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Three Bases of Identity in Global Context:
Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and National Identity among International
Sojourners

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Doctor of Philosophy

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By


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M.A., Sociology, Emory University, 2009

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An abstract of

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Abstract

Three Bases of Identity in Global Context:
Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and National Identity among International
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This dissertation examines the relationship between transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity using longitudinal mixed-methods data from a sample of international development volunteers. I draw upon theoretical and empirical literatures from global and transnational sociology as well as social psychological work on identity processes. First, I examine whether or not this group of globally mobile individuals see themselves as transnational (i.e., connected to or involved with both their home and host countries) or cosmopolitan (i.e., global citizens who belong to the world as a whole rather than a single nation). Using quantitative data, I determine the individual and sojourning characteristics that give rise to these self-perceptions. Then, using qualitative data, I explore the meanings of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. Results indicate that, rather than group identities, transnationalism manifests as a dimension of role-identities (i.e., a feature of ones romantic and work roles), and cosmopolitanism is a person-based identity (i.e., the result of an individual's history of personal experiences and unique values). Finally, I examine the effects of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on national identity. I find that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism do not have a negative effect on national identity generally, but instead may catalyze changes in the meanings of national identity. I conclude with implications from my research on the measurement of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and a discussion of the contributions this research makes for both global and transnational sociology and social psychological work on identity.

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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**CHAPTER ONE**

**Introduction**

The world may not be getting physically smaller, but for the purposes of international travel and communication, and seeing and experiencing other parts of the world, it may as well be. A vast number of people cross national borders each year as migrants, businessmen, students, missionaries, military personnel, social justice workers, teachers, or tourists. According to the United States Department of Transportation Bureau of Travel Statistics, an increasing number of individuals travel internationally each year. The number of individuals on airline flights departing for international destinations in 1975 was just over six million, and in 2011 that figure increased to over 31 million.[1] Adjusting for population growth, this means that roughly 4% of the US population was traveling internationally in 1975, and in 2011 this increased to 10%.

In this dissertation, I examine how a change in social context, specifically through international travel, can bring about changes in individuals' identities. While such changes could occur on any number of levels, I focus on self-change as it relates to national identity and what I refer to as "supranational identities" – transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. Transnationalism refers to a sense of connection to two countries simultaneously (Vertovec 1999). Cosmopolitanism refers to a sense of belonging in the

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[1] These figures include the number of passengers on all outbound international flights except those to Canada. The data exclude information on the purpose of their travel, final destination, or duration. The data do include information on the country of debarkation for each flight, but provide no information on connecting flights.

world as a whole, rather than a single nation (Beck 2002). I explore the development of

these supranational identities, and consider to what extent they may bring about changes

in national identity. This area of inquiry is important, given the increasing number of

individuals who have such international experiences and may experience changes in their

identities as a result.

   I apply social psychological theories and research on identity to questions of national

and supranational identities. Identities are sets of meanings individuals apply to

themselves that define "what it means to be who one is" (Burke 1991:837) in a given

context (Burke 1991; Burke and Tully 1977). There are three sources of meanings

individuals can apply to themselves – or "bases" of identities: group, role, and personal

(Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010; Smith-Lovin 2007). Group-based identities

consist of a sense of self as a member of a meaningful group or category (e.g., American,

Catholic) (Owens et al. 2010). Role-based identities consist of meanings individuals

apply to themselves as occupants of particular social positions (e.g., teacher, brother)

(McCall and Simmons 1966; Stryker 1980). Person-based identities are meanings

individuals apply to themselves singularly, based on their biography and unique

experiences (Owens et al. 2010; Rosenberg 1979).  I draw upon research in identity

theory (Stryker 1980; Burke and Stets 2009) and social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner

1979; Hogg and Abrams 1988), which outline how identity processes work, to examine

transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and their relationship with national identity

   The extant literature on transnationalism focuses primarily on immigrant populations,

determining which acts, actors, and communities can justifiably be referred to as

transnational. The literature on cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, is largely theoretical.

In my dissertation, I study international sojourners to examine the relationships between national and supranational identification. International sojourners are individuals who travel abroad but with the intention to ultimately return home.

**WHY STUDY INTERNATIONAL SOJOURNERS?**

As international travel becomes easier and more accessible for many, the lines between short-term tourism and indefinite immigration blur (Castles and Miller 2009). There is a lacuna in the extant literature for research on the growing population of individuals who live abroad on a short-term basis (Colic-Peisker 2010; Favell et al. 2006). These individuals are sometimes referred to as transnational knowledge workers (Colic-Peisker 2010) or serial migrants (Ossman 2004), and can be described as "people who have lived and worked in at least three countries, including their country of origin, for at least a year, with a year implying residency rather than a visit" (Colic-Peisker 2010:467). These individuals differ from immigrants because they do not migrate for political or economic reasons, but instead travel to share career skills that are desirable in a wide range of places (Colic-Peisker 2010).

I propose that to understand the phenomenon of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism in more precise depth, researchers must also understand how it manifests among serial migrants and not just immigrant populations. International sojourners are also a key population to study with regard to cosmopolitanism because they may sojourn in a variety of countries at different times, allowing them to amass connections to more than one other culture, and possibly increasing the likelihood that they would see themselves as cosmopolitan rather than transnational.

In this dissertation, I focus on a specific type of international sojourner – international development volunteers. I collected longitudinal mixed methods data from returning volunteers with CUSO International.[2] This international development organization sends volunteers from Canada and the United States to work with local partner organizations in developing nations around the world. Their volunteers live abroad for anywhere from three months to several years, with most serving one to two years. These volunteers resemble transnational knowledge workers (Colic-Peisker 2010) because they go abroad to impart specific career skills, and often do so as a part of a larger career trajectory in international development work. Indeed, many of them have lived and worked abroad previously. They are an ideal population for research on transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national-identity given that their work provides ample opportunity to establish relationships and embed themselves in local cultures.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Using data from returning CUSO International volunteers, I examine several research questions related to transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity. First, do international volunteers see themselves as being connected to both their home and host countries simultaneously (i.e., transnational) or belonging to the world as a whole (i.e., cosmopolitan)? If so, what are the characteristics of volunteers describe themselves this

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[2] Canadian University Service Overseas was established in 1961. The organization has undergone a series of changes since that time (described in Chapter 3), and is now named CUSO International. While CUSO is, historically, an acronym, the organization currently uses the term as its own word in order to retain name recognition in Canada while avoiding the perception that their volunteers are primarily university students.

way? Second, what do transnationalism and cosmopolitanism mean to these individuals? In other words, are transnationalism and cosmopolitanism identities? And if so, what kind of identities are they? Third, given these understandings of what it means to be transnational or cosmopolitan, how do transnationalism and cosmopolitanism affect individuals' national identity?

Exploring these processes among international sojourners raises additional questions about what will happen to these "identities" as sojourners return home. If living abroad can foster transnationalism and/or cosmopolitanism, will individuals continue to identify themselves as such once they return home? Or, will these effects diminish over time? Furthermore, if transnationalism and/or cosmopolitanism have effects on national identity, how will these effects change once sojourners are back in their home context?

Longitudinal mixed methods data allow me to examine the main research questions, and how these processes change over time and in different contexts. I use quantitative survey data to: determine whether individuals see themselves as transnational or cosmopolitan; detect patterns in which volunteers describe themselves this way; and examine the effects of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on national identity. Qualitative interview data provide depth and context to the patterns in the quantitative data. The interview data also enable me to determine what transnationalism and cosmopolitanism mean, and in turn which kinds of identities they are, as well as to examine how individuals negotiate transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity simultaneously.

This research contributes to the literature in both global and transnational sociology and social psychology. The study also bridges the macro- and micro-levels of scholarship

in a unique way, by exploring how globalization impacts individual identity processes. Global and transnational scholars have determined that globalization, transnational mobility, and cosmopolitanism do not threaten the nation as a basis for identity, but rather these processes bring about changes in what national identities mean (Held et al. 1999; Lechner 2008). My research specifies how these changes come about on an individual level. Furthermore, by determining whether or not transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are individual identities, and what kind, this research enables global and transnational scholars to apply the vast literature on individual identity to their research on transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity. For instance, knowing what kind of identities transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are will enable scholars to use social psychological research to make predictions about the behavioral outcomes of these identities.

On the social psychological level, this research takes a structural symbolic interactionist approach, examining the connection between the self and society on a global level. Structural symbolic interactionists argue that the location of individuals within social structures affects their opportunities for interaction partners, and the kinds of interactions in which they engage. These interactions are one of the means individuals use to develop and maintain their identities and overall sense of self (Stryker 1980). Much of the research on individual identities takes place within a single context, however. In fact, the literature that does look at identity from a cross-cultural perspective often gathers data from different contexts and compares the processes in two locations (e.g., Yuki 2003) or examines identity processes among immigrant groups in a single location (e.g., Hindriks, Verkuyten, and Coenders 2014). My research considers how

changes in social context affect identity processes by exploring how individuals maintain their identities as they move between nations.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

In Chapter 2, I lay out the theoretical frameworks that inform this study. First, I briefly review the literature on national identity and the changes brought about by globalization. Then, I define transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and describe the literature in the areas of global and transnational sociology. Finally, I define identities and discuss the different bases of identity, making predictions for possible ways that transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity may impact one another on the individual level.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the research design and empirical methods I used to explore transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity. The research uses a mix of quantitative and qualitative data collected longitudinally, and consists of 460 surveys completed by 175 participants and 54 in-depth interviews with 33 participants. In this chapter I describe my research design, the sample of CUSO International volunteers and recruitment procedures, survey and interview instruments, and data analysis strategies. I conclude the chapter with univariate descriptions of the sample and bivariate correlations that are relevant to each of the subsequent results chapters.

There are three results chapters in the dissertation. The first, Chapter 4, focuses on transnationalism. Using quantitative data, I answer the question of whether or not international sojourners in this study see themselves as transnational, and what factors lead to self-identified transnationalism. Then, using qualitative interview data, I describe what transnationalism means to international sojourners. The qualitative findings indicate

that transnationalism is a dimension of role identities, whereby individuals see themselves as connected to their host countries through roles they establish with locals – specifically romantic and work roles.

Results for cosmopolitanism in Chapter 5 are presented in a similar fashion. I begin with quantitative data analysis to assess the extent to which participants see themselves as cosmopolitans and what individual and sojourn characteristics give rise to cosmopolitanism. The qualitative interview data illustrate what cosmopolitanism means to these participants. I find that individuals see themselves as cosmopolitans based on their history of international experiences that set them apart from other people, and the values that develop as a result of these international experiences. Thus, I argue that cosmopolitanism is a person-based identity.

In Chapter 6, I bring transnationalism and cosmopolitanism together to examine how they affect national identity. I use quantitative data to determine the effects of both transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on national identity. Then, using interview data, I explore how international experiences affect the meanings of volunteers' national identities – both positively and negatively. Results indicate that for volunteers who do not see themselves as transnational or cosmopolitan, international travel affirms their national identities and makes them more appreciative of the benefits of their national group membership. Volunteers who develop a sense of self as transnational or cosmopolitan do not dis-identify with their home countries, but the meanings of national identity do change for some volunteers. I show that participants in romantic relationships with individuals from their host countries may become more critical of their home countries. And for some cosmopolitan volunteers, the values they associate with cosmopolitanism

resemble some of the meanings of their national identities, suggesting that cosmopolitanism may be emerging as a dimension of national identities in some cases.

Finally, in Chapter 7 I review the key findings and limitations of the study. I also illustrate the theoretical implications and contributions for this research to both global and transnational sociology and social psychological identity theories and research. I argue that my research provides information on how to appropriately measure transnationalism and cosmopolitanism given the findings on the meanings of these identities and how they are sustained over time. I also suggest that this research opens up new possibilities in examining interactions between multiple identities across different bases (i.e., group, role, and person).

**CHAPTER TWO**

**Theoretical Frameworks:**

**Situating the Self in Global Context**

Anderson (1983) famously argued that the rise of the nation state was enabled by the decline of other forms of collective identity (e.g., kinship groups, religious communities) and the production of culture through the printing press and a literate public. The printing press allowed individuals to have easier access to information about events beyond the physical space they personally occupy, and the spread of news at a more rapid rate, fostering a sense of shared history and cultural myths. Anderson refers to the nation as an "imagined community" in which individuals have a sense of communion with others who live within the same national boundaries, even those who they have never met. National identity, then, is an understanding of who "we" are as members of one nation state, relative to "they" who are not a part of the nation.

Other scholars, such as Smith (1991), have further developed the concept of national identity, delineating its key features. Smith argues that national identity is based on a physical territory, common myths and historical memories, mass public culture, legal rights and duties for members, and a common economy. National identity, in addition to giving a sense of who we are, also provides a framework for how to interact outside the boundaries of the nation. According to Smith, the nation "provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world, through the prism of the collective personality and its distinctive culture. It is through a shared, unique culture that we are

enabled to know 'who we are' in the contemporary world. By rediscovering that culture we 'rediscover' ourselves, the 'authentic self', or so it has appeared to many divided and disoriented individuals who have had to contend with the vast changes and uncertainties in the modern world." (1991:17). That is, as the world changes, national identity serves as a touchstone for who we really are and how we should negotiate those changes.

From a social psychological perspective, researchers often assume the relevance of national categories and identity without problematizing the nation as a social group with which people identify (Hopkins and Moore 2001). In fact, little research at the individual level actually examines how national identity is negotiated. Instead, the research on national identity at the individual level focuses on two issues: how national identity is related to tolerance, and national identity relative to other group identities.

Scholars have drawn a distinction between two types of national identity with regard to tolerance – one that involves being proud of one's own country and another than involves hatred of foreigners. This distinction has taken a number of forms in the literature, delineating types of nationalism such as "open" and "closed" nationalism or "benign" and "aggressive" nationalism (see Kecmanovic 1996 or Reicher and Hopkins 2001 for an overview). Research shows, however, that these two types of national-identity are not bound together – expressing attachment to or pride in one's own country does not necessitate intolerance or hatred for others (Bar-Tal 1993). In this study, I examine exposure to other places and how this affects one's attachment to his or her own country, assuming that international experience does not lead to "closed" nationalism or intolerance for diversity.

Instead, I focus more on a second issue discussed in individual-level national identity. Research on individual-level national identity has also examined how national identity relates to other kinds of group identities, and shows that individuals are capable of identifying with the nation as well as other groups simultaneously. For instance, research shows that people can, and do, identify on both the national level and regional levels, but considers this question in the context of how English and Scottish individuals stereotype one another depending on their orientation as British on a broad level versus identification on a regional level (Hopkins and Moore 2001). Other micro-level studies explore national identity among first and second generation immigrant populations. Such studies demonstrate that individuals have the ability to hold both national identities and ethnic identities at the same time, sharing a common national identity with the majority of those around them while differentiating themselves on the basis of their minority ethnic identity (Baysu, Phalet, and Brown 2011). These studies focus on national identity relative to a more bounded identity or a group that is smaller than the nation (e.g., an ethnic group within a nation). In contrast, my research interests lie in exploring the relationship between national identity and supranational groups such as the transnational or global community.

Globalization has been defined simply as "the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness" (Held et al. 1999:14) and "a reconfiguration of social geography marked by the growth of transplanetary and supraterritorial connections between people" (Scholte 2005:8). The process of globalization has far-reaching implications for politics, economics, culture, and social structure. I focus specifically on

how globalization enables increased flows of people and activities across national borders, and fosters interconnected global social networks (Held et al. 1999).

The relationship between nation-states and globalization is complex. While nation-states may help their members handle uncertainty and change brought on by globalization (Smith 1991), globalization can also catalyze changes in the meaning of national identity. With increased globalization, however, the constraints of the nation-state weaken as people, ideas, and resources move freely across the boundaries of the nation-state (Appadurai 1996). As opportunities for individuals to move freely between nations and establish relationships across borders increase, how does this affect perceptions of and beliefs in the nation (Robertson 1992)? Does globalization change how people identify with the nation?

## TRANSNATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM AS ALTERNATIVES TO NATIONAL IDENTITY?

Increased flows of people, information, and resources across national boundaries (Appadurai 1996) have generated interest in transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, which I will refer to as "supranational" identities. These terms have been used to describe individuals who are participants in the global "ethnoscape," such as tourists, immigrants, refugees, and exiles (Appadurai 1996) because their lives span beyond the boundaries of a single nation. Transnationalism has been studied as a form of consciousness and identity, mode of cultural reproduction, avenue of capital, form of political engagement, and a basis to reconsider the meaning of "place" (for overview, see Vertovec 1999). At the most basic level, what these perspectives have in common is a focus on "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states" (Vertovec 1999:447).

While transnationalism involves crossing nation state borders in some way, cosmopolitanism disengages from the idea of the nation state, focusing on the development of "citizens of the world" rather than citizens of a particular nation state (Beck 2002). Cosmopolitanism has been characterized as a condition or philosophy, and also as a set of attitudes, practices, and competencies (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). Cosmopolitanism has a moral component of respect for humanity (Nussbaum 1996), a political component that focuses on international human rights discourse (Soysal 1994), and a cultural component that involves pluralization of society and appreciation for other cultures (Delanty 2006). For some theorists, cosmopolitanism means that society exists through networks rather than territorial spaces such as nation-states (Castells 1996), and for others cosmopolitanism indicates that mobility is the defining characteristic of people, technologies, commodities, and cultures (Urry 2002). I discuss each of these in detail, including their potential to supersede or negatively affect national identity.

**Supranationality on the Macro-level**

The effects of globalization on the nation state are often discussed on the macro-level, focusing on how nation-states operate in global economies. For instance, among immigrant populations, scholars examine how the act of sending remittances to their home countries affects their spending habits in their host countries. By sending remittances back home, income they generate in their host countries often stimulates home country economies. This example highlights the ability of transnational activities to negatively impact nation-states by redirecting capital to other nations. Flows of people across national borders, however, also feed into a continued discourse on nation-building, the role of nations, and how nation-states affect migration patterns (Glick Schiller and

Fouron 1998). Nation-states are still the issuers of passports, and different passports continue to grant certain citizens more freedom of mobility than others (Calhoun 2002).

Global flows of people affect national identity because an influx of migrants into a receiving country may call into question notions of who "we" are as a nation on the collective level. "Migratory networks develop, linking areas of origin and destination, and helping to bring about major changes in both. Migrations can change demographic, economic and social structures, and bring a new cultural diversity, which often brings into question national identity" (Castles & Miller 2009:4).[3] Scholars largely agree, however, that globalization and mobility are prompting a reimagining or redefining of national identity on the collective level, rather than threatening the nation as a basis for identity (Held et al. 1999; Lechner 2008). In the Dutch case, for example, Lechner (2008) notes that globalization prompted the Netherlands to "worry about how to turn cultural strangers into citizens of a national community" (281). He describes how the Dutch initially attempted to bring immigrant populations into their culture through policies like civic integration courses and voted against the European Union, which encroached too

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[3] It is likely that transnational migration affects nation-states differentially. In his study on the Netherlands, for example, Lechner (2008) notes that small nation-states may be better equipped to handle the pressures globalization exerts on them because their size makes it easier to be flexible, and they have greater experience negotiating with outside influences on their culture and boundaries simply by virtue of the fact that there is more "outside" to deal with. Tsuda (2003) also notes that cultures where national and ethnic identities are more closely bound together face more difficulty handling the impact of migration on national identity.

much on national sovereignty. He also provides counter-examples where the Dutch form

a comprehensive welfare-state that provides a safety net for immigrants and locals alike,

and the formation of diverse and open media that caters to broad audiences. Ultimately,

Lechner (2008) argues that the Dutch did not lose their identity, but have instead formed

a sense of "cosmopolitan nationalism" that is both open and distinct. Or, put differently,

one form of Dutch identity has come to incorporate political and cultural

cosmopolitanism into their sense of who they are as a nation.

As scholars continue to examine how the nation-state, as a single part, relates to the

global whole (Albrow 1997), they find that the effects of global pressures on the nation-

state are not entirely negative. Instead of replacing the nation-state, transnationalism and

cosmopolitanism are prompting a redefinition of the purpose of the nation-state and

national-identity on the collective level (Lechner 2008). To complement this line of work

rethinking the relationship between potentially competing identities at the macro-level, I

turn now to what we know about the relationship between supranational and national

identities as they exist within individual actors in the broader context.

**Supranationality on the Micro-Level**

While research on the macro-level considers how globalization brings about change

in national identity broadly, scholars who study transnationalism on the individual-level

are concerned with delineating what acts, actors, and communities should be considered

transnational. The individuals commonly considered as participants in the global

"ethnoscape" include tourists, immigrants, refugees, and exiles (Appadurai 1996) because

their lives span beyond the boundaries of a single nation. Empirical research on

transnationalism, however, primarily deals with immigrant populations (Colic-Peisker

2010; Favell et al. 200). Portes and colleagues argue that these individuals may all be engaged in transnational acts, but transnational people are those who engage in "occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation" (Portes et al. 1999:219). Using this definition, not all immigrants are transnational. In fact, "Most…pursue lives in their new country in relative oblivion of those that they left behind" (Portes 2003:885).

While Portes conceived of the individual as the most appropriate unit for the study of transnationalism because they are the actors engaging across boundaries (Levitt 2001), other scholars consider how transnationalism is not only something people do, but a characteristic of communities. Levitt and her colleagues argue migrants and other non-migrants in their communities both dwell in the "transnational sphere" because the space in which they live is changed by the interlocking networks that affect ideas, practices, and resources that are exchanged, transformed, and organized across space (Levitt 2001; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). Levitt (2001) argues that transnationalism occurs when the social and economic lives of people are no longer bound by national borders. For example, in her work on a community in the Dominican Republic that has ties to immigrants living in New York, Levitt (2001) describes adolescent girls who challenge Dominican gender norms based on what they have learned about norms in the United States, even though they do not have migrants in their own families. These girls may not have sustained contact with the United States themselves, but by virtue of living in a space that is connected to the US in many ways socially, economically, and technologically, their beliefs and expectations reflect a connection with a nation-state to which they have never been.

Turning to cosmopolitanism, scholars have largely concerned themselves with

delineating the types of cosmopolitans (e.g., Rapport and Stade 2007), and how

cosmopolitanism manifests through identities or individual virtues (e.g., Pichler 2012).[4]

Rapport and Stade (2007) describe six types of cosmopolitans: spatial cosmopolitans are

individuals who move across global space; social cosmopolitans are strangers who do not

belong to any particular community; political cosmopolitans are citizens of the world

whose sense of entitlement draws on human rights broadly conceived; structural

cosmopolitans belong to an economic elite that have their power, in part, due to taking

advantage of local individuals; moral cosmopolitans show solidarity with strangers; and

essentialist cosmopolitans believe that we are all cosmopolitan because every human is

endowed with capabilities and rights that supersede symbolic classifications. Pichler

(2012) identifies three components of cosmopolitanism that draw on several of the same

themes. First, cosmopolitanism consists of global identity, whereby global citizens have

affiliations to multiple locations around the globe (Appiah 2006; Vertovec and Cohen

2002). Cosmopolitanism also has an ethical component, including placing trust in

different people and having tolerance for diversity, and a political component that

consists of having a moderated national identity and strives for global political decision-

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[4] Some scholars, like Delanty (2006; 2012), argue that cosmopolitanism cannot be

studied on the individual-level because the cosmopolitan imagination exists on the level

of societies, and is not reducible to concrete individual identities. Delanty (2006)

describes the cosmopolitan imagination as the relationship between the self and the other,

however, and I argue that this relationship exists on the level of societies as well as the

individuals who inhabit them.

making (Pichler 2012). Indeed, some scholars describe weaker national identities as one way of exhibiting cosmopolitanism (Norris and Inglehart 2009).

This political component of cosmopolitanism suggests that cosmopolitanism involves weakened national identity (Norris and Inglehart 2009; Pichler 2012), but this does not mean that individuals who see themselves as cosmopolitans cease to identify on the national level. In fact, Turner (2002) theorizes that national identity is the basis for cosmopolitanism. He argues that national identity often involves holding negative images of and attitudes towards outsiders, and cosmopolitanism develops as individuals reflexively distance themselves from their own culture and develop a respect for other cultures. In this way, national identity is a necessary – but not sufficient – condition for the development of cosmopolitanism. And the development of cosmopolitanism does not remove one's national identity, but rather alters the way individuals relate to their home nations.  Smith (2007) builds on this argument, adding that both nationalism and cosmopolitanism are based on an ability to form attachments to people, things, and beliefs, and cosmopolitanism extends our ability to form attachments beyond national borders. Acknowledging that cosmopolitanism and national identity are not inherently opposed, allows space for "rooted cosmopolitans," that is, people who are attached to their homes and the particularities of where they are from, but also interested in different places and types of people (Appiah 2006). An interest in the outside world need not uproot one's attachment to home.

Empirically, research in both cosmopolitanism and transnationalism supports the idea that supranationality can coexist with national identity. Colic-Peisker (2010) summarizes his findings from a pilot study of globally mobile people saying they view national

identity as "a conventional, and often convenient, presentation of self in transnational contexts." In fact, his participants see national identity as "unavoidable" (Colic-Peisker 2010:477). And while this study describes national identity as something that persists regardless of a global lifestyle, research on transnational immigrant populations actually shows that mobility across borders can actually increase national identity. This phenomenon is referred to as deterritorialized, or long-distance nationalism (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2002; Tsuda 2003), and it is similar to Calhoun's (2007) argument that global experience can increase national identity because people enjoy viewing themselves as different from others.

The existence of rooted cosmopolitans (Appiah 2006) and deterritorialized nationalism (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2002; Tsuda 2003) speaks to the legitimacy of the nation-state compared to post-national groups (Elias 1991) and an inability to fully imagine supranational communities (Tsuda 2003). In other words, people who engage in activities that cross national borders may still identify with the nation-state because they do not see the transnational and/or global communities as legitimate communities to which they can belong. This is the topic to which I now turn.

## IMAGINING SUPRANATIONAL COMMUNITIES?

Just as global pressures may cause nation-states to rethink their national identity on a collective level (Lechner 2008), global mobility can catalyze changes in national identity on an individual level. Theorists make competing claims for how these individual changes will manifest. Some have suggested that deterritorialization may lead individuals to develop a sense of postnationalism, disengaging from national identification (Appadurai 1996), or experience difficulty articulating a singular national identity (Rouse

1991). This may manifest as a type of consciousness that forges a connection between "here" and "there" existing within a single person (Vertovec 1999), or the development of a global identity with affiliations to many places (Colic-Peisker 2010; Pichler 2012). Others, however, argue that identities usually lag behind actual communities, so that individuals who are connected globally are likely to continue to identify at the nation-state level, particular because the national community is legitimated and seen as "natural" (Anderson 1983; Basch et al. 1994; Smith 1991). Empirical research among immigrant communities supports the latter argument, suggesting that the pull of the nation as an imagined community is stronger than the pull of supranational communities (Sussman 2011; Tsuda 2003).

In his research on second generation Japanese Brazilians who migrate to Japan after growing up in Brazil, Tsuda (2003) illuminates how transnational communities differ from transnational identities. Tsuda refers to the flow of Japanese Brazilians between these two countries as a community in the sense that they are connected to both places through their personal relationships across national boundaries, the flow of commodities (e.g., cultural goods, foodstuffs, etc.) that help them maintain ways of being reminiscent of the absent culture, and the availability of mass media from the native country (e.g., Portuguese newspapers in Japan) that help provide up-to-date information on news and events. He argues, however, that the emergence and maintenance of these transnational communities does not mean that they are accompanied by transnational identities or consciousness. That is, they may be involved in transnational activities, but they do not see themselves as transnational people. Instead, he states: "Migration reveals one of the ironies of nationalism: it is precisely physical *absence* from the [home] nation-state that

enables national sentiments to be intensified, enhanced, and articulated" (Tsuda 2003:156, emphasis in original). In this way, Tsuda illustrates that individual actors who might be categorized as transnational in the literature may not describe themselves that way, instead preferring to identify with their home nations only.

Immigrant populations may identify as belonging to their "home" nations while living abroad based on phenotype, family history, or engaging in cultural activities from their sending nations (Khanna 2004; Tsuda 2003). These characteristics that make individuals identify with their home countries while they are abroad, however, are often not sufficient to constitute a sense of belonging when they are in their home countries interacting with native compatriots who do not have transnational experiences. In the Japanese context, both Japanese Brazilians and the Japanese individuals with whom they interact feel that they do not quite fit in (Tsuda 2003). This sense of being out of place, coupled with negative stereotypes about Japanese Brazilians, causes them to develop a Brazilian nationalist counteridentity in Japan. Put simply, while these individuals identified as Japanese when they lived in Brazil, they identify as Brazilian once in Japan. Tsuda refers to this as deterritorialized nationalism, noting that "the power of national (and other forms of) identity does not presuppose the subject's physical presence in or proximity to the object of identification (i.e., the nation-state)" (Tsuda 2003:218). This concept is similar to the idea of long-distance nationalism (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2002), where individuals experience patriotism for a distant homeland where they are not active participants.

Tsuda (2003) reports that not all the participants in his study engage in deterritorialized nationalism, but in this case the exception seems to prove the rule. Those

Japanese Brazilians who do not feel a renewed connection to Brazil instead report that they do not feel connected to either place. "Such negatively defined *non-national* identities characterized by a lack of belonging to either nation are not necessarily based on a positive identification with the transnational migrant community" (Tsuda 2003:247, emphasis in original). These data suggest that identities are still driven by nation-states–either the selection of one or disengagement with both–rather than imagining a community that is transnational in which to belong. Nation-states have mechanisms in place to socialize their members into what it means to belong or not belong within the nation. In contrast, there are not institutions available to teach individuals what it means to be transnational or how one belongs in transnational space. Tsuda points out that this does not mean there is not a transnational community, but rather than people do not recognize it: "Because the transnational community is not consciously recognized as such but is construed in more local and national ways, it is not sufficiently 'imagined' by its members as a source of identity and affiliation" (Tsuda 2003:250). Put differently, the individuals Tsuda studies may have a sense that there are others out there who are like them, but they do not develop an understanding of themselves as a group. Like Portes (2003), Tsuda contends that engaging in transnational acts does not necessitate the development of transnational identity.

This research suggests that while individuals may feel a sense of personal connection to multiple places (Colic-Peisker 2010; Pichler 2012; Vertovec 1999), they do not conceive of supranational communities as groups to which they can belong. Just as Tsuda (2003) argues the transnational community is not fully imagined, Cheah says the following about imagining a cosmopolitan community: "An existing global condition

ought not to be mistaken for an existing mass-based feeling of belonging to a world

community (cosmopolitanism) because the globally of every-day does not necessarily

engender an existing popular global political consciousness" (1983:31). Indeed, there is a

lack of consensus in the literature as to whether or not transnationalism and

cosmopolitanism manifest through identities at all, or if they are better classified through

attitudes, values, specific behaviors, or a combination thereof. The terms remain, in many

ways, very vague (Skrbis, Kendall, and Woodward 2004).

## TRANSNATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM FROM AN IDENTITY PERSPECTIVE

The aforementioned research may call into question whether or not individuals

perceive the existence of a transnational community to which they can belong, but

Sussman's (2011) work suggests that global mobility does bring about changes in the

way people see themselves, and thus identities are at play. Sussman's research focuses on

shifts in the cultural identities of return migrants to Hong Kong. Although she does not

address transnationalism or cosmopolitanism specifically, the concepts she employs bear

distinct resemblance to those discussed here.

Sussman defines cultural identity as "that identity that, through geography, ancestry,

or perceived similarity, links an individual to a membership group that encompasses

emotional ties, frameworks of thinking, and ways of behaving" (2011:52). She delineates

four cultural identity shifts that individuals may experience that are relevant to questions

of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism in relation to nationalism (Sussman 2000; 2002;

2011). First, an affirmative identity shift is where experiences abroad lead individuals to

have a stronger national-identity, similar to deterritorialized nationalism. Second, an

additive shift is constituted by seeing oneself as similar to members of the host culture or

belonging to the host community. Third, a subtractive identity shift consists of feeling less like a member of one's home country as a result of international experience.  And finally, a global shift, which Sussman notes occurs less common, occurs when individuals are able to "hold multiple cultural scripts simultaneously and draw on each as the working self-concept requires" (Sussman 2011:77).

Sussman's identity shifts are not mutually exclusive; thus, individuals can have an additive identity shift and a subtractive identity shift simultaneously in some cases, but developing an additive host culture identity does not necessitate a subtractive national identity. Similarly, an individual can go through a global shift without necessarily reporting a subtractive shift. These identity shifts mirror concepts described elsewhere in the global and transnational literature, and for my purposes I will consider the affirmative shift an expression of deterritorialized nationalism; an additive shift or a combination of additive and affirmative shifts an expression of transnationalism; and a global shift or as an expression of cosmopolitanism.[5]

Sussman's research among return migrants suggest that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism do not negatively affect national identity, given that only two percent of her participants report any subtractive identity shift at all, and less than one percent report

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[5] While I have defined transnationalism as being connected to both home and host country simultaneously, I argue that an additive shift alone, in the absence of the affirmative shift, still constitutes transnationalism. The lack of an affirmative shift merely indicates that a participant's national identity remains unchanged. The combination of an additive and subtractive shift, however, would not represent transnationalism because it might indicate that an individual has ceased to identify with his or her home country.

a purely subtractive identity shift. In keeping with deterritorialized nationalism, 12% of her participants report an affirmative identity shift. Ten percent of her participants report global identity shifts. Finally, the remaining 64% report some form of transnationalism. Sussman (2011) also points out an emergent finding where some transnational participants engage in switching behaviors where they alternate between home and host cultures, and others merged home and host ways of being to form a unique sense of self. For example, some of her participants would behave in keeping with different norms based on their location, while others developed their own norms that incorporated both cultures simultaneously and use these norms to guide their behavior across situations.

Importantly, the extant literature largely employs transnationalism and cosmopolitanism as labels that are applied to individuals, rather than exploring how individuals apply these terms to themselves.[6] I argue that in order to fully understand how transnationalism and cosmopolitanism relate to national identity, it is necessary to consider the perspective of the individuals themselves. Social psychological identity theory and research underscore the importance of determining whether or not transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are identities individuals hold, what kinds of identities they are, and what they mean, because claiming an identity may have effects beyond objective membership in a community (Hunt 2003). For example, identifying oneself as a Southerner has impacts on how an individual behaves and sees him/herself

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[6] This is, of course, to the exception of Sussman (2011). Her research, however, is somewhat tangential to the literature on transnationalism and cosmopolitanism given that she does not draw on these concepts specifically and is concerned with how individuals adjust during periods of mobility.

beyond the effects of residing in a Southern state. I argue that social psychological identity theories and research provide a basis to understand how transnationalism and cosmopolitanism manifest among individuals, and how they affect national identity on the micro-level.

***Applying Identity Theories to Transnationalism and Cosmopolitanism***

In this dissertation, I define identities as sets of meanings individuals apply to themselves to understand who they are (Burke and Tully 1977; Burke and Stets 2009). Identities are processes, rather than traits, meaning that individuals negotiate and manage the meanings of their identities in social interactions (Burke 1991). Using this broad definition, I explore whether or not international sojourners think of themselves as connected to two nations or cultures simultaneously (i.e., transnationalism) and/or as citizens of the world (i.e., cosmopolitanism).

People have multiple identities based on their understandings of themselves as unique individuals with their own constellations of experiences (e.g., a controlling person, a well-traveled person), occupants of specific roles (e.g., sister, employee), and members of social groups or categories (e.g., Muslim, American) (Smith-Lovin 2007; Burke and Stets 2009; Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010). These identities are referred to as person-based, role-based, and group-based identities, respectively (Burke and Stets 2009).[7] Each of these identities refers to a set of meanings attached to the self that serve

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[7] Owens et al. (2010) differentiate group-based identities into category membership and group membership. Categories are socially meaningful labels for types of people, such as Arab or American. Groups, on the other hand, are bounded, interconnected groups of people that belong to a defined group, such as a specific church, that is delineated in a

as a reference point for behavior (Burke and Stets 2009). For example, if an individual's identity meanings for him/herself as a Canadian include respect for diversity, this should affect how he or she interacts with others from different cultural backgrounds.

While scholars typically assume that role identities are based on social positions, group identities are based on social categories, and person identities are based on individual characteristics, and experiences, Thoits and Virshup (1997) argue these distinctions are not entirely accurate. They state that "social roles and sociodemographic categories (e.g., mother and Muslim) can be the basis of individual *or* collective identities" (Thoits and Virshup 1997:122, emphasis in original).[8] This argument is important because it implies that identities are malleable. Take, for example, an identity as a teacher. Based on IT, one could assume that this would be a role identity (e.g., social position of teacher relative to student). It is possible, however, for an individual to identify with teachers as a group (e.g., membership in a teacher's union that categorizes teachers as a group relative to the administration). Furthermore, an individual could see him or herself as a teacher on a personal level, drawing on his or her history of trying to help others learn from their experiences and find "teachable moments" in everyday experience. This line of reasoning is also consistent with the IT assertion that identities

specific way. They note, however, that both of these bases of identity refer to similarities between the self and others, rather than role relationships, and the lines between group and category membership are often blurred. Burke and Stets' (2009) notion of group-based identities includes membership in both categories and defined groups.

[8] Thoits and Virshup (1997) refer to person-, role-, and group-based identities as personal, individual, and collective identities, respectively.

are comprised of individual meanings applied to the self (Burke 1996), whereby one individual's self-meanings for the teacher identity may differ from another individual's self-meanings.

While Thoits and Virshup (1997) argue that identity meanings are malleable, they do distinguish personal identities from other kinds of identities. They state that personal identities focus on what distinguishes the self as unique, while other kinds of identity are concerned with situating the self relative to the social structure. Keeping this in mind, I assume that individuals will use transnationalism and cosmopolitanism as concepts to help them situate themselves relative to the global social structure. I will focus on the meanings of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and how individuals apply them to themselves, paying particular attention to whether or not they think of themselves as transnational and/or cosmopolitan based on the roles they occupy or categories to which they belong, and whether they describe themselves on individual or collective terms.

Given my assumption that individuals will use transnationalism and cosmopolitanism to describe themselves in reference to the social structure, I draw on two specific identity theories grounded in the social psychological literature that examine role and group identity processes – identity theory (IT) and social identity theory (SIT). IT emphasizes the individual motivation for self-verification, and argues that individuals constantly negotiate their identities in interactions with others to achieve identity verification (Burke 1991; Burke and Stets 2009).[9] The theory proposes a feedback loop, wherein individuals

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[9] This theory, which focuses on the control process, is sometimes referred to as Identity Control Theory (Burke 1991) – in contrast to Stryker's (1980) Identity Theory. Burke and Stets (2009) adopt the more general identity theory name, considering their theory an

behave in a way that they believe is consistent with their identity meanings, and compare

how they see themselves with reflected appraisals from others to determine if they have

achieved verification. Reflected appraisals are individuals' perceptions of how others

view them (Felson 1985; Khanna 2004). IT argues that these processes occur for person-,

role-, and group-based identities, but empirical IT research is largely based on role

identities (Burke and Stets 2009).

In addition to IT, I also draw upon SIT, which focuses on social identities as a

psychological sense of self as a group member (Hogg and Abrams 1988). According to

SIT, society is made up of social categories that give structure to society, but they are

constantly changing or in a state of flux. People can be members of many categories as

long as these categories are not mutually exclusive (Hogg and Abrams 1988). For

example, an individual may be a member of groups such as a book club and a bowling

league, that are not mutually exclusive, but cannot belong to two separate religions that

are generally perceived to be mutually exclusive (e.g., Jewish and Muslim). In the event

that categories are perceived as mutually exclusive, identification with one necessitates

dis-identification with another, where group membership is a zero-sum game. SIT

assumes that individuals will use social comparisons and categorization to determine the

group to which they belong (Hogg and Abrams 1999; Hogg 2000). Social comparisons

occur when individuals evaluate themselves relative to others (Festinger 1954). Self-

categorization involves the process of seeing oneself as more similar to in-group

members and more different from out-group members over time (Turner 1999).

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extension of Stryker's ideas on how internalized identity meanings guide behavior. Other

scholars, however, see these theories as separate and distinct (Owens et al. 2010).

*Predictions for Relationships between National and Supranational Identities*

These theories provide three possible pathways for the relationships between transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity depending upon the meanings and bases of these identities. Two of the three possible pathways for the relationship between supranational and national identities are based on the assumption that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are group-based identities. This assumption rests on the definitions of these concepts, which denote the combination of multiple nations, or group memberships, in the case of transnationalism, and belonging to the global community in the case of cosmopolitanism (Beck 2002; Vertovec 1999). Thus, the first two pathways draw on concepts from SIT. Research on transnationalism and cosmopolitanism also highlights the importance of personal networks, however (Levitt 2001; Pichler 2012). Therefore, I also present a third pathway based on the assumption that they may be role-based rather than group-based identities, drawing on IT.

*Mutually-Exclusive Groups.* The first pathway suggested by SIT consists of a negative relationship between supranational and national identities assuming these groups are perceived to be mutually exclusive. That is, to the extent that transnational, cosmopolitan, and national identities are mutually exclusive, becoming transnational or cosmopolitan will diminish national identity. Such a pathway would indicate, for example, that if an international sojourner begins to perceive him/herself as similar to other transnational or cosmopolitan people, he or she would therefore also see him/herself as dissimilar to others who identify on the national-level only (i.e., Canadians, Americans). In this case, one could identify nationally or supranationally, but

not both. Such a finding is unlikely, however, given the limited number of return migrants who report subtractive identity shifts in Sussman's (2011) research.

*Compatible Groups.* While the aforementioned pathway suggests a negative relationship between supranational and national identities, the other possible pathway predicted by SIT suggests that supranational and national identities need not be inversely correlated. If the groups are not mutually exclusive, then belonging to a transnational or cosmopolitan community has no bearing on how strongly an individual identifies with a national community. This may explain participants in Sussman's (2011) study who report both affirmative and additive identity shifts; not only do they feel they have become more part of their host communities, but they also feel more closely tied to Hong Kong.

If transnational and cosmopolitan identities are, in fact, group-based, I expect that they will not be perceived as mutually exclusive groups with national identity based on theoretical arguments about the relationship between other macro-level group identities. As noted by Smith (1991), it is common for individuals to be members of multiple groups, just as being Belgian does not preclude one from being a member of the European Union–they exist on different levels. To be transnational, one must also be national; identification with one's home country is a foundation that can be built upon as individuals form connections in other nations and with other cultures. With regard to cosmopolitanism, identification with the world as a whole does not mean that individuals cannot feel connected to a smaller region in the world as well. Just as Americans can identify with their home state or region as well as the United States, both national identity and cosmopolitan identities can coexist. Regions of the United States have norms, cultures, etc., and so does the federal government. So do nation states have all the

features identified by Smith (i.e., physical territory, common myths and historical memories, mass public culture, legal rights and duties of membership, and a common economy), and the cosmopolitan community can have discourse on global human rights that transcend smaller boundaries within the community. Supranational identification does not have to diminish the intensity of one's national identity, but supranationality may alter the meanings of national identity on the individual level, just as it has on the macro-level (e.g., Lechner 2008)

The idea that transnational and cosmopolitan identities are group-based, however, remains an assumption. Tsuda (2003) argues that the transnational community is not fully imagined. And, as I argue above, if individuals cannot fully imagine a transnational community that spans two nation states, imagining a global or cosmopolitan community may prove even more unlikely. In fact, cosmopolitanism, by it's very definition as "world citizenship" (Beck 2002) precludes a key feature of group identities: the ability to categorize individuals as either "in-group" or "out-group" (Tajfel and Turner 1979). This suggests a third possibility for how supranational and national identities relate to one another: transnationalism and cosmopolitanism may not manifest as group identities. If globally-mobile individuals do not imagine communities as the transnational or cosmopolitan level, then these communities cannot serve as a basis for collective identity, much less competitors with the nation-state. This idea is in keeping with Elias' (1991) argument that identities usually lag behind actual communities, so that individuals who are connected transnationally or globally are likely to continue to identify at the nation-state level, particularly because the national community is seen as valid and "natural" (Anderson 1983; Smith 1991).

*Role-based Identities.* IT provides other bases for transnational and cosmopolitan identities besides groups, such as roles. Literature in both transnationalism (Levitt 2001; Tsuda 2003) and cosmopolitanism (Castells 1996; Pichler 2012) specifies the importance of personal networks that exist across borders. While individuals may not be able to imagine themselves as members of expansive transnational communities that extend to individuals they have not met and do not know, it may be that they have a much stronger association with their personal social networks that are based on regular interaction, either face-to-face or through online and telephone communications (Gowricharn 2009; Smart and Smart 1998). Transnationalism may manifest for some through familial, social, or occupational role identities that exist in multiple nations. That is, individuals may see themselves as transnational based on occupying roles where the occupant of the counter-role is from their host country, for example having close friendships and forming romantic relationships with host-country nationals. Likewise, cosmopolitanism may manifest through roles when individuals maintain social networks from a variety of countries around the globe. In this way, cosmopolitanism might be a stage that follows transnationalism as individuals accumulate ties across greater distances. In this case, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism would not be identities, per se, but a dimension of role identities. Transnationalism or cosmopolitanism that exists as a dimension of role identities would not detract from group-based national identification because they come from different bases, just as one's identity as a mother or teacher does not conflict or compete with group identities such as Muslim or Canadian.

The aforementioned pathways suggest that to understand how supranational and national identities relate to one another, researchers must first investigate the meanings of

transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and how individuals apply these constructs to themselves. That is, do globally-mobile individuals imagine transnational and cosmopolitan communities to which they can belong? Or do transnationalism and cosmopolitanism exist as features of roles in global social networks? I will answer these questions by exploring the meanings of these identities and determining the identity processes involved in maintaining them (e.g., reflected appraisals, social comparisons, categorization). Thus, this dissertation will examine what transnationalism and cosmopolitanism mean (Chapters 4 and 5, respectively), before turning to an examination of how these identities affect national identity (Chapter 6).

# CHAPTER THREE

## Methodology

## DESIGN

To examine the relationship between transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity, I conducted a mixed method, longitudinal study utilizing surveys and in-depth interviews. The quantitative and qualitative components of the study serve different purposes. Because there is little information on transnationalism and cosmopolitanism in terms of whether individuals apply these constructs to themselves, and what it means to describe oneself as transnational or cosmopolitan, Chapters 4 and 5 are both descriptive and exploratory. In these chapters, I use quantitative data to determine characteristics that are associated with transnational and cosmopolitan identity change (measures described below). Then, I use the qualitative data to explore what transnationalism and cosmopolitanism mean to participants, and why individuals who identify as such do so.

After describing what kinds of participants identify with transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and what these constructs mean, in Chapter 6 I turn to the effects of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on national identity. The quantitative data allow me to determine how transnationalism and cosmopolitanism affect the intensity of an individual's national identity, and how these effects change over time. In this chapter, I use the qualitative data to explain why transnationalism and cosmopolitanism affect national identity in this way.

To achieve these purposes, I collected data at three time points. Figure 1 illustrates the research design. The first data collection point consists of a surveys approximately

one month before participants left their host countries (Time 1), followed by surveys and

interviews at approximately one month (Time 2) and six months (Time 3) after they

repatriated.[10]

[Figure 1 about here]

## POPULATION AND SAMPLING

### *Population*

The sample for this study consists of volunteers with CUSO International (henceforth

referred to as CUSO), an international development organization that recruits individuals

from Canada and the United States to volunteer in countries in Africa, Asia and

Australasia, and Latin America and the Caribbean.[11] The duration of the volunteer

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[10] The qualitative component of data collection only occurs after participants return home

due to feasibility issues for conducting in-depth interviews while participants are living in

developing countries.

[11] When I began my research in September 2011, the organization had evolved from

Canadian University Service Overseas into the North American partner organization of

Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) and was called CUSO-VSO. At this time, their

funding sources allowed them to recruit both Canadians and Americans. On November

24, 2011, the organization changed their name to CUSO International, and became a

separate organization that works with VSO, but is not part of their organization. This

organizational shift coincided with a change in their funding source and a suspension of

recruiting American volunteers. The Americans represented in my data were recruited

and began their volunteer service prior to this change.

assignments varies, but most spend at least 6 months abroad, with many volunteering for a year or more. Volunteers work on projects such as education, HIV and AIDS prevention and treatment, disability services, healthcare, job training, and participation in governance. While each country where volunteers serve has a program office with staff to support volunteers, on a daily basis volunteers live and work primarily with locals.

The characteristics of CUSO's volunteers change each year. According to Annual Reports produced by CUSO from 2008-2013, the volunteers they send into the field are predominantly female (64%), with a mean age of 41. Between 2008 and 2012, 74% of their volunteers were Canadian. From 2012-2013, the percentage of Canadian volunteers rose to 99%, which coincides with a change in funding structure that required the organization to recruit only Canadians. Regarding volunteer placements, on average 62% of the placements were long-term (i.e., six months or longer). They place volunteers in an average of 38 countries per year. In 2008-2009, most volunteers were placed in Africa and Asia/Australasia (70-80%). Since that time, however, the percentage of volunteers in Latin America and the Caribbean has been increasing (9% in 2008-2009; 41% in 2012-2013).[12]

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[12] The data reported here are averages from five Annual Reports produced by CUSO International. These data do not represent the exact population of volunteers in the field during recruitment for this study, and thus are for reference only. The CUSO Annual Report from 2012-2013 does not include all the information provided here. I supplemented data from the report with information provided from CUSO staff via email.

*Recruitment*

To reach participants, CUSO International included information about the study and a link to participate in an online survey in emails and newsletters sent to volunteers who were preparing to return home or had recently returned home. Participant recruitment took place from September 2011-January 2012, and December 2012-February 2013, and CUSO volunteers who were preparing to return home during these time periods were all invited to participate. Each survey took approximately 20 minutes, and respondents were compensated for their time with a $10 online Amazon gift card (in Canadian or US dollars, depending upon the location of the participant). Upon completing the survey, participants had the opportunity to opt-in to participate in future surveys and to take part in an in-depth interview. Given the disparate locations of the participants, I conducted interviews via online videoconferences (e.g., Skype) or the telephone. Interviews lasted between 60 and 135 minutes, with an average duration time of 85 minutes. Participants were compensated with a $20 Amazon gift card.

In addition to recruiting via CUSO emails, I also took recruiting trips to Ottawa, Canada. CUSO holds Returned Volunteer Weekends several times throughout the year, where recently returned volunteers are invited to share their experiences as a group. I attended two of these weekends in March 2012 and November 2012. Over these weekends I engaged in approximately 60 hours of participant observation and conducted six focus group discussions. While these supplementary data are not included in the dissertation, my attendance at these weekends allowed me to engage in purposive sampling, seeking out returned volunteers with new or different perspectives to participate in surveys and interviews.

*Sample*

The quantitative data presented here come from the 175 participants who took part in the surveys. Of those 175, 117 joined the study at Time 1. Fifty-one participants did not join the study until Time 2, however, given limited internet access to recruit volunteers via email while they were volunteering abroad. I also recruited seven additional participants during Returned Volunteer Weekends who were only able to participate in the Time 3 survey. During the time periods when recruitment emails went out (September 2011-January 2012, December 2012-February 2013), 149 CUSO volunteers returned home. Thus, my 117 Time 1 participants represent a 79% response rate. My attrition rate is low, with 92% of participants continuing in the study through its completion.

Table 1 provides demographic information on these participants. The sample consist of participants ranging from age 21-72, with the majority of participants in their 20s and 30s (83%) and an average age of 34. The sample is majority male (62.7%) and American (63.9%). The study includes participants of immigrant origin (24.3%). Most participants (76.3%) have lived abroad for more than six months prior to volunteering with CUSO.

[Table 1 about here]

Table 2 provides characteristics of the volunteers' placements, including the region they volunteered and duration of their placement. The majority of participants in this study were placed in Africa (59.9%), followed by Asia and Australasia (25.3%), and Latin America and the Caribbean (14.8%). I classify participant placement by continent/region in order to protect their anonymity – particularly the qualitative participants. Participants spent anywhere from six months to over two years living and working abroad, with most volunteering between nine and 18 months (56.8%). Table 2

also presents the breakdown of the CUSO development goals for volunteer placements. Many participants worked on multiple goals in their placement, with most participants working on Health (35.1%), Education (27%), or Participation and Governance (26.5%).

[Table 2 about here]

Compared to CUSO reports on average volunteers from 2008-2013, the quantitative participants in my study over-represent male volunteers and Americans. I suspect that the over-representation of Americans in this study may be due to my institutional affiliation. Recruitment emails sent to CUSO volunteers identified my affiliation with Emory University, and American volunteers who are familiar with the university may have been more inclined to participate. I also ran a chi-square test of independence to examine the relationship between citizenship and gender, and found a significant relationship whereby American participants were significantly more likely to be male than female ($X^2$=5.25, p≤.05). Thus, the proportion of men in this study may be driven by the propensity for Americans to participate. If the American CUSO volunteers during my recruitment period were predominantly male, then an over-representation of Americans will also lead to the over-representation of males. Using CUSO emails as my primary recruitment strategy prevented me from making efforts to recruit more women and Canadians for the quantitative sample. The qualitative sample, however, includes a more accurate representation of "typical" CUSO volunteers.

The sample for the qualitative portion of the study consists of 54 interviews conducted with a subset of 33 interviewees. Table 3 provides a summary of the interview participants, including demographics and descriptions of their volunteer service. In addition, the table reports whether or not they identify as transnational or cosmopolitan.

The interviewees are predominantly female (73%) and Canadian (58%). Several of the participants are immigrants, and this is noted in the table. They range in age from 26-72, with a mean age of 41. Their sojourns abroad range from six months to six years, but the majority volunteered between one and two years. Roughly half of the participants have lived abroad for more than six months prior to volunteering with CUSO (17), and for 16 this was their first lengthy sojourn abroad.

[Table 3 about here]

Of these 33 participants, 20 completed both Time 2 and Time 3 interviews. Five participants completed only the Time 2 interview, and each of these five discontinued participation because they were leaving the country again before being home for six months. Eight participants completed Time 3 interviews only. These participants were recruited at the Returned Volunteer Weekends and invited to participate to share their unique perspectives, even though they did not complete Time 2 interviews.

Recruitment at Returned Volunteer Weekends also helped me identify and recruit participants who would provide a better representation of the average CUSO volunteer. Many of the qualitative participants who volunteered for interviews after participating in the quantitative portion of the study were American females. This is likely due to my institutional affiliation, as described above, and the tendency for interview participants to be predominantly female. Attending the Returned Volunteer Weekends allowed me to recruit more Canadians and men for interviews, which explains why the qualitative sample is a better match for the demographic characteristics of typical CUSO volunteers. Nevertheless, there is a mismatch between the quantitative and qualitative data, given that

the quantitative data provide more insights into American male volunteers and the qualitative data provide more information on Canadian female volunteers.

## SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

The survey instrument is comprised of a set of questions drawn from previous studies and newly created questions. Survey topics include demographics, information on participants' time abroad, frequency and types of communication with home and host countries, transnational and cosmopolitan identity change, national identity strength, and their perceived similarity to different groups (e.g., home and host countries). Demographic items include age, gender, race, relationship status, and citizenship. Participants also provide information about their time abroad, such as their host country, duration of their time abroad, nature of their volunteer work, reason for returning home, and previous experience living abroad. The measures are described here, and complete measures are available in the Appendix A.

### Transnationalism

To capture transnationalism, I use three kinds of measures. First, to measure *transnational identity change*, I use a single item indicator from Sussman (2002), which captures what she refers to as the additive identity shift. This question asks participants to state how much they agree with the statement: "I feel more like a member of my host culture since my assignment" on a scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). This item has a mean of 4.19 (standard deviation 1.35). This measure serves as the dependent variable in Chapter 4, and an independent variable in Chapter 6.

Second, I include two count measures to address how well participants fit in different communities (Turner 1999), which I will refer to as *similitude*. These measures assess the

perceived similarity between participants and specific groups of people. In the case of transnationalism, the *host similitude* measure captures the extent to which individuals see themselves as similar to members of their host country, and the *transnational similitude* measure captures the extent to which individuals describe themselves as similar to members of both their home and host countries. Both of these variables draw on a measure modified by Unger and colleagues (2002) that asks participants to rate the group they are most similar to on a list of behaviors and attributes. Items on this scale address who the participant is most comfortable spending time with, which culture's media they most enjoy, and which foods they prefer. I use four items from this scale, and six items modified from Unger et al. (2002). The scale measures where the participants feels he/she fits in best with regards to similarities to people, food preferences, and patterns in their behavior and emotions. Response categories for this scale include "my home country," "my host country," "both," "neither," and "any of a wide variety of countries." The host similitude variable counts each time participants selected "host country," and the transnational similitude variable counts each time participants select "both." Because the scale has 10 items, participant scores for *host similitude* and *transnational similitude* can range from 0-10, and participants' scores covered the entire range. The mean score for host similitude is 2.08 (standard deviation 2.08), and the mean score for transnational similitude is 2.22 (standard deviation of 1.86). These measures serve as indicators of whether or not participants feel they belong to host/transnational communities, and are used as independent variables in Chapter 6.

Finally, I include a measure of *host communication* to assess role relationships and social networks with members of the host country. This measure appears in the Time 2

and Time 3 surveys, and asks participants to report the how frequently they communicate with the following groups of people once they return home: friends in the host country, coworkers in the host country, CUSO staff in the host country, and members of the host country who are visiting or living in their home country. Response categories include "not at all" (0), "once a month" (1), "two to three times a week" (2), "once a week" (4), "two to three times a week" (5), and "daily" (6). I take the average of responses for each category to create a mean scale. Responses for this scale range from 0-4, with a mean of 2.10 (standard deviation 0.79). While this measure does not provide an indication of the number of transnational roles a participant occupies, it does address transnational role enactment through communication. This measure is used as an independent variable in Chapter 6.[13]

### Cosmopolitanism

To capture cosmopolitanism, I use two measures that mirror indicators of transnationalism. First, to measure *cosmopolitan identity change*, I use a single item indicator of Sussman's (2002) global identity shift. This question asks participants to state how much they agree with the statement: "I feel like a more global person since my assignment" on a scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). The mean for this item is 5.06 (standard deviation 1.01). This measure serves as the dependent variable in Chapter 5, and an independent variable in Chapter 6.

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[13] In hierarchical linear models, there must be a value for each variable in every wave of the data. Because this question was not included in the Time 1 data, I substitute the Time 2 value in at Time 1 in order to be able to use this variable.

Second, I include a measure of *cosmopolitan similitude* to address how well the participant fits into a variety of communities (Turner 1999). The items on this scale are the same as the items used to measure host and transnational similitude, and in this case I consider it an expression of cosmopolitan similitude when a participant selects "any of a wide variety of countries." Because the scale has 10 items, participant scores can range from 0-10. Participants' scores cover the entire range, with a mean score of 0.58 (standard deviation 1.46). While this measure is somewhat vague, it mirrors measures of cosmopolitanism used in other studies (Pichler 2009). This measure serves as indicators of whether or not participants feel they belong to a cosmopolitan community, and is used as independent variables in Chapter 6.

### National Identity

I measure *national identity strength* using three items modified from Boatswain and Lalonde (2000), such as "Being a member of my country is a very significant part of myself," and four items modified from Brown and colleagues (1986), such as "I am annoyed to say I am from my country." (Appendix A includes all items for this and other measures.) These seven items are ranked on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree), and all items are coded so that a higher score indicates stronger national identity. Cronbach's alpha for this scale is α: .804. Participant scores range from 2.57-7, with a mean of 4.38 (standard deviation 0.98). This measure is the dependent variable in Chapter 6.

### Individual Characteristics

I measure several characteristics of the participants themselves. These measures serve as independent variables in Chapters 4 and 5, and controls in Chapter 6. Individual

characteristics measures include demographic characteristics such as *gender* (male=0, female=1), *birth year* (centered by the oldest participant), and *relationship status* (partnered=0, single=1). The *citizen* variable compares Canadians (1) and Americans (0).

There are several participants in the study with dual citizenship. Eight of these dual citizens have citizenship in both Canada and the US, five have dual citizenship in the US and another country, and three have dual citizenship in Canada and another country. I used t-tests to determine the most appropriate way to handle dual citizens, comparing dual citizens to Canadians and Americans with regard to each of the dependent variables in the study. I found that dual Canada/US citizens did differ significantly from Canadians with regard to national identity strength, but did not differ significantly from Americans on any of the dependent variables. Thus, I coded dual Canada/US citizens as Americans. Participants with dual citizenship in Canada and another country do not differ significantly from Canadians on any dependent variable, and are thus coded as Canadians. Participants with dual citizenship in the US and another country do not differ from Americans on any of the dependent variables, and are coded as Americans.

While dual citizens are recoded as Canadian or American to capture citizenship, I created a dummy variable for *dual citizenship* to capture any difference these participants may have with regard to the dependent variables than participants with citizenship in only one nation. I also created dummy variables for immigrant status. Participants report the countries where they and their parents were born. I code participants who were born in a country outside North America as *first generation immigrants* and those who were born in North America but whose parents were born outside North America as *second generation immigrants*. A dummy variable for *previous experience abroad* compares

those who have lived abroad for more than six months previously (1) to those who have

not lived abroad for more than six months prior to volunteering with CUSO (0). The

majority of participants (76.3%) have lived abroad previously.

### *Sojourn Characteristics*

I also measure variables related to the participants' sojourn abroad and international

experience, which serve as independent variables in Chapters 4 and 5, and controls in

Chapter 6. Participants report the country in which they volunteer using a write in

question. These responses are used to create dummy variables for participants who

volunteer in *Africa, Asia and Australasia,* and *Latin America and the Caribbean.*

Participants reported the *duration* of their volunteer experience using the following

categories: less than 6 months, 6-9 months, 9-12 months, 1-1.5 year(s), 1.5-2 years, and 2

or more years. The bulk of participants in the study volunteered for 9-12 months. As this

is the most common duration, I created dummy variables for participants who

volunteered for *less than 9 months* (29.0%) and those who volunteered for *more than 12*

*months* (34.9%), comparing these participants to those who volunteer for *9-12 months*

(36.1%). I compare those who chose to *extend* their original service contract with CUSO

(1) to those who either completed their original service contract or returned home early

(0). The majority of participants did not choose to extend (71.0%).

Finally, participants also report how they would rate their *overall experience* living

and working abroad on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (extremely negative) to 7

(extremely positive). Table 3 reports the descriptive statistics for this scale. Responses to

this measure are drastically skewed, with 83.3% of the participants reporting an

experience that was at least somewhat positive. Therefore, I created dummy variables for

this measure to make it appropriate for regression analyses. I created dummies for those who had a negative experience (scores from 1-3, 6.6% of participants), those who reported a somewhat positive experience (score of 5, 41.1% of participants), and those who reported a very positive experience (scores from 6-7, 42.2% of participants), comparing these participants to those who report their experience is "neither negative nor positive" (score of 4, 10.1% of participants).

## QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

To examine how cosmopolitan identity change and affinity affect national identity strength, I use growth curve models. Growth curve modeling is ideal because it allows me to consider not only how my independent and control variables affect transnational identity change, cosmopolitan identity change, and national identity strength (Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively), but also how these variables interact with time. That is, for example, I am able to determine how the effects of transnationalism on national identity change over time. Growth curve models are also ideal because they are able to deal with unequal spacing of observations, unlike maximum likelihood models ordinarily used for panel data (Raudenbush 2002). This is important in this study, given that Time 1 and Time 2 data are collected between 1-3 months apart, and Time 3 data are collected approximately 5 months later. Additional details on quantitative data analysis are provided in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 when presenting quantitative findings.

## INTERVIEW INSTRUMENTS

I use interviews in this study to elicit more detailed information about the meanings of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and to provide participants with the opportunity to explain how they see themselves in these terms as well as in terms of their

national identities. The interview guides are semi-structured and designed to allow a guided discussion of the topics while probing individual perceptions, meanings, and decision-making processes, while also enabling participants to raise other issues that are relevant to their experiences (Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey 2011). Interview topics at Time 2 consist of the following topic areas: brief overview of their time volunteering abroad; how this experience changed them personally; national identity, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism; and their experiences returning home. Interview topics at Time 3 mirror those from the previous interview, with some minor differences. Time 3 interviews exclude discussion of their volunteer experience, include questions of how their experiences returning home have changed over time, and follow up on information they provided during Time 2 interviews. For those participants who join the study at Time 3, I use a blended interview guide that includes both the overview of their time abroad and questions of how their experience has changed over time. Both Time 2 and Time 3 interview guides are available in Appendix B.

The interview guide modifies several questions from the surveys in an open-ended format to allow for extended discussion and explanation of processes. To address perceived identity change, participants are asked to discuss in what ways, if any, living abroad has changed them. To help participants more readily discuss issues of identity, which can be abstract and difficult to address in interviews, I emailed participants prior to the interviews and asked them to complete the Twenty Statements Test (TST) (Kuhn and McPartland 1954) and email me their responses before our interview. (The TST and email text is available in Appendix B.) The TST involves individuals writing twenty responses to the question "Who am I?" in whatever order the responses occur to the

participant. Responses can involve individual characteristics, roles, or group memberships, and thus this test taps into each of the bases of identity (Burke and Stets 2009). When discussing perceived identity change in the interviews, I showed participants their responses and used them as a jumping off point to discuss how their experiences volunteering abroad changed them personally (at Time 2), or how they may have changed throughout their time back at home (at Time 3). In some instances, although not many, participants raised issues of national identity, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism in response to this question.

Because questions about identity change generally did not elicit conversation around supranationality and national identity, I also ask several questions about these topics specifically. One question asks participants where they consider "home." I allow participants to answer this independently, and follow-up by asking them if they feel they fit the best in their home country, host country, both, neither, or the global community. After posing this question, I begin with questions on national identity, as this is the least abstract of the concepts and participants are able to speak about it readily. I then ask about transnationalism, which expands on national identity to include connection to or involvement with another country, and end with cosmopolitanism, which is the most abstract of the concepts in the interviews.

### *National Identity*

In discussing national identity, I ask participants to describe typical members of their home country and whether or not they see themselves as a typical Canadian or American. I also ask them if their experience abroad has changed their perceptions of their home country or themselves as a member of it.

*Transnationalism*

I address transnationalism in several ways, beginning with their assessment of their host country. I ask participants to describe typical members of their host country, if they became more like members of their host country while they were abroad, and in what ways. I initiated discussion around transnationalism by asking participants to describe what transnationalism means. I then provided a general definition of transnationalism as "a sense of belonging in or being connected to two nations or cultures at the same time" to confirm if this definition fits their understanding. I ask if they see themselves as a transnational person now, and if they saw themselves as transnational while they were abroad. We discuss what makes them transnational, and if others would describe them as such. Finally, I ask participants for examples of other people or groups they would characterize as transnational people.

*Cosmopolitanism*

In discussing cosmopolitanism, I begin by asking participants what it means to be a global citizen. In the first three interviews, I used the term "cosmopolitan," but found this term confusing to the participants, who offered up "global citizen" as an alternative term (see Colic-Peisker 2010). I will use the terms interchangeably henceforth. After participants define cosmopolitanism, I offer a definition of "seeing oneself as a citizen of the world rather than a single nation" and ask if this fits their understanding. I ask if participants would describe themselves in such a way currently, or if they would have while they were living abroad. I ask the participants to explain what makes them global citizens, if others would describe them that way, and what would make other people

likely or unlikely to describe them as such. I conclude this section of the interview by asking for examples of other people or groups they would describe as global citizens.

In some cases, when participants were unsure about how transnationalism and cosmopolitanism were similar or different, I asked them to explain the similarities and differences in their opinions. When applicable, I also asked participants to explain how being a global citizen differed from being a global person or member of the global community. Finally, in some instances when participants described themselves as both transnational and cosmopolitan, I asked them which term described them better.

## QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

To analyze qualitative data, I use verbatim transcription for each in-depth interview, capturing what is said by both the participants and myself as the interviewer, as well speech fillers, laughter, and inflection and emphasis (when able), because these may all convey meaning and give context to what is being said in the interview (Hennink et al. 2011). Information in the interview transcripts, including names and locations, is de-identified in order to maintain the participants' anonymity. I use MAXqda to organize and code the qualitative data.

My analysis uses a mix of deductive codes and inductive codes. Deductive codes are based on the theoretical constructs presented here, such as national identity, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism. For each of these codes, I use subcodes for what the identity means to participants as well as how they describe themselves in relation to these identities. Inductive codes come directly from the data and represent themes that are important to participants that I did not anticipate when developing the project. For instance, when discussing where participants consider "home," I was surprised that many

stated they did not feel like they had a home. The inductive code "homeless" captures such responses. I developed my inductive codes primarily by performing several rounds of coding on one third of the interviews, noting emerging themes in the data (Hennink et al. 2011; Saldana 2010). After several rounds of coding on the first third of the interviews, I refined my codebook and continued to code the remaining interviews. Throughout coding I continued to make note of recurring themes, and those themes that are valid (i.e., repeated across many interviews or highlighted by respondents as important) are incorporated in my analysis (Glaser 1978; Hennink et al. 2011).

After coding, I developed thick descriptions of certain themes that emerged around the codes to provide a basis for further analysis through comparison (Corbin and Strauss 2007). Thick descriptions of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity provide insight into what these constructs mean to participants and how they apply these constructs to themselves. While describing these concepts, I paid particular attention to the presence or absence of certain identity processes such as reflected appraisals (Felson 1985), verification (Burke 1991), categorization (Turner 1999), and enhancement (Hogg and Abrams 1988) to determine the bases of these identities.

After generating an overall description of the concepts, I began a series of comparisons to draw out patterns in the data across different types of volunteers. I did comparisons of the meanings for transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity based on the gender, location of placement, and duration initially. During this process, it became clear that the biggest differentiating factor among the participants is, in face, how they self-identify. I compared the discussion of the meanings of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity based on how the participants

themselves self-identify. That is, I compare what transnationalism means to people who see themselves as transnational, versus meanings generated by participants who do not self-identify as transnational. These comparisons serve as the foundation for the results presented in the following chapters.

Owing to the longitudinal nature of the data, I went through the data in several iterations to examine differences over time. I first coded the data according to time point, coding all the Time 2 interviews before moving on to code Time 3 interviews. Then I looked at each participant individually, comparing their responses at Time 2 with their responses at Time 3. Based on my examination of responses within each time point and within each participant, I concluded that the differences in meanings were between participants, rather than between time points. That is, most participants did not report changes in the meanings of these concepts or how they applied them to themselves over time. Instead, the main differences emerged between participants.

After completing thick description and comparison, I returned to the interview transcripts to validate the themes I identified. I selected several interview participants, particularly those who were among the first interviewed and coded, and read through their interviews again to ensure that the themes I developed adequately captured their experiences. This process served two key purposes. First, I was able to validate my themes by checking that they represented the experiences of my participants. Second, this process ensured that my coding and description techniques at the end of the analytic process were consistent with how I coded and described the data at the beginning of the qualitative analysis cycle (Hennink et al. 2011).

**CONFIDENTIALITY OF DATA AND IRB APPROVAL**

I took several steps to protect the confidentiality of the data. First, I am the only person with access to participants' names. In the quantitative data, participants created an identification number using their birth dates and the first name of their mother or maternal guardian. I used these identification numbers to match participants across surveys, and also assigned them with a numeric id number independent of the information they provide. In the qualitative data, I use pseudonyms to identify participants, and remove detailed information from the transcripts including the names of significant others such as romantic partners, family members, friends, and co-workers; specific details about their volunteer placement such as their work tasks or names of partner organizations; and names of specific locations where they lived, worked, or traveled either during their current volunteer placements or previously. In both the qualitative and quantitative data, I identify participants' volunteer assignments by continent or region, to protect the anonymity of participants who volunteer in highly unusual locations. I received written permission from CUSO to identify their organization in this dissertation and subsequent publications.

I submitted a description of my research and the confidentiality protocols outlined above to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for review during Summer 2011. My initial IRB application included materials for the Time 1 and Time 2 surveys and interviews. The study was declared "exempt" by the IRB on July 27, 2011 on the grounds that the study posed minimal risk to participants. Exempt status indicates that the project does not require continuing renewal applications or additional review assuming the procedures and risk associated with the study do not change. In March 2012 I updated my

IRB protocol to include Time 3 surveys and interviews, as well as the participant observation and focus group research conducted on my recruitment trips. This update did not change the exempt status of the study.

I was also granted a waiver of written consent, given the limited risk of my study and difficulty obtaining written signatures in online data collection. Each survey contained an informed consent document that participants had to read and agree to prior to answering any survey question. I also began each interview with a discussion on informed consent and information on recording practices and de-identification procedures.

## POSITIONALITY OF THE RESEARCHER

It is important to note that my position as the researcher, and implied association with CUSO, may have influenced the data in unknown ways. CUSO staff members who made initial contact with my participants through email stated that I am a researcher from Emory University, and did not suggest that participation in my survey was mandated by the organization, or that they would have direct access to the data. Similarly, the informed consent document at the beginning of each survey stated that CUSO would receive reports on the data in aggregate form, but would not have access to the data directly or information about the participants. Nonetheless, participants who read these documents only briefly may have assumed an affiliation between CUSO and myself. Thus, they may have incorrectly assumed that these surveys were for CUSO's purpose, opening up the potential for response bias.

Similarly, when I attended Returned Volunteer Weekends for recruitment purposes, I introduced myself to the group as a researcher from Emory University. I informed the group that if they did not wish to be observed or speak with me, they could inform the

CUSO staff who would make the appropriate arrangements. Nevertheless, several volunteers asked me throughout these weekends what my job was at CUSO or where I had volunteered through CUSO. Questions such as these prompted me to reiterate throughout the weekend, as well as during focus group discussions and interviews with participants who I met at these events, that I am not affiliated with CUSO and am collecting data independently of the organization.

Throughout the data collection process I often had to decide how to present myself as the researcher. In interviews with participants whom I did not meet and recruit at Returned Volunteer Weekends, it was common for participants to ask me whether or not I had volunteered internationally either at the beginning or end of the interview. At the Returned Volunteer Weekends, CUSO staff asked that I participate in certain activities, such as introductions and ice breakers, where the entire group gave basic information such as where they volunteered and for what length of time. In all of these instances, I identified myself as someone who had volunteered internationally in the past, although not through CUSO. I informed my participants that I volunteered in Ghana as a teacher for one year, and that this experience, in part, motivated my research interests. I tried to avoid providing additional details about my own volunteer experiences, instead focusing on the experiences of my participants themselves.

## DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW

Before I turn to the results chapters for transnational and cosmopolitan identity change, and the effects of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on national identity, I will give a descriptive overview of the data. Table 4 provides univariate descriptions and bivariate correlations for each of the variables.

[Table 4 about here]

Univariate descriptions indicate that participants report a higher mean score for cosmopolitan identity change (5.06) than transnational identity change (4.19). Conversely, however, mean scores for host and transnational similitude (2.04 and 2.22, respectively) are higher than the mean score for cosmopolitan similitude (0.58). Thus, participants are more likely to report becoming more global people, but less likely to report similarity to, or affinity for, any of a wide variety of countries compared to selecting a particular country. This is not surprising given the ambiguous nature of cosmopolitan similitude. Mean scores for these variables presented in Table 4 show an average across all waves of the data, however.

Figure 2 illustrates changes in the mean scores for each of the dependent variables in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Perceived transnational identity change and cosmopolitan identity change (dependent variables in Chapters 4 and 5) both decrease over time, indicating that the longer participants are back in their home countries, the less they perceive they were changed by their time living and working abroad. National identity strength (dependent variable in Chapter 6), however, is consistent over time. Participants' reports of national identity strength do not decrease or increase as the result of returning home.

[Figure 2 about here]

There are several interesting patterns in the bivariate correlations. First, the various measures of transnationalism are weakly correlated with one another. Transnational identity change has little relationship to host similitude (-.246***) and transnational similitude (-.162***), and the relationship is not in the expected direction. Transnational identity change also has no significant relationship with host communication (-.052).

Cosmopolitan identity change also has a weak relationship with cosmopolitan similitude (.275\*\*\*), but this association is in the predicted direction. The relationships between identity change and similitude may exhibit weak or negative correlations because transnational and cosmopolitan identity change measures assess the perceived effects of living and working abroad, rather than overall similitude to the host country or a variety of countries. For instance, if an individual already sees him/herself as similar to members of the host country upon arrival, he/she might report little transnational identity change, but score higher on host or transnational similitude.

National identity strength has a very weak, positive relationship with transnational identity change (.110\*), and a negative relationship with host similitude (-.683\*\*\*), transnational similitude (-.347\*\*\*), and host communication (-.389\*\*\*). Cosmopolitanism, however, is positive related to cosmopolitanism with regard to identity change (.144\*\*) and similitude (.430\*\*\*). The bivariate data suggest that transnationalism may have negative effects on national identity, while cosmopolitanism may have positive effects. I explore the relationships between these indicators further in the results chapters.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**Building Relationships with(in) a Culture:**

**Transnationalism as a Dimension of Role Identities**

*"I felt like I was living in both (host country) and Canada at the same time, because everywhere I was, I was going home. So if I was here, I was going home. And then when I was in (host country), I was coming home. So, I felt like my head was broken sometimes [laughing], because people would be like, 'No, wait, which home are you talking about? Home, home Canada? Home (host country)?'" – Darcy*

*"You're not just in a relationship with a person, but you're trying to be in a relationship with a culture." – Tracy*

*"If I hadn't been involved with (my partner)…(my host country) would have just been some experience in my past. There would be no other major connection for me…besides memories."*
*– Madeline*

In Chapters 1 and 2, I address two areas for continued research in the literature on transnationalism. First, the literature focuses primarily on immigrant populations, with a dearth of literature on transnationalism among sojourners. Second, I argue that the scholarship on transnationalism is limited because scholars use transnationalism as a concept that is applied to activities, individuals, and communities, without exploring how globally mobile individuals understand themselves in terms of transnationalism as a potential identity.

First, using longitudinal survey data, I explore individual characteristics (i.e., gender, age, relationship status, citizenship, immigrant status, and prior experience) and sojourn characteristics (i.e., duration, contract extension, overall experience, and location) that affect whether or not participants report transnational identity change. I expect that

participants who volunteer for longer periods of time, who extend their volunteer service, and report positive experiences volunteering abroad will be more likely to report transnational identity change, given that a longer duration allows them more time to learn about and become involved in their host countries. The decision to extend one's placement may signal an attachment to the host country that fosters the desire to stay in the country longer. Similarly, those who report positive experiences abroad may have developed stronger attachments to their host countries. Beyond these predictions, it is my intent to explore the individual and sojourn characteristics that are related to transnational identity change.

Then, using qualitative interview data, I explore what transnationalism means to international volunteers and how they apply this term to themselves. When describing the general meanings of transnationalism, I draw on qualitative data from the entire population of interview participants. I then focus specifically on the 15 participants who describe themselves as transnational in some way to explore how they apply the concept of transnationalism to themselves and the identity processes associated with transnational identity change. These qualitative findings will serve as the foundation to understand how transnationalism affects national identity among globally mobile individuals who ultimately return to their home countries. Thus, I will conclude the chapter with specific predictions for the relationship between transnationalism and national identity examined in Chapter 6.

## QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Table 5 presents the effects of individual and sojourn characteristics on transnational identity change. Recall that transnational identity change measures the extent to which

participants perceive they became more like members of their host country during their

volunteer placement (Sussman 2002). This variable is not normally distributed, and is

squared to correct for skew to the right.

Several of the independent variables are also not normally distributed, and I created

dummy variables to ensure no OLS assumptions are violated. As described in Chapter 3,

I use dummy variables for duration abroad and overall experience. In the growth curve

model, I omit the variable for volunteers who spent 9-12 months abroad, the most

common duration, focusing on the effects of placements that are shorter or longer than

average. I also use dummy variables for volunteers who had negative overall experiences,

somewhat positive, or very positive experiences, comparing them to participants who

report their time abroad was neither negative nor positive. Model 1 shows the effects of

individual characteristics alone, and Model 2 adds sojourn characteristics.

[Table 5 about here]

Results in Model 2 indicate that several characteristics of participants and their

volunteer experiences affect whether or not an individual is likely to report *transnational*

*identity change*. First, birth year has a significant, positive effect (b=.276, p≤.001),

indicating that younger participants are more likely to report transnational identity change

than older participants. Being Canadian has a negative relationship with transnational

identity change that approaches significance in the full model (b=-2.806, p≤.1), indicating

that Americans may be more likely to report becoming more transnational. Prior

experience abroad has a significant, positive relationship with transnational identity

change (b=3.287, p≤.01), whereby those participants who have lived abroad for more

than six months prior to their volunteer placement are more likely to report transnational identity change.

Dual citizenship has a negative relationship with transnational identity change (b= -3.999, p≤.05). Importantly, the wording of the dependent variable specifies that the experience of volunteering abroad has made the participant feel more like a member of the host country. For participants who have citizenship ties to another nation besides Canada or North America, they may feel connections to their other country of citizenship that are deeper than their connections to the host country. That is, negative relationship may indicate that dual citizen participants are comparing their adaptation to their host country with stronger relationships they have to other countries.

Two characteristics of the sojourn have significant relationships with transnational identity change: duration and country of placement. Volunteering nine months or less, compared to volunteering for more than nine months, has a negative effect on transnational identity change (b=-5.697, p≤.001). That is, volunteers who are abroad for a relatively short duration are less likely to report becoming more like a member of the host country. This finding confirms my prediction about duration and transnational identity change, indicating that those who volunteer only briefly do not have sufficient time to go through transnational identity change.

Volunteering in Latin America, compared to Asia or Africa, also has a positive effect on transnational identity change (b=4.128, p≤.05). This variable includes Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, as compared to volunteers who serve in Asia, Australasia, and Africa. It may be the case that there is less cultural distance (Redmond 2000) between Latin American cultures and North American cultures, making

it easier for participants to become more like members of the host culture than in countries in Africa, Asia, or Australasia where cultural distance might be greater.

My predictions for extending one's contract and reporting a positive volunteer experience are not confirmed, however. Extending one's contract may not have an effect because those who extend their contracts may have been participants who originally intended to volunteer for very short periods of time. That is, a volunteer may initially go abroad for a three month contract and extend to stay a total of six months, as compared to a volunteer who signed on for a two year contract and chose not to extend. Indeed, as shown in Table 4, the correlation between extending and duration is not significant. It appears that duration is more important than extending one's contract for predicting transnational identity change.

Finally, time has a negative effect on transnational identity change (b=-3.129, p≤.001). This indicates that the longer participants are back at home, the less they report feeling like a member of their host country.[14] Qualitative findings provide additional information on how age, duration, placement location, and time play a role in how volunteers experience transnationalism.

*Sensitivity Testing*

Due to the small sample size in this study, Table 5 includes all participants in the growth curve models. It is reasonable to expect that dual citizens or participants who are first or second generation immigrants, however, may differ from other participants in the study with regard to transnationalism. Transnationalism deals with forging specific

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[14] I also ran interaction terms for each of the independent variables over time, and found no significant interaction effects.

connections and attachments to two nations or cultures simultaneously, and as described in chapter two, immigrant populations often have such connections. In this study, however, I am specifically interested in transnationalism as it is related to sojourning abroad. Dual citizens and immigrants may evaluate their connections to their host countries differently, based on comparisons to connections they have already established with their countries of origin or citizenship. To ensure that the findings are robust for transnationalism among sojourners, I ran sensitivity tests excluding each of these groups, shown in Table 6. Model 1 omits dual citizens; Model 2 omits first generation immigrants; Model 3 omits second generation immigrants; and Model 4 omits each of these groups.

[Table 6 about here]

The effects of birth year, duration of less than nine months abroad, and time are most robust to the exclusion of dual citizens and immigrants from the sample. Birth year, which has a positive relationship with transnational identity change in Table 5, continues to have a positive effect on transnational identity change in each of the sensitivity tests presented in Table 6 (b=.272, p≤.01 in Model 4). This indicates that younger participants are more likely to report becoming more like members of their host countries. A relatively short duration of volunteer placement (i.e., less than nine months) continues to have a negative relationship with transnational identity change in Table 6 (b=-6.953, p≤.001 in Model 4), just as in Table 5. This effect persists when dual citizens and first and second generation immigrants are excluded, showing that individuals who volunteer for short periods of time are less likely to see themselves as becoming more transnational.

The negative effect of time on perceived transnational identity change also persists with this smaller sample (b=-3.691, p≤.001 in Model 4).

The effects of previous experience abroad and placement in Latin America, however, change with the omission of dual citizens and immigrants from the sample. Prior experience abroad is positively related to transnational identity change in Table 5, and this effect persists in Table 6 when only first generation immigrants are omitted (b=3.403, p≤.05). When dual citizens (b=-2.976, p≤.1) or second generation immigrants (b=3.190, p≤.1) are omitted, the effect only approaches significance. And when removing all dual citizens and immigrants, the effect is no longer significant. Similarly, while placement in Latin America has a positive effect on transnational identity change in Table 5, this effect is inconsistent in Table 6. In Models 1 and 3, where dual citizens and second generation immigrants are omitted, respectively, the effect continues to be significant (b=3.857, p≤.05 and b=4.128, p≤.05, respectively). When first generation immigrants are omitted, the effect only approaches significance (b=3.673, p≤.1), and ceases to be significant when all dual citizens and immigrants are omitted.

One possible explanation for the diminishing effects of prior experience is that dual citizens and/or second generation immigrants have prior experience in their country of origin or other country of citizenship. Removing these participants, then, may also omit participants with prior experience who report transnational identity change. Bivariate correlations in Table 4, however, suggest that this is not the case. There is a negative correlation between prior experience abroad and dual citizenship (-.248***), as well as first generation immigration (-.117***), and no significant correlation with second generation immigration (.069). Similarly, placement in Latin America has a weak

correlation with dual citizenship (.233\*\*\*), a negative relationship with second generation immigration (-.104\*), and no significant correlation with first generation immigration (.032).

I use qualitative data to help explain quantitative findings for age, duration, placement location, and time, but not to explore the patterns for dual citizens and immigrants. The qualitative sample includes only one dual citizen, and is inadequate to provide data on such issues. There are several qualitative participants with immigrant backgrounds, and I will discuss findings from these participants in relation to transnationalism to the extent that they refer to connections between the United States/Canada and their host countries. I will not discuss any references they make to transnational connections between their countries of origin, however, since the focus of this research is on processes that occur among international sojourners.

## DEFINING TRANSNATIONALISM

Interview data help to clarify the meaning of transnationalism and the form it takes among international sojourners. I begin by describing how all the volunteers define transnationalism. Then, focusing on only those participants who describe themselves as transnational in some way, I discuss what makes volunteers transnational both abroad and at home. Based on their descriptions of how and why they are transnational, I argue that transnationalism manifests as a dimension of role identities rather than an identity in its own right.

When volunteers explain what transnationalism means, their answers draw heavily on borders and mobility, but rarely refer to identity. Participants referred to transnationalism as "a bridge between nations" (David), "crossing the boundary between a nationalism

versus another nationalism" (Mindy), "something that transcends nationalities and locations" (Jessie), and as "something to do with across nations … factors affecting different countries" (Dinah). They do not typically specify what is crossing these boundaries - whether transnationalism is about flows of resources, people, or ideas. Some participants do refer to people specifically. They describe transnationalism as people "going back and forth" (Elizabeth), having "the ability to move in between worlds" (Sarah). Madeline also refers to activities, and brings up roles and connections to other individuals, saying: "You've got some things going on in one country, maybe you were born there. You've got - your family's still there. But also, you have other experiences, or business things, or family in another country." These statements refer to actions, rather than identities or ways of being. While Tracy hints at transnationalism as a form of identity when she says, "Like you're not really - maybe not being of one or the other but being of a strange combination of both or neither," only one participant actually referred to identity specifically. Rory says, "You don't necessarily identify with one, like, country or citizenship, like you maybe exist across borders sort of thing."

Each of the participants affirmed the definition I subsequently provided of transnationalism as "a sense of being connected to or involved with two nations or cultures at the same time" (Vertovec 1999). Notably lacking in their discussion of transnationalism, however, are references to transnationalism as a type of group identity comparable to nationalism. That is, while participants will readily refer to themselves Canadian or American, they do not apply the term transnational to themselves. If transnational is not a group identity, however, the question remains: What is transnationalism and how does it apply to international volunteers?

## TRANSNATIONALISM FROM AFAR

After defining transnationalism, I ask participants to explain if they would describe

themselves as connected to both home and host culture. Most participants are quick to

point out that this was true of them while they were volunteering. Darcy says:

> I would've been transnational when I was living in (host country) because
> I had, I felt like I was living in both (host country) and Canada at the same
> time, because everywhere I was, I was going home. So if I was here, I was
> going home. And then when I was in (host country), I was coming home.
> So, I felt like my head was broken sometimes [laughing], because people
> would be like, "No, wait, which home are you talking about? Home, home
> Canada? Home (host country)?"

Participants develop such a sense of being connected in their host communities through

joining clubs, forming relationships with locals, and becoming entrenched in their work.

They also report continuing to be connected to North America through interpersonal

communication, media, and news.

In many cases, volunteers articulate that while they were abroad they were more

involved in the host community than with their home communities. Mindy says, "When

you're living there, I think that's what you are. You are integrated, not necessarily

because it's a choice but because that's where you are. It's a result of being there." Some

volunteers describe their connection as intentional and not solely the product of location.

Ava says, "I was very deliberate in wanting to be present in (host country) while I was

living there. I was very deliberate about you know, not making decisions about what I

was going to do next." Indeed, volunteers explain how they were able to become

involved abroad while staying connected to home. As Judy says, "While I was there I

would say I kept connected to Canada and that was very important to me but I felt very much part of the (host) community while I was there."

Beyond being embedded in the culture by virtue of location or intentions, volunteers described their transnational connections while they were abroad largely in terms of their relationships. Two types of relationships, in particular, emerged as key themes – romantic relationships and relationships with co-workers.

### *Romantic Roles*

Forming relationships with locals served as a key means of developing host connections for all the volunteers, but particularly those who formed romantic relationships in their host countries. Several of the participants in this study developed romantic relationships while volunteering abroad. Angela, Elizabeth, Evan, Madeline, and Tara all entered into romantic relationships with locals in their host countries that persisted after they left their host countries.[15] Jim and Tracy were involved in romantic relationships while abroad, but discontinued these relationships prior to returning home.

Participants described how these romantic relationships enabled them to experience their host countries in ways that were not available to other volunteers. Evan discussed the daily interactions he had with his girlfriend and her family, saying, "I had the best experience integrating–the best opportunity to integrate (host) culture, (host) family, ways of daily life, you know? Some of my friends admitted, you know, after two years they never really got that." Angela expresses similar ideas when she says, "I think I learned a lot more about (host locals) and about living in a place like that because of my

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[15] Ava and Anne also entered into romantic relationships while abroad, but their relationships were with other expatriates.

relationship with him. … Yeah, I think I saw a totally different side to things through my relationship with him." Similarly, when I asked Madeline about her connection to both places while volunteering, she said: "Right at the start – no. But at some point, as my relationship with (partner) developed – yes. If I hadn't been involved with (partner), I don't think – (host country) would have just been some experience in my past."

In addition to learning more about their host countries through their relationships, romantic partnerships specifically altered how they interacted with other host locals and the reflected appraisals they received. Angela describes how race played a role in her interactions with locals based on her relationship:

> Particularly with the women, they resent it because they think, you know, their men prefer white women and we're taking away their men. And there were comments I heard, you know, directed at me about that. So it wasn't all, it didn't really help me to be seen as, you know, part of the society, part of the community, more integrated or things like that. It was more of a negative thing I thought.

Although Angela found that her involvement with a host local damaged her ability to connect with other women in her host country, most volunteers describe their relationships as helping them integrate and receive positive reflected appraisals from locals. When I asked Elizabeth if being in a relationship changed peoples' perceptions of her, she said, "Yeah, I think so. I think that, too, that I definitely was more part of the (host country) community, for sure." Tracy noted that her relationship helped alleviate some of the difficulties she had interacting with locals:

> It was very hard to have any sort of genuine relationship [with local colleagues] because it tended to be a bit of a countdown. It's like you thought you had a genuine relationship with a local colleague and then the other shoe would drop and then would start to be the request for money, and for things, and for immigration. And yeah, so friendships didn't tend

to be very genuine. … It was really hard to have relationships that were reciprocal with my local colleagues. With people that were outside of the professional realm it was a little bit easier, but I think again that was through my interaction with (my partner) and his friends who were not necessarily looking at me in that way.

Tracy's comment also highlights how relationships with locals enable volunteers to establish role relationships with other host locals, such as their partners' friends. Both Evan and Madeline knew their partners' fathers through their volunteer work before entering into romantic relationships. Their relationships subsequently changed their relationships with their partners' fathers. For Madeline, once she began dating his son, her co-worker described her as, "like a daughter to us now." Evan experienced more difficulty interacting with his partner's family. Because he had worked with her father, "he was on-board," but "with the extended family, like uncles and aunts – after two years you could still feel that mistrust." Like Angela, Evan had to deal with stereotypes based on his race, but was able to overcome those perceptions with his partner's family.

Tara noted that her relationship enabled her to become deeply involved in her partner's community, not just his family. She stated that she became "an official member" of the rural community. We had the following exchange:

Interviewer: What does that mean, to be an official member?

Tara: Um, well…I guess it's because I have property there [laughs]. … You have to be introduced by a community member as being integrating into the community, so I've been introduced as being the partner of my boyfriend. And that's his original community. He hadn't lived there for a long time, but his family's there and his mother's there, so yeah. Now I'm Tia and everyone's – and all the little kids' auntie, or all the little kids, yeah, sister-in-law, or whoever…

Interviewer: Ok, so there's kind of a ritual around that then?

Tara: Yeah definitely. I mean they have monthly meetings that you have to attend otherwise you get fined or kicked out. So I have to take care of all that, too. … I mean, people have given me entire bunches of sixty bananas, or asked me if I can watch their kids, or yeah. My friends tease me all the time, they're like, "Oh now that you're out there, you're going to be the godmother of every kid that's born in the next twenty years." It's like… "Probably, [laughs] probably."

Interviewer: So do you think that they see you as someone who's from Canada? Or do they see you as kind of a…

Tara: Um well, as far as like my, my boyfriend's mom … she doesn't really know where Canada is. So, she doesn't really, I mean, her son, my partner, he lived abroad in Europe for quite some time – over four years. So she knows that there's, you know, other countries out there that are far away and people look different. … And her husband also, he's (from nearby country) and … it's the same as if he were Canadian. Like, they see him as not being from there, and I'm not from there, so like it be from, you know 500 miles away or I could be from the other side of the world. I don't think there's much consciousness of that. … Yeah, I mean I think I'm perceived as – clearly I'm not from there. But, I mean, it's just I'm not from there. And some people who come aren't from there.

Her relationship with her boyfriend enabled her to establish other roles such as community member, aunt, or sister-in-law. Her explanation highlights that her relationships there were based on her roles, and not focused on whether or not she belonged in the host group.

The romantic role relationships described by these participants are characterized by high commitment (Burke and Reitzes 1991; Stryker 1980). In IT, commitment refers to the strength of relationships to other people when occupying a role. There are two aspects of commitment – extensiveness and intensiveness. Extensiveness is the number of relationships a person has because of an identity, and intensiveness refers to the depth of those relationships. Based on these findings, it appears that occupying a romantic role

identity exposes volunteers to a number of other role relationships with their partners friends and family (extensiveness), and gives them access to greater personal involvement with these networks (intensiveness) – particularly compared to other volunteers who are not involved in romantic partnerships.

### *Work Roles*

Romantic relationships were not the only roles volunteers occupied that helped them feel transnational while they were abroad, however. Their relationships at work also helped them feel like they were embedded in their host countries. Laura, who volunteered and lived with her partner, said, "Almost the only thing that we ever talked about was what was happening locally. … Almost everything related to our life, our work, and the people, um, we felt very often - we felt that we were just a little, we were **too** involved in it." Laura attributes this, in part, to their relative isolation, but emphasizes how important their work was to them. Phil also felt his connection to the host community came through his work: "The work I was doing in development, international development, and why I was there and all of these things that mean absolutely I was transnational. Because again, I still have these relationships and stuff here [in the US], so I [was] very much splitting the two." Molly stated this idea very clearly when she said, "When I was there, it was my home. I had a role to play."

For other volunteers it is not necessarily the nature of their work that helped them connect to others, but rather the ways in which they enacted their roles at work. Cole, who said he sometimes found it difficult to determine if he fit in with the locals or not, told a story to illustrate how towards the end he learned that his coworkers thought he

was "just like one of us." He says that one day at work several of his colleagues were setting up an activity for local children and he started to help them, even though it was not part of his specific job:

> I just started helping them set up, like I was helping them carry desks, you know, just helping out cause there was a lot of work to do and they needed help. So I just did that, I didn't think twice. And one of my last days there, I was saying bye to everyone…the two ladies that were running the [activity], that's what they brought up. They were like, 'Do you remember the day when you were carrying desks? And you were just like one of us, weren't you? You know, you're not one of the stuck up foreigners that come here.' … So that makes me feel good, but I mean again (laughs), they didn't see the actual work I did. But if that's, I mean that's how you gained, I guess, their respect and inclusion was by doing things like that and helping out where they knew, they knew that wasn't my job, and they knew I could be doing other things. … You kinda have to… you have to show that you're willing to pitch in wherever it needs to be done.

In his story, Cole illustrates that it was the way in which he enacted his role as a worker that garnered him acceptance from the locals and helped him form relationships with colleagues. In other words, he received affirming reflected appraisals for the subtle ways he occupied his role, rather than the specific role-related behaviors in which he engaged.

Darcy also felt her connection to her host country came largely through her work. She says, "my colleagues used to say to me all the time that they thought I was quite a [term for locals]. They said it to me pretty much from month one." She is aware, however, of the limitations of her relationships with coworkers, as illustrated in this dialogue:

> I really, really loved my colleagues. But it's very difficult to break into – even though I felt close with my colleagues and I think we had a really good connection…it's very difficult to go into their homes. … They'll be very, very friendly with you, and everything else, but then you'll find out at the end of the day that you really don't know much about them. Like, I found out about a colleague of mine **after I left** that she was married and had two kids. I'm like, "What? How did you hide that the **whole time** I was there?" … I would ask her a lot of things about herself, but it never, she never thought to say it. … So, it's just very difficult to get – although

> two colleagues of mine who I continue to work with, um, they, we did a
> lot of hanging out and went out to dinners and stuff like that.

Contrasting Darcy's narrative with the perspectives of those participants who entered into

romantic relationships, it is clear that work relationships provided less entrée into the

personal lives of locals than romantic relationships. Darcy was able to take some of her

work role relationships outside of the workplace and develop more complex relationships

in a few cases, but generally her relationships at work stayed at work. In other words,

Darcy was aware that her work role connections were somewhat lacking in intensiveness

or depth (Burke and Reitzes 1991; Stryker 1980).

These interviews highlight the ways in which international volunteers experience

transnationalism through roles – particularly romantic and work roles. While abroad,

these roles serve as the basis for their sense of self as connected to two cultures at once.

When I asked participants about their connection to both places while they are living

back at home, however, they are less certain. Upon returning home, some volunteers lose

their ties to their host countries, and do not feel a strong enough connection to describe

themselves as connected to both home and host countries. For others, however, their

sense of connection persists even once they return home. In the next section, I discuss

how transnationalism manifests at home.

## TRANSNATIONAL ROLES AT HOME

For those participants who describe themselves as transnational and connected to

their host countries even in their home context, the interviews focused on determining the

forms this transnationalism takes.[16] Not surprisingly, for participants who formed

romantic relationships abroad, their sense of transnationalism is tied to specific romantic

ties. For others, their connection is maintained through work roles.

*Romantic Roles*

The way that returned volunteers enact their romantic role identities depends largely

on where their partners are located. For Madeline and Angela, who were in the process of

trying to bring their significant others to North America during our interviews, they

connected to their host country primarily through communications with their partners.[17]

Madeline stated that she talks to her partner every night, and he keeps her up-to-date on

things in her host country and with his family. These relationships vary in how serious

they are, however, leading to differences in how they connect transnationally.

At the time of the interviews, Evan, Elizabeth, and Tara were living in their home

countries with their significant others. Each of them discussed feeling connected to their

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[16] Several participants in the study are not native-born Canadians or Americans. Anne,

Angela, David, Frank, Laura, and Rory were all born in other countries and moved to

North America when they were children, and report ties to their countries of origin

through family and personal history. These participants discuss having transnational

connections to their countries of origin, but I will not discuss those findings here given

that this paper is concerned with transnationalism as it is related to international

sojourning.

[17] Angela's relationship had recently ended during her T2 interview, but she had resumed

the relationship by the time of the T3 interview and was working to move her partner to

Canada at that time.

host countries because their partners maintain frequent communication with their families

and friends at home. Thus, a great deal of their connection to their host country is forged

through a specific partner. Evan says he is connected to his host country "through her,

being with her." He describes how they connect in this way:

> I look up more things about (host country), like news and things. …So I'm
> providing stuff like that. …Day-to-day things that are happening in (host
> country) – she's more connected than me. But since I know a lot of the
> places she's talking about in our conversations…I can relate. I can talk
> about it. Just kind of that exchange. And also through the family – through
> her family.

Role enactments such as these are common among participants, with their partners

engaging in most of the direct contact with their host countries.

Elizabeth also points out that her relationship is the primary thing that makes other

Canadians see her as transnational: "I think just have my boyfriend being (from host

country) is probably one of the main reasons why they might think that I connect to (host

country) as well as Canada." Each of the volunteers in romantic relationships noted that

being involved in such a relationship is one of the key reasons that others perceive them

as transnational, providing identity verification.

Maintaining romantic relationships with host locals mean that participants' futures are

tied to their host countries even after they go home. For some, this means possibly

returning to the host country. When Tara was waiting to see if her boyfriend would be

granted a visa to come to Canada, she considered moving back to her host country. Evan

describes his continued contact with his host country this way:

> We'll see how it goes. The idea was to, for her to get her dual nationality,
> like get that. We were told that would be like three or four years. In the
> mean time, we will keep on going to visit. As I said to a friend, all my
> vacation time will be going to (host country). All our money will go

towards that. And yeah, make savings, you know, then go back and live
there for awhile.

Madeline, too, reports an intention to spend time traveling back and forth between her

home and host countries in the future:

It's because of his family. It's because (partner) is there. … I think I have
a stronger connection with his family than my own in many ways. Um, so,
and I always see this, you know, I see us traveling back and forth. I want
to make sure that any kids that I have know their (host country)
grandparents.

The roles she has established with her partner and his family necessitate that she will be

tied to her host country going forward.

These transnational connections, however, are dependent upon the health of their

relationships. Angela and her partner ended their relationship once she returned home,

directly before the T2 interview. When, in our T3 interview, Angela reported resuming a

long-distance relationship with her partner, I asked if she had any intent to return to her

host country. She said the following:

Not really, no. … Although yes, it would be great to see him, at this stage,
really it's about us moving forward with the relationship and so me going
there doesn't really help that much.  It's more about, you know, like I
don't really – I don't want to live in (host country) and he would like to
see if there's an opportunity for him to live somewhere else, like here.
And so that's really why we're going that route.  But we're also not quite
at the stage where we are ready for me to sponsor and to come here, like
for us to get married.  That's why we're trying to get him to get a tourist
visa first so that at least he can visit here before making that step.

The state of her connection to her host country appears to be contingent upon the depth of

their relationship. While they are negotiating their relationship, she continues to be more

closely tied to Canada than her host country. Jim and Tracy, who both dissolved their

relationships upon returning to North America, describe similar concerns. Tracy says,

> It's not really realistic to try to keep it going when I don't really have any
> intentions of going back to (host country), at least not permanently. … It
> just sometimes felt like you were beating your head against a wall because
> you're not just in a relationship with a person, but you're trying to be in a
> relationship with a culture.

Her relationship made her feel connected to her host country, but this connection was not

strong enough for her to relocate permanently. Her final remark is particularly

illuminating, since she notes that her relationship with this particular person necessitated

a relationship with an entire culture. While she could identify with this particular role, her

difficulties identifying with the host group or transnational community created difficulties

maintaining the relationship.

### *Work Roles*

Another way volunteers feel connected to their host country is in the sensation that

they could return there at any time and resume their former work positions or other

related work roles. Sarah spoke extensively about the connections she made through her

work role:

> A lot of people said, like, "Aren't you gonna stay here? Aren't you gonna
> work here? Aren't you gonna get married here?" They were always trying
> to find men for me. … I actually felt very honored that some of the people
> that I worked with, who some of them actually were from very poor
> communities, said, like, "We really want you to stay, we'll pay you to
> stay." Like, "If we give you a home to live in and food, would you stay
> here?" So they must have felt that I was integrated enough that they would
> ask me that, and they were pretty serious. They asked several times.

These relationships make Sarah confident that she could easily go back to her host country and resume her role there. In fact, they serve as verifying reflected appraisals from members of her host country that she belongs there. She goes on to say the following about where she fits in relation to her home and host country:

> I feel like I carry both places within me and I think that in some ways I belong to both places… There's a way that, of course, I am from this place, here, and I do feel like I can go to (host country) and feel very at home there. So that's my real answer is both. I think there's times when I feel a bit disconnected here - there's times in (host country) when it was very clear that I am still an outsider even if I'm there, even if I feel at home, even if I've been accepted. Yeah, I'm still an outsider and in that way it would be not feeling quite at home there. And not feeling quite at home here. So it depends on the context–but mostly both, mostly both, sometimes neither.

In this passage, Sarah describes that she has the ability to feel a strong belonging in both places, and also to feel disconnected to both places. This passage is reminiscent of Tsuda's (2003) findings that people are more likely to report feeling disconnected from two nations than connected to a transnational community that spans between or encompasses both. Her work and the role relationships attached to it tie her to her host country, but she remains uncertain of where she belongs.

Other volunteers describe transnational connections based on their work roles, but they differ from Sarah because they are actively working to continue those roles from home. Molly became involved with another volunteer who is starting an NGO in her host country, and is engaged in role-related behaviors by assisting him in obtaining the proper licensing and sponsorship. Darcy, who described herself as transnational saying, "I feel like I could fly down there next week and still feel like I was going home," is

collaborating with locals to start an NGO. She further explained her transnational

connection this way:

> If this NGO goes according to plan, um, I will be working from here for
> awhile, probably until we get to the point where we can actually earn
> money for what we do. And then possibly some occasional trips to (host
> country), and then maybe a more prolonged presence in (the region). But
> at the moment, my colleagues are down there and they can handle (host
> country) and I can work from here.

Interviews with Calley provide interesting information on how exiting one's work

role can result in no longer feeling transnational. Calley, who described herself as

transnational during our first interview, was actively trying to return to her host country

for a short-term placement. She ultimately did re-volunteer in her host country, and after

returning from her second placement did not describe herself as transnational any longer,

saying:

> I think before I wasn't finished with (host country) and that's why I was
> able to feel transnational because I knew I was going back to it. And now
> I'm not, so I don't feel, I just feel like over there it's at a stopping point
> and this is where I'm picking up.

That is, when she still had a work role to return to, she felt transnational, but having

concluded her work abroad, she no longer saw herself as connected transnationally.

I argue that volunteers like Darcy, Molly, Calley, and Sarah–even though they lack

romantic ties in their host countries–feel this sense of connection based on specific roles

through their volunteer work or social relationships they developed, rather than a sense of

connection to a transnational community more broadly. When they describe their

transnational connections, they speak primarily in terms of resuming particular work

relationships or completing development work-related tasks. Sarah, who comes closest to describing transnationalism on the community level, does so with less confidence and noting her outsider status, even though she is confident in her relationships with specific people who asked her to stay in her host country.

### *Transnationalism through Roles*

These participants describe transnationalism not as an identity in its own right, but as a dimension of their role identities. Sojourning abroad provided them with opportunities to enter into role relationships as girlfriends, husbands, daughters-in-law, co-workers, and friends. Participants identify themselves as occupants of these roles, and see themselves as transnational because they have role identities with counter-roles in both their home and host countries. Thus, transnationalism characterizes their roles and relationships, rather than characterizing the individuals themselves.

One reason transnationalism may appear through role relationships instead of as a group identity is that volunteers develop a range of personal social networks in their host countries they may maintain once they return home, but they likely lack the flow of commodities and media that would help them imagine a more complete transnational community with which to identify (Tsuda 2003). This is not to say that they lack access to goods and information about their host countries, but rather that these goods and information sources likely include resources from a variety of foreign countries and are not specifically dedicated to their host countries, compared to immigrants who live in communities with a large number of others who maintain connections to both countries. For example, Tsuda (2003) discusses the availability of Portuguese language newspapers as a means of maintaining a sense of connection to Brazil for his participants. The

participants in this study are less likely to rely on specific media produced in their host country, and may access information through news websites (e.g., the BBC or CNN) that present information on a variety of countries rather than specific host communities.

Importantly, individuals may occupy role-based identities within group-based identities. For example, I may have a group-identity as a Buddhist, and this group membership also involves role relationships within the group, such as teacher and student, or friends. In this example, however, if I were to leave the context of my specific temple and go elsewhere without my role connections, I would still belong to the group of Buddhists. Transnationalism may involve two communities, and thus have potential to exist on a group level, but in this instance participants make it clear that if their roles cease to exist, so would their sense of self as transnational.

## ANTECEDENTS OF TRANSNATIONAL ROLES

While those participants who are in romantic relationships or maintaining work roles have the most clear-cut attachments to their host countries, some other volunteers who did not have such relationships do still report feeling transnational. Beyond the "concrete" connection afforded to volunteers through specific roles, however, explaining what it means to be connected is often difficult. Themes that emerge with regard to what makes a person feel transnational other than role relationships are time spent abroad and language skills.

For some volunteers, the amount of time they have spent abroad serves as a basis for why they feel they are transnational. Rory says he can credibly claim a home in Latin America because of the time he has spent there: "In the last 10 years if you add up all the little stints here and there, I think in total it was about 3 years that I spent in Central and

South America. I mean, that's a chunk of time. So yeah, definitely Latin America is my second home." It is worth noting, though, that he is claiming a connection to a region rather than a specific country or people group. Sarah, who spent 27 months in her host country, says: "I will say I feel like I belong in (host country) and I belong here because these are two cultures that I know. And I feel **comfortable** speaking about (host country) because I put in the time there." The amount of time one must spend in a place to credibly claim a connection or cultural competence varies across individuals, however. Stacey, for example, says that it could take four to five years before she might be able to say she has really lived somewhere. Others, like Cole and Mindy, note that the amount of time they spent in their host country cannot compare to the 30 or 50 years they have spent in Canada. The importance of time to develop a sense of transnationalism appears to be relevant to the larger sample, as well as the qualitative subsample, given the negative effect of short duration abroad on transnational identity change in the quantitative findings.

   Another way that volunteers feel transnational connections is through their comprehension of the host language.[18] David says he feels a continued connection to his host country because he speaks the host language at home. He says, "If I say something, [my daughter will] ask, 'What does that mean?' So I've been teaching her." Jim also says that he began to feel attached to his host culture as his language skills developed. Conversely, many participants who said they did not feel a particular connection to their

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[18] Some of the participants (i.e., Angela, Ava, Darcy) did not have a language barrier to overcome because they volunteered in countries where most people speak English, even if it is in addition to other local languages.

host culture credited the language barrier as partially responsible. Valerie, who tried to learn the language but was only somewhat successful, said she may have felt more transnational if she learned more of the language. Cecilia, Beverly, and Phil also described that they maintained stronger relationships with other expats than the locals because of the language barrier. As Phil says, "That was one thing I really missed out on in (host country), because you know, I didn't have, like, close friends because of the language differences."

Not surprisingly, those participants who developed romantic relationships abroad also volunteered for substantial amounts of time and were able to speak their host languages. Each of the volunteers with romantic partners had placements lasting a year or more, with several lasting two or more years. It is likely the case that they were able to form these relationships, in part, because of their duration abroad and language skills. Those participants who entered romantic relationships also primarily volunteered in Latin America, with the exception of Jim and Tracy who did not continue their relationships once they returned home. These results may indicate that volunteers in Central and South America and the Caribbean are better-equipped to form role relationships while abroad, and develop transnational connections, because of the accessibility of the language. The countries in Latin America where participants volunteer speak either English or Spanish, and volunteers may be more likely to know Spanish when they begin their volunteer placement because it is more likely to be taught in North American schools. They also report continuing to speak with their partners in the host languages, even if they are living in Canada and their partners are taking language classes.

It is likely the case that lengthier duration and language skills are also crucial in developing strong work roles and social role relationships. The longer a volunteer stays in his or her host country, the more time he or she has to foster relationships with coworkers, develop friendships, and enter into romantic relationships. Language skills also facilitate the development of role relationships by eliminating communication barriers so that volunteers can foster more substantial connections with host locals without mediation through an interpreter. Thus, these themes may also represent antecedents to the development of transnationalism as a dimension of role identities.

These antecedents also help to bridge the gap between patterns in the quantitative and qualitative data with regard to transnationalism. Recall that the quantitative results indicate that younger volunteers are more likely to report transnational identity change, those who volunteer for a short duration (i.e., less than nine months) are less likely to report such change, and there is also a positive relationship between placement in Latin America and transnationalism in some models. And, while participants in romantic relationships tended to volunteer for longer amounts of time and be placed in Latin America, they are also relatively young. Overall, participants in this study range in age from 21-72, with an average age of 34. Five of the seven participants who formed and maintained romantic relationships are younger than the average study participant.

**CONCLUSION**

Results in this chapter indicate that the development of role relationships is a key means through which participants establish a sense of self as transnational. Participants in this study formed two main types of relationships: romantic relationships and work relationships. Both of these types of roles gave the volunteers in this study a position in

the social structure and a means to be involved with the local community. Results indicate, however, that romantic roles involve a higher level of commitment than work roles, allowing those participants with romantic partners to establish social networks in the community that are both broader and deeper than other participants' networks.

In fact, the qualitative results explain why so few of the quantitative variables were significant predictors of transnationalism. Quantitative analyses focus on individual and sojourning characteristics that give rise to transnational identity change. Based on the qualitative results, however, it is clear that the antecedents of transnationalism exist primarily on the interactional level through role relationships. Those individual and sojourn characteristics that are significant are the antecedents to the development of such roles.

These results align with the third possible pathway I provided in Chapter 2, where transnationalism and national identity come from different bases – transnationalism as a dimension of role identities, and national identity as a group identity. Based on the findings in this chapter, I predict that I will find no negative effects of transnationalism on national identity in Chapter 6.

The qualitative findings on role identities do raise issues with the quantitative measures available in this study, however. I find that language is a key means of developing transnational social networks, and the survey data contain no measures of language skills. Additionally, while I do have a measure of relationship status and can determine if participants are single or partnered, I lack quantitative data on where participants' partners are from, and cannot determine which participants are involved in transnational relationships.

The quantitative measures of transnationalism in this study are largely based on the assumption that transnationalism would manifest as a group identity – an assumption that is not substantiated. The other measures of transnationalism used in this study – transnational identity change and host and transnational similitude – refer to becoming more similar to host groups and overall similitude to host and transnational groups. Based on the findings in this chapter, accurate measures to capture transnationalism would assess the number of host country role relationships participants have established, and strength of social networks in the host country. I do not have measures such as these. Instead, I can only approximate transnational role relationships with a measure of host communication that addresses how frequently participants are in contact with host country social networks. Future research on transnationalism in general, and its relationship to national identity specifically, should include such measures in addition to measures of group-based transnational identity in order to paint a clear picture of transnationalism and its effects.

The following chapter will use a similar research design to determine which volunteers are likely to describe themselves as cosmopolitans, as well as the base and meanings of cosmopolitan identities.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**Piling on Allegiances:**

**International Travel as a Foundation for Cosmopolitan Person Identities**

*"The global community, I don't know, just doesn't seem real... Let's say we were invaded by aliens from outer space, right. We would become global citizens really fast because there would be that outside thing, you know?" – John*

*"I have a responsibility. I don't belong. I don't think I belong to the whole world." – Molly*

*"If you sort of start to pile on allegiances to different places, you know, now I've had these two years of experience in (host country) ... I've been to these other places, in (Africa) and (Europe) that I can identify with as more than a kind of tourist. You start to…you have to have the global citizenship to encompass all of those places in your identity otherwise you're just a Canadian with extra time in other places. And then…the balance isn't quite right." – Ava*

Chapter 2 describes the extant literature on cosmopolitanism, including arguments that cosmopolitanism is not necessarily inversely related to national identity. In fact, national identity may serve as the foundation for cosmopolitanism in that cosmopolitanism involves developing a sense of irony around one's own country that enables appreciation of other countries/cultures (Turner 2002). I argue, however, that scholars have not sufficiently explored/defined how individuals understand themselves in terms of cosmopolitanism (i.e., cosmopolitanism as an identity), and that such information can illuminate the relationship between cosmopolitanism and national identity. This is the focus of the current chapter.

Cosmopolitanism has been described as a virtue, set of attitudes, type of behavior, and even as a characteristic of societies or periods in history that cannot be reduced to the

individual level (Delanty 2006; Pichler 2012; Turner 2002). The aim of this chapter is to determine if cosmopolitanism is, in fact, an identity. And if so, what kind of identity is it and what are the meanings of cosmopolitanism for individuals? In Chapter 2, I proposed that cosmopolitanism may manifest through groups or roles. If cosmopolitanism is a group identity, this means that individuals would see themselves as belonging to the global community. Alternatively, cosmopolitanism may manifest through role identities, similar to the results for transnationalism in Chapter 4. In that case, individuals may see themselves as cosmopolitans based on the accumulation of role relationships with individuals from a variety of countries.

In Chapter 3, I described the longitudinal, mixed methods data used here to explore cosmopolitanism. From the quantitative data, I use growth curve models to explore the individual characteristics (i.e., gender, age, relationship status, citizenship, immigrant status, and prior experience) and sojourning characteristics (i.e., duration, contract extension, overall experience, and location) that serve as possible antecedents for cosmopolitanism. Based on the findings from the previous chapter, I expect that duration of volunteer placement will be positively related to cosmopolitan identity change. And, given the broader focus of cosmopolitanism compared to transnationalism, I expect prior experience abroad will have a positive effect on cosmopolitanism.

Then, I use qualitative data to examine the general meaning of cosmopolitanism for returning international volunteers. After defining the concept, I focus on the 24 participants who describe themselves as cosmopolitans, exploring how they see themselves (i.e., identify) in terms of cosmopolitanism. The qualitative data help me to determine if cosmopolitanism is an identity, and if so, what kind (i.e., group, role, or

person based). Based on these findings, I will conclude with predictions for how cosmopolitanism will affect national identity in Chapter 6.

## QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Table 7 presents the effects of individual and sojourn characteristics on cosmopolitan identity change. I use Sussman's (2002) measure for global identity shifts, which asks participants about the extent to which they feel like a more global person since their volunteer placement. This measure is skewed to the right, and is squared to correct for skew. The independent and dependent variables in this model mirror those used to predict transnationalism in Chapter 4, and the same modifications to the variables are used here (i.e., dummy variables for duration and overall experience). Model 1 shows the effects of individual characteristics alone, and Model 2 adds sojourn characteristics.

[Table 7 about here]

Results in Model 2 indicate characteristics of participants and their volunteer experiences that affect whether or not an individual is likely to report *cosmopolitan identity change*. First, being female has a significant, positive effect (b=2.401, p≤.05), indicating that women are more likely to report cosmopolitan identity change than men. Prior experience abroad also has a significant, negative relationship with cosmopolitan identity change in Model 1 (b=-2.877, p≤.05), and this effect approaches significance in Model 2 (b=-2.527, p≤.1). Thus, participants who have lived abroad for more than six months prior to their volunteer placement may be less likely to report cosmopolitan identity change. This effect is counter to my prediction that amassing more international experiences and connections would be related to cosmopolitan identification. These results may be due to the wording of the dependent variable, however. This item asks

participants if they feel like a more global person since their international assignment, and it may be the case that they felt cosmopolitan even before they volunteered with CUSO.

In keeping with my predictions, volunteering for a duration of greater than one year also has a positive effect on cosmopolitan identity change (b=3.181 p≤.05). This finding may be related to the one-year mark as a cut-off point for residency, rather than tourism or visiting a country (Colic-Peisker 2010; Ossman 2004). Those who volunteer for shorter periods of time may be reticent to report they are more global people because they have not spent sufficient time abroad.[19]

Finally, time has a significant, negative effect on cosmopolitan identity change (b= -2.013, p≤.001). Over time, as participants return home and spend time in their host countries, their sense that they have become a more global person diminishes.[20] It may be the case that individuals must continue to have international experiences to maintain a feeling of being more global. Or, alternatively, once participants return home and are embedded in their own national context, they may feel they had overestimated the extent of their cosmopolitan identity change while they were abroad.

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[19] I also included an interaction effect between previous experience abroad and duration to determine if participants who had previous experiences *and* a longer volunteer duration experienced cosmopolitan identity change differently. This interaction did not have a significant effect, however, and thus I do not report the interaction in Table 6.

[20] I ran interaction terms for each of the independent variables over time, and found no significant effects. Thus, results indicate that these effects are consistent over time.

*Sensitivity Testing*

Due to the small sample size in this study, Table 7 keeps all participants in the growth curve models. It is possible, however, that dual citizens or participants who are first or second generation immigrants may differ from other participants in the study. To ensure that the findings are robust, I ran sensitivity tests excluding each of these groups, shown in Table 8. Model 1 omits dual citizens; Model 2 omits first generation immigrants; Model 3 omits second generation immigrants; and Model 4 omits each of these groups. These models show that the findings presented in Table 7 are subject to change based on the composition of the population in the model.

[Table 8 about here]

Gender and time are the only effect from Table 7 that are robust to the exclusion of dual citizens and immigrants from the sample. The effect of gender remains significant and positive in three of the four models (b=3.558, p≤.01 in Model 4), and approaches significance in Model 3 (b=2.279, p≤.1). The literature does not provide any specific reasons to expect women to report more cosmopolitanism, but I will explore this relationship further using qualitative data. The negative effect of time on perceived cosmopolitan identity change is also consistent when dual citizens and first and second generation immigrants are removed from the sample (b=-2.110, p≤.001 in Model 4).

The other effects noted above, however, are less robust. Prior experience abroad approaches significance in Model 1 here, with dual citizens omitted (b=-2.732, p≤.1), but fails to reach significance when first or second generation immigrants are omitted. Duration of a year or more has a significant, positive effect when dual citizens (b=3.048,

p≤.05) and first generation immigrants (b=3.293, p≤.05) are omitted, but omitting second generation immigrants from the model reduces this effect.

In addition to the diminishing effects of previous experience and duration, these sensitivity tests also highlight the emergence of another possible antecedent to cosmopolitanism. Placement in Latin America, while not having any significant effects in Table 7, does have a significant effect on cosmopolitan identity change when second generation immigrants are omitted (b=4.003, p≤.05, and b=5.368, p≤.05 in Models 3 and 4, respectively). This effect is reminiscent of the results for transnationalism, where Latin American placement also had a positive effect on identity change, and the results from chapter four may help interpret this finding. It may be the case that volunteers in Latin America have an advantage in terms of language skills, which enables them to become more involved in their host communities, increasing the extent to which they see themselves as more global people.

Bivariate correlations between dual citizenship, immigration status, and the affected variables (see Table 4), do little to explain the changes in the pattern of findings. Prior experience abroad has negative, weak correlations with dual citizenship (-.248***) and first generation immigration (-.117***). Similarly, duration of volunteer placement is positively correlated with second generation immigration (.118***), and placement in Latin America is positively correlated with first generation immigration (.233***), but these correlations are also weak. It is unlikely, then, that the relationship between dual citizenship, immigration, prior experience, and duration explain these changes in the results. The qualitative data, however, provide additional information on how gender,

prior experience, duration, and time play a role in how volunteers experience cosmopolitanism.

## DEFINING COSMOPOLITANISM

During the course of the interviews, I asked each of the participants to discuss transnationalism before turning to cosmopolitanism. Participants generally had an easier time discussing and explaining transnationalism than cosmopolitanism. In a few cases, participants even failed to see a distinction between the two. Cecilia and David both were unsure initially of how the two differ. In fact, David asked, "What is the difference between them? I thought they were the same (laughs)." As I will show with the qualitative data, cosmopolitanism is more ambiguous in its meaning, both conceptually and as individuals grapple with applying the term to themselves.

Despite this ambiguity, however, participants in this study are far more likely to describe themselves as cosmopolitan than transnational. Seventy-nine percent of the qualitative participants describe themselves as cosmopolitan in some way in either the Time 2, Time 3, or both interviews, in contrast to the 45% who describe themselves as transnational (see Table 3).[21] The gender differences in cosmopolitanism in the quantitative data are also apparent in the qualitative subsample: 83% of the female

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[21] One interview, with Lynn, did not explicitly address the topics of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism due to time constraints. She did, however, refer to herself as someone who has "always been more of a big picture thinker and wanted to be part of a global community." Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that she would have described herself as cosmopolitan in some way. I cannot speculate as to whether or not she would describe herself as transnational, however.

interview participants describe themselves as cosmopolitan, compared to 56% of male

participants. Upon exploring gender differences in the meanings of cosmopolitanism and

how individuals apply the concept to themselves, however, I do not find any noticeable

differences between men and women. The following themes for cosmopolitanism appear

to apply to both men and women in this sample.

In some ways, it is the ambiguity of the term that makes it more attractive to the

participants. Cole, who was not willing to describe himself as transnational but does refer

to himself as cosmopolitan, explained the difference this way:

> Transnationalism feels to me like it's – that you're kind of – it's just
> almost like you're – not boasting but you're almost – to call myself that, it
> just would seem like I know – I'd have to know so much about every
> country and just have to be so worldly.  Whereas a global citizen just
> seems more basic to me, just seems like a basic term for anyone.  You
> wouldn't even have to travel, you know, you could be a global citizen, you
> know, and never have left your hometown, if you have that kind of open-
> minded view of the world and other people around you and – I don't
> know, just a more open word I guess.  But they might mean the same
> thing, they might – I have no idea (laughs).

His definition suggests that while the barriers to transnationalism are high,

cosmopolitanism is more attainable. Tara, who describes herself as both transnational and

cosmopolitan, echoes his sentiments saying, "I mean it's, its more inclusive. Doesn't that

sound lovely? I like the idea that everyone can be part of the global community." This

inclusiveness may explain why more participants are willing to describe themselves as

global and not transnational.

### *Relativism and Appreciation of Difference*

Two major themes emerge in the definitions participants provide for

cosmopolitanism. The first theme focuses on the differences between the self and others,

and the importance of appreciating differences. Madeline sums up such observations in the following way: "(laughing) How would you define global citizen? Well, I think global citizens are the ones that respect and appreciate the differences more than going somewhere and saying, 'Oh, you're not like me, you poor thing. Let's change that.'" Judy expresses similar ideas, noting that cultural sensitivity is imperative: "When you start talking to people…if you're culturally sensitive it becomes clear quite early, ok now, this person may need to slowly talk this way and that way, and you just adjust your communication skills to suit." Definitions that draw upon respect for other cultures and people are reminiscent of Nussbaum's (1996) description of moral cosmopolitanism as a respect for humanity and the ethical component of cosmopolitanism that includes tolerance for diversity (Pichler 2012).

Cole expands on this idea by explaining that cosmopolitanism means, "realizing that the way you do things in your country is not just, um, different in other countries but also may not be the best way of doing things everywhere." That is, not only is it important to recognize and appreciate diversity, but also to be aware that one's own normative ways of being and doing may not be inherently better. His description illustrates the reflexive distance that Turner (2002) argues is necessary in order to appreciate and respect other cultures.

The interviews also draw a connection between respect for diversity and comfort and adaptability. Frank describes the connection between the two in the following way:

> I guess, trying to appreciate all these cultures and trying to … just
> appreciate and respecting them, and, and you know, living your life
> accordingly. I mean, I think that's one of the things I like there the, the,
> the mix of thing and the, not the appreciation but the effortless way in
> which things shift from one thing into another.

Others, like Calley, relate their appreciation for other cultures to an ability to "fit into a bunch of different cultures, feeling comfortable in other places." Eleanor says that when she thinks of global citizens, she thinks of "someone who is, like, comfortable traveling in different situations and feeling at home wherever they are. People making a whole life for themselves wherever they are and finding satisfaction in different locations." This suggests that an individual must be able to appreciate cultural differences in order to be a global citizen and to thrive in international contexts, so that one must be a moral cosmopolitan (Nussbaum 1996) before one can be a successful spatial cosmopolitan (Rapport and Stade 2007).

### *Interconnectivity*

A second theme that emerged in the definition of cosmopolitanism is the interconnectivity of people around the globe. This theme is, in some way, connected to the first. Laura says, "We're all a part of this, this, this big, colorful picture and we all have our part to play. And each one is valuable, and has something to teach the other and share with the other." The colorful picture denotes the differences between people around the world, but she focuses on how each of the different pieces is connected to the whole, and thus to one another. This theme resonates through many of the participants' discussions of cosmopolitanism. As Beverly says, "All you have to do is look at the economy, look at the environment, and you see that everything is interconnected."

When participants describe global citizenship as an awareness of interconnectivity, some refer specifically to individual actors within the connected globe. Angela discusses how "what I do here has an impact on, you know, people around the world." Thelma says, "when I think of having a global mindset, like buying fair trade products and trying

to ensure, or buying locally, trying to ensure your purchases are ethical and not having a negative impact on somebody else somewhere else in the world." Similarly, Madeline describes global citizenship in the following way:

> That means stuff like you recognizing when you're making your consumer choices, you know, if you're buying underwear from China, maybe recognizing that that's, you know, being made by a 10-year old that's working 16 hour days. So you, you choose things that, um, kind of benefit the most people. Because you're recognizing the connection between the actions that we're taking as Canadians here, and maybe some workers in Africa, maybe some farmers in Latin America, maybe, you know, some employees of GM Motors in Chicago. And kind of living your life to keep that, your impacts, as positive as possible.

These statements imply that individuals can be global citizens through conscious consumerism. She can recognize global interconnectivity by thinking about the global economy and limiting the damage caused by her personal choices.

In contrast to Madeline and Thelma's descriptions of global citizenship through consumer decisions, other participants describe global citizenship in a way that straddles the lines of personal and collective. Beverly says,

> For me, [global citizenship] means being part of the globe, having responsibilities for not only what goes on in your back yard, but what goes on in third-world countries or other places around the world. That we're all responsible for each other and we can't neglect or ignore what's happening somewhere else and think that it's not going to impact us.

Notably, Beverly's observations are about global citizens collectively. When she refers to what is going on in her back yard, or how the actions of others will impact "us," she is referring to the United States. The same is true for Molly, who says global citizenship is: "Being aware of what's going on around the globe and being, ensuring that you're, whatever you're, your country [is doing] is the right thing, you know, for the global

economy." Her response refers to global citizenship as something that takes place on the level of your country.

Jim points out that interconnectivity is really about recognizing that your community is larger than your country. He says:

> No matter where you live in the world, you're aware of your place. Not just where you live, but your place in the world in terms of what you do, how you and…the level of awareness that you might have as not just a person within a country or the community that you live, but your community is actually the entire globe in the sense that you are aware of what's happening beyond the borders of your immediate environment or the country that you claim citizenship in.

David puts this idea simply, saying "I see the whole world as a global village, and that we are all interdependent."

Initially, it appears that while the participants in the study have difficulty imagining a transnational community to which they can belong (see Chapter 4), they may see themselves as belonging to a global community. As the interviews progress, however, participants acknowledge that the global community is an abstract concept. As Angela says, "I see global citizens as, that we are all interconnected, the whole world, as human beings. But that's at a very kind of high level almost, or at an intellectual level, right?"

***Imagining the Global Community?***

After giving participants an opportunity to define global citizenship on their own, I provide a definition of global citizenship as "a sense of belonging in the world as a whole and not a single nation" (Beck 2002) and ask participants if this fits with their understanding. The participants are somewhat divided in their response to this question. Some, like Calley, are amenable to this definition. She responds saying, "Um, probably something similar. That you don't feel, um, you don't see yourself as a citizen of a

country but rather part of this world and so, by being a global citizen, you have

responsibilities to mankind wherever they may be, not just within your country."

Elizabeth characterizes it as "someone who sees themselves as part of the larger world,

not just a Canadian." The overarching sentiment is that you can see yourself as a part of

something bigger, in addition to being North American. The global community is another

community to join. Ava says, "So first I'm Canadian, or first I'm a person of the world,

and second I'm Canadian, or second I live in (host country), or whatever." (See Chapter 6

for an extended discussion of cosmopolitanism in addition to nationalism.)

While some participants agree that this definition is in line with their own

understanding of cosmopolitanism, many participants had difficulty with the definition.

Their struggles highlight a difficulty in imagining a global community to which they can

belong. Tara sums up these thoughts concisely, saying, "I think the global

community…it's more of a concept than an actual place or an actual physical community.

Yeah, if that makes sense."

In Chapter 2, I argued that cosmopolitanism may not manifest as a group identity

because it suffers from the lack of an out-group. Two participants, in particular, highlight

this issue as a reason why it is not possible to belong to the world as a whole. Valerie

says:

> I've always tried to be, to have a larger view of the world. And some
> politicians…they were acting as though being, having empathy, it would
> be like the United Nations, but an all-encompassing United Nations. And I
> thought, but no that's – if we could ever do it, it would be a good thing.
> You know, it's going to take Martians invading to get people to quit
> fighting each other and fight someone outside. But it would be a good
> thing if we could get to that level of cooperation.

Interestingly, John draws on the same image of aliens to describe global citizenship:

> The global community, I don't know, just doesn't seem real. … Let's say we were invaded by aliens from outer space, right. We would become global citizens really fast because there would be that outside thing, you know? People have – I'd say it's like tribes or whatever, you know. I don't know, global citizen, it just seems too big for me. I think, how much do I have in common with an imam in Saudi Arabia who has four child brides? Am I a global citizen with him? That's going to be hard, you know? I mean, there's such huge cultural differences in the world. It's hard to feel a citizenship like that, you know, the world is so different.

Valerie and John argue quite clearly that "we" cannot be the same community until there is an out-group that is different enough to minimize the vast differences that exist around the globe.

Even some participants who do describe themselves as cosmopolitans struggle with the idea that it involves belonging to a community. Cole responded to my definition by saying, "Belonging, yeah, belonging is tough. It's an interesting one. I don't know if it, if you need to belong or you just need to accept," meaning that it may be about accepting others rather than belonging to the same community. Molly also responded negatively to the idea of belonging: "I have a responsibility. I don't belong. I don't think I belong to the whole world."

Beyond the issue of the lack of an out-group, another problem with the concept of a global community may be an inability to verify that you belong to a community so large and amorphous. An exchange I had with Jessie illustrates this issue well. After I provided my definition of global citizenship, she asked:

> Jessie: Belong in what sense?

> Interviewer: Um, meaning that you see yourself as a member of the community with people around the world, not just with people within your country.

>Jessie: (sighs) I always have trouble with this belonging word. Belonging – belonging has a connotation that other people have certain thoughts about you. And let's face it, I mean, even in the United States, from state to state people have issues with where you're from or assumptions about who you are, and so do I belong globally? … But as a global citizen…I think coming from myself as responsible, yes it does work. So no belonging, but only because that's not based on me. That's contingent on another person.

Evan raises similar issues when he describes people he knew while he was in his host country, saying: "People think they are part of a global community, but they are part of a global community on **their own terms**. Just to say, 'Oh, I will accept you the way you are so long as me, I'm not gonna change. I'm gonna change a little bit – as far as it doesn't really become too difficult.'" Evan, and others like John, think that the idea of global citizenship is "pretentious" based on their observations of people who do describe themselves as cosmopolitans. Evan said he would like to ask them, "The community – are you involved in the community, in their values?" Tara also has difficulty knowing how a person could decide they are part of a global community: "That's kind of how a community works, you don't just decide you belong to a community and the community doesn't have a say in whether or not you're a part of it."

## THE COSMOPOLITAN SELF

Interview data on what cosmopolitanism means highlights that it is difficult to imagine a global community, or to see oneself as belonging to such an abstract group. Nevertheless, the majority of participants do describe themselves as cosmopolitans. The discussions that take place when I ask participants if they see themselves as global citizens and what makes them global people illuminates how cosmopolitan identities manifest, if not through communities. Two themes emerge: the importance of international travel and the development of cosmopolitan values. Based on these themes,

I argue that cosmopolitanism emerges as a person identity, rather than a role-based or group-based identity. Recall that a person identities set individuals apart as unique from other people based on their biographies and constellations of experiences, or values (Burke and Stets 2009; Owens et al. 2010).

### *"Piling on Allegiances" through International Travel*

When participants discuss whether or not they are global, and why, the conversation often turns to their background of traveling experiences. The following exchange with Elizabeth is somewhat typical of what occurred in many of the interviews:

> Elizabeth: Well, having had experiences in other countries, and you know, interests in other, in what's going on outside Canada, maybe I feel like I would be [a global citizen].
>
> Interviewer: And would you have described yourself that way before you went abroad?
>
> Elizabeth: No, probably not. Before going abroad not so much…

For Elizabeth, and most of the participants in this study (76%), their most recent volunteer experience was not their first time embedding themselves in another culture for an extended period of time. When I asked Laura why she sees herself as a global citizen, she described a variety of international experiences from her past in addition to her volunteer placement:

> Simply because of all the places that I've been to and have lived in. I would, I would have little difficulty living in any of those places. …I would say from where I've lived in (three countries in Europe, one in Southeast Asia), I would say I could live in any of those places, not unhappily – quite happily once I settle in. So it's a matter of, it's a matter of adaptation and just, and just seeing the best in the place where you are and making – maximizing on the best of it. So I feel comfortable wherever I am. I don't feel out of place or out of step.

Having a multitude of prior experiences seems to make participants prefer to call themselves cosmopolitan or global, rather than transnational. They see transnationalism as limiting, since this would not encompass all of their experiences. Ava noted:

> If you sort of start to pile on allegiances to different places, you know, now I've had these two years of experience in (host country), I have this…work for the US, I've been to these other places, in (Africa) and (Europe) that I can identify with as more than a kind of tourist. You start to…you have to have the global citizenship to encompass all of those places in your identity otherwise you're just a Canadian with extra time in other places. And then…the balance isn't quite right.

Thus, to refer to herself as Canadian or transnational would not do justice to her other experiences. Or, as Jim says:

> For me, [global citizenship] transcends… it transcends transnationalism. I think globalism is a bit more fluid, and yeah, because I like to see myself – **I do** see myself as someone. Ok, let me put it this way… I mean, holy crap, the level of experience I had actually living and working in the developing world, you know, beyond the intellectual understanding of it, having the actual guttural, visceral, the visceral understanding of it. So, yeah.

Other volunteers like Elizabeth and Thelma point out that in addition to the experiences they have in these places, the social networks and friends they have amassed are from *all* of their international experiences and not just one place. Anne discusses having transnational connections between her home country in Europe and Canada as an immigrant, but describes herself as more of a global citizen because, "Over time, my connections to the two countries have become less strong, less firm, so I don't think of myself as much as a Canadian as maybe I did five or six years ago, and I have lots more connections to many places."

For Sarah, her sense of self as cosmopolitan evolved the longer she was home. During her Time 2 interview, she did not refer to herself as a cosmopolitan, and stated a clear

preference for describing herself as transnational. She said that she was more interested in her host country specifically, given her intense experience and connection there. At Time 3, however, she described herself as more of a global citizen than a transnational person. When I asked her to explain this change, she referred to possibilities for other experiences she may have in the future:

> I think at this point, I think of things a bit more – it could be (host country) or it could be somewhere else. So I'm staying connected to (host country), but over time I'll be connected to other places as well. And I see – I would see myself much more as being connected to the larger global community, whatever arises in my life, as opposed to just (host country) specifically.

Thus, Sarah illustrates that participants may see themselves as global based on experiences they have had in the past or more travel opportunities they anticipate in the future.

These data provide some insight into the quantitative result that previous experience abroad may negatively affect cosmopolitan identity change. The interview participants note that it is the sum total of their many international experiences that make them cosmopolitan, not only their most recent volunteer placement. Because 76% of participants in the full sample have lived abroad for more than six months previously, these participants may feel that it is not their most recent assignment that brought about this change, but rather their entire history of international travel.

Laura also speaks to the role of duration abroad in becoming a global citizen. She says:

> When you live in so many countries and you – and I don't mean **visit**, I mean **live** in different countries – it gives you a greater understanding of other cultures and … it's inevitable that you absorb a certain amount from those cultures so that you're an amalgam of all those cultures. And you can't really pull yourself from any one place because to say that you're

from any one place, that's no longer true. … I see myself as a combination of all those.

Like Colic-Peisker (2010) and Ossman (2004), Laura notes that you must live somewhere for a length of time, not visit, to really absorb the cultures.

*Verifying Cosmopolitanism.* While the importance of international travel certainly emerged when participants described why they see themselves as global citizens, this theme is overwhelmingly dominant when I ask participants whether or not other people would describe them as global citizens. Ava says, "I think so, but probably because I've traveled (laughs)," and Tracy says, "I mean, they know I'm an avid traveler." Calley said she believes her friends and family wonder, "Alright, how long is she here for?" Anne says, "They might maybe see me more as a global citizen because I've talked to them about many different places [I've been.]" Stacey says that people pick up on her travel experience in small ways: "I introduce people to new foods and talk about…how in Germany they eat their French fries with a fork. Its just part of my conversation, just to bring up, like, tidbits about other countries or other cultures."

Participants are often unsure that their friends and family would use terms like cosmopolitan or global citizen, but the general sentiment is there. When I asked Darcy if people would see her as a global citizen, she said:

> Darcy: Yeah, I think so. I know one of my brothers has definitely said, like, I travel all the time. So I don't know if he'd ever use those big words…

> Interviewer: Yeah, but you think he probably sees you that way?

> Darcy: Yeah, absolutely, absolutely. Especially in comparison, when they compare themselves.

Even participants in the study who do not describe themselves as global citizens feel confident that others see them that way. In fact, their responses to this question are remarkably similar to others who do see themselves as global. John says, "I think probably they think that I travel a lot." Evan's sentiment echoes Stacey's quote above, where traveling trickles down into how he talks to others: "It could be traveling, but also just the way I talk, and the way I think about the world…my curiosity for different cultures." And Damon's friends ask similar questions to those described by Calley: "For the last number of years I've been taking a trip a year usually…I've explored a fair amount of different countries. And so people then go, 'Where are you going this year?'"

Social comparisons, which involve processing information about another person in relation to the self (Wood 1996), seem to be a key component in how others evaluate participants as cosmopolitan. While social comparisons are often made in relation to abilities or attitudes, in this instance participants compare themselves to others in regard to international experiences. Eleanor explains how some people might see her as a global citizen, and others may not, depending on how much they have traveled themselves:

> I guess it's relative. I mean, people in my (school program) might not because everyone has kinda lived broad. But people that I know who have always lived in America, like, would probably see myself as more of a global citizen cause they have seen me travel and my stories, and how I dress, and my experiences.

Angela also discusses social comparisons, saying, "A lot of people might think I've experienced more of the global than maybe they have or maybe other people have. But I'm not really sure, um, like it's never been said to me so I don't really know. But I think possibly." At the end of her statement, however, she hints that she herself is the one making these social comparisons. She perceives that others see her as a global citizen

because she knows by comparison that she has more international experience than they do.

### *International Travel as a Path to Cosmopolitan Virtue*

The importance of being well-traveled came up often enough that I began to ask probing questions about whether or not a person must travel in order to be a global citizen. The general consensus I received is that while travel may not be absolutely necessary to be a global citizen, it certainly helps. As Rory says, "Global citizen, again, doesn't necessarily mean you have to be someone who travels the world, but they just have like a wider worldview." Ava also suggests that a person doesn't have to travel, but with the caveat that "you can embrace the concept better if you have ties to other places." But what does this worldview look like, and how does one embrace it?

Sarah describes the importance of consciousness and awareness and says it "takes a certain amount of effort, of getting information, and asking questions, and having conversations, and maybe traveling, um, reading things, whatever it is to have a grounding of what's happening in the world." Cole also thinks that global citizens "understand the bigger picture" and goes on to add: "So that's why again the, I encourage people to travel at least and go see other places and experience new things." Their general sentiment is not that a person could not develop such an awareness or understanding of the bigger picture from home, but rather that traveling abroad really encourages a person to do so. Darcy and I had the following conversation:

> Interviewer: So how important is traveling of firsthand experience …to being a part of the global community or being a global citizen?
>
> Darcy: I would say pretty important. I would like to say it's not important, but it's really hard to fully understand the situation that's happening, like,

until you really see poverty face to face. Just seeing it on TV or in pictures and books, it doesn't really make you understand the full extent of it.

Judy uses parenthood as a way to illustrate cosmopolitanism without travel:

There's no way you can really know what another culture's like until you're in it. I would defy anyone to challenge that. You have to go there and see it for yourself. I mean, you can read and doing research and all that, but after living – even if it's as a tourist, I mean nothing wrong with that. But putting yourself in another culture, you've got to. There's no way you can understand. It's like, you can talk about anything, let's say parenthood. No one understands parenthood or raising an infant until they've done it. You can empathize, you can say all those things, but until you really spend an entire month where you haven't slept longer than an hour at one given point, you have no idea what it's like, you know?

Her statement implies that non-travelers may think they are global citizens, and they may have a basic understanding of the world outside their own context, but it is nothing like the perspective of a traveler. They are lacking the "visceral" understanding that Jim talks about. Or, as Beverly would say, "they don't know what they don't know."

Throughout the course of these interviews it became clear to me that travel is a key means of becoming a cosmopolitan because it promotes certain values. This second theme dovetails nicely with how participants define cosmopolitanism: respect for diversity and recognition of interconnectedness. And cosmopolitanism may be difficult to define as an identity because these values permeate the ways volunteers interact in their daily lives. Cole describes why others see him as a global citizen this way:

Probably just the fact that I was, um, I was gone for two years. The physical fact that I was away (laughs), and was traveling beforehand too, kind of was traveling more than most people I know in (home city), that kind of just built up over time. And, and the way you, you know, talk about different issues as well. … In every discussion, I have a much more open mind to … seeing issues in a more broad sense, you know? I think whether it be racial or anything, you know, just look at it from many different sides. I think that's what I do.

This respect for diversity includes being "open minded and accepting of other ways of doing things, other ways of living" (Calley), as well as being "open to integrating different traditions into your own lifestyle" (Thelma). Madeline jokes that appreciation for diversity means volunteers are the kind of people who "wouldn't be terrified of going and eating at a Thai restaurant."

When defining global citizenship, participants talked about interconnectivity, with some particular attention to consumer activities. This theme appears again when participants describes what makes them cosmopolitans. Madeline discusses feminism and environmentalism, as an outcropping of seeing the treatment of women and the environment in other contexts. Dinah says that for her, being more global is about being "aware of the rest of the world." She says, "I was before, but I'm more so now because I realize that there's so much happening elsewhere. When you're in the US, you just don't realize. You don't have to think about that." And Cecilia reiterates how firsthand experience made her more attentive to international politics and climate change:

> Before I started traveling, I really wasn't that interested in, um, other parts of the world in terms of how people were coping. Um, I kind of saw traveling as seeing the sites, but when I started living in other countries and getting to know how other people live – even if I didn't know people on a deeply personal level – uh, if you're observant you can see what other people's situation is. And you start to understand it when you know a little bit more about, you know, the politics of the country. So just learning to understand how other people live, um – and my goodness there's a lot to learn! And you know, in terms of, not just politics, but uh, this whole issue of, you know, climate change and all of this stuff that affects everybody.

To summarize how participants describe themselves in terms of global citizenship, it appears to be a combination of where they have been and what they have learned from these experiences. Although participants can conceive of how a person might become global without international travel experience, through reading and actively seeking out

information about global issues, these participants certainly feel that travel was formative for them. And the act of travel, of personally witnessing how other people live, helped them develop respect for diversity and an awareness of how people around the world share a common fate. The question remains, however, do these experiences and worldviews add up to an identity?

## DETERMINING THE BASE OF COSMOPOLITAN IDENTITIES

In chapter two, I proposed that cosmopolitanism may manifest as a group identity, whereby individuals can see themselves as members of a global community, or as a dimension of role identities, whereby individuals amass a number of role identities with counter-roles in a variety of places. In this section, I return to the three bases of identity – group-based, role-based, and person-based – to determine how cosmopolitan identities are situated within the self.

### *Global Community?*

One of the hallmarks of social identity processes is the act of categorization, where individuals make social comparisons to determine who is a member of their in-group and who is an out-group member (Hogg and Abrams 1988; Hogg 2000; Turner 1999). As evidenced previously in this chapter, the first problem with cosmopolitanism as a group-based identity is the lack of an out-group. Valerie and John go so far as to surmise that there cannot be a global community in the absence of an alien out-group. I also discussed the way participants struggle with the term "belong" in reference to the global community, arguing that they do not imagine the global community as a group to which they could belong. Participants do engage in social comparisons, a key element of SIT processes, when they compare the extent of their international travel experiences to

others who have less travel experiences. They generally do not use this as a means of delimiting boundaries around the group of travelers, however; for the most part they do this as a way of setting themselves apart as unique in their travel experiences.

On occasion, participants described themselves as global not through membership in a global community, but by referring to their sense that across cultures tend to have the same basic needs and tendencies in common. According to Molly, she sees herself as global because: "I don't think people are all that much different, wherever you go. I think their needs are still the same. I think the way you interact with people, or the way I do would be the same." Mindy is reticent to describe herself as a member of the global community or a global citizen, but does describe herself as human first, saying, "I can see really at some very deep level, we're all just people and the nation definitions and the boundaries and all of that, it's just, you know, artificial stuff." And for Anne, the ability to compare or categorize people has diminished as she struggles to know how to construct these comparisons: "I think when you've been to a lot of places, then you stop maybe focusing on what's so different on one from the other, because I don't even know which ones to compare anymore." These sentiments align with the idea of essentialist cosmopolitanism (Rapport and Stade 2007), which focuses on the rights and capabilities of human beings, notwithstanding their classification into symbolic groups.

These views show that in some instances international volunteers see themselves as cosmopolitan to the extent that their experiences have made them less willing to categorize people as distinct from one another based on national boundaries. They do not, however, go so far as to describe a sense of community that exists between themselves and others. Thus, I conclude that cosmopolitanism is not a group-based identity.

### *Cosmopolitan Roles?*

In chapter four, I concluded that transnationalism is a feature of role identities because participants maintain ties with their host countries through relationships with specific people (i.e., romantic partners or colleagues) rather than seeing themselves as members of the broader host community. I suspected initially that cosmopolitanism may be another step along the same path–that individuals who accumulate roles spanning a number of countries would eventually see themselves as cosmopolitan because their social networks exist in a variety of places. As evidenced earlier in this chapter, this suspicion was confirmed to a certain extent when participants expressed that transnationalism does not sufficiently describe all of their experiences. There is a key distinction here, however. Participants indicate that transnationalism is insufficient to account for all of the experiences they have had around the globe, rather than being insufficient to account for the range that their social networks encompass. In other words, they use the term cosmopolitanism to account for the vast experiences they have had individually, rather than the broad social networks they have developed.

To be sure, social networks are a component of their international experience. As Calley says, "I like to travel and I have friends from all over." By and large, however, participants describe themselves as global based on where they have been, not who they know. This stands in contrast to descriptions of transnationalism in chapter four, where participants and their friends and family recognized them as transnational based on their romantic partners and their work. In the absence of more specific references to role relationships in a variety of locations, I cannot conclude that cosmopolitanism is also primarily a dimension of role identities.

*Global People*

In the theoretical predictions I laid out in chapter two, I neglected to consider the possibility that cosmopolitanism might manifest as a person-based identity. Like role- and group-based identities, person-based identities involve a set of meanings applied to the self (Burke and Stets 2009). Person-based identities are centered on the idea of authenticity (Gecas 1986), or the individual as he or she really is. They include characteristics that differentiate an individual from others across different contexts (Thoits and Virshup 1997; Turner et al. 1987).[22] Hewitt eloquently describes person identities as "a sense of self built up over time as the person embarks on and pursues projects that are not thought of as those of a community, but as the property of the person" (1997:93).

An example of a person-based identity may highlight how they are both cross-situational and related to authenticity. Gecas (2000) refers to benevolence as an identity. If a person sees him/herself as a benevolent person, or a "good person" this indicates

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[22] Scholars disagree on the relationship between person identities and personality traits. Some argue that person identities are collections of personality traits (Turner et al. 1987). The line between the two is easily blurred, given that both can be described as descriptions or characteristics of an individual that cut across multiple contexts and exist simultaneously with other identities. Stets (1995) differentiates the two on the basis of control. Person-based identities are characteristics under individual control that they apply to themselves. Personality traits, on the other hand, are descriptions applied to individuals to make sense of consistent patterns of habitual behavior that are not under the individuals' control.

values of kindness, generosity, and compassion. An individual can be a benevolent person while being a role occupant, such as a benevolent employer who gives his/her employees leeway when personal problems impact their work performance. This person identity can also co-exist with group membership, such as a member of a church who takes it upon him or herself to make new members feel included. Such behaviors are not only part of how he or she enacts role and group identities, but they also represent the more general identity as a benevolent person. Indeed, when individuals engage in general behaviors that represent their values and person identities, they feel a sense of authenticity–whereby they are genuinely benevolent no matter where they are or who they interact with (Hitlin 2003).

Person-based identities are relatively under-analyzed compared to role- and group-based identities (Hitlin 2003). Hitlin (2003) argues that person identities are produced through value commitments, defining values as mental structures that transcend situations and focus on desirable end states (Schwartz 1992). Keeping in mind that values are based on desirable end states, they are related to behavior but in a way that is less direct than the behavioral implications of role-based and group-based identities. Instead, person identities based on value commitments exist "as ideals worth striving for" (Hitlin 2003:121). Referring to the example above, benevolence may be an ideal that could manifest through any number of behaviors, and may not be associated solely with a specific set of behaviors. Based on the qualitative evidence, I believe that cosmopolitanism represents such a person-based identity that is produced through value commitments.

Above I describe how individuals see themselves as global people, and perceive that others see them as global people, based on their history of travel, or their unique resume of international experiences. And these experiences, in turn, have turned them into particular kinds of people – people who are open-minded, aware, appreciate diversity, and see the interconnectivity across the globe in terms of economics, climate, and human rights. They perceive these values as characteristics that have developed through their travel and global experience. And, just as person-based identities operate across roles and situations (Burke and Stets 2009), participants describe their open-mindedness and awareness as something that permeates their daily lives and conversations. As Evan stated previously, it's "just the way I talk, and the way I think about the world." Cosmopolitanism is not one of the many groups these participants belong to, or one role among many they inhabit, it is who they are across many contexts

Elizabeth says it is important for people to know about where she's traveled in order to really understand her:

> I think it's important and I feel like it's part of who I am…where I'm -
> why I've done what I've done and why it's part of me. That's
> important…not just specifically (host country) but other places,
> experiences that I've had. It's just sort of changed the way my outlook and
> - yeah, or views maybe.

Rather than her international experience making Elizabeth part of a supranational group, she has internalized her global experiences and made them part of herself. She is cosmopolitan because she is a particular type of person, rather than a homogenous group member. And for Elizabeth, as well as the majority of the participants in the study, her international travel lends authenticity to her sense of self as a global citizen. In other words, her she believes that her international experiences have fundamentally changed

her outlook and worldviews, and for others to understand who she is at her core, her authentic self, they must know about these experiences and the values they have generated.

Rather than cosmopolitanism or global citizenship denoting allegiance to a group beyond one's own home, among this sample it appears that one is cosmopolitan based on amassing a constellation of international experiences and values. That is to say, cosmopolitanism manifests as a person-based identity. Cosmopolitans in this sample do not see themselves belonging to a unique group with a defined set of shared characteristics, but rather they see themselves as cosmopolitan based on experiences that set them apart as unique from other individuals. Furthermore, they are aware of these values and the importance of these experiences when they compare themselves to other individuals who have not had these experiences or do not have the same values and worldview.

## CONCLUSION

Based on my findings in this chapter I argue that cosmopolitanism manifests as a person-based identity through the accumulation of unique international experiences and the development of cosmopolitan values. These results are counter to the predictions I outlined in chapter two, and represent an emergent finding enabled by qualitative research. While the literature provides little empirical information on person-based identities, my results are in line with Hitlin's (2003) assertion that person-based identities are comprised of trans-situational values.

The values espoused by cosmopolitans in my study are reminiscent of several of the dimensions of cosmopolitanism discussed in the theoretical literature on this topic. By

referring to the importance of travel to becoming a cosmopolitan, participants invoke the concept of spatial cosmopolitanism through global mobility (Rapport and Stade 2007). When participants refer to the same basic needs and desires that exist among all people regardless of their culture, this aligns with the notion of essentialist cosmopolitanism where all individuals are cosmopolitan by virtue of basic human needs and rights (Rapport and Stade 2007). And discussions of respect and appreciation for diversity draw on the moral and ethical components of cosmopolitanism that emphasize tolerance for diversity and trust in others (Nussbaum 1996; Pichler 2012; Rapport and Stade 2007). My participants do not report other values that have been identified as types of cosmopolitanism such as structural cosmopolitanism, wherein elite cosmopolitans value power that they have gained through exploitation of less powerful global actors and disadvantaged developing economies (Rapport and Stade 2007). My sample consists entirely of international development volunteers, however, and other globally mobile populations may see themselves as cosmopolitans based on different values.

In Chapter 2 I developed predictions for the relationship between cosmopolitanism and national identity depending upon whether cosmopolitanism manifests as a group- or role-based identity. Given my findings that cosmopolitanism is actually a person-based identity, I do not expect to find a negative relationship between cosmopolitanism and national identity. Person-based identities exist across situations, and in tandem with the other role and group identities a person holds. As such, an individual's cosmopolitan person identity may affect the meanings of his or her national identity, or how it is enacted, but is unlikely to cause someone to dis-identify with the nation.

Cosmopolitanism does not represent a supranational community that could compete with the nation-state.

As with Chapter 4, the qualitative results presented in this chapter also raise issues with the quantitative measures I have used in my study. My measure of cosmopolitan identity change, which asks participants the extent to which they feel like a "more global person" (Sussman 2002) is appropriate to assess cosmopolitan identities based on my qualitative findings, but it is limited by being a single-item indicator. The measure of cosmopolitan similitude, which allows participants to express similarity to/preference for "any of a wide variety of countries" may be problematic, however. Selecting such a response may reflect the value of respect for diversity, but providing this as an option in opposition to one's home country, host country, or both presents cosmopolitanism as an alternative group identity, rather than a set of values. My findings show that a more appropriate way to measure cosmopolitanism would be through a values survey (e.g., Schwartz 1992; Hitlin 2003). Such a measure would allow participants to express cosmopolitanism as a person-based identity, rather than presenting it as a group-based identity.

In the following chapter, I use the available measures to model the effects of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on national identity using longitudinal survey data. Then, using qualitative interview data, I explore the relationships between transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity in more depth. The qualitative data allow me to explore how these identities relate to one another keeping in mind that they represent role-, person-, and group-based identities, respectively.

# CHAPTER SIX

## Just North American?

## The National Identities of International Sojourners

*"Everybody has to come from a country, right? … So in that respect, yeah, I would see myself as an American." – David*

*"By virtue of how I was born and raised, it's a lot easier for me to live here. I know all the customs. I know the culture. I am the culture." – Phil*

*"I definitely still identify as an American, like, through and through. But I think I'm more of a **global** American." – Dinah*

I began the dissertation with the question of what happens to national identity in a globalizing world, specifically for globally mobile populations like international sojourners. In Chapters 4 and 5, I examine transnationalism and cosmopolitanism as possible supranational alternatives to national identity, determining the individual and sojourning characteristics that lead to a sense of self as transnational and/or cosmopolitan, and what those identities mean in lived experience. In this chapter, I return to the original question of national identity, and examine how transnationalism and cosmopolitanism affect national identity, if at all.

Findings from Chapter 4 indicate that transnationalism manifests as a dimension of role identities, rather than a group-based identity or even an identity in and of itself. In Chapter 5, I argue that cosmopolitanism is a person-based identity, meaning that it is comprised of a set of unique experiences and personal characteristics rather than a type of role or membership in a group. Based on these findings, I concluded Chapters 4 and 5

with predictions that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism will not have negative effects on the strength of national identity. In this chapter I use quantitative survey data analysis to determine the relationship between transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity.

I conclude the chapter with qualitative interview data exploring how international sojourning affects national identity, drawing comparisons between those individuals who see themselves as "just" Canadian or American, and those who describe themselves as transnational and/or cosmopolitan. The qualitative data augment the quantitative data by providing information on the processes through which international sojourners negotiate their national identities, and information on how they see themselves while occupying transnational roles and holding national and cosmopolitan identities.

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TRANSNATIONALISM, COSMOPOLITANISM, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Table 9 presents a growth curve model for the effects of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on national identity strength. To recall, national identity is measured with a seven-item scale that assesses how central national identity is to the self and how participants feel about their group membership (modified from Boatswain and Lalonde 2000 and Brown et al. 1986). The dependent variable is logged to correct for left skew in the measure.

I also made several transformations to independent variables to ensure no OLS assumptions are violated. Both measures of identity change – transnational and cosmopolitan – are squared to correct for skew in the measure. This is consistent with how these measures were used as dependent variables in Chapters 4 and 5. I also use measures of host, transnational, and cosmopolitan similitude (see description in Chapter 3

and complete measures in Appendix A). These measures ask participants to select the group to which they are more similar on a range of items such as where they fit in best, how they behave, and where their best friends are from. For each type of similitude, responses are drastically skewed to the left, since most participants selected their home country for these items rather than host, both, or a variety of countries. Thus, I have created a series of dummy variables for these measures. Host and transnational similitude measures compare those with low scores (scores ranging from 1-3, 42%) and high scores (scores 4-10, 25%) to those who did not select these groups for any items (score 0, 33%). The range of scores for cosmopolitan similitude is so skewed that this measure compares participants with any reported cosmopolitan similitude (scores ranging from 1-10, 19%) to those who report no cosmopolitan similitude (score 0, 81%).

Model 1 shows the effects of controls for individual characteristics and sojourn characteristics (e.g., duration and location of placement). Models 2 and 3 and show the effects of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism measures on national identity strength, respectively. Model 4 includes measures for both transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. When comparing Models 2, 3, and 4, it is evident that including both transnationalism and cosmopolitanism in the same model does not alter the effects of either on national identity. Therefore, I will discuss the results from Model 4.

[Table 9 about here]

Results for transnationalism in Model 4 indicate that transnational identity change has a significant, positive effect on reported national identity strength (b=.002, p≤.001), indicating that participants who report becoming more like a member of their host country while they are abroad have stronger national identities. Host similitude, or a

reported similarity between the participant and people in his/her host country, has a

negative effect on national identity strength when similitude is low (b=-.207, p≤.001) and

when similitude is high (b=-.266, p≤.001), as compared to reporting no similitude at all.

This indicates that feeling similarity to one's host country diminishes the strength of

one's national identity. There is no relationship between transnational similitude and

national identity strength. Finally, frequency of host communication has a significant,

negative relationship with national identity strength (b=-.033, p≤.05), indicating that

participants who engage in more frequent communication with individuals in their host

country have weaker national identities.

These results must be interpreted in light of the results for transnationalism presented

in Chapter 4, however. Qualitative results in Chapter 4 indicated that transnationalism is

a dimension of role identities, and participants in this study do not imagine a

transnational community to which they can belong. It is not surprising, then, that host

similitude measures have a negative effect on national identity, since these measures pit

belonging in the host country against belonging in one's home country, making the two

mutually exclusive. This distinction may not be an accurate representation of how

participants think about national identity relative to transnationalism. Instead, I place

greater emphasis on the results for transnational identity change and host communication.

Transnational identity change asks participants the extent to which they became more like

a member of their host country, but does not force them to choose between host

belonging and home. In fact, this measure has a negative correlation with host similitude

(-.246***) and transnational similitude (-.162***) (see Table 4). Additionally, host

communication assesses the frequency of contact with individuals in the host country,

and thus taps into how participants enact transnational role identities. Thus, I will use the qualitative data to expand on the quantitative results for transnational identity change and host communication.

Results for cosmopolitanism do not follow the pattern of transnationalism results. Cosmopolitan identity change does not have a significant effect on national identity strength. Cosmopolitan similitude has a positive, significant effect on national identity strength (b=.086, p≤.001), however. This indicates that individuals who report similarity between themselves and individuals from a variety of other countries have stronger national identities than those who do not. Thus, a lack of differentiation between the self and individuals from other places is not incompatible with national identity. I will explore this relationship further using qualitative data.

Several control measures have significant effects on national identity. First, birth year has a significant, negative relationship with national identity strength (b=-005, p≤.001), whereby older participants report stronger national identities. In Models 1-3, being Canadian is associated with stronger national identity, and this effect approaches significance in Model 4 (b=.034, p≤.1). Dual citizens also report stronger national identities than participants who do not have dual citizenship (b=.057, p≤.05). With regard to sojourning characteristics, those participants who chose to extend their contract with CUSO and live abroad longer than they originally intended report weaker national identities (b=-.046, p≤.01). Volunteers placed in Latin America report stronger national identities in Models 1 and 3, but when measures of transnationalism are included this effect only approaches significance (b=.044, p≤.1).

In Chapters 4 and 5, I found significant, negative effects for time on the dependent variables, indicating that the longer participants are home, the less they perceive themselves as having become more transnational or global. I do not find a significant relationship between time and national identity strength, however, indicating that participants reported national identity strength does not diminish or increase as they return home. This lack of change over time is also evident in Figure 2, which shows a decrease in transnational and cosmopolitan identity change over time, but no change in national identity strength over time.[23]

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[23] I ran interaction effects between each of the variables in the model and time to determine if the effects between the independent variables and national identity strength shift over time. I found no change in the effects of cosmopolitanism on national identity over time. For transnationalism, I found a change in the effect of transnational similitude over time. The interaction between low transnational similitude and time is negative and significant (b=-.112, p≤.001), as is the interaction between high transnational similitude and time (b=-.083, p≤.001). These effects indicate that for participants who report no transnational similitude, their national identity strength increases the longer they are home. Including this interaction effect does not change the pattern of findings for any other control variables or measures of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. Those individuals who report low or high transnational similitude have consistent national identity strength over time. Because this interaction effect does not change any other pattern of findings, and does not indicate a negative relationship between similitude and national identity strength, I do not include these results in the results tables. These results and a figure depicting the interaction effect are available on request.

Given that the focus of this chapter is determining whether or not transnationalism and/or cosmopolitanism have negative effects on national identity, I am primarily concerned with the negative results for host similitude and host communication. I use in-depth interview data to explore these negative relationships, as well as the positive effects of transnational identity change and cosmopolitan similitude on national identity.

*Sensitivity Testing*

As in the previous chapters, I expect that dual citizens or participants with immigrant origins may differ from participants in the study with regard to national identity. Due to the small sample size, I have included all participants in Table 9, but Table 10 presents sensitivity tests to ensure the results are robust when excluding dual citizens and immigrants. Model 1 omits dual citizens; Model 2 omits first generation immigrants; Model 3 omits second generation immigrants; and Model 4 omits all of these groups. These models show that the findings for transnationalism and cosmopolitanism presented in Table 9 are robust to the removal of dual citizens and immigrant participants.

[Table 10 about here]

In Table 9, I show that transnational identity change has a positive relationship with national identity strength, while host similitude and communication have negative effects. These effects are consistent with those shown in Table 10. Transnational identity change has a positive effect on national identity strength in each iteration of the model (b=.002, p≤.001 in Model 4). Likewise, the effects are consistent across models for low host similitude (b=-.231, p≤.001 in Model 4) and high host similitude (b=-.273, p≤.001 in Model 4). Frequency of host communication has a significant, negative effect on national

identity strength in Models 1-3, and this effect approaches significance in Model 4 (b=-.030, p≤.1).

Results for cosmopolitanism measures presented in Table 10 are also consistent with results from the full sample shown in Table 9. Cosmopolitan identity change does not have a significant relationship with national identity strength. Cosmopolitan similitude, on the other hand, has a positive relationship with national identity strength in each of the models in Table 10 (b=.081, p≤.001 in Model 4).

With regard to control measures, the relationships between birth year and extending the volunteer contract are also robust to sensitivity testing. Birth year has a significant, negative relationship with national identity strength (b=-.005, p≤.001 in Model 4), indicating that older participants have stronger national identities. Extending one's volunteer contract has a significant, negative relationship in Models 1-3, and the relationship approaches significance in Model 4 (b=-.042, p≤.1). Omitting dual citizens and first and second generation immigrants does, however, remove the effects of Canadian citizenship and placement in Latin America.

In the next section, I draw upon qualitative data to provide information on how participants see their home countries and how their views of Canada and America have changed as a result of volunteering abroad, as well as changes in how they see themselves as Canadians and Americans. By comparing and contrasting the views of participants who identify solely on the national level to those who also see themselves as transnational and/or cosmopolitan, I also show how these identities relate to one another and how international experience can change the meanings of national identity in both positive and negative ways.

**NATIONAL IDENTITY PROCESSES FROM AFAR**

Qualitative data shed light on the relationship between international travel and national identities in a few key ways. During the interviews, I asked participants in what ways, if any, living abroad changed how they see themselves as Canadian or American. There responses to this question highlight how participants managed their national identities at a distance. In particular, living abroad increased the salience of their national identities, and made participants more acutely aware of their responsibility to represent their home country while they were living in an out-group context.

*Collective National Identity Processes*

On the collective level, a common thread in the interview data is for participants to state that living abroad heightened their awareness of how Canada and the United States are viewed by people in their host countries. I began this chapter with a quote that illustrates this awareness, when Calley says: "I got to hear how all the other people viewed our country and the people in it, and it was just embarrassing." I asked her what sorts of things about American embarrassed her and she replied: "Just how over the top we are. And, um, I mean a lot of people have concerns with how our country is run. And yeah, we're just very greedy." Her comments highlight how her time abroad made her aware of reflected appraisals for Americans generally.

Dinah, too, has concerns about the role of the US in the global economy, but she also notes that being in her host country made her aware of other problematic features of the American lifestyle:

> I've always had an up and down, like a positive and negative view of America. I realize that we do have a lot of strengths, despite what's happening right now with the global economy. I think being in (host country) made me realize just how stressed out Americans are when I saw

> it's completely different [in host country]. It's so relaxed in (host country). And I knew that Americans were stressed out, like I got it, but then living elsewhere and then coming back makes you, like, makes you put it in perspective. Like, wow. No wonder everybody's sick and has high blood pressure and diabetes and all kinds of illnesses – because of the lifestyle.

Dinah's remarks also highlight that, by virtue of living in her host country, she was able to make comparisons between American culture and the host culture. That is, by exposing herself to other cultures, Dinah became more aware of what it means to be an American in comparison to what it means to be a member of her host country.

The perspectives offered by Calley and Dinah illustrate how reflected appraisals from others in a foreign context and making social comparisons across cultures can make individuals more aware of how their country is viewed internationally and the traits of their group. Their observations are on the collective level, however. Participants also reported national identity processes that occurred on the individual level.

### *Individual National Identity Processes*

On the individual level, participants reported how their time abroad made them aware of things about themselves that are particularly North American – things that they were not aware of previously. Many volunteers describe norms about time and punctuality in their host countries as more flexible than the norms in North America, and Melissa noted this as one area where she recognized her national identity: "When it was a nine o'clock meeting I would still show up at 8:45 and wait until the meeting would start. So in those respects I was definitely still Canadian." Sarah, who said during our interview that she would not describe herself as a typical American generally, said the following:

> I mean, I am an American, and this is my home. This is where I come from and this is the culture that has influenced me. And in some ways I got to really see that in (host country). Like, I **liked** living alone, and (host locals) could not understand how I liked living alone. They just couldn't

> understand that I must be scared, and I must be lonely. But I really like having my own space, and I think that's very American.

Being in another cultural context made these volunteers more aware of all the things about themselves that are a result of their home cultures.

In the global and transnational sociology literature, scholars discuss long-distance or deterritorialized nationalism (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2002; Tsuda 2003), noting that being away makes individuals more keenly aware of their belonging to a distant homeland. Or, as Sussman (2011) discusses, leaving one's own home country allows individuals to more fully recognize their cultural identities. While my data do not allow me to assess an increase in national identity while abroad, given the lack of a pre-departure baseline national identity measure, the qualitative interview data illustrate that volunteers themselves perceive their national awareness more acutely while they are abroad.

These data provide an opportunity to bridge the literature on social psychological identity processes with global and transnational research. In social identity theory (SIT) terms, these data illustrate how social situations affect self-categorization. SIT indicates that being among out-group members increases the salience of one's group identity (Owens et al. 2010). Thus, long-distance nationalism is a term for the specific group identity processes that occur when self-categorization with one's national group increases based on immersion amongst out-group members from other nations.

***Acting as a Group Representative.*** Coupled with the increased salience of their individual national identities is a responsibility to be a good representative of one's home country. This topic came up repeatedly, for both Canadian and American participants. I

had the following exchange with Stacey when I asked her if living abroad changed the

way she sees herself as an American:

> Stacey: I feel like I need to, um, set a good example, like show people not all Americans are materialistic, and greedy, and rude, and don't care about their parents, and stuff like that. Overall, I'm not embarrassed to say I'm an American like some people are.
>
> Interviewer: And is this the same way you felt before you were in (host country)?
>
> Stacey: No, I think before I went to (host country), I didn't realize the extent of the negative stereotypes of Americans. And I also didn't – I mean, I sort of did the same thing about (host country). I said, '(Host locals) are like this, (host locals) are like that,' when my experience with (host country) is like, you know, rural (locals) in one part of (host country). So I just really learned the impossibilities of making a statement about an entire country. So, because you know, I was doing that, and I still do it to some extent. And I was on the other side, you know – 'All Americans carry guns. All Americans love Michael Jackson.' (laughs) So I think it was just something that I realized, that a lot of times I'm the only American someone will ever meet. So whether I want to or not, I am the face, I have to represent America. It's important, at least to me. I think it's important to show, like, a generous and kind side to Americans.

Mindy echoed this sentiment, saying "I did feel like I was the sort of Canadian

representative, and I didn't want anybody to think that Canadians in any way, shape, or

form were unkind."

While the previous examples show both American and Canadian participants'

concern for representing the kindness of North Americans, they also highlight differences

by country with regard to representing one's home nation. Both Stacey and Mindy were

concerned with representing North Americans as kind, but Stacey said this in the context

of over-arching negative stereotypes about America.

The Canadian participants in the study generally discussed the good reputation

Canada has internationally, and their responsibility to maintain that reputation. Thelma

says, "I've always been very proud to be Canadian. I think that we do a lot of good work internationally… I think that the Canadian reputation is well-earned and hard-earned. And I'm quite proud to represent Canada when I leave, when I'm in another country." Cole even goes so far as to say that people in other parts of the world have a "utopian" view of Canada. He said that people from other parts of the world speak so highly of Canada that it caused him to have an interesting reaction: "It's like, 'Wow, it's not actually that good.' (laughs) And that's – I think that's kind of a Canadian trait as well. … We don't really boast about our country." This very positive reputation of Canada may be reflected in the quantitative data that show being Canadian is positively related to national identity strength.

This stands in contrast to American participants who feel the need to defy negative stereotypes and put a positive spin on their group. Eleanor says that being abroad "definitely makes you consider what being American is." She describes her interactions with a European expat in her host country who "would make these kinda sweeping generalizations" about the US, despite having never been there. She explains how she responded this way:

> I found myself defending it away, by saying, like, "Well, it's really hard to make that generalization." Cause he'd be like, "Oh, Americans are loud and annoying, but you're, like, a good one." It's like, "Well, I know a lot of good ones. If we're basing [it] on Germans, you're not the typical German either." So, finding myself rationalizing and, like, justifying that American wasn't always what the stereotype is, even if the stereotype is often true.

Dinah, too, describes her need to counteract negative American stereotypes:

> It's a fact that I'm American, you know? I'm a woman, I'm black, I'm five feet eight inches. You know, it's a fact like anything else. I also, but another thing, I felt like I needed to represent Americans in a **positive** light, though, because we **do** have a reputation of, you know, being

ignorant. You know, the ignorant American stereotype. Everyone around the world thinks it. So I, I would consciously make an effort to, you know, stuff so that I could be like, "Yeah, not all of us Americans are ignorant, you know. There's a lot of us who know things." So basically, I was a representative of the US.

In addition to exhibiting Dinah's desire to represent her group positively, Dinah's comments also serve as evidence of the indisputable nature of national identity. She equates being American as a characteristic akin to her gender, race, and height – something that is true of her and beyond question. In SIT terms, she is highlighting the perception that the boundaries of national membership are not permeable, and she is not able to join another group with a different reputation. Instead, what she can do is try to reflect positively on her group membership.

Canadian participants who report upholding Canada's good reputation and Americans who try to present their nation in a more positive light are both engaging in actions to enhance their sense of self as a group member. SIT states that people want to perceive their groups in a positive light (Owens et al. 2010). When participants discuss being a representative of Canada or the United States, they are engaging in individual behaviors to reflect positively back on the group. Importantly, the aforementioned quotes highlight individual desire to represent the group positively. In the next section, I will also illustrate how participants' experiences abroad enhance their own views of the groups to which they belong.

## "JUST" NORTH AMERICAN

While living abroad, volunteers discuss how their nationality becomes more ever-present. The salience of national identity and increased awareness of how they represent their home nations is present across volunteers, regardless of how they see themselves as

transnational and/or cosmopolitan. Later in the interviews, however, when I ask

participants about where they feel at home, and the communities to which they belong,

differences emerge between those participants who describe themselves as "just"

Canadian or American, and those who do not. In this section, I will describe themes

around national identity that emerge for the seven participants in the study who identify

only on the national level. The following sections will highlight the blurred lines between

national and supranational volunteers, and themes among transnational and cosmopolitan

volunteers, respectively.

   For the volunteers in the study who do not describe themselves as transnational or

cosmopolitan, the experience of living abroad makes some of them more deeply certain

of their preference for North America. As Phil says:

> By virtue of how I was born and raised, it's a lot easier for me to live here.
> I know all the customs. I know the culture. I am the culture. And so, I'm
> ok with that. I like being – I guess I'm more self-aware of these things that
> make me an American. But at the same time, knowing about them, I
> accept them. I like being too loud, or I don't care if I'm too loud. I like
> saying "please" and "thank you" all the time even if I don't mean it. And I
> think, having lived somewhere else, now I can say with more certainty that
> I want to live in America.

Indeed, part of what makes them identify so strongly with home is the ease of life in a

country where they are familiar with the norms. In addition to realizing their preference

for Canada and the United States, two themes emerge around their national identities:

group enhancement and dis-identification with transnationalism and cosmopolitanism.

### *Group Enhancement*

   One of the most prevalent themes among participants who do not identify

supranationally is their tendency to use their experiences abroad to enhance their own

group. In SIT, enhancement is the process by which group-members make comparisons

to out-groups that favor their own group, increasing their self-esteem as a group member and their perception of the status of their group relative to other groups (Owens et al. 2010). After experiencing other cultures, John says, "Maybe I'm more happy that I am [Canadian], you know?" Similarly, Damon says, "getting away helps you recognize how wonderful it is here."

Some of these comparisons participants make between their home country and host countries are rather vague. For example, Mindy says, "It's just a, such a big, big reminder when you live in a developing country versus a developed country. The contrast is **so intensely different** that I think it's a **very big reminder** that you're very fortunate." Her comment does not specify what it is about being Canadian that is a privilege, but issues a general statement about the fortunate nature of Canadians versus individuals in developing countries. Other participants highlight very specific things about their home countries that are favorable to their host counties. Valerie attributes this to individual characteristics of Americans as compared to people in her host country when she says:

> They have a very fatalistic attitude. And I think we … we really have this sort of driving positive attitude, even when we're cynical, you know, we think we can make things better quite often. And we go down and complain to the phone company and we, you know, we don't just stand for people walking all over us. And, you know, we, we're very much more assertive on our needs, getting our needs fulfilled and sort of the expectations and requirements that are expected.

Many participants made enhancing comments related to the opportunities afforded to North Americans. Phil talks about the opportunities available to him as an American that are not available to people in his host country:

> I've never before experienced, like, patriotism, a feeling of being proud of being an American. So, you know, I suppose some people have the opposite experience of, like, hating their own country, or not being proud, but I don't know. After living in (host country), I feel very proud and very

> lucky to have been born, won the lottery, just been born in America
> because that automatically puts me on a different path than most people in
> the world. And, yeah, so I would say it's made me feel more proud to be
> an American.

Mindy also recognizes the opportunities in North America relative to other places, and

focuses specifically on education: "I think when you've lived in a country that has gone

through what, you know, (host country) has gone through, you realize how fortunate

you've actually been, and how fortunate your children have been, and um, the whole, you

know, notion of education and training and development."

While discussing the unique opportunities afforded to North Americans, John

highlights the advantages North Americans have in terms of international travel:

> You see how other people live, and you realize the advantages and
> opportunities that we have, that we take for granted. And, you know, then
> you go and you see how the (host locals) are living, and just for a (host
> local) to come to Canada, the paperwork just to get a visa's almost
> impossible. But we can just get a visa at the airport, just go anywhere. It's
> so hard for them to go anywhere. First of all, because they hardly have any
> money, and secondly because – just the paperwork.

His perspective alludes to the role that national identity plays in becoming a transnational

and/or cosmopolitan person. As described in previous chapters, living abroad affords

individuals with the opportunity to develop transnational role relationships, and the

values that are the basis of cosmopolitan personal identities. For some participants, like

John, these experiences make him identify more strongly with his home country, rather

than developing a sense of self as transnational or cosmopolitan.

### *Not Transnational or Cosmopolitan*

Often during discussions with volunteers about why they are "just"

Canadian/American, their responses refer, either directly or indirectly, to themes

surrounding transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. For international sojourners, a sense

of self as transnational is based primarily on the development of role relationships with members of their host country (see Chapter 4). Participants who identify only on the national level also raise issues of role relationships. Phil describes the differences between his relationships with Americans and people in his host country:

> [America is] home in all senses. I just, I fit here easier than anywhere else. I, you know, I have all of my relationships here, and all my stuff, and you know, all of my – a lot of the things that matter to me are here. But, so what I have with (host country) is just all these wonderful memories, and an emotional attachment to the country and to a few specific people. But I don't really have, you know, I don't really have close friends that I miss there. I have experiences that I miss there, but certainly not – the balance is way towards America.

John also says, "I was connected in (host country), and I knew people there – both locals and expats. But I realize that in, you know, at the end of the contract we were going to return." The role relationships he developed in his host country were colored by the fact that they had an expiration date at the end of the volunteer contract.

It appears that relationships at home are one of the key elements that keep these volunteers tied to their home countries. Mindy says, "I think I belong, definitely, my home feels like Canada in terms of my country, my friends, and, I think, my affiliation." Valerie adds, "You know, I've lived here most of my life. And…[I] have all these friends here." Melissa also refers to relationships with friends and family, and notes that these are the things that makes Canada the place she always returns. She and I had the following exchange:

> Melissa: Wherever I am, this is where I'll always come back to. So it's always, and this is where all my family and friends are, and just, like, I guess also where I grew up. So this is always home. But even if I'm away for a week, that's home for me. So wherever I am, I'm like, "Ah, I'm home." Or so, I guess the definition of home is a little looser [for me], but I've always returned to Canada between placements, and this is where my family and friends is, so-

> Interviewer: Ok, ok, so even if you're living somewhere else that you refer to as home, you still think of Canada as a kind of reference point?
>
> Melissa: So, for (host country), that was, like, home to me while I was there. But when I came back, Canada became my home automatically, like I didn't refer to (host country) as home anymore.

Even though Melissa has a definition of "home" that is rather fluid, Canada is her home base because of her history there, and also because Canada is where her strongest social networks are.

Participants who identify only with North America also explicitly explained why they are not cosmopolitans. John says, "I'm just – I mean, I'm a Canadian, you know? Not a global person. Legalize marijuana, gay marriage, all that stuff, right, we have up here." He distances himself from the global community and his host country, saying, "Well, the global community, you've heard me say that I would feel like, really pretentious, right? And I couldn't do that. Um, (host country), I could say that because (host country) is not my home, right? Um, no, I'm a Canadian, yeah." Phil adds to this by explaining that his experiences abroad are partly responsible for making him realize that being American is preferable to being cosmopolitan:

> Part of the romanticism of living abroad, you know, traveling abroad is "I don't like my home country." You know? Or I feel like a lot of Americans have this, kind of, European jealousy. They feel like, "Oh, Europe is so cosmopolitan," and etcetera, etcetera. Especially urban Americans, I want to say, probably wish they lived in Europe. But the reality is they're probably just as good, if not better off, where they are. And so, I think you know; now I realize that and I can say that with more certainty. And the same thing about (home city), you know, I could have come back and lived anywhere, but I wanted to live in (home city).

To borrow from Sussman (2011), these participants are describing an affirmative identity shift. That is, going abroad made them more aware, and more appreciative, of

their national identities. But although they describe themselves in national terms, they are still aware that their international experiences set them apart from typical North Americans. In fact, the things that they say make them "atypical" North Americans mirror some of the characteristics of cosmopolitanism described in chapter five. Results for cosmopolitanism indicated that participants see themselves as "global people" based on their history of international experiences and values that make them unique individuals. When I asked Damon about whether or not he sees himself as a global person, he replied saying, "I'm still pretty much a nationalist, you know." He went on to explain:

> I mean, Canada is a pretty nice place. That's where my roots are and certainly hold a pretty big place in my heart for it. So, I mean, that's where I feel most comfortable. But I do still like to get away from time to time, you know … I do like to travel and to explore other places and have a look.

While Damon is a nationalist, he says "if everything was perfect, I'd do maybe half and half – spending half of my time here and half the time somewhere else." He may be a Canadian, but this does not negate his interest in other places.

   Although participants like Phil, Stacey, and Mindy are not willing to describe themselves as global citizens, they do describe some of the same values and personal characteristics discussed in Chapter 5. Phil says:

> I do follow global politics. I am more aware of America's place in the world and, uh, and kind of the relationships between different countries and history and that kind of thing. Um, and so yeah, I do, and I feel that's important and definitely the (host country) experience reinforced that for me. Like it feels weird to say – to refer to America or, like, to say, "Oh that's so American." You know? That phrase itself is something that a normal American doesn't say, right?

Phil's awareness of the outside world and interest in other places makes him a particular

kind of American. Similarly, Mindy sees herself as a particular type of Canadian,

identifying her perspective on the world as unique to those who have traveled. She says:

> The awareness, which we've talked about, you know, privilege associated
> with, you know, North American life and being Canadian – there's lots of
> pluses that I think many times people who haven't been out and seen the
> kinds of things that you see when you get to do international work like
> this. They don't have anything to compare it to.

Based on this statement, I asked Mindy if this means she is a global person. She

responded: "I'm not sure I would say that. I still think that I am someone with

cosmopolitan tendencies. I don't think that I am because I've lived for close to sixty years

in one place. So, no. I think I have like a tiny little hand or arm of cosmopolitanism, but I

don't think I'm really there yet." Stacey agrees that, cosmopolitan interests aside, this is

not part of her identity. She says, "I mean, I appreciate other cultures and like learning

about them, but I don't feel like that's part of my identity. … I think I've assimilated

certain qualities into my identity, but I still feel like an American."

Stacey goes on to explain that rather than being a cosmopolitan America, she

identifies with a particular type of Americans:

> I think the people that I identify with most are, they are a subset of the
> American community. I mean, they're not like typical Americans in terms
> of caring about sustainability, the environment, and the future of urban
> America. But they do represent an American sense of being about
> possibility, opportunity, and taking advantage of all the different things
> that America has to offer, whether that's, you know, I don't know. So the
> group of people I identify with the most is not like the typical American
> community, but I still think there's something American about the
> community – the subset that I identify with the most.

While this subset of Americans may still embody some of the values associated with cosmopolitanism, Stacey sees this as a subset of Americans, rather than something that transcends national identity.

## BLURRED LINES BETWEEN NATIONAL AND SUPRANATIONAL IDENTITIES

In the previous section, I illustrate how volunteers who only identify on the national level distance themselves from the idea of transnationalism or cosmopolitanism. These statements may seem to indicate essential differences between volunteers based on whether they do or do not see themselves as transnational and/or cosmopolitan. Importantly, however, the 26 participants who also describe themselves in supranational terms do report stable national identities. Despite seeing themselves as transnational, cosmopolitan, or both, participants do not question their belonging to their home countries. In fact, the theme of rooted cosmopolitanism (Appiah 2006) is prevalent. For these participants, North America is "definitely the place I've lived the most" (Rory), and "where I can exist with the least amount of effort" (Madeline). This does not negate their sense of self as a transnational or cosmopolitan, but it exists on a separate level.

Throughout the interviews, volunteers have no trouble describing themselves in national terms. As David says:

> Everybody has to come from a country, right? So in that respect, yeah, I would see myself as an American. But I believe there is a need for diversity. There is a need to reach people in other countries. And in that regard, I also see myself as somebody who belongs to the global village. Yeah, yeah, of course I see myself as an American.

Tracy describes the difference between her identity as a Canadian and a global citizen this way:

It's more where do I, where, what do I feel my loyalty towards. I mean, I feel more loyalty towards Canada, but I feel an awful lot of loyalty towards making changes for everybody for the better. I think there's a lot of injustice, um, there's a lot of inequality, obviously. And I feel a real, I feel responsibility as not just a Canadian citizen, but as a global citizen that, you know, I really feel like we should be working towards standing up for those people that don't have the same benefits that we do.

Being a global citizen is not something volunteers are instead of being Canadians or Americans, it is something they are in addition to North American. They aren't "just" North American. This sentiment is echoed by other volunteers. Judy says, "I probably most belong in Canada. It'd be Canada and/or global. Yeah, yeah I, um, I'm very comfortable with cultures of any kind but I'm – probably Canada, I'm Canadian." Similarly, Cecilia says, "I feel part of the global community, too, but um, if I had to, you know, for traveler part of the global community, but for home it would be Canada."

### *Similarities between National and Supranational Volunteers*

While volunteers who are "just" North American distance themselves from transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, supranational volunteers very clearly see themselves as members of their national communities. In fact, there are similarities in the interviews with supranational and national volunteers that are quite striking. Just as Damon described himself as a nationalist, but would like to be able to spend half of his time in places other than Canada, Cole says, "I think still Canada is the best fit, but just with regular trips in the global community (laughs), regular stop-overs in the global community."

Phil described himself as an American saying that his time abroad made him realize things about him that are American, and helped him recognize his preference for

American culture. The same theme arises among global and transnational participants.

Sarah describes how her time abroad makes her aware of her national identity, saying,

> As much as I have found that I adopt (host country) values and really
> value them, I kind of also come away, like with this idea, like, but I'm **not**
> a (host local). Like, I **am** an American. And I can live in (host country),
> and I can love (host locals), but I'm not [one of them].

And Cole points out that even though he could live elsewhere, he has realized that other

places could never be home:

> I think living in (host country) made me realize I could, I could operate
> and live in other countries ok, and I would, I could find, kinda, my way. I
> also realize that I would never, you know, I just don't see how another
> country could feel like home. I, being there for two years, it's – yes, it got
> easier. I felt more at home there than I did over time. But I just don't know
> if I could call another place home.

Like Phil, Sarah and Cole are aware of other ways of being, but the place they are

most comfortable back in North America. This applies to Anne as well, who says:

> I do really feel like I fit in here in Canada very well. I would say that I'm a
> part of this community, and there are a lot of things that I just like the way
> they're done. Well, I guess because I'm used to it and it's sort of a relief to
> be back here sometimes.  I think I like – I just get – that's my way of
> doing things.

Even for global and transnational participants, home is still the place and culture they

prefer.

Melissa, who describes herself solely as a Canadian, discussed how her understanding

of "home" has loosened with her international experiences. Even though Canada is her

home base, she is able to view other countries where she is living as home for a time.

Sarah also describes how the term "home" is more complex after living abroad:

> I really think about home in a different way after traveling. Like, on a kind
> of philosophical level, I think of home as, like, where I am, and who is
> around me at the time. But in a more concrete level, I think that my home
> is (home city) in terms of this is where I was born and raised, and these are

> where my kind of core and long-term plans are, and where my family is.
> So I see this as my, you know, home on the planet. And I think beyond
> that – I think home is much more about a feeling and, um, also about a
> sense. So, you know, I feel like I have a home in (host country) as well
> because there are people there who invite me and say, "You know,
> whenever you wanna come home, our home is your home."

Finally, participants in the study all share a sense that they are particular kinds of

North Americans, whether they see themselves supranationally or not. In the previous

section, Stacey discussed belonging with a subset of Americans. Dinah, who identifies

herself as a global citizen, says:

> I definitely still identify as an American, like, through and through. But I
> think I'm more of a **global** American. Like, I appreciate being around
> different people from different backgrounds. I don't need to be around
> only Americans. I have a genuine interest in the rest of the world. I realize
> that the whole world doesn't revolve around the US and that big things are
> happening elsewhere. Um, but at the end of the day I'm still an American.

Thus participants who describe themselves as supranationally do not seem to differ

drastically from non-supranational participants in terms of what it means to be Canadian

or American. Instead, participants are transnational or cosmopolitan in addition to being

North American.

These findings lend support to quantitative results that indicate transnational and

cosmopolitan identity changes are positively related to national identity strength. These

results are not surprising, given my results that transnationalism is a dimension of role-

based identities (see Chapter 4), and cosmopolitanism is a person-based identity (see

Chapter 5). Since transnationalism and cosmopolitanism do not represent mutually

exclusive groups that are alternatives to national identity, developing transnational roles

or a sense of self as a global person does not necessarily mean individuals will feel

weaker attachments to home.

Nevertheless, the quantitative results also indicate some negative relationships between measures of transnationalism and national identity. This is the topic to which I now turn.

## A TRANSNATIONAL TAKE ON THE NATION

I examined data from the 15 participants who describe themselves as transnational specifically in order to explore the negative relationship between measures of transnationalism and national identity strength. The negative relationship between host similitude and national identity strength may be due, in part, to the nature of the measures. As illustrated in Chapter 4, transnationalism manifests through role identities for international sojourners; therefore measures like my similitude measures are based on a problematic assumption that the transnational community is an alternative group to which individuals can belong. These findings are coupled with a negative relationship between host communication and national identity strength, however, and the host communication variable does address transnationalism through roles. Thus, it is necessary to explore how transnational role relationships might negatively affect national identity.

In examining interview data from individuals who describe themselves as transnational, I did find a tendency for them to evaluate their home countries more critically. Jim, who returned to Canada not by choice, but by necessity, said this about North American culture:

> I have a love/hate relationship with North America (laughs), I guess. I have a love/hate relationship with western culture, I think, in general. I think my values, I mean, because, like I may have spoken before, or related to you, you know, I'm doing what I have to do to survive right now. And that means, that means subduing part of who I am, in a way, you know. And part of who I am, I think, still belongs to the developing

> world. And maybe there's another time I can be there, you know, I think
> that there is but it certainly isn't going to be soon.

He says that being in North America requires him to "subdue" parts of who he is,

suggesting that his sense of self as transnational (or cosmopolitan – he identifies with

both) is incompatible with Canadian culture. In this passage he does not specify what it is

about North American, or western, culture that is counter to his own values, but

elsewhere in the interview he discusses issues with western materialism and lack of

concern for sustainability.

Tracy also critiques North American materialism, and draws a connection between

materialism and life satisfaction. She says:

> One of the things I've really noticed, and I think it's probably been a
> detriment to my own view of my own country, is I find that the more
> material possessions people have, um, the less happy people seem to be.
> And I think there's a real sense of community that we've lost in, in North
> American society. … There's a lot of very disconnected people here, um,
> there's a very, very lonely people here. Where I think, you know, if I were
> to ask the majority of (host locals) about whether they were happy or
> content, you know, even though they're struggling, for the most part they
> do feel like they have a strong sense of self, and what they stand for, and a
> good sense of community and family. And I don't think that the people
> here do. …I think we've got a lot we can learn from a lot of the
> developing – so-called developing nations.

Her observations about North American versus her host country and other places she has

traveled cause her to question what constitutes "development."

Other self-identified transnational participants used specific examples related to their

romantic partners to illustrate negative features of their home countries. Elizabeth, whose

significant other returned to Canada with her, told a story about taking her partner to a

social event. During the evening, she overheard people from the party talking about her

partner. She says:

> A couple of them were making comments like, "Who is this guy?" and, "That guy, who's that guy? He's foreign as fuck," they said. … They're like, "Who brought him here?" And I said, "Um, he's my (partner), actually." (small laugh) And then the guy felt bad and he's like, "Oh, I'm sorry," and whatever. And I don't know, but it just, there was a couple other things and people were kind of like, they were obviously weird about it. And it was just weird. And for them, it was like, I mean, they probably hadn't even met someone from a different culture in their whole life is what I got that impression. And so for me, it was upsetting. … In the end, they just didn't get it.

Later in the interview, Elizabeth described herself as "a little more critical about Canada and Canadians, too." She referred to experiences such as the aforementioned story and also commented on, "just the way [Canadians are] so consumerist and throw money around on a lot of things that, for me, I think is not necessary."

Like Elizabeth, Madeline's view of Canada has been affected by the treatment her significant other received. In Elizabeth's story, this treatment came from individual Canadians. For Madeline, however, her experiences center on her partner's experience obtaining a visa to join her in Canada. She says:

> I was kinda skeptical of government and whatever else before, police state, blah blah. But now it's like, now I really understand the **racism** inherent in, in the system in Canada. Because if you're from France, no problem. You can come over here. No problem. If you're from (Latin America), good freakin' luck unless you have a lot of money. It doesn't matter if you can pay the plane ticket.

The difficulty she encountered with her partner caused her to see problems in Canada that she had not recognized before. She later described Canadians as: "Privileged, without knowing it. Materialistic, without necessarily knowing it either."

During my interview with Evan, he described his new views on Canada as the product of seeing his significant other's reactions to Canadian culture. Her observations

related primarily to interactions between members of the opposite sex that are commonplace in Canada, but would be completely inappropriate in her home country. He tells the following story:

> Well, like, I see things from her point of view. We're savages, and we're all – the sex thing is so omnipresent. Yeah, we went to my brother's place. My nephew was there. He's 20 now. My brother is older. He was there with his girlfriend, which is someone my brother barely knew. He'd met her once before. I'd never met her, and I was there with my (partner). We were going to stay at his place for one night. And his girlfriend just came over. They went upstairs, and she came back down in her pajamas – wearing his pajama t-shirt. And she sat there like she was at home. And later he went to bed, said he was going to bed and he just left. And after that she stayed there, watching TV. She didn't seem at all uncomfortable. And I'm like what the fuck is that? How is that ok? I was just as stunned as my (partner), you know, how can this be? How can it be so…whatever…for everybody, this behavior? So I'm a bit more, uh, prudish I guess in some ways, about some things.

Evan's story illustrates his observations about Canada, as well as perceived changes in himself, and how he fit within Canadian culture. Viewing everyday interactions in Canada through his partner's eyes, he sees the pervasiveness of sexuality in Canadian culture. He describes several other such observations during our interviews in addition to the story above. His averse reaction makes him feel that he has become "more prudish" in a way that means he does not fit as seamlessly into Canadian culture as he once did.

Based on these responses from transnational participants, I conclude that the negative relationship between transnationalism and national identity may exist because volunteers with strong role relationships from their host countries may have more opportunities to engage in role-taking (Stryker 1980) and view their home countries through their significant others' eyes. International sojourners, regardless of the depth of their experiences internationally, lack the ability to experience Canada or the United States as

an outsider experiences them. Those participants who are involved in romantic

relationships with foreigners have a unique perspective based on how their compatriots

interact with their partners, their partners' experiences trying to enter North America, and

how their partners observe North American culture. This unique perspective may lend

itself to decreased national identity through taking the perspective of an outsider.

## GLOBAL CANADA

In the previous section I explored the negative relationship between transnational

similitude and national identity. For cosmopolitanism, however, similitude has a positive

relationship with national identity. I have already explained this relationship on the

individual level when describing the rooted nature of cosmopolitanism in this sample.

This argument incorporates results from Chapter 5, where I argue that cosmopolitanism is

a person-based identity, and thus cosmopolitans can be American or Canadian, they are

simply Canadians/Americans who have unique international experiences and hold global

values. One other emergent theme in the data on national identity, however, is a global

dimension of national identity – particularly for Canadians.

I first noticed the relationship between cosmopolitan values and Canadian national

identity in an interview with Tara, who said: "I'm Canadian. That's why I made the

choices to go abroad, too." Having not considered the connection between national

identity and the decision to travel, I did not follow-up with Tara about this statement.

After this interview, however, this theme continued to emerge. Judy described her home

country this way:

> Canadians worldwide, we're known as being, you know, international
> people, peace-keepers, get along with everybody people, welcome
> everybody into our country. We're – we don't insist when you come to
> Canada that you become Canadian, well, you know, being citizens. But we

want you to bring your culture with you, and we want you to retain that culture and share it with everybody. We're known for that. So I think my international traveling, which I started at a very young age, has reinforced that. I don't think it's changed it.

Judy doesn't specify that being Canadian caused her to travel internationally, but she does note that her global worldview was fostered in Canada before she started to go abroad.

In fact, almost half of the Canadian interview participants discuss similar features about their home country. They describe Canada as "such a diverse culture" (Melissa), and Canadians as "quite multi-cultural in their perspective" (Mindy). Thelma says, "Canada's a multi-cultural society, so, I think that, in terms of race, creed, color, things like that." Ava says that "there aren't many places in Canada where it would be just one culture in a community," and Cole says that Canada is "becoming more diverse every year." Rory expands on this idea, noting that the diversity in his home city makes it a global place:

> Canada's a bit of a unique place, though too, right? Like it's very global, it's a global place in the cities. You know, like (home city) is a **crazy** diverse town. And the US is like that too, right? So you have all kinds of, like Canada, US, you know, parts of Western Europe, they're all pretty global.

Participants perceive this diversity as making Canada an "inclusive society [that is] more open to, to new people and new ideas" (Cole). Thus, Canadians are "pretty, um, internationally minded" (Ava). Molly describes Canadians this way: "A typical Canadian doesn't have an axe to grind, doesn't have a lot of pre-determined ideas about what people should be doing." According to Thelma, this open-mindedness makes Canada an ideal place for immigrants:

> I think it's amazing that we have this multicultural society where people,
> more or less, try and get along, and try not to offend people, and try to – to
> really be an open society where immigrants can achieve the same things
> that Canadians can. I think that's amazing. I'm happy to be part of that.
> And, yeah, I love Canada.

Thelma's remarks echo Judy's earlier sentiments that Canada welcomes the diversity brought in by foreigners.

It seems that Canadian participants perceive their home country as a place that is built upon, and enriched by, the diverse backgrounds and perspectives of the people who live there. In fact, their descriptions of the diversity of Canada, and the inclusiveness and open-mindedness of Canadians are similar to how cosmopolitan participants described themselves in Chapter 5. These results indicate that cosmopolitanism may be a new dimension of Canadian national identity, so that identifying as Canadian entails a certain level of cosmopolitan values.

Such a shift in the meaning of Canadian national identity as it is perceived by individual Canadians may also be an indication of a shift in the meaning of Canadian national identity on the macro-level. Just as Lechner (2008) describes a shift in the Netherlands where one form of Dutch national identity has become more cosmopolitan, it may be the case that such "cosmopolitan nationalism" is taking root in Canada as well. Such a shift could indicate that other Canadians may hold similar values to the cosmopolitans in this study, and consider them an element of what it means to be Canadian rather than values that make them global people on a personal level. Indeed, values operate on the level of individuals as well as societies, and just as individual values can shift, so can the values associated with national identity (Hitlin and Piliavin

2004). Additional research is necessary on the meanings of Canadian identity and cosmopolitan identities to parse out this relationship, however.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I draw on my findings about the nature of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and explore how these constructs affect national identity. As discussed in the preceding chapters, there are some limitations due to the assumptions inherent in the quantitative measures. In addition to measuring similitude in a way that assumes transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are group-based, I also lack measures that tap into the role and person-based nature of these constructs. I would be able to draw better conclusions on the relationship between transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity from the quantitative analyses if I could include measures on the types of relationships volunteers formed in their host country and their host language skills. The study would also be improved by measures of cosmopolitan values. Nevertheless, I compensate for these limitations with rich qualitative data that explain how role relationships and personal values affect national identity, tapping into the bases for transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. And these data allow for providing suggestions in the conclusions about how to improve these measures.

There are four key findings from this chapter. First, having international experiences does not necessarily result in individuals seeing themselves as transnational or cosmopolitan. Participants who see themselves as "just" North American also developed relationships with friends and coworkers abroad, and may hold some of the same values as those who see themselves as global citizens, but they do not identify this way. Identifying as transnational or cosmopolitan, however, does have effects on national

identity – as evidenced in both the quantitative and qualitative data. Recall Hunt's (2003) argument that identifying as a Southerner should indicate something beyond mere residence in the south. Similarly, my findings show that seeing oneself as transnational or cosmopolitan has effects beyond the impact of international travel and the formation of transnational role relationships.

Second, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are rooted phenomena (Fouron and Glick-Schiller 2002; Tsuda 2003), in that individuals who see themselves in a supranational light do not do so to the exclusion of their national identities. As the participants have said, everyone must come from a country. Thus, even those individuals who hold negative attitudes towards their home country or have preferences for other countries still identify as Canadian or American.

Third, the possible negative effects of transnationalism on national identity may be due to the opportunity for role-taking with one's romantic partner. While international sojourners may have extensive experiences internationally, and those experiences may help them see their home countries in a different light, they are not as easily able to experience their home countries as foreigners relative to those with partners from their host countries. Participants who have romantic partners, and particularly those who try (and sometimes succeed) to bring their partners to North America, have a unique opportunity to witness some aspect of the foreign experience in North America. Watching their partners experience racism individually and institutionally (e.g., through personal comments and immigration services), and helping their partners process North American culture (e.g., materialism, sexuality) gives them a different perspective on North America that, in this case, may weaken their attachment to their home countries.

Finally, cosmopolitanism, which I have argued is a person-based identity (see Chapter 5), may also represent a shift in the meanings of national identity on the macro level. While individuals may see themselves as cosmopolitan based on their constellation of personal experiences abroad, as well as the values they have developed through these experiences, there may be similar shifts taking place on the collective level. The descriptions that Canadian volunteers provide of Canada and Canadians are reminiscent of the same values that cosmopolitan volunteers use to describe themselves. Thus, it may be the case that what it means to be Canadian is increasingly associated with being cosmopolitan. That is, cosmopolitanism may be an emerging dimension of Canadian national identity. It is likely the case that this is true with some other countries and national identities as well, such as the Dutch (Lechner 2008), but may not be true for all countries, given the absence of such themes among American participants.

**CHAPTER SEVEN**

**Conclusion:**

**Three Bases of Identity in Global Context**

*"We're people first, and then we have all this other stuff added on." – Mindy*

This research uses globalization as the backdrop to explore individual identity processes, examining how global change filters down to individual lived experiences. Using a mixed methods design, I employed quantitative data to find trends in the individual and sojourning characteristics that give rise to transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and to examine the effects of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on national identity. The qualitative data provided in-depth information on what these concepts mean and how individuals apply them to themselves.

In this final chapter, I begin with a summary of the key findings from the dissertation. Then, I address some key limitations of the study and their implications for the measurement of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. I conclude with theoretical implications for scholarship in both global and transnational sociology and in social psychology.

**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

The first key finding from this project is that transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity all operate from different bases of identity. I began this research assuming that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism would operate on the group-level,

based on the fact that national identity is a group identity. Transnationalism represents identification with two nations or a merging of two groups on the conceptual level, and therefore I assumed it could be perceived as a group identity. I also assumed cosmopolitanism would operate at the group level because the concept suggests the development of a global community to which a person can belong. I did consider, however, another possibility, that they could be role-based and emerge through the development of role identities and social networks the host country (in the case of transnationalism) or in a variety of countries (in the case of cosmopolitanism). I did not consider the possibility that transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity would each operate from a different base. This is what the findings indicate, however.

By living overseas, international sojourners have the opportunity to establish role relationships that have a transnational dimension, contributing to their sense of self as connected to or involved with two nations at once. These volunteers developed relationships with locals in their host countries both romantically and at work, and in so doing established role identities with counter-roles outside of their home countries. So while transnationalism is not an identity in and of itself, it is a dimension of the role identities sojourners develop while they are living abroad. That is, individuals do not describe themselves as transnational people, but rather they describe themselves as people with transnational connections. And, to the extent that they maintain these roles once they return home, they continue to see themselves as transnational based on these role relationships.

Cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, does manifest as an identity – a person-based identity. For many participants, this sojourning experience is not the first time they have

lived or traveled abroad, but another experience in their personal history of international travel. These volunteers see their combination of experiences as something that sets them apart from others and makes them unique. These experiences also contribute to the development of certain cosmopolitan values that operate across contexts and in concert with their other role and group identities. The self-described cosmopolitans in this study value respect and appreciation for diversity, and awareness of the interconnectedness of people across the globe. These are ideals that they continue to strive for, and they constitute their person identities as cosmopolitans (Hitlin 2003).

Thus, the concepts in this dissertation cover each of the bases of identity – person (cosmopolitanism), role (transnationalism), and group (national identity). Interestingly, as the reference points grow increasingly larger, participants describe themselves in increasingly personal ways. On the national level, participants are able to understand themselves as belonging to a community that includes individuals they have never met (Anderson 1983). As the context expands to include another nation, participants do not have a sense of community membership, but instead focus in on specific relationships with individuals they know personally. When the context includes the global community overall, individuals situate themselves on a completely personal level – not identifying themselves in reference to a community or role relationships, but as unique individuals. This speaks to the emphasis on the nation as the foundation of group-identity even in a globalizing world (Calhoun 2002; Elias 1991).

Another key finding from this research is that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are not competitors with national identity on the individual level– they are other identities and dimensions added to the matrix of identities international sojourners have. Because

transnationalism and cosmopolitanism operate from different bases of identity, they are not competing groups with national identity. In fact, participants who see themselves as supranational in some way do not identify themselves any less with their home countries – they perceive their national identities as indisputable. This, too, speaks to the importance of national identity in a globalizing world.

Instead, these participants report three ways that their experiences abroad alter the meanings of their national identities – both positively and negatively. First, those international volunteers who identify themselves as "just" Canadian or American express an increasingly positive view of their home nation with heightened awareness of the benefits their citizenship offers them compared to other countries as a result of their travels.

Second, participants in transnational romantic relationships are more aware of some of the negative aspects of their home country, its culture, and their compatriots. These participants have the opportunity to role-take (Stryker 1980) and see their home country from the perspective of their foreign partners, including their interactions with the government and their social networks – a perspective they would not otherwise have. So while they may not dis-identify from their home country, they are more critical of it.

Finally, some participants in the study note that the cosmopolitan values they espouse – particularly respect for diversity – are also part of the Canadian culture. It may be that Canada has already gone through a similar shift to the one described by Lechner (2008), with the national identity of Canadians writ large encompassing more cosmopolitan virtues and creating a Canadian "cosmopolitan nationalism." Or, put differently, Canadians may find it easier to reflexively distance themselves from their own culture

and respect other cultures (Turner 2002). While this theme only emerged for the Canadian participants, it suggests the possibility that cosmopolitan virtues may become an additional meaning for national identity in some countries. That is, being a Canadian means a tolerance for diversity and being aware of the interconnectedness between Canada and other nations around the world in the global economy. Such a shift in the meanings of national identity could result in the development of cosmopolitan virtue even among individuals who have not had personal experiences abroad.

## LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There are limitations to this study in terms of both the sample and the quantitative measures that warrant consideration when interpreting my findings. The sample is limited in two ways. First, my sample consists of international development volunteers from a single organization. As such, these findings may not be generalizable to other kinds of international sojourners or international development volunteers from different agencies. Future research should explore these topics using samples such as study abroad students, missionaries, members of the military, or workers in multinational corporations. Such studies could help determine how the findings here differ based on the purpose of an individual's travel, and the kinds of countries where they sojourn (e.g., developed versus developing).

Additionally, as noted in Chapter 3, the quantitative sample includes a disproportionate number of males and Americans, relative to the typical composition of CUSO volunteers. The qualitative sample, on the other hand, is predominantly female and Canadian, providing a more accurate representation of CUSO volunteers. This means that the qualitative findings, while more generalizable to the population of interest, may

not be the most appropriate sample to explain patterns in the quantitative data. Future research with CUSO volunteers should work with CUSO staff to recruit a sample that is more representative of their volunteers overall.

A second limitation, which I have noted throughout the dissertation, is the incorrect assumption underlying several of the quantitative measures. I constructed the survey instruments using the measures that are currently available in the literature (Sussman 2002; Unger 2002). These measures, particularly measures of similitude, assess transnationalism and cosmopolitanism on the assumption that they are group-level concepts. As the qualitative findings show, however, in this population transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are primarily role- and person-based identities. This limitation is particularly important to consider when interpreting the quantitative results in Chapter 6, given that I cannot accurately assess the relationship between transnational, cosmopolitan, and national identities without using measures that tap into the appropriate identity meanings for transnationalism and cosmopolitanism.

As I will describe in the next section, this limitation highlights the importance of measuring transnationalism and cosmopolitanism through roles, experiences, and values in future research. There are certainly group-identity elements of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism that should not be ignored, however. Among this particular group of international sojourners, transnationalism manifests primarily through roles that help volunteers connect to specific individuals in their host countries. Nevertheless, these relationships do expose them to the community and give them a place within it, so it may be the case that other globally-mobile individuals could identify with transnationalism on the group-level.

Similarly, while the cosmopolitans in this study internalize this identity and use it to describe them as unique individuals, one could conceive of a situation where cosmopolitanism might manifest on the group level, such as international volunteers contrasting themselves to others with no international experience or awareness. In fact, participants in this study use social comparisons, which are typically a group-identity process, to define themselves as uniquely global people. This indicates the potential for cosmopolitanism to exist on the group-level. In other words, these identity meanings are malleable, and researchers should not discount the possibility that they could manifest as group identities among other sojourners or in specific contexts (Thoits and Virshup 1997). Thus, I recommend that future research continue to use group-based measures for these concepts, as well as incorporating the appropriate measures suggested by my findings.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF TRANSNATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM

The qualitative findings in this study on the bases of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism have direct implications for the measurement of these constructs. As stated previously, I began with the assumption that these concepts would operate at the group level, and this is reflected in the measures for host, transnational, and cosmopolitan similitude. Having determined that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are actually dimensions of role identities and person identities, respectively, this highlights limitations in the quantitative measures in the study. Based on these findings, however, I am able to provide suggestions for more appropriate way to measure these concepts in future research.

My study is limited in measures that address the role-base of transnationalism. While I do have a measure of participants' romantic relationship status, this measure does not account for where their partners are from. Furthermore, my measure of host communication does address a role-related behavior, but does not measure who participants are contacting or the nature of this communication – only frequency. The measures of transnational and host similitude are also problematic because they operate on the assumption that these are alternative communities to participants' home countries, and this is not an accurate representation of how they perceive transnationalism.

To more accurately measure transnationalism, research should include measures of the depth and breadth of social networks in sojourners' host countries. Participants in this study primarily developed romantic or work relationships, and the interview data suggest that the roles participants occupy give them differential access to their host culture and the personal lives of the individuals in their counter-roles. From an IT perspective, this indicates that romantic roles are associated with greater commitment in terms of both extensiveness and intensiveness. That is, romantic roles result in a greater number of additional relationships one has due to this role, and these relations are deeper (Burke and Reitzes 1991; Stryker 1980). While my participants focused on these two roles, friendships are also important role relationships to consider for the development of transnationalism. Indeed, friendship roles may occupy a middle ground, indicating more commitment than work roles, but perhaps not as much as romantic roles.

Research by Dahinden (2009) lays the groundwork for studying transnationalism through roles and social networks. This study asks residents of a particular town in Switzerland to identify individuals who are important to them and state which of these

individuals live within or outside of Switzerland. Based on my research, I suggest that

scholars could use a similar approach, but expand it to specify the countries of residence

of these individuals. I would also suggest that in addition to measures that capture the

breadth, or extensiveness, of international role relationships, researchers develop

measures to capture the depth, or intensiveness, of these roles. Such measures could

address the amount of time individuals spend with these social networks, as well as the

type of role they represent – romantic, familial, friendship, or occupational.

My results also indicate that language skills are an important antecedent to

developing transnational roles. Scholars in linguistics have considered the role of

language socialization in the assimilation and national identity formation among

immigrant populations (Friedman 2010). Similar ideas can be applied in determining how

international sojourners integrate and develop social networks in their host countries –

expanding the scope of language socialization research to include populations other than

immigrants. Future research should include measures of language skills to predict the

development of transnational roles. Such measures should include both the participants'

proficiency in the host language, and when they learned the language, to more effectively

predict which individuals will develop transnational roles.

With regard to cosmopolitanism, my measure of cosmopolitan similitude only

addresses the cosmopolitan community as an alternative to national, host, and

transnational communities. Knowing that cosmopolitanism manifests on the person level,

future research should include more measures of individual travel experiences and

cosmopolitan values. My data include a single measure of previous experience (i.e.,

living abroad for more than six months previously), but a more appropriate measure

would gather detailed information about the number of international experiences they have had, as well as their location and duration. Such measures would capture more variation in the degree of experiences participants have had.

Furthermore, future research must address cosmopolitan values. Measures such as the Schwartz Value Model (Schwartz 1992; Hitlin 2003) could serve as a starting point for measure cosmopolitan values. The universalism dimension of this model includes items assessing equality, creativity, the world at peace, a world of beauty, social justice, broad-mindedness, and protecting the environment. These items align nicely with some of the qualitative themes that emerged in this research. Future researchers could combine such measures with items from the World Values Survey that measures ethical values such as trust and tolerance, and political values about peace-keeping and the environment (Pichler 2012). Such research could also measure values with the goal of differentiating cosmopolitan values from other related constructs such as environmentalism.

I identified these issues for measuring cosmopolitanism and transnationalism using data from a specific type of international sojourner from a single sending agency. I chose international development volunteers for this exploratory research specifically because I expected this to be a group that would have a high level of activity in the areas of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. International development volunteers, however, may differ from other kinds of international sojourners in several key ways. In contrast to many other kinds of sojourners, CUSO volunteers are placed individually and may be living in communities with few other expats. This stands in contrast to other sojourning opportunities such as military service or study abroad experiences where people travel in large groups and have plentiful opportunities to interact with other expatriates rather than

locals. International development volunteers also self-select into this experience, expressing an interest and desire to live in foreign countries, which may not be the case for employees of multinational corporations who are placed at overseas bases, missionaries who are commissioned by their churches, or members of the military.

These factors represent an increased willingness on the part of my participants to get involved in their host locations, meaning that these results may not be generalizable to other travelers who do not have the same level of intent or interest. Future research should explore the relationships I have identified here and the types of measures I recommend using data from other sojourning populations.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

This research is novel because it bridges macro- and micro- concepts and research interests in a unique way. Using concepts from global and transnational sociology – namely transnationalism and cosmopolitanism – I examine how individuals perceive themselves in relation to their host countries, home countries, and the global community. And, in so doing, my research has implications for scholars in global and transnational sociology and social psychology alike.

### *Global and Transnational Sociology*

For global and transnational scholars, my research has clear implications for the measurement of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism among individuals, as well as the scope of individuals who should be considered in this area. As stated previously, my results indicate that transnationalism should be measured through role relationships, which stands in contrast to other studies that have operationalized transnationalism through dual citizenship (e.g., Bloemraad 2004). Similarly, cosmopolitanism should be

measured through personal experiences and values. While there are studies that measure cosmopolitan values (e.g., Pichler 2012), my results indicate that these values are also representative of a type of identity. Relating value measures to the concept of personal identity may open up new avenues of research on cosmopolitanism. Improving the assessment of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism by incorporating measures of role relationships and cosmopolitan values is important because researchers in this area have shown an interest in determining the pervasiveness of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism (e.g., Dahinden 2009; Pichler 2012). By drawing on populations other than immigrants and using measures that tap into how individuals see themselves in terms of supranationality, scholars can develop a more accurate sense of how far-reaching transnationalism and cosmopolitanism actually are.

The extant literature studies transnationalism almost exclusively through immigrant populations (Colic-Peisker 2010), and my research provides new ways to study immigrant groups as well as reasons to expand the scope to include other populations. There are certainly differences between my population and immigrant groups. For instance, first generation immigrant groups will likely have more social networks in their home countries than they do in their destination countries, at least initially. Scholars could compare immigrant groups to other globally-mobile individuals in terms of language skills, role accumulation and social networks, the extent to which they perceive themselves as transnational, and the frequency and types of transnational activities in which they engage.

Cosmopolitanism is primarily a theoretical concept in the literature, with few studies that explore this concept empirically. My research shows that international travel is a key

means of developing cosmopolitan virtue. This finding must be considered critically, however, given that I selected my population specifically based on their international travel experience and the likelihood that they would be interested in embedding in their host cultures. Future research should consider other possible antecedents to cosmopolitan person identities and values other than international travel.

Based on research in social psychological identity processes, I can also use my findings to make predictions about how individuals will enact transnationalism. Identity theorists hold that our identities help us answer two important questions: "Who am I?" and "What should I do?" (Owens et al. 2010). Research on role identities indicates that individuals will seek verification of their role identities when they interact with their counter-roles (Burke 1991). This means that individuals in transnational romantic relationships will seek to verification of these identities from their partners. Achieving such verification may entail certain transnational activities such as speaking the host language, preparing host foods in the household, and maintaining knowledge of host events broadly and within their partners' social networks. The desire to be verified as a romantic partner will push these individuals to maintain their connections to the host country and culture. Similarly, individuals who maintain work roles across cultures will have to stay abreast of local events to properly enact their work roles, and this may include broad knowledge of political and cultural activities, as well as the activities of their co-workers. By determining what their role identities mean to people in transnational relationships, we can predict how they will enact these identities behaviorally. This may help in predicting the kinds of communication they will engage in, financial and social remittances (Levitt 2001), and the like.

With regard to cosmopolitanism, however, I cannot make predictions for direct, measurable behaviors. Individuals achieve verification of role identities specifically through interact with their counter-roles; to cut off communication means to disconfirm that identity. Cosmopolitanism as a person-based identity, however, lacks a direct counter-role to offer verification. In fact, identity theorists purport that the values associated with person-identities exist across situations, and may be oriented with more general patterns of action (Hitlin 2003) but may not manifest through specific host-country behaviors. The values associated with cosmopolitan person identities may manifest in any number of ways. For example, two cosmopolitans who both value awareness of global interconnectivity may have different general patterns of action related to this value. One may focus his energy on environmental conservation, concerned with global weather patterns related to waste and carbon emissions. Another may channel her awareness of global interconnectivity through political actions, with concern for electing officials who will promote good foreign relations. Both of these individuals may be engaged in general patterns of action that they associate with cosmopolitan values, but they are not as easily predicted or measured as role-related behaviors that are verified in interpersonal interactions.

### Social Psychological Identity Research

For social psychologists interested in identity, be it from the perspective of identity theory (Burke and Stets 2009) or social identity theory (Hogg and Abrams 1998; Hogg 2006), this study offers a unique perspective owing to the layers of identity involved. In fact, my research responds to a number of recently issued calls for future research (Burke and Stets 2009; Hunt 2003; Owens et al. 2010). My results indicate that transnationalism,

cosmopolitanism, and national identity encompass each of the three bases of identity –

role-based, person-based, and group-based. Notably, little research actually explores

person identities and how they are negotiated. Furthermore, many of the participants in

my study identify with at least two, if not three, of these concepts, which are all activated

simultaneously by international travel. Thus, this study considers multiple identities from

more than one base as they occur in global contexts.

*Person Identities.* Most scholarship that references person identities begins by noting

the limited research on these identities (Burke and Stets 2009; Hitlin 2003; Owens et al.

2010). My research provides empirical evidence of a person-based identity and how it

operates, and underscores the argument that person-based identities consist of

constellations of personal experience – in this case, international travel experiences.

Hitlin (2003) also argues that person identities are fundamentally tied to values and the

importance of authenticity. My research is in keeping with this argument, given the

importance my participants place on their worldviews and values. Thus, my findings

suggest that person identities are related to both individual experiences and values, and in

fact that individual experiences may serve as the antecedents of these values.

Hitlin (2003) asserts the relationship between values and person identities, which he

supports based on statistical relationships between the volunteer identity and certain

values. The qualitative data in my study lends credibility to this relationship, given that

my participants described themselves as global people – both when asked specifically

about global citizenship and independently throughout the interviews. They also stated

that they are global people because of the values and worldviews that they have across

contexts. Thus, my participants articulate what Hitlin (2003) asserts through statistical

correlation. This relationship exists in their perceptions as well – this is an identity people claim, beyond merely holding the associated values (Hunt 2003). This is, of course, in relation to one particular type of person identity – cosmopolitanism. Further research is necessary to establish the connection between values and other kinds of person identities.

There is a discrepancy in the scholarship on person identities and values with regard to how they are related to social structure. Stets (1995) differentiates person identities from role and group identities by noting that person identities are tied only to the individual, while role and group identities are inextricably tied to the social structure. Hitlin (2003), on the other hand, argues that values are the core of person identities, and states that social structure serves as an antecedent to the development of values (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004). As one example, Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) cite research on how changes at the nation-state level in Turkey bring about changes in youth values within Turkey (Çileli 2000). While my research does not examine changes at the nation-state level and its effects on values, I look at shifts in context when traveling between two nations and find that individuals perceive this shift as causing a change in their values. Thus my results indicate that social structure does have an effect on person identities, even if this connection is not as direct as the relationship between social structure and role or group identities.

*Multiple Identities.* Researchers interested in multiple identities work primarily within a single base. Identity theorists often look at multiple role identities. For example, Stets and Harrod (2004) consider work, academic, and friendship role identities, examining how status characteristics affect an individual's ability to verify multiple identities simultaneously. Thoits (1983; 2003) has also done considerable research on

how the accumulation of multiple role identities affects psychological and emotional well-being. Recently, scholars have called for more research on multiple identities, or identity combinations, as well as research on identities from different bases (Burke and Stets 2009; Hunt 2003).

While IT research generally works within the same base, Stets (1995) has explored the relationship between role- and person-based identities, using survey data to measure gender role identities and personal mastery identities in dating relationships. She argues that role- and person-based identities can affect one another to the extent that they share dimensions of meaning. In Stets' (1995) study, she found that both gender role identities and personal mastery identities shared the dimension of control.

My research extends this line of inquiry to examine person-, role-, and group-based identities simultaneously. Each of the identities in this study has meanings based on the relationship between the (national) self and the (international) other. National identities deal with what makes members of one's home nation distinct from members of other nations. My findings for transnationalism indicate that this dimension of role identities deals with how participants negotiate their roles as romantic partners or coworkers relative to counter-roles from different cultures. Indeed, results in Chapters 4 and 6 highlight issues of cultural difference in managing transnational role identities both abroad and at home. And lastly, cosmopolitan person identities involve amassing international experiences where individuals are exposed to international others, and the development of tolerance, respect, and appreciation for other people and cultures.

My research also expands upon empirical interests among SIT scholars. SIT (Hogg and Abrams 1988) specifies the conditions under which individuals can belong in

multiple groups based on mutual exclusivity. Recently, Hogg (2006) suggested that in the future SIT scholars should consider how multiple identities can become salient within the same context, referring specifically to subgroups and superordinate groups. My research shows that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism do not manifest on the group level. Nevertheless, these concepts do draw on increasingly larger reference points.

*Identities in Context.* My research also considers how group, role, and person identities can be made salient by a single experience simultaneously – namely, a change in context at the international level. IT and SIT scholars differ in their perspectives on the relationship between identity salience and context. Historically, IT theory has focused on the relative stability of identity salience (Stryker 1980). That is, if an individual's identity as a parent is more important in his or her salience hierarchy than his/her career identity, this should be the case regardless of the context he or she is in, and will have a stable effect on behavior.[24] From an SIT perspective, however, the self-concept is more susceptible to influence from the context (Owens et al. 2010). In other words, the context a person is in should influence which identity is more important to the person at that time. For example, when traveling abroad an individual may identify very strongly as an American, but when in the United States will identify him/herself based on the situation – a professor in the classroom, a democrat during a political discussion, etc. This distinction may rest, in part, on IT's emphasis on self-verification (Burke 1991), which

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[24] More recent research in IT delineates the effects of different levels of social structures (proximate, intermediate, and large) on the salience and commitment of different role identities, parsing out a more detailed description of the relationship between the stability of identities and context (Merolla et al. 2012).

lends itself to a focus on stability regardless of context. Based on my findings, however, I believe that this difference in perspective may also be related to the bases of identity normally examined by these research traditions (i.e., IT's emphasis on roles, and SIT's emphasis on groups).

I suspect that the relationship between salience and context may depend upon the base of the identity. Person-based identities, which are tied primarily to individuals, may be stable across context because they do not depend upon structure or context to the same extent as role and group identities (Stets 1995). Role- and group-based identities are tied to the social structure, however. Therefore it is reasonable to expect that one's context, and the presence of members of different groups or role occupants, would affect which group membership or role identity will be salient at a given time. By studying each of these identities simultaneously, my research begins to answer Stets' (1995) call for empirical research that examines the stability or malleability of identities depending upon their connection to social structure and context.

A final contribution of this research related to context is my focus on a naturally-occurring situation. Owens et al. (2010) note that much of the social psychological research on identities uses survey data or experiments that operationalize specific identities from the outset. They argue that studies of naturally occurring situations are necessary to parse out the links between identities, social structure, and behavior, and call for more research on how people move between situations (e.g., MacKinnon and Heise 2010). While my research does draw upon survey measures that assess certain meanings of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity, the longitudinal nature of the research combined with the in-depth survey data allow me to examine a naturally

occurring situation in great depth. These data provide the opportunity to examine how international experience and a shift in context as individuals return home affect three types of identities. The personal perspective provided by the interview data also allowed me to recognize emergent findings in terms of how this experience stimulates the development of role identities, the formation and management of person identities, and how these affect national identity. In other words, the design of this study provides information on identity processes beyond those available through typical survey or experimental studies.

Social psychological research on identities is certainly concerned with context, but usually on a somewhat small scale, such as an individual's ability to achieve identity verification within a particular context or social network. It is not common to couple social psychological identity research with large-scale contexts that span across nations. Here, I have shown that such global contexts can influence the development of new role and person identities, which in turn can change the meaning of national identity. In so doing, my research bridges macro-level social change with micro-level identity processes by showing how globalization and the availability of international travel affect a variety of identity processes within individual travelers.

**TABLES**

**Table 1: Individual Characteristics (N=175)**

|  | % |
|---|---|
| **Age** |  |
| 20s | 39.3 |
| 30s | 43.7 |
| 40s | 6.0 |
| 50s | 6.0 |
| 60 and over | 4.9 |
| **Female (vs. Male)** | 37.3 |
| **Citizenship** |  |
| Canada | 26.6 |
| United States | 63.9 |
| Dual Canada/United States | 4.7 |
| Dual Canada/other | 1.8 |
| Dual United States/other | 3.0 |
| **First Generation Immigrant (vs. not)** | 7.1 |
| **Second Generation Immigrant (vs. not)** | 17.2 |
| **Lived Abroad >6 months previously** | 76.3 |

**Table 2: Sojourn Characteristics (N=175)**

|  | % |
|---|---|
| **Region of Placement** | |
| Africa | 59.9 |
| Asia and Australasia | 25.3 |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 14.8 |
| **Duration Abroad** | |
| 6 months or less | 12.4 |
| 6-9 months | 16.6 |
| 9-12 months | 36.1 |
| 12-18 months | 20.7 |
| 18-24 months | 10.1 |
| 24 months or more | 4.1 |
| **Overall Experience Volunteering** | |
| Extremely negative | 0.0 |
| Very negative | 0.6 |
| Somewhat negative | 6.0 |
| Neither negative nor positive | 10.1 |
| Somewhat positive | 41.1 |
| Very positive | 33.3 |
| Extremely positive | 8.9 |
| **Volunteer Goal\*** | |
| Health | 35.1 |
| Education | 27.0 |
| Participation and Governance | 26.5 |
| Securing Livelihoods | 22.4 |
| Disability | 12.4 |
| HIV and AIDS | 10.8 |

*Many volunteer placements work towards more than one of CUSO's goals, thus participants had the option to select all that apply.

**Table 3: Description of Qualitative Participants**

| Pseudonym | Gender | Age | CA/US | Citizenship/Immigration | Dur-ation (mo.) | Prior Exp-erience | Host Region | Relationship Status | Transnational | | Cosmopolitan | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | **T2** | **T3** | **T2** | **T3** |
| **Angela** | Female | 46 | CA | 1st gen. immigrant. | 18 | yes | Latin America/ Caribbean | met partner abroad | x | √ | √ | √ |
| **Anne** | Female | 32 | CA | 1st gen. immigrant. | 72 | yes | Latin America/ Caribbean | met partner abroad | -- | √ | -- | √ |
| **Ava** | Female | 30 | CA | Dual CA/US | 18 | yes | Latin America/ Caribbean | met partner abroad | √ | -- | √ | -- |
| **Beverly** | Female | 55 | US | native | 12 | no | Asia/Australasia | single | x | x | √ | √ |
| **Calley** | Female | 29 | US | native | 12 | no | Africa | single | √ - x* | x | √ - √* | √ |
| **Cecilia** | Female | 60 | CA | native | 12 | yes | Africa | volunteered with partner | x | x | √ | √ |
| **Cole** | Male | 34 | CA | native | 23 | no | Asia/Australasia | volunteered with partner | x | x | √ | √ |
| **Damon** | Male | 48 | CA | native | 19 | yes | Asia | single | -- | x | -- | x |
| **Darcy** | Female | 32 | CA | native | 11 | no | Latin America/ Caribbean | left partner at home | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| **David** | Male | 52 | US | 1st gen. immigrant. | 12 | no | Africa | left partner at home | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| **Dinah** | Female | 27 | US | 2nd gen. immigrant. | 15 | no | Asia/Australasia | single | x | -- | √ | -- |
| **Eleanor** | Female | 26 | US | native | 30 | no | Africa | left partner at home | - | x | -- | √ |
| **Elizabeth** | Female | 30 | CA | native | 24 | yes | Latin America/ Caribbean | met partner abroad | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| **Evan** | Male | 43 | CA | native | 36 | no | Latin America/ Caribbean | met partner abroad | √ | √ | x | x |
| **Frank** | Male | 55 | US | 1st gen. immigrant. | 11 | yes | Asia/Australasia | volunteered with partner | x | -- | √ | -- |
| **Jessie** | Female | 51 | US | native | 21 | no | Africa | single | -- | x | -- | √ |

**Table 3: Description of Qualitative Participants continued**

| Pseudonym | Gender | Age | CA/ US | Citizenship/ Immigration | Dur-ation (mo.) | Prior Exp-erience | Host Region | Relationship Status | Transnational | | Cosmopolitan | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | T2 | T3 | T2 | T3 |
| **Jim** | Male | 52 | CA | native | 12 | yes | Asia/Australasia | single, in relationship abroad | -- | √ | -- | √ |
| **John** | Male | 60 | CA | native | 12 | yes | Africa | volunteered with partner | x | x | x | x |
| **Judy** | Female | 62 | CA | native | 17 | no | Latin America/ Caribbean | single | x | x | √ | √ |
| **Laura** | Female | 58 | US | 1st gen. immigrant. | 11 | yes | Asia/Australasia | volunteered with partner | √ | -- | √ | -- |
| **Lynn** | Female | 30 | CA | native | 9 | yes | Latin America/ Caribbean | volunteered with partner | -- | ?** | - | √** |
| **Madeline** | Female | 32 | CA | native | 16 | no | Latin America/ Caribbean | met partner abroad | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| **Melissa** | Female | 29 | CA | native | 6 | no | Latin America/ Caribbean | single | x | -- | x | -- |
| **Mindy** | Female | 59 | CA | native | 10 | no | Asia/Australasia | single | x | x | x | x |
| **Molly** | Female | 58 | CA | native | 12 | no | Asia/Australasia | single | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| **Phil** | Male | 30 | US | native | 12 | no | Asia/Australasia | volunteered with partner | x | x | x | x |
| **Rory** | Male | 33 | CA | 1st gen. immigrant. | 9 | yes | Latin America/ Caribbean | volunteered with partner | -- | √ | -- | √ |
| **Sarah** | Female | 36 | US | native | 27 | yes | Asia/Australasia | single | √ | √ | x | √ |
| **Stacey** | Female | 30 | US | native | 12 | no | Asia/Australasia | volunteered with partner | x | x | x | x |
| **Tara** | Female | 27 | CA | native | 27 | yes | Latin America/ Caribbean | met partner abroad | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| **Thelma** | Female | 29 | CA | native | 12 | yes | Latin America/ Caribbean | single | x | x | √ | √ |

**Table 3: Description of Qualitative Participants continued**

| Pseudonym | Gender | Age | CA/ US | Citizenship/ Immigration | Dur- ation (mo.) | Prior Exp- erience | Host Region | Relationship Status | Transnational | | Cosmopolitan | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | T2 | T3 | T2 | T3 |
| **Tracy** | Female | 35 | CA | native | 19 | yes | Africa | single, in relationship abroad | -- | x | -- | √ |
| **Valerie** | Female | 72 | US | native | 24 | yes | Africa | single | x | x | x | x |

-- Participant did not take part in an interview at this time point.

√ Participant described him/herself as transnational.

X Participant did *not* describe him/herself as transnational.

*Participant re-volunteered during the course of the study, and thus completed two Time 2 interviews – one after each sojourn. The Time 3 interview took place after she re-volunteered.

**This interview did not include explicit questions on transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and thus her status with regard to these constructs is unknown.

**Table 4: Correlation Matrix**

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12. | 13. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Female | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Age | .115** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Single | -.098* | -.355*** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Canadian (vs. American) | .176*** | .333*** | -.186*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Dual citizen | .001 | -.054 | -.039 | -.069 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. 1st Gen Immigrant | .066 | .065 | -.035 | .132** | .068 | | | | | | | | |
| 7. 2nd Gen Immigrant | .027 | -.016 | .192*** | -.078 | .067 | -.126** | | | | | | | |
| 8. Prior Experience | -.046 | -.226*** | .363*** | -.298*** | -.248*** | -.117** | .069 | | | | | | |
| 9. Extend Contract | .004 | .022 | -.085 | .002 | -.029 | .026 | .055 | -.074 | | | | | |
| 10. Duration | .070 | .345*** | -.213*** | .075 | .049 | -.044 | .118** | -.188*** | .400*** | | | | |
| 11. Overall Experience | .039 | .020 | -.137** | .103* | -.008 | -.048 | .142** | -.061 | .151*** | .275*** | | | |
| 12. Africa | -.019 | -.012 | .153** | -.083 | -.020 | -.026 | -.006 | .088 | .104* | .049 | -.114** | | |
| 13. Asia | -.079 | -.041 | -.059 | -.150*** | .045 | -.157*** | -.012 | .012 | -.115** | -.023 | -.013 | -.702*** | |
| 14. Lat. Am. | .136** | .024 | -.144** | .269*** | -.022 | .233*** | .032 | -.104* | .0076 | -.066 | .178*** | -.503*** | -.243*** |
| 15. Trans ID Change | -.009 | -.219 | .079 | -.173*** | -.079 | .006 | .051 | .159*** | .041 | .054 | .052 | -.003 | -.077 |
| 16. Host Similitude | -.139** | -.236*** | .069 | -.228*** | .169*** | -.136** | -.112* | -.083 | -.182*** | -.285*** | -.240*** | -.046 | .299*** |
| 17. Trans Similitude | -.035 | -.011 | -.081 | -.023 | .180*** | -.08 | -.201*** | -.198*** | -.156** | -.096* | -.076 | -.054 | .228*** |
| 18. Host Comm. | -.031 | -.126 | .105 | -.401*** | .112 | -.093 | .029 | .142 | -.176 | -.175 | -.225* | .146 | -.122 |
| 19. Cosmo ID Change | .101* | .036 | -.010 | -.001 | -.003 | .008 | .009 | -.073 | .053 | .146** | .079 | -.101* | .074 |
| 20. Cosmo Similitude | .286*** | .372*** | -.207*** | .379*** | -.020 | .091 | .025 | -.312*** | .048 | .242*** | .172*** | -.160*** | -.029 |
| 21. Nat. ID Strength | .175*** | .396*** | -.169*** | .385*** | -.092 | .113* | .101* | -.013 | .042 | .223*** | .242*** | -.055 | -.199*** |

**Table 4: Correlation Matrix Continued**

| | 14. | 15. | 16. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 21. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. Lat. Am. | | | | | | | | |
| 15. Trans ID Change | .101* | | | | | | | |
| 16. Host Similitude | -.303*** | -.246*** | | | | | | |
| 17. Trans Similitude | -.213*** | -.162*** | .453*** | | | | | |
| 18. Host Comm. | -.049 | -.052 | .309*** | .165 | | | | |
| 19. Cosmo ID Change | .063 | .184*** | -.138** | .041 | -.066 | | | |
| 20. Cosmo Similitude | .264*** | -.135** | -.298*** | -.156*** | -.361*** | .275*** | | |
| 21. Nat. ID Strength | .317*** | .110* | -.683*** | -.347*** | -.389*** | .144** | .430*** | |

**Table 5: Growth Curve Model of the Effects of Individual and Sojourn Characteristics on (squared) Transnational Identity Change**

|  | Model 1: | Model 2: |
|---|---|---|
| **Intercept** | 14.120*** | 10.501** |
| **Time** | -3.196*** | -3.129*** |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | |
| Female (vs. male) | .143 | .739 |
| Birth Year | .211** | .276*** |
| Single (vs. partnered) | -.958 | -.282 |
| Canadian (vs. American) | -2.309 | -2.806+ |
| Dual citizen (vs. not) | -4.271* | -3.999* |
| 1st generation immigrant (vs. not) | 1.019 | -1.866 |
| 2nd generation immigrant (vs. not) | 1.324 | .234 |
| Prior Experience (vs. none) | 2.583 | 3.287* |
| **Sojourn Characteristics** | | |
| Extend Contract (vs. not) | | -.752 |
| Duration <9 months | | -5.697*** |
| Duration >1 year | | -.751 |
| Negative Experience | | 4.171 |
| Somewhat Positive Experience | | 2.671 |
| Very Positive Experience | | 1.951 |
| Placement in Asia (vs. Africa) | | -1.999 |
| Placement in Latin America (vs. Africa) | | 4.128* |
| **Variance Components** | | |
| Level-1 variance | 8.389*** | 8.580*** |
| Intercept | 5.463*** | 4.801 |
| Intraclass Correlation | .298 | .238 |
| **N person-years** | 414 | 404 |
| **N persons** | 165 | 159 |
| **Log Restricted-Likelihood** | -1521 | -1458 |

+ p ≤.1    * p ≤.05    **p≤.01    ***p≤.001

**Table 6: Sensitivity Testing of Growth Curve Models of the Effects of Individual and Sojourn Characteristics on (squared) Transnational Identity Change**

|  | Model 1: Omit Dual Citizens | Model 2: Omit 1st Gen Immigrants | Model 3: Omit 2nd Gen Immigrants | Model 4: Omit Dual Citizens and Immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Intercept** | 10.735*** | 10.434** | 10.496** | 11.378** |
| **Time** | -3.029*** | -3.340*** | -3.466*** | -3.691*** |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | | | |
| Female (vs. male) | .353 | .716 | .956 | .865 |
| Birth Year | .295*** | .272*** | .269*** | .272** |
| Single (vs. partnered) | -2.409 | -.074 | .163 | .467 |
| Canadian (vs. American) | -.316 | -1.916 | -2.795+ | -1.391 |
| Dual citizen (vs. not) | -- | -3.236 | -3.309 | -- |
| 1st gen. immigrant (vs. not) | -.316 | -- | -2.027 | -- |
| 2nd gen. immigrant (vs. not) | .985 | .282 | -- | -- |
| Prior Experience (vs. none) | 2.976+ | 3.403* | 3.190+ | 3.024 |
| **Sojourn Characteristics** | | | | |
| Extend Contract (vs. not) | -1.073 | -1.434 | -1.532 | -2.724 |
| Duration <9 months | -6.509*** | -5.753*** | -5.815*** | -6.935*** |
| Duration >1 year | -.557 | -.544 | -.370 | -.163 |
| Negative Experience | 3.364 | 4.594 | 4.171 | 5.648 |
| Somewhat Pos. Experience | 2.045 | 3.022 | 2.671 | 1.976 |
| Very Positive Experience | .827 | 1.831 | 1.951 | 1.374 |
| Asia (vs. Africa) | -1.935 | -2.059 | -1.999 | -1.243 |
| Latin America (vs. Africa) | 3.857* | 3.673+ | 4.128* | 3.971 |
| **Variance Components** | | | | |
| Level-1 variance | 8.435*** | 8.649*** | 8.649*** | 8.591*** |
| Intercept | 5.244*** | 4.744*** | 4.835*** | 5.171*** |
| Intraclass Correlation | .279 | .231 | .238 | .266 |
| **N person-years** | 363 | 381 | 331 | 281 |
| **N persons** | 143 | 149 | 131 | 111 |
| **Log Restricted-Likelihood** | -1309 | -1378 | -1192 | -1013 |

+ p ≤.1          * p ≤.05          **p≤.01          ***p≤.001

**Table 7: Growth Curve Model of the Effects of Individual and Sojourn Characteristics on (squared) Cosmopolitan Identity Change**

|  | Model 1: | Model 2: |
|---|---|---|
| **Intercept** | 32.223*** | 28.871*** |
| **Time** | -2.246*** | -2.013*** |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | |
| Female (vs. male) | 2.517* | 2.401* |
| Birth Year | -.064 | -.015 |
| Single (vs. partnered) | 1.169 | 2.040 |
| Canadian (vs. American) | -.668 | -.598 |
| Dual citizen (vs. not) | -.750 | -.559 |
| 1st generation immigrant (vs. not) | -.179 | -1.044 |
| 2nd generation immigrant (vs. not) | -.042 | -.388 |
| Prior Experience (vs. none) | -2.877* | -2.527+ |
| **Sojourn Characteristics** | | |
| Extend Contract (vs. not) | | -.814 |
| Duration <9 months | | -.638 |
| Duration >1 year | | 3.181* |
| Negative Experience | | -.145 |
| Somewhat Positive Experience | | -1.413 |
| Very Positive Experience | | -1.1539 |
| Placement in Asia (vs. Africa) | | 1.602 |
| Placement in Latin America (vs. Africa) | | 2.619 |
| **Variance Components** | | |
| Level-1 variance | 8.061*** | 7.912 |
| Intercept | 4.542*** | 4.652 |
| Intraclass Correlation | .241 | .257 |
| **N person-years** | 413 | 403 |
| **N persons** | 165 | 159 |
| **Log Restricted-Likelihood** | -1482 | -1427 |

+ p ≤.1          * p ≤.05          **p≤.01          ***p≤.001

**Table 8: Sensitivity Testing of Growth Curve Models of the Effects of Individual and Sojourn Characteristics on (squared) Cosmopolitan Identity Change**

| | Model 1: Omit Dual Citizens | Model 2: Omit 1st Gen Immigrants | Model 3: Omit 2nd Gen Immigrants | Model 4: Omit Dual Citizens and Immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Intercept** | 28.854*** | 27.991*** | 28.107*** | 26.279*** |
| **Time** | -2.060*** | -2.106*** | -1.782** | -2.110*** |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | | | |
| Female (vs. male) | 3.380** | 2.452* | 2.279+ | 3.558** |
| Birth Year | .009 | .003 | .015 | .073 |
| Single (vs. partnered) | 1.865 | 1.796 | 1.860 | 1.406 |
| Canadian (vs. American) | -1.299 | -.373 | -1.018 | -1.535 |
| Dual citizen (vs. not) | -- | -.549 | | -- |
| 1st gen. immigrant (vs. not) | -1.464 | -- | -2.119 | -- |
| 2nd gen. immigrant (vs. not) | -.808 | -.351 | -- | -- |
| Prior Experience (vs. none) | -2.732+ | -2.350 | -2.306 | -2.213 |
| **Sojourn Characteristics** | | | | |
| Extend Contract (vs. not) | -.386 | -.755 | .562 | 1.245 |
| Duration <9 months | -1.308 | -.345 | -1.225 | -1.296 |
| Duration >1 year | 3.048* | 3.293* | 1.519 | 2.031 |
| Negative Experience | -.456 | -.140 | -1.278 | -2.762 |
| Somewhat Pos. Experience | -2.149 | -1.532 | -1.941 | -3.132 |
| Very Positive Experience | -1.555 | -.972 | -.889 | -.889 |
| Asia (vs. Africa) | 1.220 | 1.687 | 1.528 | 1.239 |
| Latin America (vs. Africa) | 3.203+ | 3.048 | 4.003* | 5.368* |
| **Variance Components** | | | | |
| Level-1 variance | 7.832*** | 7.888*** | 7.897*** | 7.898*** |
| Intercept | 4.709*** | 4.817*** | 4.7590*** | 4.781*** |
| Intraclass Correlation | .266 | .272 | .269 | .268 |
| **N person-years** | 362 | 380 | 330 | 280 |
| **N persons** | 143 | 149 | 131 | 111 |
| **Log Restricted-Likelihood** | -1277 | -1347 | -1165 | -987 |

+ p ≤.1　　* p ≤.05　　**p≤.01　　***p≤.001

**Table 9: Growth Curve Model of the Effects of Transnationalism and Cosmopolitanism on (logged) National Identity Strength**

|  | Model 1: Controls | Model 2: Transnationalism | Model 3: Cosmopolitanism | Model 4: Full Model |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Intercept** | 1.653*** | 1.815*** | 1.626*** | 1.796*** |
| **Time** | .000 | -.013 | .005 | .014 |
| **Individual Characteristics** |  |  |  |  |
| Female (vs. male) | .030 | .004 | .024 | -.004 |
| Birth Year | -.006*** | -.005*** | -.005*** | -.005*** |
| Single (vs. partnered) | .016 | -.013 | .007 | -.050 |
| Canadian (vs. American) | .083** | .040* | .069* | .034+ |
| Dual citizen (vs. not) | -.015 | .050+ | -.013 | .057* |
| 1st gen. immigrant (vs. not) | .052 | .023 | .057 | .030 |
| 2nd gen. immigrant (vs. not) | .024 | .022 | .037 | .026 |
| Prior Experience (vs. none) | .023 | .005 | .042 | .014 |
| **Sojourn Characteristics** |  |  |  |  |
| Extend Contract (vs. not) | -.044 | -.052** | -.039 | -.046** |
| Duration <9 months | -.100*** | -.008 | -.102*** | -.009 |
| Duration >1 year | .023 | .020 | .000 | .007 |
| Negative Experience | -.077 | -.056 | -.078 | -.061 |
| Somewhat Pos. Experience | -.019 | -0.34 | -.016 | -.036 |
| Very Positive Experience | .034 | -.016 | .029 | -.026 |
| Asia (vs. Africa) | -.054* | -.015 | -.074** | -.023 |
| Latin America (vs. Africa) | .108*** | .045+ | .092** | .044+ |
| **Transnationalism** |  |  |  |  |
| Trans. ID change (squared) | -- | .002*** | -- | .002*** |
| Low host similitude (vs. none) | -- | -.200*** | -- | -.207*** |
| High host similitude (vs. none) | -- | -.271*** | -- | -.266*** |
| Low trans. similitude (vs. none) | -- | .023 | -- | .023 |
| High trans. similitude (vs. none) | -- | -.021 | -- | -.013 |
| Host communication | -- | -.037** | -- | -.033* |
| **Cosmopolitanism** |  |  |  |  |
| Cosmo. ID change (squared) | -- | -- | .000 | .000 |
| Cosmo. similitude (vs. none) | -- | -- | .093*** | .086*** |
| **Variance Components** |  |  |  |  |
| Level-1 variance | .113*** | .130*** | .116*** | .130*** |
| Intercept | .107*** | .023 | .097*** | 3.920*** |
| Intraclass Correlation | .470 | .030 | .413 | 9.13 |
| **N person-years** | 404 | 357 | 395 | 356 |
| **N persons** | 159 | 133 | 158 | 133 |
| **Log Restricted-Likelihood** | 176 | 216 | 178 | 220 |

+ p ≤.1      * p ≤.05      **p≤.01      ***p≤.001

**Table 10: Sensitivity Testing of Growth Curve Model of the Effects of Transnationalism and Cosmopolitanism on (logged) National Identity Strength**

| | Model 1: Omit Dual Citizens | Model 2: Omit 1st Gen Immigrants | Model 3: Omit 2nd Gen Immigrants | Model 4: Omit Dual Citizens and Immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Intercept** | 1.775*** | 1.781*** | 1.821*** | 1.797*** |
| **Time** | .021* | .014 | .009 | .016 |
| **Individual Characteristics** | | | | |
| Female (vs. male) | .003 | -.006 | -.013 | -.003 |
| Birth Year | -.005*** | -.005*** | -.005*** | -.005*** |
| Single (vs. partnered) | -.017 | -.017 | -.018 | -.012 |
| Canadian (vs. American) | .026 | .035+ | .029 | .025 |
| Dual citizen (vs. not) | -- | .053+ | .060* | -- |
| 1st gen. immigrant (vs. not) | .019 | -- | .019 | -- |
| 2nd gen. immigrant (vs. not) | .017 | .026 | -- | -- |
| Prior Experience (vs. none) | .015 | .016 | .08 | .003 |
| **Sojourn Characteristics** | | | | |
| Extend Contract (vs. not) | -.054** | -.048** | -.032** | -.042+ |
| Duration <9 months | -.001 | -.008 | .001 | .011 |
| Duration >1 year | .009 | .008 | -.001 | .006 |
| Negative Experience | -.051 | -.071+ | -.075+ | -.070 |
| Somewhat Pos. Experience | -.009 | -.031 | -.045+ | -.016 |
| Very Positive Experience | .012 | -.023 | -.035 | .004 |
| Asia (vs. Africa) | -.030 | -.023 | -.017 | -.023 |
| Latin America (vs. Africa) | .034 | .040 | .063* | .052 |
| **Transnationalism** | | | | |
| Trans. ID change (squared) | .003** | .002** | .003*** | .002*** |
| Low host similitude (vs. none) | -.210*** | -.206*** | -.232*** | -.231*** |
| High host similitude (vs. none) | -.253*** | -.262*** | -.288*** | -.273*** |
| Low trans. similitude (vs. none) | .017 | .021 | .031 | .022 |
| High trans. similitude (vs. none) | -.013 | -.015 | -.004 | -.002 |
| Host communication | -.030* | -.029* | -.033* | -.030+ |
| **Cosmopolitanism** | | | | |
| Cosmo. ID change (squared) | -.001 | -.000 | -.001 | -.001 |
| Cosmo. similitude (vs. none) | .086*** | .088*** | .082** | .081** |
| **Variance Components** | | | | |
| Level-1 variance | .128*** | .132*** | .126*** | .128*** |
| Intercept | 2.250 *** | .003*** | .006*** | 4.920*** |
| Intraclass Correlation | 3.08 | .001 | .002 | 1.480 |
| **N person-years** | 320 | 337 | 292 | 249 |
| **N persons** | 121 | 126 | 110 | 95 |
| **Log Restricted-Likelihood** | 203 | 204 | 185 | 157 |

+ p ≤.1　　* p ≤.05　　**p≤.01　　***p≤.001

**FIGURES**

**Figure 1: Research Design**
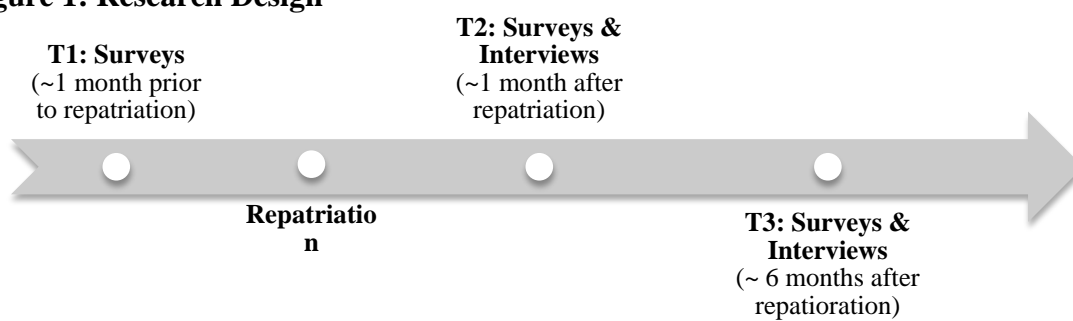


**Figure 2: Change in Dependent Variables Over Time**
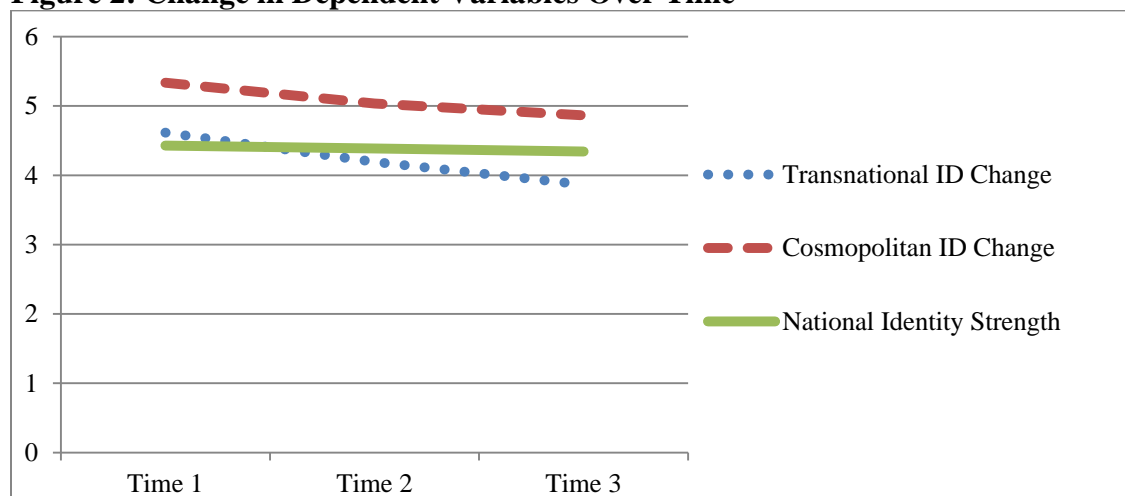
## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Selected Survey Measures

The following survey items include each survey question used in the data analysis presented here. This is not, however, a comprehensive list of each item in the entirety of the survey. Each question is included in all iterations of data collection (Times 1, 2, and 3) unless otherwise noted.

*Gender:*
"What is your gender?"
- Male
- Female
- Other (please specify: _____)

*Age:* "What is your age" _____

*Relationship Status:*
"What is your relationship status?"
- Single
- Married or Partnered
- Divorced or Separated
- Widowed

*Citizen:*
"Where do you have citizenship? (check all that apply)"
- Canada
- European country/countries (please specify: _____)
- United Kingdom
- United States
- Other (please specify: _____)

*Immigration – First or Second Generation Immigrant:*
"Where were you born?"
- Canada
- European country/countries (please specify: _____)
- United Kingdom
- United States
- Other (please specify: _____)

"Where were your parents born?"
- Canada
- European country/countries (please specify: _____)
- United Kingdom
- United States
- Other (please specify: _____)

*Previous Experience:*
"Have you lived abroad for more than 6 months prior to volunteering with CUSO?"
- No
- Yes (please specify where and for how long: _____)

*Volunteer Placement*: "In which country did you volunteer with CUSO?" _____

*Duration:*
"How long did you volunteer in this country?"
- Less than 6 months
- 6-9 months
- 9 months – 1 year
- 1-1.5 year(s)
- 1.5-2 years
- 2 or more years

*Overall Experience:*
"How would you rate your overall experience living and working abroad?"
- Extremely negative
- Very negative
- Somewhat negative
- Neither negative nor positive
- Somewhat positive
- Very positive
- Extremely positive

*Extend:*
"Why did you leave CUSO?"
- Original service contract was complete
- Extended service contract was complete
- Decided to leave service post before contract was complete
- Personal emergency
- Safety concerns
- Other (please specify: _____)

*Identity Change:*
Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:
Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)
- "I feel more like a member of my host culture since my assignment." (*Transnational ID Change*)
- "I feel like a more global person since my assignment." (*Cosmopolitan ID Change*)

*Similitude:*
"Please select the best option to complete the following statements:"
- I am most comfortable being with people from…
- My best friends are from…
- The people I fit in with best are from…
- If I were to be born all over again, I would wish to be born in…
- The cuisine I prefer to eat is from…
- The cuisine I prepare at home is from…
- The way I behave in public most resembles people from…
- The way I behave in private most resembles people from…
- The way I think about things is most like people from…
- My emotional reactions are most similar to people from…

Response categories:
- My home country
- My host country (*Host Similitude)*
- Both (*Transnational Similitude*)
- Neither
- Any of a wide variety of countries (*Cosmopolitan Similitude*)

*Host Communication (Time 2 & 3 surveys only):*
"In the last month, how often have you communicated with the following groups of people?"
- Friends from host country
- Co-workers from host country
- CUSO staff and volunteers in host country
- Members of host country living in or visiting your home country

Response categories:
- Not at all
- Once
- 2-3 times
- Weekly
- 2-3 times per week
- Daily

*National Identity Strength (α=.804):*
"Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:"
Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)

- Being a member of my home country (e.g., Canadian, English) is a very significant part of myself. (.863)
- I feel good when I think about myself as a member of my home country. (.832)
- I feel I have a lot in common with other members of my country. (.657)
- I try to hide the fact that I am a member of my home country. (reverse coded) (.778)
- I am annoyed to say that I am from my country. (reverse coded) (.783)
- I feel strong ties with my country. (.434)
- I tend to criticize my country. (reverse coded) (.310)

## Appendix B: Complete Interview Guides

I sent each participant a request to complete the Twenty Statements Test when I emailed them to confirm our interview date and time. I refer to their responses during the "Identity" portion of the interviews.

The interview guides provided here contain the entire selection of interview questions, including those that do not directly pertain to transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and national identity. I include the complete set of questions because in some cases participants raise issues of supranationality and national identity in response to other questions not explicitly directed at those topics. Thus, during analysis, I consider data from the interviews in their entirety and not only responses to specific questions about my dependent variables.

These interview guides should also be taken as guides, not verbatim scripts for interviews. Given the semi-structured nature of the interviews, it is common for each interview to include a slightly different set of questions or for the questions to occur in different order than the order listed here. Furthermore, the Time 3 interview guides were tailored to each individual participant to allow me to follow-up on specific information provided in the previous interview with that participant. Nevertheless, the following interview guides do provide an accurate depiction of the general flow of interviews and topics addressed.

## TWENTY STATEMENTS TEST

[In larger email to confirm the date and time of the interview.]

Prior to the interviews, I do have one thing I ask people to do to prepare. I'd like for you to write down 20 answers to the question "Who am I" and email them to me. Just write your answers in whatever order they occur to you. Answer as though you were giving the answers to yourself, not someone else. Don't spend much time on this at all - a couple of minutes tops, just the answers that come to mind quickly. If you 20, just write as many answers as you can.

No need to over-think this activity. It is just to give us a reference point for discussion during part of the interview. And don't worry if you don't have time to do this before [interview date] - we can always take a few minutes for it during the interview.

[Emails for Time 3 interviews also include the following note.] You may recall completing this task before our previous interview. Please do not refer back to your previous responses when you are making your list. I would prefer you provide whatever responses occur to you currently.

**TIME 2**

So that I can connect your interview with your survey responses, can you please tell me your birth date, starting with the day then the month? And the first name of your mother/maternal guardian?

*Introduction*

I'd like to start off with some basic questions about the timeline for your volunteering.

1. Where were you living before you volunteered abroad?
   Probes: With who? What were you doing? Single? Children?

2. Where did you volunteer? For how long?

3. Was this your first time living abroad for an extended period?
   a. If so, where else have you lived and for how long?
   b. If not, had you traveled abroad at all before?

4. When did you return to North America?

5. Where are you living now?
   Probes: With who? What are you doing – school/work?

*Volunteer experience*

Let's talk briefly about your experience as a volunteer.

6. How did you decide to volunteer abroad?
   Probes: family and friends supportive?

7. What type of work were you doing?

8. On a typical day, who did you usually interact with?
   Probes: locals/expats? Who did you live with? Free time activities?

9. How much contact did you maintain with home while you were away?
   Probes: with who? How often? Through what means?

10. How connected did you feel to your home country while you were away?
    Probes: more connected to home/host country?

11. How do you think the locals saw you – did they think you were integrated?

12. As best you can, would you describe a typical member of your host country for me?
    Probes: become more like them while you were there?

13. For comparison, how would you describe a typical member of your home country?
    Probes: typical CA/US? Living abroad change how you see self as CA/US?

*Identity*
I'd like to talk about how your experience affected you personally.

14. In what way, if any, did your experience living and working abroad change you?

15. Look at Twenty Statements Test. How would you have answered this question before you went abroad?
    Probes: answers that would be the same/different? How would answers change? Are changes results of living abroad?

16. What other changes have you gone through as a result of living and working abroad?
    Probes: habits, mannerisms, dress, behaviors, attitudes, career trajectory

*Repatriation Experience*
Let's talk a little more about your experience returning home.

17. Were you ready to come back home?
    Probes: how did you prepare?

18. What did you expect it to be like once you got back home?
    Probes: things nervous/excited about? Where did expectations come from?

19. What expectations do you think other people had for you?
    Probes: what did they expect you to be like?

20. What has it actually been like being back at home?
    Probes: meet your expectations?

21. How often do you talk about your time abroad?
    Probes: censor self? What sorts of things do you talk about?

22. How do people react?
    Probes: who tends to be interested? How do you know?

23. What, if any, changes have others noticed in you since you returned?
    Probes: how do they respond? How have they changed?

24. What is it like trying to maintain these changes at home?

25. Do you notice yourself fitting into the world differently now that you lived abroad?

26. Who do you think understands you the best now?
    Probes: examples of situations where you do/don't feel misunderstood?

27. How much contact have you kept with people you met abroad since coming home?
    Probes: who? How often?

28. How do you think you will be involved with your host culture in the future?

29. Overall, how would you describe your experience coming home?
    Probes: Challenges/positives?

30. What types of emotions have you experience since you've been home? What causes them?

### *Communities*
I'd like to talk a little about different communities now…

31. Where is home for you?

32. Out of the following communities, where do you feel like you most belong: Canada/America, host country, both, neither, or the global community?  Why?
    Probes: Changed as a result of experiences abroad?

33. Have you heard the term transnationalism? What does it mean to you?
*Transnationalism: connectedness or involvement in two nations or cultures simultaneously*

   a. Did you see yourself as transnational when you were living abroad? Do you now?
   b. Do others see you that way? Why? What do you do that makes them think that?
   c. Do you know any other people/groups who are transnational? What makes them trans?

34. What about the idea of being a global citizen? What does that mean to you?
*Global Citizenship: a sense of belonging in the world as a whole, rather than a single nation*

   a. Did you see yourself that way while you were living abroad? Do you now?
   b. Do others see you that way? Why? What do you do that makes them think that?
   c. Do you know any other people/groups who are global citizens? What makes them global?
   d. Which describes you better, transnational or global citizen? Why?

### *Closing Questions*
I have a few more questions to ask you as we are wrapping up.

35. How do you think your experience may be different from other returned volunteers?

36. If you could change anything about your experience coming home, what would you change?

37. Is there anything else you would like to say about your returning home that we haven't talked about?

**TIME 3**

Confirm birth date and mother/maternal guardian's first name.

*Introduction*
I'd like to start by catching up on a few logistical things.

1. What, if any, changes have occurred in your living or working situation since we last spoke?
   Probes: ask about residence, people living with, and work situation from T2

*Repatriation Experience*
Now let's catch up a bit about your experiences over the last few months.

2. What is your current work situation?
   a. If new job: When did you begin working there? Consistently over last 5 months?
   b. How do you use skills from your volunteer experience at work?

3. What is it like to spend time with coworkers?
   a. How is interacting with them different than with people you knew before volunteering?

4. What changes, if any, have you noticed in your relationship with your family lately?
   Probes: ask about specific relatives they spoke about at T2

5. What changes, if any, have you noticed in your relationships with your friends lately?
   Probes: ask about specific friends they spoke about at T2
   a. Have you made any new friends since being home? How do those relationships differ than relationships with your old friends?

6. How often do you talk about your time abroad?
   Probes: censor self? What sorts of things do you talk about? Change over time?

7. How do people react?
   Probes: who tends to be interested? How do you know? Change over time?

8. How much contact have you kept with people you met abroad since coming home?
   Probes: who? How often? Change over time?

9. How connected to you feel to your host country currently?
   Probes: what makes you feel connected? Change over time?

10. How do you think you will be involved with your host culture in the future?

11. Overall, how would you describe your experience coming home?
    Probes: Challenges/positives?

12. How has your experience being home changed over time?
    Probes: gotten easier or more difficulty? Compared to your expectations?

13. What types of emotions have you experience since you've been home? What causes them?
    Probes: how have they changed over time?

*Communities*
I'd like to talk a little about different communities now…

14. Where is home for you?
    a. If answer has changed from T2, why?

15. Out of the following communities, where do you feel like you most belong: Canada/America, host country, both, neither, or the global community?  Why?
    Probes: Changed as a result of experiences abroad?
    a. If answer has changed from T2, why?

16. In our last interview we talked about transnationalism. What does that term mean to you?
    a. If answer has changed from T2, why?
    b. Do others see you that way? Why? What do you do that makes them think that?

17. We also talked in before about being a global citizen. What does that mean to you?
    a. If answer has changed from T2, why?
    b. Do others see you that way? Why? What do you do that makes them think that?

18. Do you see CA/US differently now that you've lived/worked abroad? How so?

*Identity*
I'd like to talk about how you see yourself.

19. In what way, if any, did your experience living and working abroad change you?
    a. Have you noticed any other changes in yourself the longer you've been home?
20. Look at Twenty Statements Test. How do you think your answers now differ from how you described yourself during our last interview?
    Probes: talk about similarities, differences, and causes for both

21. What other changes have you gone through as a result of living and working abroad?
    Probes: habits, mannerisms, dress, behaviors, attitudes, career trajectory

22. What has it been like trying to maintaining these changes at home?
    a. Easier or more difficult longer at home?

23. What sorts of changes in you do other people notice in you?
    a. How do they react to these changes?
    b. Do you think people recognize these changes as related to your time abroad?

*Closing Questions*
I have a few more questions to ask you as we are wrapping up.

24. How do you think your experience coming home is different from other returned volunteers?

25. If you could change anything about your experience over the last 6 months, what would you change?

26. Is there anything else you would like to say about your re-entry experience that we haven't talked about?

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