to their cultural identity. These are initial speculations about future results that I may uncover as I examine the multicultural identity development of different sojourner groups.

The next step in the process of refining the CMMID would be testing the model against different sojourner groups, which would require developing a quantitative measure that can be used to this end. This step would entail the operationalization of the communication events and communication practices discussed in this dissertation to develop scales that can measure the degree to which these events shape multicultural identity development and how accurate

multicultural individuals' enactments of the communication behaviors are to the predictions of the model. The development of measures for CMMID would mean that multicultural identity development can be tested, and results can be generalized across various sojourner groups.

In addition to the above, several recommendations are posed below to continue shaping the conceptualization of the CMMID model. To start, consideration of individual variances in identity transformation vis-à-vis self-perceptions or self-identification as multicultural is crucial in this conversation. Cultural transition and the resulting identity change is an individual process; thus, self-perceptions and identification should be individual as well. This notion has me pondering why some Davis-UWC students readily recognized their multicultural identity, whereas others were hesitant to claim such an identity even though their communication practices were indicative of a multicultural identity. Heritage cultural identity salience may be the reason for this reluctance in claiming such an identity or, indeed, ideologies of culture and cultural identity may be at play. Future research should parse out these important aspects of self-identification and multicultural identity as this can aid in the conceptualization of the model as predicated on avowal.

Next, multicultural identity has always been viewed as holding two or more identities in high regard. However, the degree of regard has been found to be based on one's sense of belonging or identification with primary (heritage) and secondary (additive) culture. Further interrogation of what facilitates a sense of belonging is prudent. Participants noted feeling at home and welcomed, but granted most credence to people as facilitators of this feeling. Location seemed to play a minimal role in self-identification; ergo, people make up culture and cultural learning happens through people, which, in turn, facilitates multicultural identity development. This relationship between people, culture, identity, and CCA needs to be further interrogated in

213

the examination of multicultural identity development and the maintenance of multicultural identity. The model offered communicative events that facilitate the development of such an identity. Would the identity be maintained through continuous enactment of communication practices alone? Maintenance strategies seem to be needed and should be investigated further in future research on the phenomenon.

Next, age is a key factor in identity transformation. Per Erikson (1959), adolescence is the age of identity exploration and development. Thus, it would be worthy to examine further how identity transformation toward a multicultural identity manifests for older sojourners (age 30 and above) and how their identity change, communicative events and practices would compare to the young adults examined in this dissertation. Thus, sojourners from different age groups should be studied to make comparisons about multicultural identity. A prudent starting point can be older international students. They have the most comparable experience to Davis-UWC students in that most of their adaptation takes place on college campuses and, therefore, aligns with the present sample.

Also, despite the findings of this dissertation outlining the phenomenon of regional adaptation, cultural expectations or conformity pressure for adapting newcomers still stand. That is, the ecological-level cultural variation of societies (Sussman, 2000) remains important to CCA and determines how well newcomers adapt to the new cultural environment. Some cultures have loose (weak) or tight (strict) expectations for following cultural scripts (i.e., communication patterns, behaviors, and schemas; Trandis, 1994). For example, newcomers will experience more cultural expectations on how to act, behave, and communicate in homogeneous cultures (e.g., Japan) than in heterogeneous/plural cultures (e.g., Canada). Therefore, the degree of freedom to acculturate to a culture using the integration strategy is important to the development of

multicultural identity(ies). Examination of cultural adaptation in homogenous vs. heterogenous countries (e.g., Japan vs. Canada) is needed to further parse out if heterogeneous cultures truly facilitate multicultural identity development and what factors facilitate development of such an identity (e.g., immigration policies, immigration rates, nationalism); and if regional adaptation (meaning pockets of internal diversity such as Los Angeles, CA; New York City, NY; London, UK; Tokyo, Japan) in homogeneous cultures is a reliable indicator of cultural circumstances that can facilitate multicultural identity development. Thus, sojourners' CCA in different regions of the world is important to the theorizing of multicultural identity development.

Participants' reluctance to self-identify as possessing a multicultural identity had little to do with avowal and more to do with ascription. Accordingly, research to determine what it would take to receive endorsement (ascription) from host nationals so that sojourners can confidently avow a host cultural identity, is paramount. This perspective stems from the idea that, if host nationals perceive sojourners as less dissimilar from and more similar to themselves, then they can have interpersonal encounters with them that are deemed predictable and comfortable (i.e., individuation), and they would be able to see sojourners as part of them (ingroup) instead of apart from them (outgroup). To do so, more examination of CCA from host nationals' perspective is warranted. Such investigations can grant fundamental knowledge about sojourners' CCA and intercultural relationships that transition to interpersonal relationships. A starting point can be examining domestic students' attitudes toward international students and international students' identification with college/university culture. Such results can springboard other studies because information can be sourced about questions to be included in interview protocols, surveys, and questionnaires for future studies with other host nationals (e.g., staff and faculty at colleges/universities). The above outlines ways in which the CMMID can be improved

215

and refined with further investigation of the multicultural identity development of sojourners. Identity is a central issue in sojourners' CCA, and multicultural identity development offers another functional way in which sojourners can understand the identity changes they experience during a sojourn. Therefore, scholars should attempt to examine the above-outlined ways for refining the CMMID.

Finally, this research was conducted within the U.S. context and based on participants' CCA experiences to mostly Western countries (e.g., European and North America). These contexts of adaptation mean that the CMMID was developed based on Western adaptation experiences. Specifically, the second sojourn experience offered many insights (e.g., degree of identity change) to the CCA experience that could potentially differ if participants adapt to non-Western cultures. The difference in CCA experiences based on cultures of sojourn may impact the stages of the CMMID. Therefore, future research should examine CCA to two non-Western countries to determine if the results impact multicultural identity development and the CMMID. Doing so could further refine the model to include variations in cultures and, therefore, the degree of identity transformation stemming from multiple adaptation.

Sixth, transferability is a characteristic of qualitative research. Transferability allows the researcher to use the findings of one study and apply them to a new yet similar group, within a similar context, with similar characteristics and experiences as the group under investigation (Tracy, 2020). For example, participants from this dissertation were sojourners first, then international students, then Davis-UWC international students. Hence, findings from this study can be attached to other sojourners who have similar characteristics and experiences as this sample. For example, diplomats who work for entities such as the United Nations have opportunities to engage with a variety of individuals from across the world. Their direct and

prolonged exposure could possibly be equated to participants' S_1 sojourn. Transferability is a limitation of this study because the Davis-UWC students' experiences may be unique and cannot be easily applied to distinct types of sojourners. The students described their first sojourn (UWC experience) as living in a bubble and a utopia. This was especially true for those who attended UWC schools that were not in metropolitan cities. Such experiences imply that participants did not actually integrate into the country of their sojourn, but instead underwent CCA within the confines of the UWC campus and culture. Similar assessments were offered for their college experience. Participants also described their college experience as living in the college/university bubble and not necessarily experiencing the state in which they lived, or the U.S., in general. These assessments provide a significant limitation of the study because most participants did not view their CCA and identity transformation experience as the result of adapting to a new culture/country. Furthermore, participants' S_1 experience may be too unique to be applied to other sojourners. Spending two years in almost isolation with individuals from more than 120 countries and interacting with them daily may not be an experience many sojourners would undergo. As such, the findings of the study have somewhat limited transferability to other sojourners. A potential remedy for this limitation is to examine the multiple adaptation experiences of other sojourners, such as military or diplomats, who also live in a relative bubble during their time abroad (e.g., military base and diplomatic community/expatriate community), and assess whether such findings would be similar to the ones reported in this dissertation. Doing so could help increase the applicability and transferability of this dissertation's findings.

Finally, this dissertation made it clear that not all Davis-UWC students' experiences were rosy or life-changing in a good way. For some, this experience was brutal, and made them feel marginalized, looked down upon, and ostracized. This information came from participants who

217

shared second-hand information about others' experiences. Only two participants in this study viewed their UWC experience as "not the best time of their lives." Despite their unpleasant experience within the UWC program, they still experienced a transformational CCA and shared their insights on the identity changes they underwent. In other words, most participants in this dissertation self-selected to participate in this study, meaning they were willing to share their "great" CCA experience. Many others, who attend UWC may not have felt confident enough to share their experience given it had not been a great, transformational one. Thus, this study has captured primarily positive CCA experiences, as opposed to challenging, negative ones. Nevertheless, many participants urged me to tell the other side of the story as well because they had friends, roommates, and countrymates who had failed compelting the program because of its rigorous nature or did not enjoy the program because they had a difficult time acculturating to the UWC culture. Future research should attempt to tell their story as well, as it could also be one of transformation, albeit a different one that the CCA we understand or examine in research.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This dissertation examined the multicultural identity development of sojourners during cross-cultural adaptation (CCA). The goal of this dissertation was threefold: (a) examine the two subsequent CCA experiences of Davis-UWC students and their resulting identity transformation, (b) examine whether their identity transformation progresses toward the development of a multicultural identity, and (c) theorize about a CMMID of sojourners. All three goals were accomplished by the dissertation's findings. I found that participants experienced multiple adaptation that led to multicultural identity development. Furthermore, I proposed the CMMID to explain and describe how multicultural identity is developed in sojourners. Findings show that communication events involving cultural and language learning can shape the development of (a) multicultural identity(ies). Findings also revealed that communication practices such as a diverse social network, seeking out diverse spaces for learning and growing, perspective-taking and mindfulness, global orientation and global consciousness, and communication competence skills, are some of the ways in which a multicultural identity is enacted in communicative interactions.

This dissertation made three unique contributions to the study of CCA in intercultural communication. First, it introduced the concept of multiple adaptation that explains the experiences of individuals who undergo more than one sojourn with a short period of time or no return to their home country. Second, it presented the idea of regional cultural adaption, which acknowledges that sojourners do not necessarily adapt to the dominant/host culture but adapt to the regional culture of their immediate environment. Third, this dissertation proposed the CMMID, a model that conceptualizes the multicultural identity development of sojourners as a function of CCA. These theoretical contributions add to the CCA literature because they

219

foreground distinct experiences of sojourners that have received minimal attention in CCA research. They are also first in the conception of an alternative functional way of understanding CCA. The sojourner experience is rife with challenges, one of which is the identity conflict experienced as sojourners acculturate to their new environment. Successful resolution of this identity conflict leads to identity transformation. The quality of the CCA experience and the quality of interactions with those in their immediate environment can influence sojourners' identity transformation, possibly shaping it toward multicultural identity(ies).

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol
The Multicultural Identity Development Model: Sojourners' Identity Transformation during Cross-Cultural Adaptation

Thank you for joining me today to share your experiences adapting to a new cultural environment. The purpose of my dissertation is to find out how sojourners develop a multicultural identity while they adapt to a new cultural environment. Meaning, how did your experiences living abroad change you or influence who you are? Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. So, I would like you to try to remember your first time living abroad as a UWC student and some of the experiences that were important to you and influenced who you are, and then do the same with your second time as a Davis-UWC student living abroad. Do you have any questions or need some clarifications before we begin?

Let's go ahead and start with some general questions.

Multiple Adaptation
1. Tell me about your first experience as a UWC student adapting to a new culture?
    a. How old were you the first time?
    b. What were some memorable experiences from that time? What stands out to you?
    c. Tell me about any challenging experiences while adapting to the first culture.
        i. How did you resolve these challenges?
            1. What did you do to resolve these challenges?
        ii. What, if anything, changed after experiencing these challenges?
2. Tell me about your second experience as a Davis-UWC student adapting to the U.S.?
    a. How old were you the second time?
    b. What were some memorable experiences from that time? What stands out to you?
    c. Tell me about any challenging experiences while adapting to the second culture.
        i. How did you resolve these challenges?
            1. What did you do to resolve these challenges?
        ii. What, if anything, changed after experiencing these challenges?
3. How did adapting to the first culture compare to adapting to the second culture?
    a. Can you tell me about a time that illustrates these similarities or differences?
    b. What are some things that you did that helped you adapt the first time that was similar or different from the second time?
4. What did you learn from both these experiences?

Multicultural Identity
5. Tell me how adapting to a new country influenced who you are as a person (i.e., your identity).
    a. Can you describe any changes you experienced in your values, beliefs, or attitudes?
    b. Can you describe any changes in your behaviors? (e.g., the way you spoke, dressed, acted, or your culture?)
    c. Can you tell me how these changes came about?

       i.   Tell me about a time when you realized you have changed.

      ii.   Were these changes more prominent during your first or second sojourn? How so, can you explain?

6. Tell me how these changes in who you are as a person (your identity) made you feel?

    a.   When did these feelings start?

    b.   Can you share and describe some of the events that led to these feelings?

    c.   What did you do to resolve these feelings?

    d.   Have these feelings gone away or do you still feel them?

7. Do you consider yourself a multicultural person (a person who identifies with more than one culture)?

    a.   What aspects of yourself would you say reflect your multicultural identity (e.g., language, dress, way you talk, food you eat, media you consume, values, beliefs, attitudes?)

    b.   Have others observed your multicultural identity? What do they say?

       i.   How do you communicate your multicultural identity to others? Can you give examples?

      ii.   Tell me a story that illustrates your multicultural identity.

    c.   Would you say you feel a sense of belonging to any of the cultures in which you have lived? If so, which of the cultures?

       i.   What makes you feel you belong to any of the cultures? Can you give some examples?

      ii.   What are some aspects of these cultures with which you feel a sense of belonging (traditions, language, food, dress, values)?

    d.   Would you say you identify with any of the cultures in which you lived? If so, which of the cultures?

       i.   How would you describe this identification?

      ii.   What are some aspects of any of these cultures with which you identify?

8. What aspects of these cultures have you incorporated as part of your identity?

    a.   Tell me about a time that illustrates how you incorporated these cultures in your behaviors.

    b.   Tell me about a time that these cultures were reflected in how you communicate (e.g., language, code-switching, slang, relating, etc.).

9. Given all these changes to who you are, how would you describe yourself?

    a.   Have others observed these changes in you?

       i.   How do you communicate the changes in your identity to others?

      ii.   Tell me about a time that you had to talk about the changes in your identity.

Miscellaneous

10. Are you doing okay?

    a.   How did talking about your experience living abroad make you feel?

    b.   Have you ever taken out time to reflect on your experiences?

       i.   Why or why not?

      ii.   If yes, what did you learn through reflection?

      c.   What advice would you give to future Davis UWC students or international students about adapting to a new cultural environment?

11. Is there anything else you'd like to add about your experiences living abroad?

Thank you for sharing your experiences with me today. If talking to me today brought up some uncomfortable feelings, please reach out to your local international student services office or the Crisis Care Center, a national counseling support service, which is available 24/7 at (800) 273-8255 if you need to talk to a professional about what you are feeling.

<center>**Appendix B**</center>

<center>**Revised Interview Protocol**
The Multicultural Identity Development Model: Sojourners' Identity Transformation
during Cross-Cultural Adaptation</center>

Thank you for joining me today to share your experiences adapting to a new cultural environment. The purpose of my dissertation is to find out how sojourners develop a multicultural identity while they adapt to a new cultural environment. Meaning, how did your experiences living abroad change you or influence who you are? Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. So, I would like you to try to remember your first time living abroad as a UWC student and some of the experiences that were important to you and influenced who you are, and then do the same with your second time as a Davis-UWC student living abroad. Do you have any questions or need some clarifications before we begin?
Let's go ahead and start with some general questions.

Multicultural Identity
1. Tell me how adapting to a new country influenced who you are as a person (i.e., your identity). Let us start with the first sojourn and then move to second sojourn.
   a. Can you describe any changes you experienced in your values, beliefs, or attitudes?
   b. Can you describe any changes in your behaviors? (e.g., the way you spoke, dressed, acted, or your culture?)
   c. Can you tell me how these changes came about?
      i. Tell me about a time when you realized you have changed.
      ii. Were these changes more prominent during your first or second sojourn? How so, can you explain?
2. What was the greatest impact that UWC
3. What were some memorable experiences from the first (second) time? What stands out to you?
4. Tell me about any challenging experiences while adapting to the first (second) culture.
      i. How did you resolve these challenges?
         1. What did you do to resolve these challenges?
5. How did adapting to the first culture compare to adapting to the second culture?
   a. Can you tell me about a time that illustrates these similarities or differences?
   b. What are some things that you did that helped you adapt the first time that was similar or different from the second time?
6. Would you say the first experience prepared you for the second experience? How so? Can you tell me?
7. Which experience was more impactful, the first or second experience living abroad?
8. Do you consider yourself a multicultural person (a person who identifies with more than one culture)?

<center>244</center>

a. What aspects of yourself would you say reflect your multicultural identity (e.g., language, dress, way you talk, food you eat, media you consume, values, beliefs, attitudes?)

b. Have others observed your multicultural identity? What do they say?
   i. How do you communicate your multicultural identity to others? Can you give examples?
   ii. Tell me a story that illustrates your multicultural identity.

c. Would you say you feel a sense of belonging to any of the cultures in which you have lived? If so, which of the cultures?
   i. What makes you feel you belong to any of the cultures? Can you give some examples?
   ii. What are some aspects of these cultures with which you feel a sense of belonging (traditions, language, food, dress, values)?

d. Would you say you identify with any of the cultures in which you lived? If so, which of the cultures?
   i. How would you describe this identification?
   ii. What are some aspects of any of these cultures with which you identify?

9. What aspects of these cultures have you incorporated as part of your identity?
   a. Tell me about a time that illustrates how you incorporated these cultures in your behaviors.
   b. Tell me about a time that these cultures were reflected in how you communicate (e.g., language, code-switching, slang, relating, etc.).

10. Given all these changes to who you are, how would you describe yourself?
   a. Have others observed these changes in you?
      i. How do you communicate the changes in your identity to others?
      ii. Tell me about a time that you had to talk about the changes in your identity.

11. What did you learn from both these experiences?

Miscellaneous

12. Are you doing okay?
   a. How did talking about your experience living abroad make you feel?
   b. Have you ever taken out time to reflect on your experiences?
      i. Why or why not?
      ii. If yes, what did you learn through reflection?
   c. What advice would you give to future Davis UWC students or international students about adapting to a new cultural environment?

13. Is there anything else you'd like to add about your experiences living abroad?

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