SUBMISSION OF THESIS FOR A RESEARCH DEGREE

Part I. DECLARATION by the candidate for a research degree. To be bound in the thesis

Degree for which thesis being submitted   PhD in Sociology

Title of thesis   'Third Culture Kids': Migration narratives on belonging, identity and place.

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Date of submission   20ᵗʰ July 2015   Original registration date   September 2009
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Name of candidate   Ms. Rachel May Cason

Research Institute   Social Sciences   Name of Lead Supervisor   Dr. Jane Parish

I certify that:

(a)   The thesis being submitted for examination is my own account of my own research

(b)   My research has been conducted ethically. Where relevant a letter from the approving body confirming that ethical approval has been given has been bound in the thesis as an Annex

(c)   The data and results presented are the genuine data and results actually obtained by me during the conduct of the research

(d)   Where I have drawn on the work, ideas and results of others this has been appropriately acknowledged in the thesis

(e)   Where any collaboration has taken place with one or more other researchers, I have included within an 'Acknowledgments' section in the thesis a clear statement of their contributions, in line with the relevant statement in the Code of Practice (see Note overleaf).

(f)   The greater portion of the work described in the thesis has been undertaken subsequent to my registration for the higher degree for which I am submitting for examination

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Note
Extract from Code of Practice: If the research degree is set within a broader programme of work involving a group of investigators – particularly if this programme of work predates the candidate's registration – the candidate should provide an explicit statement (in an 'Acknowledgments' section) of the respective roles of the candidate and these other individuals in relevant aspects of the work reported in the thesis. For example, it should make clear, where relevant, the candidate's role in designing the study, developing data collection instruments, collecting primary data, analysing such data, and formulating conclusions from the analysis. Others involved in these aspects of the research should be named, and their contributions relative to that of the candidate should be specified (*this does not apply to the ordinary supervision, only if the supervisor or supervisory team has had greater than usual involvement*).

'Third culture kids':
migration narratives on belonging, identity and place.

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Thesis submitted for consideration of Doctor of Philosophy degree status

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Contents:

Abstract

Third Culture Kids are the children of people working outside their passport countries, and who are employed by international organisations as development experts, diplomats, missionaries, journalists, international NGO and humanitarian aid workers, or UN representatives. The "third culture" they possess is the temporary, nomadic multicultural space they inhabited as children, within an expatriate community and, in some cases, international school. This culture is distinct from their parents' homeland culture (the first culture) and from that of the country in which they spend their formative years but of which they are not native members (the second culture). The "third culture" inhabited by Third Culture Kids does not unite the first and second cultures, but rather comprises a space for their unstable integration (Knörr, 2005).

This thesis explores the following question: *In what ways does being a Third Culture Kid affect notions of belonging, identity and place?* Through analysis of both fieldwork in an international school, and exploratory life story interviews with adult TCKs from myriad backgrounds, this work contributes to a better understanding of the experience of growing up abroad, and tracks the long term effects of this experience on the ways in which TCKs orient themselves towards belonging, identity and place. Throughout the course of this research, findings coalesce to orient TCKs as cosmopolitans, rooted in the expatriate communities of their childhoods, continuing in mobility and self-conscious "otherness" into adulthood, and moving through place as "elite vagrants".

Acknowledgements

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

A Brief Life Story: A Third Culture Kid

She was born in West Africa in 1985. Her parents were Protestant missionaries living at that time on a Muslim compound, in a major town. The three rooms of the home expanded to four when home-schooling requirements demanded more space, and she was then schooled just yards from her front door, alongside a younger sister and, at various times, other missionary children. Her father worked as an evangelist in the local market, inviting religious conversation and debate, and later taking on greater administrative responsibility within the mission, such as would move the family, in her eleventh year, to the country's capital. At this time, she attended, alongside her sister, the mission school in that city. This school was international and diverse in its composition but largely North American in its curriculum, apart from the introduction of (British-based) International GCSEs. At the age of 16, her family made the permanent move "home" to England.

Every three to four years during this childhood abroad, she would "return home" with her family to England and live for a year reconnecting with supporting churches and individuals, and attending the local primary and, later, secondary schools. She recalls an especially poignant early memory of the struggle adjusting to her passport home environment:

One event of significance happened during our return to _____ when I was five years old. My parents chose to always place us in the local public school when we were in England and I was to attend my local primary school. I don't really remember this period, but I am told that I would have to be dragged to school by my father (my mother refused after a while) and placed in the hands of the

teachers, so distraught was I. It turns out that I was terrified of all the white children. I was used to playing with black children, and I can only surmise that I felt my world had turned upside down and that my core identity had been called into question. Up until this point I had been fluent in the local language of my West African neighbours, but that after this year, I never spoke it again. This is pure speculation, but it was as if I had decided that if I was white English, I would need to make the best of it, and the only way to maintain this identity clearly was to speak English only. Even now, I can only manage the most rudimentary greetings in my first language and this saddens me greatly and must have greatly upset a couple who worked for my parents and helped to raise me. They did not speak English. I still played with neighbourhood children but in mime; games of pretend that did not require much speaking.

She recalls this event as perhaps the first of many that would illustrate the cultural tensions and identity challenges presented by a highly mobile childhood. Indeed, her first 16 years comprised frequent cultural adjustments as high mobility, both in her own experience and as the norm for the expatriate community around her, saw her navigate identifications as English, British, missionary kid, and "foreign" to her passport peers. She lived in West Africa, England and France, variously, and encountered different interpretations, and associated expectations, of all four of her cultural identifications as her environments shifted.

Once "settled" in England at 16, she attended sixth form on the basis of IGCSE grades, and her background in home-schooling and mission school afforded her a high degree of independence in her approach to education. A year after her return to England, when her internal clock began to get impatient, she read *Third Culture Kids* (Pollock and Van Reken, 2001), and cried all the way through it. She recognised the story as her own

and felt validated in her experiences of mobility and loss. She decided to take a gap year after these studies, to complete her three years' residency, being otherwise subject to foreign student university fees, and worked for a local special needs charity in the provision of respite care. University followed this gap year, in languages and the social sciences, including several stints studying and working abroad, as did marriage, motherhood, divorce, multiple house moves, a second engagement and its subsequent termination.

Locating the Story

The story above is representative of many similar stories relating to mobility in childhood. Its protagonist is one of a group identified in the 1950s as "Third Culture Kids". The Useems, during a field study of Americans living in India, and the schools set up to educate their children,

> *"...began to use third culture as a generic term to cover the lifestyles created, shared, and learned by people who are in the process of relating their societies, or aspects thereof, to each other. The term third culture kids, or TCKs, was coined to refer to the children who accompany their parents into another society"* (Useem and Cottrell, 1996, pp.23-4).

This definition has since been more precisely defined as "a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parent's culture." (Pollock & Reken, 2001, p.19).

Third Culture Kids are the children of people working outside their passport countries, who are employed by international organisations as development experts, diplomats, missionaries, journalists, international NGO and humanitarian aid workers, or UN representatives. The "third culture" they possess is the temporary, nomadic

multicultural space they inhabited as children, within an expatriate community and, in some cases, international school. This culture is distinct from their parents' homeland culture (the first culture) and from that of the country in which they spend their formative years but of which they are not native members (the second culture). The "third culture" inhabited by Third Culture Kids does not unite the first and second cultures, but rather comprises a space for their unstable integration (Knörr, 2005). Knell (2001, p.16) describes this "third culture" as "the community of people who have the shared experience of growing up in two cultures. It's not just a blending of the first two cultures". To add to this complexity, TCKs may find their first culture to be multiple, if their parents come from different passport backgrounds, and their second culture is frequently multiple also, depending on the number of countries hosting their childhood years.

Introducing Thesis Aims, Object of Study and Major Claims

<u>Aims and Object of Study</u>

This thesis explores the following question*: In what ways does being a Third Culture Kid affect notions of belonging, identity and place?* The study introduces Third Culture Kids and their experiences of high childhood migration to existing migration discourses, and discusses the impact of the childhood TCK experience into later adulthood. Through analysis of both fieldwork in an international school, and exploratory life story interviews with adult TCKs from a myriad of backgrounds, this thesis sets out to better understand the experience of growing up abroad, and to track the long term effects of this experience on the ways in which TCKs orient themselves towards belonging, identity and relationship to place.

There have been many attempts to define what it means to be a Third Culture Kid. Some use the term interchangeably with "MK", mission kid, as this sponsor background

has initiated and pushed through much of the current research and discourse around the TCK experience. Others conflate it with "Global Nomad", or any individual who considers themselves a "citizen of the world", refusing to be defined, or limited, by nationality or sedentary living. For the purposes of this research, I have used Pollock and van Reken's (2001, p.19) definition, in which they define a TCK as "a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parent's culture". I favour this definition as Pollock and van Reken's writings are widely and globally accepted to set the standard in thinking around TCK issues, thus giving this definition the best chance of being mostly commonly accepted amongst TCKs themselves, thereby establishing a common meaning of the term. Furthermore, whilst some object to "Kid" being included in the title as pejorative when referring to adults, I feel its presence is a helpful reminder of the peculiar significance of *childhood* mobility, as juxtaposed with high level of mobility in adulthood.

In seeking out TCKs to interview during the course of this research, I sought out only those individuals whose experiences could be understood in Pollock and van Reken's terms, yet an argument could be made that the time spent abroad was perhaps more "significant" for some than for others. Ultimately, when met with volunteers for interview, I satisfied myself with the individual's own construction of TCK identity; in other words, if he or she identified their experiences as TCK, so did I. These Third Culture Kids were drawn to the TCK identity because of shared identifications of experience; where clear belonging in terms of nationality, citizenship or location failed, TCK belonging fitted. As a result of this approach to "qualifying participants", interviewees were of single or multiple citizenship, had lived in two or several countries, had moved multiple times before the age of eight or had lived a fairly settled life in only one or two locations.

This study focused on exploring the ways in which the TCK experience impact upon belonging, identity and relationship to place. To this aim, both literature review and nine weeks of field work contributed to building an understanding of what it meant to 'be a TCK', to grow up as a TCK. Subsequent interviews conducted between 2010 and 2012, totalling a period of two years and eight months, contributed to this building picture of the TCK experience, as data was gathered from life stories pertaining to 'growing up as a TCK'. These subsequent interviews also suggested the ways in which TCKs conceptualised belonging, identity and place, and the ways in which they engaged with these notions. I interviewed 61 TCKs aged between 15 and 73. Organisational backgrounds included mission, military, business and others, such as diplomat or NGO. In this variety, this research has sought a breadth of experience to enrich current discourse about what it means to be a Third Culture Kid, and to give voice to as many different experiences as possible, though the experiences of mission TCKs are most represented, with 30% of interviews being with mission school attendees, and adult mission TCKs at 34% of the sample. Adult business TCKs and those from other diplomat or NGO backgrounds make up 27%, and adult military TCKs make up 10% of the total sample population. Mission school attendees make up 64% of the total population, and adult TCKs in their 20s and 30s make up another 50% of the sample population.

Major Claims of the Thesis

Through an exploration of TCK migration narratives, this thesis advances three major claims; firstly that TCKs form a particular kind of imagined diaspora, secondly that TCKs demonstrate a distinctive kind of 'rooted' cosmopolitanism, and finally, that TCKs may be conceptualised as 'elite vagabond' in their particular orientations to the world around them. This final notion of 'elite vagabonds' is especially significant in its explaining of the continuing condition of marginality and mobility shared by many TCKs.

The claim that TCKs constitute a particular sort of imagined diaspora emerges as analysis of interview data demonstrates a shared experience of mobility, despite variances in organisation background and the particularities of different mobility trajectories. Rather than being united by a shared identification with either a real or imagined 'home', many TCK narratives coalesce around a continuing condition of marginality and mobility, well into their adult years. In this way, this thesis claims that TCKs constitute a distinct community or culture and, as such, merit research as a group distinct from other more recognised mobile groups. Indeed, this thesis argues that despite some seeing these experiences as "too particular" to form any coherent whole (Killguss, 2008, p.3), TCKs as a group share certain common characteristics in spite of the disparity of their experiences, and that these characteristics inform migration theory and the ways in which identity formation is understood in new, and increasingly relevant ways.

Drawing on Hannerz's (1990, pp. 240-1) observations that cosmopolitanism need not be viewed as an individualistic set of values but as part also of a transnational network, this thesis will also claim that TCKs are distinctive in their expressions of a 'rooted' cosmopolitanism. Indeed, while TCKs may present a certain rootlessness, in terms of lacking investment in a territorial "home", they nevertheless display a kind of cultural stability, or rootedness, in their experiences within non-territorial transnational networks. composed of international organisations and a distinct expatriate cultural framework. In this way, "rooted" cosmopolitanism may be seen as moving beyond a synthesis of local and global commitments (Werbner, 2008, p.60) to a rootedness that is based on transnational network that in themselves form a kind of non-territorial "locale".

Finally, the conceptualisation of TCKs as "elite vagabonds" is explored in this thesis as a mechanism for understanding the motivators behind continuing TCK mobility and settledness. Drawing on Bauman's (1998) notions of vagabonds and vagrancy as

figures of uncomfortable mobility, this thesis advances the notion that, in their patterns of adulthood mobility, TCKs echo some of the characteristics of the vagrant in a rejection of settledness. However, typically possessing relative material wealth and significant cultural resources, TCKs subvert the financial and cultural poverty suggested by "vagrancy" and instead demonstrate a kind of "elite" mobility. In exploring this notion of "elite vagrancy", this thesis presents a useful conceptualisation to capture tensions between the perpetually mobile and the settled, and the motivators that may propel such ongoing mobility.

Third Culture Kids as a Problematic

TCKs are situated ambiguously in current transnational and identity theory, falling outside conventional sociological and anthropological paradigms. Their experiences do not fit neatly into current discourses around migration, and cannot easily be explained by the same theorisations as diasporics, transnationals, cosmopolitans, second-generation migrants and returnee migrants. Instead they extend these discourses by suggesting the existence of a global culture of mobility, shared by TCKs of different backgrounds and particular experiences of mobility. The existence of this "third culture" implies that the formative experiences of those who have matured outside of their country of origin are likely to shape how they negotiate their identity, roots and social relations across the life course, nationally and transnationally. For some TCKs, the only "home" to which they can return is that of an expatriate itinerant. Much remains to be understood about identity formation and development as our traditional reference points of national borders begin to dissipate and citizenship becomes increasingly flexible (Ong, 1999). The life histories, social relations, and identities of TCKs can thus allow for a critical expansion of current theories of diaspora and transnationalism, and of ideas surrounding rooted cosmopolitanism, identity and ways of belonging in navigating cultural worlds (Werbner, 2002, 2008; Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004).

Third Culture Kids and Globalisation

Children who live highly mobile lives do not comprise a new phenomenon; indeed, before World War Two, colonialism meant that growing up in a country other than one's passport country was common amongst the British especially (McLachlan, 2004). Mobility increased after World War Two, "due to the reconstruction of Europe and technological needs of developing nations" (McLachlan, 2004, p.14), which led to an increase in internationally mobile Americans. Other countries also experienced these patterns of migration, as economic migration increased after World War II. Despite the well-established existence of TCKs however, this group is under-studied and under-recognised for its importance to understanding the relationship between identity and place.

The social impact of globalisation and its facilitation of expatriate life offers useful context to the lives of many TCKs. Expatriates tend to be high earners, the average British expatriate earning over 40% more than the UK average (NatWest IPB Expat Wealth Ranking Survey, 2007), and they make significant financial investments in the economies in which they live. The HSBO Expat Explorer Survey (2008) notes that over half of expatriates invest more abroad than in their home country. They also generate their own economies, the ever frequent language barrier "generating a need for specialized services" (JustLanded, 2013). In this thesis however, in which TCKs from many different backgrounds were interviewed, my sample includes those from much less financially secure backgrounds, such as the children of missionaries or businessmen, who may suffer financial hardship. It is thus important not to generalize from the most common understanding of the expatriate lifestyle to the experiences of all expatriate children. Nevertheless, these statistics help to contextualise what is for many expatriates their shared experience of relative financial privilege, certainly, at the very least, in their host environments.

One especially significant element of global expatriate life is the number of educational institutions erected to provide an "international" education for Third Culture Kids. The Council of International Schools (2014) lays claim to "more than 660 schools and 490 colleges and universities, representing 104 countries" in their membership directory. The European Council of International Schools (2014) lists 101 schools in its directory, and the Council of British International Schools (2014) lists 185. The Association of Christian International Schools (2014) lists over 20,000 affiliated schools located outside of the United States. Expatriate communities place a heavy emphasis on the value of an international education, dedicated to producing an education and grades consistent with and transferable to passport country schools and universities. For many TCKs, these sites of international education serve as the prime cultural locus in their childhood years, and mediate their relationships with both passport and host countries.

The Organisation of the Thesis

Through all these many variables crowding the TCK experience, however, some organising principles have emerged that make the data gathered during the course of this research meaningful. The thesis opens with two literature review chapters, "Mapping TCKs onto the Migration Landscape" and "Experiences of Migration". The former focuses on current theorisations of within the migration literature and explores how the experiences of Third Culture Kids reflect upon these established discourses. The chapter focuses especially on writings on diaspora, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, second-generation migrants and returnee migration, and establishes that, while these inform understandings of migration, they fall short in fully explaining the Third Culture Kid experience, and how this experience impacts upon these TCK "migrants" in later life. The inclusion of a second

literature chapter, "Experiences of Migration" was made necessary by the significant presence of autobiographical, policy-focused, reflective, and anecdotal writings on Third Culture Kid experiences, often by TCKs themselves. An analysis of these writings contributes to the "fleshing out" of current understandings of TCKs, and gives voice to the pertinent areas of interest and focus so far identified within this experience of mobility.

In chapter four, "Multi-sited Methodologies", the thesis lays out the means by which I set out to research what constituted the "TCK experience" and the ways in which this experience impacted on notions of belonging, identity and relationship to place in later life especially. The chapter outlines the process of identifying an international school in which to conduct nine weeks of fieldwork, and the process of interviewing, in person and via Skype, adult TCKs of various sponsor and national backgrounds and ages. It also explores the particular ethical considerations of Skype and internet-mediated interviews, and outlines the technical process of organising and coding data resultant from interviews with TCKs.

Chapter five, "The TCK experience in the field", presents data collected and observations made during the fieldwork period, drawing several analytical conclusions that go some way towards identifying certain characteristics as key to understanding the TCK experience abroad. The chapter explores the religious culture of the mission school that served as my fieldwork site, and the particularities of the boarding school element of the TCK experience. Emergent data indicates certain paradoxes present in the TCK experience of growing up abroad in an expatriate community, and those explored in this chapter include the paradoxes of encapsulation, both religious and in terms of a missiology of "helping", as well as in terms of TCK encapsulation that excludes passport peers. This chapter also outlines the paradox of multiculturalism and the significance of a mono-linguistic international education. Finally, the chapter identifies the future career

aspirations of TCK students as indicative of a central expatriate culture that perpetuates itself through the sharing and nurturing of common values and identity, and organises TCK mobility into their adult lives.

Chapters six through eight focus on emergent data around themes of *belonging*, *identity* and *place*. Chapter six discusses the roles of transnational travel and belonging in the social worlds of adult TCKs, and the processes of encapsulated and constructive marginality as suggested by Bennet (1993), which were especially relevant to TCKs interviewed during the course of this research, and particularly to their notions and constructions of belonging. This chapter goes on to identify the boundary maintenance strategies displayed by many TCKs, and the ways in which TCKs achieve belonging through marginality. Finally, the chapter explores the impact of routine separation on TCKs, and the impact this separation has on long term relationships and family dynamics in later life. Chapter seven, on "TCKs and Identity", suggests that TCKs construct their identities primarily along three lines; their identities are mediated by nationality, career, and a sense of perpetual uniqueness. These themes are explored in this chapter and indicate that the TCK experience impacts upon long-term identity construction, especially along these lines. Chapter eight, discussing TCKs and their relationship to place, explores the ways in which place serves as a grounded reality that mediates the experiences of many TCKs as they were growing up. "Place" delineates the shapes of their childhoods, and organises life stories more meaningfully than other temporal or relational measures. Place emerges as significant also as TCKs move through places as "elite vagrants", resisting sedentary lifestyles and tending towards a perpetual movement that, in adulthood, may lead to the perpetuation and reproduction of the TCK experience, as TCKs move to raise their own TCKs abroad.

Following these analysis chapters, the discussion and conclusion chapters establish the significance of themes emergent from fieldwork and interview data, and locate my analysis as contributing significantly to theorisations around globalisation, citizenship and transnationalism such as are discussed in chapter two, "Mapping TCKs onto the Migration Landscape". Especially implicated are theorisations around TCKs and their relationship with cosmopolitanism, which inform both understandings of TCKs and how they orient themselves to the world around them, and understandings of cosmopolitanism, in terms of rooted/rootless theorisations.

Researcher Disclosure

The life story with which this chapter opened is my own. I am an insider/outsider researcher, positioned inside the field in terms of my own identity as Third Culture Kid, and outside it as one who has not followed its assumed trajectory of maintaining expatriate community membership and/or living and working abroad into my adult life. I began the research that forms this thesis feeling vaguely embarrassed about my personal connections to my subject, and keen to distance myself from the taint of over-involvement. However, Tsuda (2003), in his account of Brazilian Japanese return migration, reflects on the impact and value of personal experiences of the field under research. The writer observes that, "a good fieldworker is socially engaged, not passive, withdrawn, and observing from an "objective" distance in an effort not to disturb the social environment. The most interesting observations and insights in anthropology come from active *inter*action with informants, not inaction" (Tsuda, 2003, p.18). I found that my personal connections with a globally recognised TCK identity, and links to the mission TCK world in particular, aided my engagement with informants in a way that gave me particular access to a shared world of meaning such as better informed my observations and conversations.

This is not to say that being a TCK conducting TCK research was in any way comfortable. The "identity prostitution" to which Tsuda (2003, p.31)) also refers was a familiar experience as mission TCKs would assume that I shared in a dominant value system, making me a safe confidant, and non-mission TCKs would decide me safe on the basis of my affiliation to a secular university and my own non-missionary status. A true TCK chameleon, two interviews conducted on the same day could leave me reeling in terms of identities and affiliations attributed to me by different interviewees. It is important to reveal these "researcher discomforts" in order to equip the reader of this thesis with as clear an understanding as possible of my own position in this research and subsequent analysis. In Tsuda's words, "an ethnography that completely ignores the anthropologist's own experiences in the field in favour of a sanitised and depersonalised account can be considered problematic on methodological grounds despite the resulting aura of scientific objectivity" (2003, p.8). Tsuda's remark here is central to my belief that an open and frank acknowledgment of researcher positioning can achieve more than self-reflexivity. Rather it opens up a "better understanding of how the informant's lives were observed and interpreted" (Tsuda, 2003, p.9). Confident as I am that the following chapters faithfully represent the stories of TCKs and interpret them with integrity, I as researcher am the primary research tool, and knowledge of my position in relation to the field and its informants can only serve to better equip the reader to evaluate my conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO: Mapping Third Culture Kids onto the Migration Landscape

Third Culture Kids have existed for centuries, yet have for the most part eluded academic notice. Fields of study focusing on migration have tended towards discussions around migratory groups organised along national or ethnic lines. More recently, migration theorists have developed notions around globalisation, citizenship, and cosmopolitanism, in light of migratory trajectories increasing almost exponentially and contributing significantly to changing social landscapes, both globally and locally. TCKs and their particular migratory experiences contribute significantly to this changing landscape, yet they have not, as yet, been clearly integrated into the theoretical scene. This chapter will set the scene, as it were, of migrationary literature in terms of globalisation, transnationalism, citizenship, and "place-less-ness". It will then examine, in brief outline, the established discourses in literature concerning four migration trajectories – Diaspora, cosmopolitan, second generation and returnee – in order to explore the ways in which these fields may illuminate the TCK experience more especially. Finally, this chapter will highlight some of the main themes emergent in literature on expatriate communities, arguably the most relevant literature with regards to Third Culture Kids.

Globalisation

Seen within the context of globalisation, the Third Culture Kid phenomenon is one of ever-increasing significance. In 1993, the United Nations reported 100 million individuals to be living outside of their country of birth or citizenship (Williams, 1994, p.52). During the next twelve years this figure nearly doubled to reach 191 million in 2005 (UN press release 12 September, 2006). Expatriates and migrants now represent 10 per cent of the total populations of developed countries (Population Division, Economic and Social Affairs,

2005). In terms of the British population, for example, 5.6 per cent of the population live abroad as expatriates, a figure that rises to 12.2 per cent in relation to the highly skilled sectors of the population (OECD, Labour and Social Affairs, 2005). In 2002, it was estimated that just over 50 per cent of expatriates had children accompanying them whilst on assignment (Global Resource Trends Report, 2002). The speed at which migration is increasing indicates the significance of globalisation as a social phenomenon (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994; Giddens, 1991).

Many and various theories of globalisation exist, enriching discourses in this area. However, how is globalisation best understood in the context of this thesis? Scholte (2000) discusses five perspectives on globalisation, including globalisation as liberalisation, as universalisation and as westernisation, yet for the purposes of better contextualising the TCK experience, interpreting globalisation as *internationalism* and as *deterritorialisation* merits particular notice. Simply put, globalisation as internationalism "designates a growth of international exchange and interdependence" (Scholte, 2000, p.15) and as such succinctly describes the economic and cultural contexts in which TCKs are raised. As the children of expatriates, the framework of their existence depends upon the increasing embeddedness of international, multi-national, and transnational careers in which their parents work. As a consequence of growing international interdependence, globalisation as deterritorialisation comes to mean that "social space is no longer wholly mapped in terms of territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders" (Scholte, 2000, p.16). Deterritorialisation, in its turn, leads to the "'lifting out' of social relations from local involvements and their recombination across larger spans of time and space" (Lash and Urry, 1994, p.254).

In short, globalisation processes serve to blur the boundaries of both physical and social senses of belonging, and reformulate new ways of embedding one's identity

independently of the nation-state (Featherstone, 1996, p.60). Featherstone (1996, p. 60) describes these new modes of cultural belonging, or global culture, as "third cultures": sets of "practices, bodies of knowledge, conventions, and lifestyles". It would be a mistake, however, to assume that "global culture" described the result of "global integration" that served to make the world "unified and homogeneous" (Featherstone, 1995, p.102). Instead, even as the world is undergoing deterritorialisation, space is being "reterritorialized" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, p.9) and transient populations "are engaged in the construction of locality, as a structure of feeling" (Appadurai, 1996, p.199). Writers have described this process as glocalisation.

Robertson (1995, p.28) refers to glocalisation, in its business sense, as "the tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global or near-global basis to increase differentiated local and particular markets". When applied to globalisation, the concept critiques the traditional dichotomy between local and global, and explores how "the very creation of localities is a standard component of globalisation" (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2007, p.134). Indeed, Urry (2000, p.199) describes the process of globalisation as deepening localisation, which in turn deepens globalisation. In short, while it is necessary to explore globalisation as a significant phenomenon, it is similarly important to note the continuing influence of locality on daily lives, and the ways in which the global may still only be interpreted in the particularity of place: "Everyone still continues to live a local life" (Giddens, 1992, p.187). Indeed, Cresswell's (2004:10) distinction between *landscape* and *place* is a useful reminder that the particularity of physical environment remains significant in the lives of many migrants. Indeed, the author asserts that "places are practices. People do things in place" (Cresswell, 2009, p.170).

In this way, we may understand the global to be experienced through the locality of place as it is subjectively experienced by individuals; place is constructed. If we are to

accept this, then the inference that globalisation processes, in increasing internationalisation and contact between nations, inevitably breaks down cultural tensions, should be regarded with some scepticism. Rather, in the continuing significance of place and locality, it would be naïve to suggest that the "increasing familiarity with 'the other' that comes with globalisation will increase tolerance and "sensitivity to difference" (Featherstone, 1995, pp.86, 91). In other words, "closer inter-national encounters… can… sharpen perceptions of national identity" (Scholte, 2000, pp.163-4; Featherstone, 1996, p.60).

The impact of globalisation on "the decentering of the social subject" is related to the increasingly varied resources being made available to individuals with which to diversify "sources of the self" (Pieterse, 1995, p.52). A decreasing reliance on the nation-state as the primary source for identity and belonging (Pieterse, 1995, p.52), along with the increasing organisational options for self-construction, has "greatly multiplied and intensified experiences of being several selves at once (Scholte, 2000, p.180). This fragmentation of self is of particular pertinence for these who habituate "supraterritorial spaces, where multiple identities readily converge" (Scholte, 2000, p.181). TCKs spend their early formative years floating in the "in-between world" of expatriate communities, and so become experts at managing the resulting multiple identities. However, as we have established, if territories or places remain salient to the anchoring of human experience, the question remains: what happens when the deterritorialised, having spent most of their lives residing in supraterritorial spaces, (re)enter territorialised spaces? TCKs represent a unique opportunity to uncover the globalising effects on identity and belonging on those who are yet at some point required to live "in place".

Informing this debate on territory and place/space ambivalence, writes of those who he calls vagrants or "vagabonds" (1995, 1998). The vagrancy scares of Elizabethan

England were a response to a growing disconnection between people and Place, inasmuch as "increasing numbers of people, formally tied to the land of their masters, were freed from feudal ties and started to wander the land" (Cresswell, 2004, p.111). This loosening of ties with place unnerved the majority settled population (Cresswell, 2011, p.248). Bauman (1995: 94) writes of the vagrant that he is "a stranger; he can never be 'the native'... whatever he may do to ingratiate himself in the eyes of the natives, too fresh is the memory of his arrival". Is it possible that these concepts of vagrant and vagabond may inform TCK understandings of, and relationship to, place?

Transnational and International Context

The tensions between the global and the local come to the fore in the literature concerning the transnational activities of migrants. Indeed, Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc (1995) deemed migratory processes so transformed by globalised flows of information and trade that immigrants warranted re-christening "transmigrants". Transmigrants are "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than on nation-state" (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995, p.48). Here transmigrants are distinguished from sojourners inasmuch as the former are settled, economically and politically, into the countries in which they reside, yet they simultaneously maintain connections with the countries from which they emigrated (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995: 48).

Transnationalisation, or the study of those activities that sustain non-institutional relationships across borders, are a means by which the implications and consequences of globalisation may be anchored and examined (Portes, 2001, p.186). While "global processes are largely decentred from specific nation-state territories", transnational

processes "span two or more nation-states, involving actors from the spheres of both state and civil society" (Faist, 2000, p.5). Similarly, while transnational activities are typically "goal-orientated initiatives that require coordination across national borders", international activities "possess clear national affiliation" (Portes, 2001, p.186). Narrowing the remit of transnationalism in this way is important if it is to be possible to truly explore what it is that these processes consist of and what such actors look like (Portes, 2001, p.182).

Transnational processes may be understood in terms of broad and narrow transnational fields (Itzigsohn et al., 1999). Belonging to a broad transnational space refers to an individual's identification with a "field of relevant symbolic references", whereas narrow transnational activities refer more to everyday activities that may sustain a broader identity elsewhere, but are not explicitly wedded to conceptions of belonging in and of themselves (Itzigsohn et al., 1999, pp.324-5). Itzigsohn et al. use the example of a Dominican student in an American university whose broader identity is very much bound to the Dominican Republic but whose everyday activities do not sustain this identity, inasmuch as she claims she could only ever now live in the U.S. (1999, pp.324-5).

If one moves to apply this concept to the TCK experience, it is possible to see how layered and complex transnational belonging may be for the children of expatriates who are negotiating identities not only linked to countries, but also to organisations. For example, one TCK may belong to a broad transnational space by being an American raised in India, but now settled in the U.S. His identity, and field of symbolic references, refers mostly to Indian culture, food and local customs. His narrow transnational activities, however, are less concerned with connecting this identity to Indians he was raised with, and more tied to the expatriate community in which he was raised, who may now be scattered world-wide. Equally, however, a TCK's broader identity may be linked to the culture of the expatriate community in which she was raised, her narrow transnational

activities connect, not countries necessarily, but cultures that are not embedded in nation-states. As it is currently expressed, transnationalism does not adequately describe the identities and activities of TCKs who, although members of transnational fields and organisations, sustain relationships and a sense of belonging that is not necessarily limited to living between nation-states.

Transnational organisations "link the home country with one or more societies in which its population has settled" (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995, p.56). These organisations often aim to facilitate in the integration or adaptation of recent migrants to their host country (Faist, 2000, p.13), and build an active relationship with the home country rather than subsisting on "nostalgic imaginings" (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995, p.56). Furthermore, in being goal-orientated rather than representative of nation-states, transnational organisations include religious mission organisations, and NGOs, from which many TCKs originate. Equally however, TCKs are also members of international organisations such as the military, embassies, foreign journalism, etc.

These transnational organisations frequently translate into transnational communities: "situations in which international movers and stayers are connected by dense and strong social and symbolic ties over time and across space to patterns of networks and circuits in two countries – based upon solidarity" (Faist, 2000, p.9). Transnational communities so often united in being strangers together, share social and symbolic ties of patriotism or religious bonds, as well as ethnic ties, and, with the aid of ever-increasing technological sophistication build networks that stand the test of time and space (Portes, Guarnizo and Landholt, 1999, p.223; Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995, p.52). For TCKs, however, these networks often span countries numbering many more than two, as they are said to share a sense of solidarity with TCKs from backgrounds and countries other than

their own (Knell, 2001, p.16). In short, for the TCK, shared belonging and sense of community is not limited by shared experience of place.

Transnational social spaces represent the embodiment, or *locality*, of transnational activities. Transnational communities and practices "are embodied in specific social relations established between specific people, situated in unequivocal localities, at historically determined times" (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998, p.11). Indeed, Ó Riain (2000:189) writes that rather than eliminating place as a significant unit of analysis, globalisation creates in-between places, and deeper connections between places. Roudometor (2005, p. 119), however, envisage spaces as gaining significance as a virtual places, or as spaces in which multiple identities may be fostered, free from nation-state constraints. Increasingly, these spaces may be found on the Internet, where time and space may be condensed and gain from both the breadth of audience and particularity of focus that the technology offers. It is important, in the rush to gain a better understanding of trans-nation-state interactions, that one does not lose sight of the remaining significance of space, even while these spaces may represent more cultural loci for identity, rather than enduring physical localities (Roudometof, 2005, p.119).

Transnational processes, be these activities or the construct of different social fields or spaces, are indicative of an enduring need to belong somewhere, despite accelerating interaction between nation-states. Indeed, these processes are born out of a reconfiguration of the assumed "association between identity, culture, and place", and are spearheaded by those who feel increasingly excluded from traditionally nationalist narratives (Gupta, 1992, p.76). Transnational activities may serve those who find themselves "denied opportunities for cultural assimilation or recognition" in their host lands (Faist, 2000, p.13), and provide marginalised migrants with the means to negotiate belonging. Transnationalism is still somewhat wedded to ideas around people being *from* one country, moving *to* another

country and maintaining contact through transnational interactions, and so risks excluding the much less linear movements of the TCK. Nevertheless, the concept does offer illumination into how TCKs sustain relationships and senses of belonging simultaneously across borders.

Citizenship

Citizenship, inasmuch as it represents "the nature of social membership" (Turner, 1993, p. 3) and defines "a person as a competent member of society" (Turner, 1993, p.2), may do much to illuminate the changing ways in which individuals relate both locally and globally While citizens have traditionally been associated with physical territories, and societies with nation-states, with increasing levels of migratory flows, this connection between nation and citizenship becomes ambiguous. Belonging has therefore expanded from the initial premise that identity "is bound up in part with the territory that the society occupies or lays claim to" to a wider, more inclusive *postnationality* (Urry, 2000, p.188). An "increasingly deterritorialised notion of universal rights" (Urry, 2000, p.166), postnationality is the result of heightened levels of mobility and trans-country residence (Spiro, 2007).

However, while one may wish to claim that the "national as container of social process and power is cracked" (Sassen, 2002, p.17), it is not necessarily the case that geographical mobility erodes a sense of national identity. Rather, "the nation is central to the way travellers develop their cosmopolitan orientation to the world as a whole" (Molz, 2005, p.523), with border crossings acting as particularly significant in the staging of national identity). Similarly, Itzigsohn (2007, p.128) argues that rather than eroding the power of the nation-state, dual citizenship extends the powers of the nation-state to evoke the loyalty of its expatriates, and at the same time allows for greater integration of the

migrant into their host society. Ong (1999:2) describes multiple-passport holders as embodying "the split between state-imposed identity and personal identity caused by political upheavals, migration, and the changing global markets". This dual allegiance, however, necessarily complicates the traditional concept to the citizen-state relationship comprised of rights and duties (Urry, 2000, p.190).

The growth of supra-territorial organisations has developed different ideological notions of a citizen's relationship with the world, expanding the reach of rights and duties well beyond fixed territorial boundaries (Urry, 2000, p.163). Universal rights refer most often to global organisations such as the United Nations. Regarding duties, however, Urry (2000, p.175) lays out what he determines to be amongst the characteristics of contemporary global citizenship: such persons are to "demonstrate a stance of cosmopolitanism towards other environments, other cultures and other people", "respond to images… and narratives which address people as highly differentiated citizens of the globe", and to "act in terms of the global public interest rather than in terms of local or national interests". Third Culture Kids are frequently described as citizens of the world (Hill, 1998) and as sharing the duties and interests as Urry describes them above. In feeling their allegiances to be orientated more on a global than a local level, and according to the "experiences of identity" (Sassen, 2002, p.235) rather than ascribed identity through nation-state membership, these children of expatriates, in their adult lives, epitomize the shift from nation-state to global primacy in terms of identity and belonging.

The significance of multiple citizenships offers a means by which the TCK's multi-layered senses of belonging, both local and global, may be understood. Certainly, the TCK experience is becoming less and less an unusual one. Ong (1999, p.19) writes: "Flexibility, migration, and relocations, instead of being coerced or resisted, have become practices to strive for rather than stability". If, as the literature suggests, instability is the preferred

modus operandi of the TCK, an increasingly global acceptance of that belonging as "flexible" may serve to further enable the decentralisation of identity explored by global citizenship.

Migration Literature

Migration literature provides insight into the particular groups and studies (Child's Italian-Americans in 1943, Ghosh's Indian Caribbean Diaspora in 1989) but does not generally reflexively provide insights into other groups and populations not immediately falling within their remit. Analytic distance is needed to establish how different migrant group experiences relate to each other and a close examination of Third Culture Kids facilitates this. The TCK experience comprises many of the theories developed in relation to diasporas, cosmopolitans, second generation immigrants, and returnees, and yet represents a *different* mobile existence; one that requires new theorisations. In finding that the gaps in the existing literature on mobile populations leave many questions posed by the TCK experience unanswered, I argue that TCKs warrant further research in their own right; that TCKs can illuminate the connection between territory, belonging and identity in a new and unique way.

Diasporic explanations of Third Culture Kid Experiences

Charliand and Rageau (1991) presented a stringent typology when they laid out a list of four diasporic identifiers, summarised below. In order to qualify as a Diaspora, the population was to have:

1) experienced collective forced dispersal

2) a collective memory of their history and origins

3) transmitted their heritage to later generations

4) maintained a homeland focus, even several generations after the dispersal

It is important to note at this point that these identifiers (traditionally based heavily on the Jewish experience) have been contested in the varying and frequent debates around Diaspora theory, and yet they provide a useful starting point from which to discuss qualifying diasporic characteristics. Whilst much depends on the interpretation of these qualifiers, the existing literature on Third Culture Kids demonstrates these diasporic experiences to a greater or lesser extent. TCKs are, in a sense, "forced" to move away from their passport country, depending upon the age at which they left their passport country and the degree to which their opinions of the move were accounted for. For those who were very young or even born abroad, the dispersal was not of their choosing.

Nevertheless, TCKs are not dispersed as a result of collective hardship (as are refugees), in that they move because of a parent's profession. However, as always with TCKs, this argument cannot be applied in a linear form. In one sense TCKs are *repeatedly* "dispersed" from their passport country, yet in another sense TCKs are dispersed in later life from their TCK (abroad) community, particularly abruptly in as a result of graduation of even evacuation in cases of civil unrest or ill health. TCK dispersal then cannot be understood as an interruption to life's normal cycle, rather dispersal constitutes the norm and settledness the crisis.

In the same way as "dispersal" must be reconfigured to take account of the Third Culture Kid experience, so too must the meaning of "collective memory" be adapted. Again, in the literature on TCKs it is frequently argued that this group, as varied as it is in its membership, shares a culture of rootlessness and a memory of loss (McLachlan, 2004; Gould, 2002; Knell, 2001). According to Charliand and Rageau (1995) this collective diasporic memory is of a shared origin (i.e. a country or territory) but I suggest that for those who have no origin that can be concretely linked to national territories, their origin is one of rootlessness, similar to the experience of Romany populations as discussed by

Safran (1999). Points three and four seek longitudinal evidence of a sustained, transmissible, self-contained culture. While there is some anecdotal evidence of this within the TCK community, there has been no tangible research than may be reported as demonstrating this process to have taken place. Further research is needed to establish whether such links actually exist and whether they exist in all groups of TCKs, including military kids and children of multinational employees as well as missionary kids.

A final term that would need expansion should it be applied to TCKs is that of the "semi-diaspora", as used by Charliand and Rageau (1995). According to these authors, a dispersed population may be termed a semi-diaspora if the homeland to which the dispersed refer still exists and houses the majority of their compatriots. Under this definition, TCKs would be classed as a semi-diaspora if the homeland spoken of was identified as their passport country, i.e. a British TCK whose homeland was England. However, TCKs would have to be understood as a full diaspora if the homeland to which they referred was the transient expatriate community in which they grew up, i.e.: A British TCK who identified the transient expatriate community in India as their homeland.

Cohen (1997) suggests a new typography of diaspora according to reasons for dispersal. This is methodologically similar to research practices in Third Culture Kid literature; the most common ways that TCKs are categorised is according to the profession of their parents, most often the father (Gerner and Perry, 2000, p.269). Werbner (2004) has argued that a more effective classification of diaspora should be by the host country reception of its members. TCKs are generally viewed by their host countries as educationally superior (Matthews, 1989) and are viewed as elites with a certain amount of power and influence. The only moral panics spoken of in the literature concerns occasions when TCKs, often missionaries, are linked to religious organisations that may or may not be welcome in their host environments (Knell, 2001).

However, in other ways the literature on TCKs seems to mirror diaspora theory quite closely. As we have seen, Vertovec (1997) wrote of the triadic relationship inherent in diaspora populations. This three-way relationship links homeland, host-land, and other members of the diaspora whilst also expressing the members' need for connections with others of the same roots. This same triadic relationship exists among many TCKs who, whilst they may reside in their passport countries, may seek connections with their host-lands through visits, volunteering trips or holidays, and with each other at international conferences, or on internet forums (MKPlanet, 2013; TCKWorld, 2013). This seeking out of other likeminded people is especially significant considering the diversity of TCK experiences. Yet even in this heterogeneity, TCKs are not unlike diasporic populations, as defined by the literature. Ghosh (1989) has written that even heterogeneous populations are brought together by a collectively imagined homeland, such as is claimed for the TCK (Knörr, 2005). This imagined homeland has been described as imaginary in that memories of the host-land are inextricably linked with memories of childhood (Knörr, 2005) or rootlessness (McLachlan, 2004). Werbner (2002a) and Ignacio (2005) are two other authors who have argued for the heterogeneity of diasporic populations, and the same argument has been made for TCK populations (Gerner and Perry, 2000; Isogai, Hayashi, and Uno, 1999).

However, heterogeneity experienced by diasporic populations and TCK populations may have different political implications. In the case of many diasporas, there is an established public discourse in which policy makers actively try and display and promote an idea of unity concerning the generally heterogeneous population, in order to gain political ground (Werbner, 2002b). This is not the case for TCKs, who are under-represented and to whom no policy maker applies a political agenda. The difficulty here is

that while many see TCKs as sharing enough characteristics to justify their grouping as a social population, it is unclear if TCKs experience consciousness of a collective identity, such as has been identified as a solidly diasporic experience (Ghosh, 1989; Werbner, 2002b, Charliand and Rageau, 1995). It is clear from the limited literature that military brats and missionary kids refer to themselves by these titles, so as to identify their social grouping, but it is so far unclear whether or not business kids or the children of ambassadors see themselves as members of the TCK experience. Indeed, in this sense like the *illustrados* written about by Johnson (2013: 20), adult TCKs typically live away from an imagined homeland, and are almost "socialised into a condition of estrangement". There is an ever increasing awareness of TCK characteristics and communities, partly due to the presence of online forums and websites dedicated to the expression (or formulation) of a TCK consciousness, but many people who would be identified as TCKs by members of these communities, are as yet unaware of or uninterested in their apparent membership. It is unclear how many TCKs are required to share a "TCK consciousness" for TCKs to be considered as possessing a diasporic collective consciousness. Furthermore, the web presence of a diasporic grouping does not necessarily represent the actual form or experience of its offline "members" (Ong, 2005).

There are other more problematic comparisons to be made between these literatures, however. While Safran (1999) acknowledges that imperialist officials, employees of multi-national companies and missionaries could indeed be included within diasporic discourse, he does not acknowledge the children of such potential diasporics. For example, should one class imperialist officials as comprising a diasporic population, would their children also be classed as imperialist? To what extent do these children share the same diasporic experiences as their parents? Safran (1999) also opposes the view presented by Charliand and Rageau (1995) that longevity is an indicator of diasporic status. He

writes instead that a group may begin as diasporic but, though assimilation, no longer share the same focus on the homeland that such status requires. The long-term consequences of the TCK experience are similarly contested. Most write that the TCK experience has life-long effects on identity construction (Killguss, 2008; Knell, 2001) while Schaetti (1996) writes of TCK identity dilemmas in the past tense, indicating that their identification as "foreign" to their passport country lessened over time.

<u>Cosmopolitan Explanations of Third Culture Kid Experiences</u>

Cosmopolitans are generally understood to be individuals who possess the skills and "cultural competencies" to effectively navigate different meaning systems (Roudometof, 2005, p.114). Through a sense of global civility, the cosmopolitan "refuses to think of himself as defined by his location or his ancestry or his citizenship or his language" (Waldron, 1991, p.754). Rejecting the supremacy of traditional nationhood loyalties, however, does not necessarily preclude rooted patriotism (Turner 2002). Abu-Rabia (2008) writes that rooted cosmopolitans remain open and interested in other cultures whilst identifying as belonging to one particular group or nationality. Indeed, Turner (2002:49) insists that cosmopolitanism divorced from place and the collective memories located there would be "vacuous and ultimately lifeless".

As well as signposting an alternative way of belonging compatible with increased global consciousness, cosmopolitanism links closely with the concept of a global civil society (Held, 2003). Such a society is built upon the increasing numbers of NGOS, charities and interest associations that are located "beyond the confines of national societies, polities, and economies" (Kaldron, Anheier and Glasius, 2003, p.4). This 'applied cosmopolitanism' is concerned with "the deliberate aim of drawing the world together in new ways" (Keane, 2003, p.8).

TCKs experience these global civil societies in very real ways, the only but by no means insignificant exception being military TCKs. Their parents work in those NGOs and non-profit organisations that have transnational aims and objectives, and TCKs inhabit the expatriate communities that spring up around these organisations. Growing up "in-between' worlds", the TCK is typically uncomfortable with homogeneity (Killguss, 2008) and instead seeks out the variety of the margins, in company with the cosmopolitan (Foner, 1997, pp.73-4).

Through living at a distance from their passport countries, TCKs develop the "reflexive distance" deemed prerequisite to a cosmopolitan worldview (Turner, 2002, p.57). The multi-sited nature of TCK belonging facilitates ironic detachment from any one particular worldview. Turner (2002, p.59) writes, "If the cosmopolitan mentality is cool, the social relationships of the ironist will of necessity be thin: indeed, email friendships and electronic networks will constitute the new patterns of companionship in the postmodern globe". The social relationships associated with "home" belonging are necessarily ambiguous for the TCK (McLachlan, 2004, p.15), as they are for the cosmopolitan (Thomson and Tambyah, 1999).

However, to regard all TCKs as living the cosmopolitan dream, with the frequent travel and cultural emersion, may be to naively misunderstand the shape of these children's cultural realities. Knell (2001, p.51) writes that many TCKs never become intimate with their host culture(s) precisely because of the organisations that transported them abroad. These organisations often encourage their members to live on expatriate compounds or amongst the local, and foreign, elite, in exclusive suburbs, or within gated communities. Children frequently attend international schools, whose curriculum and fees exclude all but the most elite of the local population. As such, rather than representing a new breed of

cosmopolitan cultural mediators, TCKs may be better understood as belonging to a separate culture of "in-between-ness", as ex-members of an expatriate subculture who, in adulthood, are generally excluded from this homeland by virtue of their "growing up". Alternatively, TCKs may challenge discourses around rooted and rootless cosmopolitans, by displaying both rootlessness in terms of national allegiance, but a certain rootedness in a global expatriate culture.

Second Generation Explanations of Third Culture Kid Experiences

Third Culture Kids could be compared to second generation immigrants in as much as they also, are the children of migrants (Reynolds, 2008). However, migration experienced by many first generation immigrants and the migration experienced by the parents of TCKs differ hugely. The parents of TCKs are linked to institutions and companies who do much to facilitate their employees' lives abroad. They have financial, health, and pastoral support that is not always as readily available to first generation immigrants. The parents of TCKs are working within international organisations; their experiences may not even be compared with migrants who are drafted abroad by their governments for training or work purposes as these migrants may not have supporting organisations in the host country to provide face-to-face help (Chamberlain, 1997, p.39). In a very real sense, once abroad, first generation immigrants are still very much "on their own". It is important to factor in the experiences of the parents in order to set the experiences of the children in their proper context.

Second generation children and Third Culture Kids share the experience of 'belonging' to a "foreign" homeland (Rumbaut, 2001). Schaetti (1996), when writing of her own experiences as a TCK, refers to her behaviour in the eyes of her peers in America as "foreign". Different TCKs in the same family may identify different countries as

'home', depending upon the number of moves they have made and their ages at the time. This is also the case with second generation immigrants (Vuorela, 2002) and this shared characteristic can cause frictions in the families of both TCKs and migrants. Kureishi's (1986) film, "*My Beautiful Laundrette*" expresses some of the generational conflict that can arise when second generation immigrants do not share the same cultural values as their parents. Similarly, Knell (2001, p.24) writes of the delayed rebellion that can take place in the families of TCKs, once in the passport country and "free" of the institutional constraints placed upon them by their parents' careers. TCKs can often feel restricted by certain expectations levelled at them, not only from their parents' institutions, but also by those of their passport societies. Firmin, Warner and Lowe (2006) write of missionary kids hesitating to reveal their parents' occupations for fear of the stereotypes of 'weirdness' or 'awkwardness' that would follow. Even should no overt rebellion towards parental values or culture arise, both second generation immigrants and TCKs often would rather associate themselves with their host-land, rather than homeland, culture (Zhou, 1997, p.64; Firmin, Warner and Lowe, 2006). Timera (2002) writes of the difficult case of second generation African immigrants who are refused full entry into French society due to their skin colour. The TCK does not have this barrier to contend with, not generally being "marked as foreign" in their passport countries (Macgregor, 2000, p.306), and having a relatively high social, if not financial, status (due to parental occupation). Nevertheless, TCKs (along with many second generation immigrants in their host-lands) often lack the social capital necessary to gain full entry into the homeland culture. Levitt (2002, p.127) describes Eduardo's situation to illustrate this point: "His ability to decode cues in social and work settings in the Dominican Republic or the United States is limited. His particular mix of transnational practices and host-country involvement has resulted in social and economic marginality in both settings".

However, a significant distinction between second generation immigrants and TCKs is to be found in a certain reversal of experiences. The difficulties the former encounters with integration would be with his or her host-land, whereas the TCK encounters these difficulties in their so-called homeland, or passport country. Nevertheless, the tactics employed to achieve integration are similar. Van Niekert (2007) writes of the popularity of Bollywood among the Indo-Surinamese and, in writing on TCKs, Knörr (2005) discusses the externalisation and appropriation of obvious "ethnic" cultural references. For example, a white British TCK who grew up in Africa may find himself disconcertingly labelled as "non-ethnic" when in university, so in order to distinguish himself as having experienced "African" culture he may grow dreadlocks or wear African prints (Knörr, 2005). In so doing, he is marking himself as different from his peers who have not had a foreign culture experience. Other distinguishing features may not be of the individual's choosing and may cause more identity problems than act as aids. For some Barbadian returnees, their British accent set them apart and, in some cases, would hinder social acceptance (Chamberlain, 1997; Reynolds, 2008). TCKs and second generation immigrants both claim to be at home nowhere and anywhere (Chamberlain, 1997).

Research on second generation immigrants and Third Culture Kids seem to share much in common. Most significantly, they both seek to navigate competing national identities, identities that are not shared with their parents. However, although there are many similarities in their experiences, certain differences exist that prevent TCKs from being fully understood though a second generational paradigm. In their countries of origin, second generations are ethnically, if not culturally, at home. But they consider their cultural "roots" to be in this homeland country, albeit if cultural particularities take some time to adjust to (Reynolds, 2008). In their countries of origin, TCKs are ethnically, but not culturally at home (Macgregor, 2000). While second generation returnees seek to reconcile

ethnic and cultural roots in their identities, TCKs may reject that such cultural roots to their passport countries even exist. Racially they appear to "belong" to the passport country but their "ethnic" identifications may be rooted in another country, or perhaps even an international community. Although many TCKs may feel themselves to be cultural minorities in their passport country, they may find gaining entry into established minority groups difficult to achieve. It might well be, for example, that a British TCK raised in Africa may seek belonging in a minority group of Black British teenagers when she returns to complete her A-levels in England. Yet entry into this minority group is by no means guaranteed, as the TCK is racially marked as belonging to the dominant population.

Return Migration Explanations of Third Culture Kid Experiences

Another form of migration that may have a bearing on the TCK experience is that of return migration. King and Christou (2008, p.1) term this phenomenon as "counter-diasporic migration", or "the process whereby the second generation relocates to the ancestral homeland". Unlike first generation returnees, these individuals have no long-term experience of living in their country "of origin", and this lack of first-hand experience is the root of many tensions regarding identity and belonging. Indeed, "coming home" may serve only to demonstrate how "foreign" returnees have become whilst living abroad. King and Christou (2008, p.11) write, "Whilst on the one hand the homeland trips fostered a sense of affinity –being surrounded by people 'who looked the same as us' – in other respects the visits challenged notions of 'blood and belonging' in profound ways." Similarly, Saloutos (1956, p.115) wrote of one repatriate that "he was a man without a country, a foreigner in his own land; the Greeks considered him to be American and the Americans considered him to be Greek, thereby making him always the foreigner. These tensions of belonging are particularly poignant when considering that the primary motivation for return, for most second generation returnees, is the desire to seek "a final

resting-place against their existential anxiety about their in-betweenness and where they belong" (King and Christou, 2008, p.17).

A second kind of returnee experience is business repatriation. Repatriation is defined by Hurn (1999, p.224) as "the transition from a foreign country back to one's own after living overseas for a significant period of time", and writes from the business perspective. Of particular application to the TCK experience is, perhaps, Hurn's (1999, p.225) observation that repatriates "have been used to operating often as "a big fish in a small pond" as many overseas positions are by nature broader than back in the home country". For TCKs this observation has two potential applications. Firstly, it would be likely that they enjoy a higher status abroad due to their "big fish" parents than they experience upon return to the "home" country. This change in status can be uncomfortable for children and teenagers who are adjusting to different societal expectations and values. Secondly, the "big fish" status of their parents may have been mirrored in their own experiences as they are likely to have attended smaller schools with more opportunities for recognition and responsibility than may be the case in their home countries.

Finally, return migration is also experienced by students returning from overseas, and these students, according to Gaw (2000, p.85) are likely to encounter reverse culture shock. Gaw (2000, pp.83-4) defines this phenomena as "the process of readjusting, reacculturation, and reassimilating into one's own home culture after living in a different culture for a significant period of time". Yoshida et al. (2002, p.430), writing on the Japanese returnee experience, describe the tensions that many returnees experienced when the manner in which they managed self-expression clashed with what their homeland peers felt were appropriate ways of interacting.

It would perhaps be appropriate to see within these returnee narratives the expression of what many TCKs experience in terms of cultural tensions between place,

identity and, ultimately, belonging. The additional element of the TCK experience not expressed or explored in many returnee narratives however, is the organisational element. When TCKs 'return', they are leaving not only their host country, but also their expatriate or organisational culture, thus adding an additional layer to their cultural experiences and expectations of the home country.

Expatriate Literature

As Fechter (2007a, p.6) observes, the term "expatriate" is "socially contested, politically and morally charged, ambiguous, and is linked to particular notions of ethnicity and class". There are particular tensions surrounding the interchangeability of the terms "migrant" and "expatriate". For the purposes of this literature review, and thesis more broadly, I use expatriate to refer to those persons who work outside of their passport country. For most expatriates this work is arranged via an international organisation, be this a religious mission or business. This is the kind of expatriate situation covered most frequently in the expatriate literature. However, another kind, that of "lifestyle migration", is discussed by Benson and O'Reilly (2009, p.608) as describing "an increasing number of people who take the decision to migrate based on their belief that there is a more fulfilling way of life available to them". For these expatriates, self-employment is most common, though often still orienting itself "within tourism or providing services for other migrants" (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, p.610).

The predominate themes of expatriate research originate in the realm of management and business studies, and focus mainly on determinants of expatriate "success" (some examples include: Mendenhall and Oddou, 1985; Shaffer, Harrison, and Gilley, 1999; Carraher, Sullivan and Crocitto, 2008). Of particular interest in the literature is the impact of stress on expatriate employees, and the imperative of employers to engage

in reducing this stress so as to avoid early repatriation becoming a regular feature of their workforce (Brown, 2008, p.1020). The impact of the spouse is often cited as pivotal in terms of employee stress (see Black and Stephens, 1989; Lauring and Selmer, 2010; Gupta, Banerjee and Gaur, 2012).

Moving beyond the "success-failure" paradigm of expatriate experience, writers explore identity, life-work boundaries, belonging, local engagement, the significance of place, stress, and the presence (or lack thereof) of children featuring in this literature. In terms of identity construction, Butcher (2010, p.29) observes that, for expatriates, the inevitable "dislocating" from relationship networks was the means by identities could be somewhat freed from the expectations of others. However, this "identity fluidity" is not limitless, as national regulatory boundaries remain significant in emphasising the foreignness of one's self abroad (Butcher, 2010, p.33).

Expatriate regulatory boundaries prove significant also, as Lauring and Selmer (2009, p.1452) posit that close community living common amongst expatriates may prove to hold a high potential for conflict. Indeed, the permeable life-work boundaries are a particular feature of expatriate communities and lead to many in the community seeking conflict avoidance as preferable, to avoid personal conflicts leaking into the workplace (Lauring and Selmer, 2009, p.1459).

Beyond the conflict management amongst "in-group" members of the expatriate community, Lauring and Selmer (2009) found that boundary maintenance between "in-group" expatriates and "host country nationals" was key to a sense of belonging in the expatriate community. In their ethnographic study of a group of Danish expatriates, the writers observed that sanctions were common if a member was found to be blurring the lines between the "in-group" and "out-group" by, for example, conversing in Arabic with

staff (Lauring and Selmer, 2009, p.1460). Expatriates were socialised early in terms of the "in-group's" expectations and perspective, but another bonding mechanism was the recounting "of how badly things could go wrong outside in the Saudi society, if you did not stick together" (Lauring and Selmer, 2009, p.1458). Fechter (2005) also reports on the unifying effect of perceived threat when she explores the ways in which expatriates experience being caught in the gaze of the "Other". She writes, "The desire of many expatriates to avoid embarrassing exposure to 'the gaze' led them to frequent exclusive shops, restaurants, golf courses, or private business clubs where they were less likely to become an object of attention" (Fechter, 2005, p. 93). In this way, the resentment felt generally by expatriates unused to being "Othered" led to a self-induced absenting of expatriates from host country national spaces, or public spaces.

One of the major ways in which belonging was constructed for expatriates, according to the literature, was due to the predominance of compound living. Compounds, or high-rise apartments, provides expatriates with community but does so by distancing the inhabitants from public spaces, rendering their own private spaces exclusive (Fechter, 2005, p.93. Smiley (2010, p.338) observes that this distancing enforces a kind of non-official racial segregation in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and that "[t]his lack of meaningful interactions persists from the colonial era. Hardill (2004, p.382) concurs, describing the expatriate "bubble" as "a world within a world, very reminiscent of the expatriate life of the colonial era… their lives centred on the closed area of the foreign (Western) compound". Nevertheless, despite the evidence that many expatriate communities distance themselves from meaningful contact with host country nationals, Lauring and Selmer (2009, p.1453) observe that "Not being able to interact with the HCNs in daily life outside work makes expatriates ignorant about local thinking and mentality". This ignorance, the

writers claim, will make expatriates more surprised and frustrated by the variance of work practises they will observe whilst working abroad (Lauring and Selmer, 2009, p.1453).

Place emerges as a significant player in this border work, moving the issue from "in-group, out-group" work to engagement with physical boundaries. Fechter (2007b, pp.33-4) challenges the tendency of migration literature of overstate the "paradigm of flows" as overstating the irrelevance of borders. Indeed, an emphasis on transnational spaces can fail to understand the ways in which migrants interact with the cultural and physical boundaries that continue to impact upon their lives. In Fechter's (2007b) analysis, metaphors used by expatriates to describe their living situations abroad focus on three main terms; the bubble, ghetto and hothouse. These three, in varying ways, are indicative that very real boundaries exist for supposedly "borderless" people (Fechter, 2007b, p.37).

For many expatriates, compound living becomes the ultimate "bubble", acting as a "stabilising weight when all around is in flux" (Butcher, 2010, p.34). Glatze (2006, p.86), writing about expatriate compounds in Saudi Arabia, observed that compound living became "associated with openness and freedom" where expatriates may escape the often "strict cultural restrictions on the other side of the gates". Indeed, the living places of expatriates "provide enclaves of western lifestyles, a space where totally different social norms and institutions apply" (Glatze, 2006, p.87).

The creation of new 'homes' or, in Butcher's (2010) words, the "re-placing" of home, is a necessary to the management of fluidity experienced by expatriates. In fact, Butcher (2010) goes so far as to argue that placelessness is not a tenable position maintained by the expatriate. Rather, in the face of an up-rooting of home, the expatriate employs "home-making strategies" to "re-place" home as a vital site of identity expression and cultural comfort. The writer goes on, "I would argue that there is no evidence in this

research that belonging 'everywhere' or being a 'global citizen'…, that is, being placeless, overrides the need to feel the ground beneath these feet as somehow qualitatively different, as special, as special, and to call it 'home'." (Butcher, 2010, p. 34). These writings suggest that place and its borders remain of significance to the expatriate community, although its members belong to a broad transnational space they nevertheless seem to congregate to create expatriate "enclaves" rather than interacting directly with their local environment.

The existence of cultural enclaves does not, however, seem to eradicate all the stressors associated with expatriate living. Brown (2008, p.1031) discovered that stress did not reduce the longer expatriate couples spent on assignment, suggesting that acclimatisation either does not happen, or that increased familiarity with the country does not in itself reduce stress. Also, while employees were most stressed by relationship strains, spouses were most affected by sources of stress to do with the environment abroad, such as local pressures and isolation, as well as a reduced sense of self (Brown, 2008, p.1031). While this study, along with many others, stops short of exploring the impact of stress on the children of expatriates, it may be deduced that having parents under stress will impact negatively on their own experiences abroad, especially if the parent at home is experiencing stress particularly focused on the local environment.

Children are rarely mentioned as members of this expatriate world, and although there are exceptions these do not engage with the experiences of expatriate children themselves, instead referring to them as elements only of the expatriate parents' lifestyle (Hardill, 2004; Smiley, 2010, p.334). Straffon (2003) however, engages particularly with students attending an international school, and the impact of this educational environment on their intercultural sensitivity. He concludes that these expatriate students "have a high level of intercultural sensitivity", yet his analysis falls short of illuminating the day to day experiences of the expatriate child (Straffron, 2003, p.498).

In summary, expatriate literature explores some areas pertinent to understanding the context of the TCK childhood, such as the opportunities of identity re-invention, the permeability of work-life boundaries, process of belonging and allegiance, engagement with the local population, the significance of place, the presence of stress. However, perhaps the most significant finding of this field is the relative absence of children from the discussion on expatriate living. This is a significant gap that this thesis aims to breach, in focusing on the experiences of expatriate children themselves, and the ways in which this experiences have life-long significance on their notions of belonging, identity and place.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that though much has been written regarding the experiences of migration, current discourses fall short of fully comprehending the particularities of the TCK experience, leaving the phenomenon under-theorised. While much may be added to our understanding of TCKs through the application of knowledge from related literatures, what is missing is narrative. The TCK story is not being told and may not be adequately imagined merely through the experiences of other migrants – rather, the particularities of the TCK experience should be further examined, drawn out, and understood in their own terms. Where this chapter has focused largely on the context surrounding the TCK experience, the next chapter will examine in more detail the migration experience of TCKs through autobiographical and narrative-focused works, and will also examine the conceptual underpinnings and building blocks of the experience itself.

CHAPTER THREE: Experiences of Migration

The previous chapter briefly mapped out migration literature and located Third Culture

Kids as firmly belonging to, and challenging, that landscape, although their presence has

hitherto been somewhat neglected by academic writings. This chapter will move from

locating TCKs as sharing broadly in the migration experience towards an exploration of

their lived experience in more detail. As any experience is subjectively understood and

interpreted as existing in reference to what it "is not", in order to better comprehend the

TCK migration experience, it may be expedient to highlight some of the ways their

experience deviates from the so-called 'normal' trajectory of more a more settled life

course. Then I will outline the experiences of TCK migration by their different sponsor

organisation, and identify some overlapping themes that emerge, expressing the literature's

story of the TCK experience of migration

Deviating from the 'normal', typically settled childhood

Briefly, there are three major elements to a generally settled life that are removed from the

TCK's experience: Firstly, the presence of stable cultural norms; secondly, the presence of

a stable peer culture; and third, the opportunity for a staggered and negotiated transition

between childhood world of play and the adult world of work.

The child that is raised and spends most of their childhood within one stable

cultural environment learns, and negotiates with, the "rules" of that milieu. There may, of

course, be present various nationalities and cultures within this environment yet, through

extended contact, the environment develops a negotiated culture that remains mostly

stable. This is due in part to there being frequently present a "majority" culture and/or a

stable geographic location that provides a locus for cultural negation. A school, for example, in Leeds may comprise many different nationalities and be open to the input from myriad cultures, but the fact it geographically stable over time (it remains both a school and in Leeds) provides a mostly stable cultural reference point for the children who attend.

The school is in fact an important cultural locus for the TCK also, in that changes in educational environment most often accompanies changes in geographical location. In moving countries, the TCK migrates between school, and in so doing migrates between different negotiated cultures. The TCK's experience of this is frequently infused by their not being familiar with the ways in which these cultures are negotiated, nor the resources necessary to enter into the process themselves. Wyness (2011, p.149) writes of schools being a "normalisation" project; that teachers, and one could add pupils, engage in a "continuous process of comparison" in which children are measured against each other according to a cultural understanding of "normal childhood". There are of course "settled" children who are located outside this understanding of "normal" childhood by teachers and pupils alike: those who bring the "wrong" kind of sandwiches, the vegan child, the child who is "too" quiet, "too" loud – the list can go on. However, while the TCK may possess all of the aforementioned characteristics of failing to measure up to "normal" childhood, they are also placed there automatically by virtue of their mobility. They share neither a shared history with settled children, nor the assurance of a shared future. Although shared futures may not be common among the settled either, it is a certainty amongst the mobile that their futures lives will be geographically dispersed.

James (1993, pp.95- 6) describes a child's peers as instrumental in the development of their identity, "…identities emerge slowly, to be tried and tested out in the company, largely, of other children." While relationships between younger children could not always be defined as stable in themselves (James, 1993, p.202), the culture in which they are

performed, and the rules by which the friendships, and the fallings out, are governed, do remain stable for the more settled child. Indeed, children mirror to each other their developing identities, as they negotiate their position in childhood culture, and the importance of peer group only increases with age (Erwin, 1998, p.3; Crosnoe and Elder, 2004, p.593). Indeed, to develop friendships temporal stability is prerequisite, as the state does not subsist on affection alone. Friendship "must be affirmed, confirmed and reaffirmed through social action" (James, 1993, p.215).

The mobility of the TCK leads them to experience multiple transient and shifting peer cultures, and so the mirroring function these provide may be confused and contradictory. In one culture, a TCK's peers experiment with the negotiated boundaries of male-female friendships and relationships. In another, interactions between male and female peers are limited and "policed". If the TCK employs the approved norms of male-female interaction from the first in the second, the peer mirror may position them as loose, easy, and sexually compromised. Lack of stability in the TCK's peer culture leads the TCK to develop a highly toned awareness of the immediate culture, with very little room for error or experimentation, in order to perform an accepted identity within their current peer culture.

Finally, the settled child grows up with opportunities to engage with his or her cultural environment, simply because resources for involvement are appropriate to the milieu. The child sees parents and other adults engaging in the work life of their culture and, as they get older, typically has access to the legal necessities for engaging in that work culture for themselves. The weekend jobs provide a bridge from childhood play to adult working, and ease the transition from childhood to adulthood so that by the time the young adult is expected to earn his own living, he has built up a base of experience from which he may draw.

Wyn (2004, p.9) discovered over 50 per cent of 17 year olds in his sample had held a job at some time. In contrast, TCKs through spending a significant portion of their childhood in a host country, typically see their parents' engage in the expatriate working culture. While their work may be related directly to host country populations and/or activities, it is mediated through expatriate organisation and administration. Language and cultural barriers, as well as a busy expatriate social life, may hamper the TCK from being employed for weekend jobs, and their knowledge of working in the entry-level positions experienced by their settled peers maybe sketchy at best. Furthermore, their lived experience of "working for a cause", inherent in mission and military environments especially, may dampen their enthusiasm for the entry-level positions engaged by settled peers. Upon their "return" to their passport country, teenage TCKs may feel both ill-prepared and ill-equipped to engage in the working culture of their peers. This in turn may make the transition from child to young adult a more challenging prospect for the TCK.

TCK literatures: commonalities and variations

I have briefly outlined three ways in which the TCK experience of mobility stands in stark relief to the experience of the 'settled' child. This chapter serves to explore more deeply this deviance from the settled norm, according to the literature. In chapter two the literature examined was primarily academic in origin, as migration studies have been well documented in this field. The lived experience of the TCK migrant, however, has been less well documented in academia and so this chapter will explore the more autobiographical and anecdotal accounts available. The literature on Third Culture Kids is mixed source. Much of the literature aims to support TCKs in a positive understanding of their experiences and to enable parents' to make career choices that take into account the needs of their children (Andersson and Cunningham-Andersson, 2004; Bryson and Hoge, 2005; Pascoe, 2006). Other literature is more autobiographical in tone, expressing personal

experiences and subjective interpretations (Dyer and Dyer, 1991; Schaetti, 1996). These "personal", or autobiographical, accounts in TCK literature would seem to be indicative of a need to share, a need to connect with the experiences of readers, rather than expressive of a dismissal of more scholarly approaches. That such scholars have chosen to write in a less formal manner indicates that this literature seeks to support, as well as inform.

This literature tends to point towards some basic commonalities between TCKs of all nationalities, not least of which is an awareness of the temporality of their embeddedness, "We were raised to be different, we were raised knowing we wouldn't stay, knowing that as soon as we finished school we would leave and probably not come back" (Sichel, 2004). Nevertheless, assuming this shared experience led to a basically stable communal identity could be a simplistic interpretation of the totality of the TCK experience of mobility (Mohanty, 2000). Upon reading the literature on TCKS, it becomes clear that different types of TCK may differ in their experiences of mobility (Podolsky, 2004). Gerner and Perry (2000, p.270), for example, indicate that familial intimacy differs between types of TCK. Their research concluded that in comparison to TCKs from other sponsor organisations, adolescent mission TCKs rated themselves as closest to their families. These internal differences are a result of the huge variety of experiences that are found to be within the realm of the TCK; experiences vary "in terms of their countries of residence, length of stay outside of their passport country, the number of countries in which they have lived, their exposure to local culture etc." (Isogai, Hayashi, Uno, 1999, p.493). The most cited variation between the experiences of TCKs lies in the different sponsor organisations they are raised in. Therefore this next section will outline the literatures description of life within these discrete organisations.

Sponsor Organisations

The significance of the sponsor organisation lies in its all-encompassing influence on the lives of TCKs and their families. The sponsor organisation determines, to a greater or lesser extent, which country/ies the TCK grows up in, what schools they attend, what kind of houses they will live in, when they may visit their passport countries and for how long, what languages they may learn and what churches they will attend (Bell-Villada et al., 2011, p.19; Ender, 2002, p.212). Because of the range of their influence, and the extent of their resources, sponsor organisations tend towards creating semi-permeable communities, epitomised by the expatriate compound so many families live on (Cottrell, 2007, p.4). Indeed, most TCKs are labelled according to their parents' sponsors – Army brats, MKs or Mish Kids (missionary kids), Biz kids, etc. (Bell-Villada, 2011, p.19).

The significance of these sponsor organisations lie in the resemblance they share with Goffman's (1961, p.16) "total institutions", in particular mission and military organisations. Goffman (1961, p.15) describes how physical barriers to the outside, such as high walls and gated compounds, echo the social barrier that lies between members of these institutions and non-members. He also observes:

> *"A basic social arrangement in modern society is that the individual tends to sleep, play and work in different places with different co-participants, under different authorities, and without an overall rational plan. The central feature of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life"* (Goffman, 1961, p.17).

For this reason, it is important to explore the social context TCKs grow up in, rather than focus solely on the mobility element of their experiences.

In this section I will describe observations from the literature regarding the different sponsors and the experience of growing up in these organisations. Then I will go on to examine the literatures' suggestion that, despite the peculiarities of different sponsors and the distinguishing effects these may have on the TCK experience, there are nevertheless certain commonalities shared between all members of sponsor communities. I will outline how, according the literature, TCKs develop and experience emotional and relational embeddedness; that is, a feeling of rootedness to their surroundings, as mediated by their sponsor. The literature also elucidates our understanding of the lived experience of mobility in terms of memory or nostalgia, the question of where the TCK "locates" his or her identity, and the development of a TCK's moral career – by which I am referring to Goffman's sense of moral career encapsulating an individual's "felt identity" and public roles played out in society (1961, p.127).

The Mission

There are many different mission organisations, varying in size, structure, host country placements, and denominational affiliation, though the vast majority are of Protestant Christian extraction. Despite these variations, however, there seem to be some overarching similarities between these organisations that make it possible to talk of growing up in these missions as more or less a generalizable experience. Many missions are international in that their members are from many different nationalities, and some are inter-denominational. According to the literature, missions are mostly family-focused, and where there are single missionaries, these are most likely to be women. As Henderson-James (2009, p.71) notes, "Single missionary men were rare and rarely stayed single long. Single women were plentiful… In any case, single women were indulgent with missionary children."

Faith

The most distinguishing characteristic of the Mission is the religious motivation for living abroad. Henderson-James (2009, p.13) likens the vocational calling of the missionary to the "dedication" of military and Foreign Service employees, and such a calling has a significant impact on the lives of their children: "Children became miniature advocates and supporters of their parents' enterprise, ceding, without knowing it, an intimate family for the good of the organisation." For children raised with an understanding of their parents' call, and witness to their dedication, it is immensely difficult to acknowledge the losses encountered as an inevitable aspect of the internationally mobile life (van Reken, 1989). Indeed, reticence to acknowledge loss and difficulty is frequently an example set by missionaries themselves (Cline, 1989). These missionary children are part of an organisation in which individual desires are sacrificially superseded by a global vision, and to speak candidly of personal conflicts and struggles may be interpreted by one's colleagues as unwillingness to submit graciously to God's calling on one's life. In one autobiography, the author describes how shared faith sometimes seemed to be interpreted as license to comment on one's life decisions. She implies there existed almost a sense of shared responsibility over one's "success" or "failings", born perhaps of an assumed homogeneity of belief or calling, that incorporated TCKs, as extensions of their missionary parents, "I wanted to be selfish and not live in a goldfish bowl anymore. I was sick of people "challenging" me and "speaking into my life"." (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.125)

This homogeneity of belief and religious experience is actively cultivated in many missions. Swanson (1985, p.317) describes how many English-speaking missionaries congregate together to worship, especially in more urban areas where mission schools provide a hub for activity. Cameron (2006, p.149) writes, "In some instances MKs have been carefully sheltered within insular Christian environments and have not been exposed

to alternative spiritual beliefs during childhood". While some may have experienced missions as providing very nurturing and supportive environments, Cameron argues that these TCKs will at some point, generally in teenage years, exit the mission community and will suddenly encounter friends and acquaintances with beliefs that challenge the mostly homogeneous beliefs they have been raised with (2006).

<u>Family</u>

Families typically travelled as a self-contained unit, but they did not always live as one. Van Reken (1988: 14-5) writes about how homesickness was a prevailing feature of her time away at boarding school, and the effect the long separations have on their times together, "Each time I come home, it feels harder to let you hug me or hug you back. What I stay mad at everyone, it doesn't hurt so much to think about going back to school." Those missionary TCKs who leave for university while their parents are still working in the host country typically learn self-reliance, a quality encouraged in school boarders also (Henderson-James, 2009). Schimmels (1989, 6) warns, however, "that self-reliance is just one step away from being a terribly frustrated, isolated person when they hit the system.". One writer also notes that while families travel together, they do not necessarily share in the same attitudes towards the different host and passport countries (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.28). As individuals, with individual perspectives, they experience the world(s) around them differently, and develop different understandings of their mobile life.

In the absence of extended biological family, TCKs live surrounded by their many "aunts" and "uncles", and are encouraged to refer to all missionaries in these terms (Lloret, 2004, p.85; Henderson-James, 2009, p.18, Pollock and van Reken, 2009, p.136). Indeed, one writer references her later career decision to this family-like environment, "I had exchanged one "family environment" for another by joining a missions organisation…"

(Sand-Hart, 2010, p.123). This TCK felt most comfortable in the informality of this close community, and made a choice to return to it as an adult. The literature reveals another consequence to this "close community", however, namely intense accountability. Sand-Hart (2010, pp.120, 126) describes "the fear of disappointing my parents and their missionary community, and tarnishing their reputation" as being so instilled that even as an adult, she continues to seek out anonymity.

In certain tragic cases, the reliance on and trust in this family-like community led to the abuse of TCKs by those who were meant to protect and nurture them (Evans and Evans, 1998, p.398; Kietzman, 2005, p.102). Mission boarding schools, in particular, have been reported as being at times the context for abuse (Priest, 2003, p.180).

<u>Community</u>

One thing that is emphasised throughout my reading of the literature is the close-knit nature of the Mission community. Because of the closeness and heightened accountability of the mission community, "extended compliance" is required. Engaging in behaviour deemed unacceptable by the group could result in repatriation for the whole family (Pollock and van Reken, 2009, p.148).

The homogeneous nature of mission has already been highlighted above, and the significance of this deserves some elaboration here. Swanson (1985, p.60) writes:

> *"The missionary community is in some ways a caricature of its members' culture of origin. And yet, the culture it represents is more "evangelical" than it is "American"... One's missionary colleagues are "co-laborers in the vineyard"— but they are also educators of one's children, spiritual advisors, neighbours, and closest friends."*

This is one of the extraordinary aspects of a missionary life; that one's circle of acquaintances and friends is so entirely compact, inter-linking, and inter-generational (Pollock and van Reken, 2009, p.145). In urban areas particularly, TCK students socialising with the friends of their parents will find themselves having dinner with their teachers and counsellors. Swanson is writing, of course, from the perspective of an all-American mission, and with more and more missions being international the assumed total homogeneity needs revision. However, the literature does imply that, despite the increased presence of different nationalities and cultures, the American "culture" appears to be the most dominant in many mission organisations. It is important to note here that if more autobiographies written from a non-Anglo-American perspective were available, more heterogeneity may be observed than from the current pool of literature available.

Education

Education offered by mission schools was depicted in the literature as being of a high level. Indeed, Sand-Hart (2010, p.43) noted the standard was higher than that offered in passport country schools. These schools require more than dedicated study from their students, however. Activities and sports offered by the school outside regular hours offers varied opportunities to students, as well as demands much of their time. Indeed, because of the high concentration of activity surrounding the mission school, there are fewer opportunities for students to engage with local culture and community outside of the programmes on offer (Swanson, 1985, p.317). The school would also frequently have a predominant national culture, determined by student and staff majority as well as curriculum used. This has a huge impact upon the TCK's educational future. Schimmels (1989, p. 12) describes one example of this,

> *"Andy when to missionary school, which means, whether you want to admit it or*
>
> *not, he basically went to an American school… Andy grew up thinking like an*

> *American… He came to Wheaton [university]… The tragedy is he'll never be*
>
> *British. One generation and his roots are gone."*

Schimmels (1989) sees that the educational syllabus and national context of a school has significant implications on acceptance at further education institutions, and on which country the TCK may feel drawn to seek employment in. In particular, it would not be unusual for a TCK student to be receiving As in one education system, only to switch to Cs in another due to different scholastic emphasises. This has a massive impact up that student's academic confidence (Pollock and van Reken, 2009, p.197).

These influences are driven by sponsor vision and resources, via the mission school. One particular way in which missions have impacted on the educational choices of their members' families, is in the formal or informal pressure applied to missionary parents to use the mission schools provided. For urban-based missionaries, the encouragement from their sponsor to use the provide school is seldom problematic, unless there is a particular desire to engage in home-schooling alternatives. For more rural-based missionaries, or ones based in other countries to the one in which the school is located, using the school provided necessitates registering the children as boarders. One TCK wrote:

> *"My speaking out in this is a risk I take, for I risk being judged for daring to*
>
> *challenge the decisions of many who had power over a child's deepest wish – to*
>
> *remain in a family… When the parents' call and the mission's directive demands*
>
> *the separation of parents from their children, then it is no wonder there is family*
>
> *dysfunction later down the years…"* (Anonymous, Simroots, 2009, p.3)

For this TCK, the missionary family had no choice but to send away a child who wanted to stay. The common difficulty being that from the perspective for the administration, for missions to raise and maintain the resources to run mission schools, it was necessary they

were well utilised. On the other hand, Priest (2003, p.190) claims that because "Boarding schools are total institutions, often modelled on patterns from the United States" and that, as such, American TCKs are often much better prepared to settle into US education upon their family's "return" than "an MK in a foreign culture who lives at home and does home-schooling, correspondence education, or attends a national school".

Status

Missionaries certainly do not rank as high earners in their passport countries, yet in their host countries they tend to be among the wealthiest, and possess certain privileges as members of an expatriate community. This is, of course, dependent on how tolerant the host country is of expatriate Christians. School field trips encompassed the exotic, "we visited tiger and elephant inhabited jungles, crystal clear lakes, and neighboring hill stations" and family holidays were beyond anything that could have been afforded in passport countries (Sand-Hart, 2010, pp.44-5). Life was facilitated by the employment of house and garden employees, lifting the burden of daily tasks when frequently these were complicated by a lack of facilities regularly available in the passport country. The prevalence of these house workers, and later consciousness of the privilege it represented, seemed to lead to ambivalence in TCK adult life when considering hiring help for their own homes (Henderson-James, 2009, p.70). More than material privilege, TCKs wrote of feeling set apart by their experiences, and by the higher calling of their parents' employment. One writer told of a missionary kid who admitted to being "outraged that a teacher questioned something he said in class" (Wickstrom, 1998a, p.159). This student had been accustomed to being seen as an "expert authority" due to their wide ranging experiences abroad. As a missionary kid, he was a "truth teller", whose word was rarely questioned within the mission community.

<u>Work</u>

Missions are, to their core, providers of help – be that salvation, famine relief, literacy projects, and many other resources. Their relationship to the host country is typically characterised by this "rescuer" model (Wickstrom, 1998a, p.160). Some missions/missionaries do adopt a 'friendship evangelism' approach, in which the missionary seeks to just become part of the host community in a way that allows more egalitarian relationships to grow, through which they hope an organic interest in their faith will become one subject of their many conversations. Even in this model however, the wider host community frequently identifies the missionary primarily as help giver, as one possessing superior resources – both material and spiritual. Henderson-James (2009, p.73) was articulate regarding the long hours, and on-call nature of missionary work, "They were off day and night working, worshipping, and discussing. I resented my parents leaving after supper for a meeting or church service and wished they were downstairs talking or reading while I slept upstairs."

In terms of the missionary kid's own experience of work, Wyse (1998, p. 126) warns that the unintended consequence of having house help and, in many cases, a stay-at-home mother, is that TCKs do not engage at an early age with the more mundane and routine tasks of daily life. This has an impact on later relationships and MKs risk appearing "lazy and unappreciative". Wyse (1998, p.126) also notes that because of language and/or administrative barriers in the host country, mission kids frequently only experience their first formal employment at the age of 18 or 19, several years after their contemporaries in the passport country.

<u>Local Engagement</u>

Cooper (2006), in her extensive and engaging ethnography, *"Evangelical Christians in the Muslim Sahel"*, is critical of what she sees as the paternalistic attitude of the mission towards the local population, concluding that this is mostly due to an ignorance of local cultural meanings. The literature suggests this attitude is replicated in the children of missionaries, mainly due to limited contact because of school commitments, or language barrier. One writer describes a visit to meeting for poor children when she was a young child, and how she was particularly affected by the lack of bowels or plates available to these children. She writes that "we went to the market with my mum and brought eighty to one hundred new plates and gave them out to these poor children at the next meeting." (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.42). As a child she was aware of the disparity between herself and the local population and desired to help, to give, to them. Of particular poignancy is that these poor children may not have identified a lack of plates as their primary need, but consultation did not appear to have occurred on this occasion.

For many TCKs though, contact of any kind with local communities is limited. In Kwon's (2006,p.20) study, TCKs were little involved in local culture, despite the majority of their parents' work being local-church based. For many TCKs, this lack of involvement is "a common regret", and seen as an inevitable consequence of their structural environment, such as living on base, or attending boarding school (Pollock and van Reken 2009, p.219).

<u>Language</u>

Finally, another aspect to the lived experience of the TCK, specific to the mission context, is related to the mission school. These schools are generally run according to an American/British curriculum, and in the English language. Increasingly, however, missionary kids attend for whom English is not their first language, nor the language spoken at home. Marttinen (1989, p. 306) writes:

> *"Many non-English-speaking children have found themselves in frustrating situations both at school and in boarding homes. They have been confronted with language imperialism. The school demands that the child learn the school language as fast as possible. Therefore the staff discourages the use of the child's native tongue."*

This "language imperialism", while perhaps seen as necessary for homogeneity and to discourage factions according to nationality among the student body, nevertheless has important implications for that student's home life, relationship with their parents (Marttinen, 1998, p.306), and future relationship with their passport country.

<u>Impermanence</u>

Life in a mission agency is characterised by a regular cycle of comings and goings, of airport pickups and potlucks. Even for those MKs not moving this year, they remain part of a community whose members regularly shift and regroup. Friendships are cut short, put on pause, and picked up again (Pollock, 1998, p.102). This pattern of friendships can give very little need or incentive to resolve conflicts, as notes Sand-Hart (2010). She writes, "The ability to resolve things in a healthy light eluded me for many years, until I learnt that things catch up to you in life." (Sand-Hard, 2010, p.139).

Pollock and van Reken write of a "delusion of choice", where TCKs appear to have opportunities to get stuck into activities and events in the life of their community. In reality, of course, waiting lists, or long-term strategising and planning are rendered redundant in the face of the next move. In later life, TCKs face difficulty of making long term plans because of these childhood experiences (2009, pp.107, 127).

<u>Location of Identity</u>

One of the questions wrestled with in many of the TCK writings covered in this chapter, is the question of where a TCK may source, or locate, his identity or sense of belonging. TCKs maintain and juggle different degrees of relationship to a number of different countries, and the balance frequently varies with time (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.25). Some TCKs feel a deep sense of connection to their host country, making conscious choices to align themselves alongside the local population (Kingsolver 1998; Henderson-James 2009).While this is a complicated enough procedure in itself, TCKs are also subject to the expectations of those around them. Pollock and van Reken (2009, p.90) write, "Confused loyalties can make TCKs seem unpatriotic and arrogant to their fellow citizens". For TCKs who are of dual nationality, there is even more complication and something as simple as supporting one's national football team suddenly becomes rife with personal and political implications for that TCK's sense of belonging.

For Lloret, (2004) the challenge of locating his identity was not based on a geographical sense of belonging as much as on the conflict between his secular and spiritual selves. He writes, "My own personal and spiritual life was a mess as I tried living two separate lives: one at school and the other at my church… I was a perfect little Christian "saint" at my church and the opposite at school in my attempts to fit in" (Lloret, 2004, p.37). This TCK was acutely aware of both the different expectations in his

surrounds and was more than culturally competent to fulfil, in the short term at least, the demands of both – switching like a chameleon when demands on his identity changed.

For one writer, her identity is located in people, rather than in a geographical location. She rejects the notion she is rootless, and claims rather that she sees her roots as spread across her relationships. Nevertheless, this same writer also writes that she feels most at home when "dreaming of being elsewhere, experiencing new surroundings, cultures, climates, and foods. That is when I feel at "home"" (Sand-Hart, 2010, pp.31-2). Herein lies the inherent contradiction of TCK belonging; on the one hand TCKs tend to cherish close relationships with a few, in whom they store shared history and experiences. On the other hand, their migratory instinct may inevitably distance themselves from these relationships, in the constant search for the new and exciting, the unconquered frontiers. Their roots are both in people, and in the unknown and the challenge of reconciling these two echoes throughout the many narratives I have encountered.

Moral Career of the Missionary Kid

Goffman describes the moral career of an individual as "the regular sequence of changes that career entails in the person's self and in his framework of imagery for judging himself and others" (1961: 128). In my reading of the missionary kid literature, it became clear that there were certain themes that kept surfacing regarding the writers' framework for defining themselves as MKs. One discourse that arose was that of the self-reliance of the missionary child. Van Reken (1988, p. 4) is particularly eloquent in describing the sponsor pressure to being anything but a burden to one's parents, and how she was encouraged to be self-reliant, "I was praised for my bravery and independence. If people liked my brave side, I reasoned, they obviously wouldn't like my frightened, lonely side". In later life, van Reken

(1988, p.62) found that she resented what she came to see as "normal parental interest" because of so many years of making decisions and choices without regular parental input.

Another way in which TCKs understood their position in the world was as wealthy in their host countries, but materially disadvantaged in their passport countries, "In Africa we seemed rich. Here I feel hopelessly poor" (van Reken 1988, p.29). Henderson-James (2009) speaks of feeling dowdy in second-hand clothes. TCKs may become self-conscious about their appearance, believing that this is what ultimately reveals them to be the poor missionary kid. Their position in the world betrayed through their external presentation, an impression that lasts well into adulthood may be that they are always a step behind style, the unattractive member of the group.

Missionary TCKs negotiate their role as 'good' Christian in the most public of arenas. Van Reken (1988, p.25) writes that in order to avoid the appearance of lax morals, her family never went to see movies in case they offended other Christians in so doing. As children growing up in the sponsor organisation, they are more than aware of what is expected from them as the children. The "rescuer model" described by Wickstrom (in 1998a, p.160) may because internalised as the TCK moves into adulthood: "The desire to help in some small capacity burns within me so strongly. I cannot rest until the scales of my life tip far greater on that side" (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.95). Within this paradigm of missionary, and missionary child, as 'helper', the TCK understands that their world is subservient to the 'real world' of the sacred (Swanson, 1985, p.114). Acting in the role of helper is to acknowledge one's own desires to be less important than the desires of others.

Pollock and van Reken (2009, p.81) observe that the general tendency of some missions to suppress painful or unpleasant feelings as demonstrations of faithlessness may lead to some TCKs feeling they must more keenly present the role of "successful

Christian". In other cases, they argue, TCKs may not feel that in order to express negative feelings associated with their upbringing, they must concomitantly eject the faith they have hitherto followed (Pollock and van Reken, 2009). Indeed, some research suggests that American missionary kids are actually less religious than their compatriots in America (Henderson-James, 2011, p.233). Henderson-James (2011, p.245) suggests that the many turning points, due to high mobility, and increased cultural exposure in the missionary kid's moral career may be what leads to a greater degree of questioning of personal faith.

Missionary TCKs typically grow up as exotic outsiders in their host countries. They are set apart physically, perhaps eliciting fascination by their blonde hair and white skin (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.40), and by the religious/political choices of their parents. Henderson-James (2009, p.38) writes of her parents' openness in entertaining Angolans in their home, and the consequent disapproval of their European neighbours. They tend to receive above-average education and, as a result of this, are expected to be high academic achievers – a role that causes some consternation for those less academically able (Schimmels, 1989, p.9).

Because of their range of cultural experiences, and their ease in interacting with adults (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.57), some within the mission community present missionary kids as future Christian leaders (McQuilkin, 1998, p.xiii). Nevertheless, others warn that the childhood experience of growing up nurtured in a Christian home might be the same experience that overly shelters the missionary child from exposure to the alternative beliefs essential to the development for discernment and wisdom (Cameroon, 2006, p.153). On the field, however, the presentation of themselves as potential spiritual giants is prevalent, and some TCKs grow to identify themselves as more cosmopolitan and more intelligent than their less mobile compatriots. Pollock and van Reken (2009, p. 109) write of these TCKs

that "They easily forget it's their life experiences that have been different from others', not their brain cells".

Throughout the literature, there emerges a sense that in negotiating one's identity as a missionary TCK, there is a definite discourse around the "successful missionary TCK". In one autobiography, the following options for the adult missionary kid were outlined:

"Some missionary kids flat-out reject their upbringing and go down the traditional path (university-degree-partner-house-car-kids); others float meaninglessly, trying to process, forget, or understand what they've been though, and there are those who return to the fold, the safety net of a missions family." (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.97)

In opting for a non-mobile, "traditional" life trajectory, the TCK is seen to be rejecting their upbringing, a sure indication of having 'failed' his childhood identity as missionary kid. Indeed, enacting one's TCK identity "successfully" and using "the gifts of their heritage well" is a matter of personal responsibility. Failure to do so is said to be a "sad waste" (Pollock and van Reken, 2009, p.5).

The Military

Ender (2002, p.xxvii) estimated that as many as 2 per cent of the US population "grew up in a service-organisation family such as the military or foreign service and lived abroad", and Stafford (2005) numbers the children of service parents at 1.3 million. The literature identifies particular stressors in the lived experiences of these children, such as "repeated relocation that often include international sites, frequent separations of service members from families and subsequent reorganisations of family life during reunions" (Drummet, Coleman and Cable, 2003, p.279). Conroy (1991: xiii) describes service organisations as a 'warrior society', characterised by "extreme mobility; a great deal of father absence; isolation and alienation from the civilian community; an exceedingly strict class system; a

very high incidence of alcoholism, which also suggests possibly high rates of family violence; a deeply felt sense of mission; and, not least, an atmosphere of constant preparation for war". For all these distinguishing experiences, however, so-called 'military brats' are described as an "invisible minority" (Conroy, 1991, p. xii).

<u>Authority</u>

One of the defining characteristics of the service organisation is its clearly defined authority structure. Its members are held publically accountable and their public and private worlds are blurred inasmuch as private actions and beliefs have direct implications on public work lives. Wertsch writes, "What a soldier does and says privately, and what his spouse and children do and say, can be held against him" (1991: 15). The lived experience of being 'watched' and a sense of heightened accountability has a significant effect on military children. These TCKs were aware that their behaviour could result in either promotion for their parent, or their family's return to the passport country and effective demotion (Alvah 2007: 201).

<u>Representative</u>

The literature describes the primary aim of such watchfulness over a service member's family as to ensure conformity. Firstly, the service family was to faithfully carry the rank of the service member, and to enact this hierarchy in private, as well as public, life (Drummet, Coleman and Cable 2003: 279). Secondly, the service family is expected to act as 'unofficial ambassadors' for the cultural and political aims of the military presence abroad (Alvah 2007: 2). Perfectionism was encouraged, and adult military children experienced this both in feeling the need to be the perfect person, or achieve a perfect performance (Wertsch 1991: 203).

Tragically, for some service children, this representative responsibility weighted particularly heavy. Conroy (2004, p.110) writes, "If the provost marshal had ever arrested my father for child abuse, his career in the Marine Corps would have ended at that moment. So my mother took her beatings and I took mine. My brothers and sisters, too, did their part for the Corps".

<u>Family</u>

Palmer (2008, p.209) describes the family environment of the service TCK as one in which "children likely receive less contact with at least one parent, and the remaining parent may be relatively impaired during this period of heightened stress". However, the return of a parent can be as disrupting as their absence as routines change to incorporate the newly present parent, and children battle with conflicting expectations (Fitzsimons and Krause-Parello, 2009, p.43). The literature also repeatedly highlights the potential for abuse in families under this particular stress. Military spouse abuse occurs at a rate that is much higher than in civilian families, and particularly affects families that are young, and are lower-ranking, thereby experiencing greater financial stress (Hoshmand and Hoshmand, 2007, p.174). While this is by no means the experience of every service child, the rate at which it is documented to occur is a topic of concern in the literature, and highlights the significance of family stress as a characteristic of living as a service TCK.

<u>Impermanence</u>

Regular change in many ways defines the experience of the service TCK. Fitzsimons and Krause-Parello (2009, p.45) write, "During times of uncertainty, children may see the environment as unstable and they may be less confident, may hesitate in making choices, or may be vague". Relocation occurs on average every one to two years, according to Hoshmand and Hoshmand (2007, p.171), and the average number of moves for service

TCKs is eight (Ender, 2002, p.89). In the documentary, *"Brats: Our Journey Home"* (a Donna Musil Film, 2005), Heather Wilson DeSpain explains, "It just became this routine. You left one place knowing you were going to another place to leave it". In fact this is an element common to all TCKs, that is, the knowledge that there will be another move in a few years, just around the corner. It is the predictability of this impermanence that is so characteristic of the TCK experience. Wertsch (1991, p.252) identified the number of schools attended as more accurately reflecting "the number of times he or she had to establish an identity and a network of friends". According to Wertsch's (1991, p.252) research, the average number of schools attended numbered 9.5.

One result of this impermanence is, according to Wertsch (1991, p.261), "forced extroversion". She writes, "For military brats, time is always short. They can't afford to wait around to be noticed or for invitations to drift in. So they often force themselves to take the stage, stand out in the crowd" (Wertsch, 1991, pp.262-3). Military brats employ forced extroversion to become either super-achievers, or to join the out-group. Both methods provide much-needed social integration.

Local Engagement

Most of the literature indicates that most service TCKs live on compounds that are "walled off from the indigenous population", and that are often organised in order to emulate passport country life as much as possible (Wertsch, 1991, p.330). Alvah (2007, p.7), however, disputes "the unquestioned assumption that most contacts that did occur [with the local population] were trifling and therefore undeserving of closer scrutiny" (section in brackets added).. Indeed, Ender (2002, p.90) reports that 65 per cent of his respondents felt they had "mingled between "often" and "totally" with people in their host country". Wertsch (1991, p.322), in fact, hints in her writings that service TCKs were often most

alienated from their passport country civilians, in description of whom "adult military brats made almost exclusively negative comments". The primary complaint was that civilians were lazy and disorganised (Wertsch, 1991, p.322).

Moral Career of Military Third Culture Kids

As with mission TCKs, being part of a organisation due to parental occupation is not simply a case of belonging automatically to a service identity. The literature highlights specific ways in which the service child 'becomes' a service TCK and the framework of meanings that enable this identity to be formed. I have already relayed the importance of rank in the service child's life, as described in the literature. Wertsch (1991, p.301) describes how the rank of the parent carries with it certain assumptions and expectations of the behaviour of the child, and that this could be a real burden for some service children, continuing even through to adulthood. They had been used to being constructed as "mini ambassadors", radiating good will to local populations (Alvah, 2007, p.199). Wertsch (1991, p.301) observes that some service children actively react against their childhood 'ranking' in adulthood, in an attempt to "compensate for the classist way they grew up. Indeed, in the construction of "Brat" organisations, rank is kept well out of the equation (Williams and Mariglia, 2002, p.75).

Once service TCKs turn 18, and graduate, their identity is redefined by the loss of "formal membership in the sponsor community; for example a military "brat" cannot go on a base because he no longer has a military pass" (Cottrell, 2007, p.9). In the documentary, *"Brats: Our Journey Home"* (a Donna Musil Film, 2005) , Heather Wilson DeSpain refers to graduation or marriage as "military exile". Such are the dramatic ruptures of identity for the service child, marked by their passage from childhood to adulthood.

Businesses and other sponsor organisations

Compared to the literature on missionary and military service children, there has been much less focus on the children of business expatriates, or those whose parents have other mobile careers, such as journalists. This may be for the simple reason that the organisation culture of business employees is less cohesive, less of a total institution. The children growing up as the children of business expatriates may have less of a communal identity to express than those who grew up in missionary or military circles. Nevertheless, their numbers are growing (Haslberger and Brewster, 2008, p.324) and the experiences of these children do, in some ways, appear to mirror the mobile experiences of missionary TCKs and service TCKs.

Close Community

Many families who live mobile lives, and travel as a unit, live in a closer "inner space" than they would were they less mobile, and could share their lived experiences in a broader and more stable extended family or community (Öry et al. 1991: 33). Wives of company employees had regular phone calls from the office, keeping them well informed about daily goings-on at the company. These wives had plenty of time to meet with other wives, often thanks to home help that relieved them of chores at home, and so "news from the workplace often spread faster in the compound than they did in the company" (Lauring and Lelmer 2010: 64). For business TCKs, their expatriate environment was small and protected, and 'getting along' with expatriates of all ages is greatly encouraged by "having to depend on a small group of trusted adults in a strange environment". Similarly, children grouped together by compound boundaries tend to be less assertive, instead learning to play more cooperatively than would be usual in passport (mostly Western) countries (Öry et al., 1991, p.33).

For these TCKs, the challenge of flexible identity is ever present. Kipling (1987, p.62) describes young Kim as a "little friend of all the World" and yet when installed in boarding school, Kim is careful "not to sweep the board with his reminiscences" so as to keep balanced on that fine line between confidence and mastery of local knowledge, and 'going native' (p.173). At the age of nine, Pico Iyer (2000, p.21) performed similar identity juggling between his parents' home in California, and boarding school in England. He writes, "I could choose between selves at will… The tradition denoted by my face was something I could erase (mostly) with my voice, or pick up whenever the conversation turned to the Maharishi or patchouli oil". While this is perhaps an experience shared by both military and missionary TCKs, one difference lies in that the picking up or laying down of an identity lies predominantly as a matter of individual choice for the business TCK. For the military or missionary child, however, sponsor identity plays a much stronger role in individual identity, and thereby exacts its own demands on the TCK's sense of personhood. Identities may be as easy to pick up or lay down but may come at a greater sense of cost to one's integrity; there is a greater sense of *belonging to* one's sponsor and owing loyal allegiance to that organisation. Where Iyer (2000, p.24) can speak of a "lack of accountability" due to a "lack of affiliation" the missionary or service TCK perpetually qualifies his or her identity with reference to the sponsor organisation; their affiliation is clear.

In this next section of the chapter, I will move on from examining the distinctions different sponsor organisations introduce into the TCK experience. There are four predominant themes common across sponsors that emerge through the readings: Nostalgia and Memory, Emotional-Relational Embeddedness, the Locating of Identity and Moral Career. In this way, this next section aims to illuminate further what it means to grow up as a TCK, and argues for its cohesiveness as an experience.

Memory and Nostalgia

The role of memory and the power of nostalgia to the TCK's life experience in reiterated throughout the literature. As this chapter has outlined, many TCKs grow up in semi-permeable expatriate enclaves. While some of these compounds comprise of several different nationalities, expatriate compounds typically take characteristics of the majority passport country represented (Cohen, 1977, p.40). Indeed, the children of expatriates experience their passport culture primarily through the nostalgia of their parents and sponsor, who mediate its characteristics through the creation of proxy equivalents such as building layouts, school curriculum, religious expression, celebration of holidays, home decoration, and dress. Even as young TCKs are constructing their own memories of time and place, the context in which they do so is steeped in the already filtered memories of their parents and sponsor.

TCKs inhabit a childhood permeated by a unique "mythology of experience", that develops through the re-telling of childhood stories and memories (James, 1993, p.15). In traversing borders and cultures, their family continually constructs and reconstructs family life in terms of the exotic, for the benefit of open-mouthed relatives and friends. As children, TCKs may continue this tradition as part of their initiation into new schools. Memory becomes a means by which to create an exotic, interesting and attractive identity, used in the construction of a present identity, and is a powerful resource for TCK narrators.

Many TCKs return to their host country, or countries, as adults, with a desire to reconnect with their memories and come to peace with their nostalgia for these places of their childhood. These visits are full of challenge as they try to reconcile their past and present. For some, the inevitable changes in the landscape of their childhood makes for uncomfortable viewing, "I think I'll go back to remembering Kano the way it was" (van

Reken, 1988, p.71). For others, the visit is intensely painful, and may be tinged with guilt for leaving in the first place:

> *"Why had I let it all slip away, only returning now in older age? How could I have utterly abandoned and hurt the people I loved and who always loved me? How could I leave now, call it "closure," and inflict the same pain again?"*
>
> (Schellenberg, 2011, p.115).

Even when TCKs do not undertake a physical return to their host countries, world events reported on the news or through networks of friends and family challenge TCKs to reconcile childhood memories with the reality of the present (Henderson-James, 2009, p.49).

Adult TCKs carry into the present the memories of their childhoods, and the echoes of this past resonate powerfully even into their futures. For those TCKs whose parents come to join them in their passport country, a certain "nostalgic pining" for an intimate family unit hitherto unavailable to them due to the previous demands of boarding school may be at odds with "the reality of their living, breathing bodies" (Henderson-James, 2009, p.202). For one TCK author, pain in her own childhood resurrects itself in the pain of her own children, "Now for the same reason – missions – I wasn't there to comfort my little six-year-old the first time she was in a hospital" (van Reken, 1988, p.153). For others, there is a strong desire to recreate the sense of adventure that permeates their childhood memories. Sand-Hart (2010, p.66) writes, "I struggle to accept that life won't be as exciting and varied as it was growing up. Realising that "real life" is mundane, even unglamorous at times, is a hard pill to swallow" Adult life in the passport country pales in comparison with the exotic memories of their past. Some TCKs take part in reunions that organise themselves by sponsor or school. This is an opportunity for many to share

memories with those who share in them, to relive a childhood unknown in the passport country. Sand-Hart (2010, p.140) writes of her experience in these reunions:

> *"There is no point glossing over the fact that sometimes our TCK reunions can be slightly damaging. We delve into life in all its unfairness, our vagabond tendencies… how you spend most of your life missing people, wishing you were someplace else".*

Such is the tension inherent in TCK nostalgia; that childhood memories haunt the present in a powerful way, but not to recreate the past so much as to continue a search of the novel: "I am always dreaming of being elsewhere, experiencing new surroundings, cultures, climates, and foods. That is when I feel at "home". That is when my soul comes alive" (Sand-Hart, 2010, p.32). Memory, for the TCK, is not a shared experience easily expressed through reminiscences. Rather, a TCK's memory of childhood experiences is primarily a recollection of "otherness", and it struggles for self-expression throughout the TCK's adulthood.

Emotional and Relational Embeddedness

This theme comprises how TCKs describe how they engage in their emotional and relational "world", and emerged throughout both TCK narratives and writings on TCKs. As children, TCKs are described as embedded in a whirling expatriate social life that bears little relation to local events or individuals (Cleveland, Mangone and Adams, 1960, p.58; Cohen, 1977, p. 41). The geographical proximity of the majority of the expatriate community, and the intimacy they share through regular association encourages a close network to develop. It is into this network that TCK children are socially embedded, rather than to a local neighbourhood, or extended family ties.

In this close community, the family was often the only unit to which TCKs have a "continuing relationship as they move from one location to another" (Useem and Downie, 2011, p.20). TCKs describe themselves growing up shy of conflict for, "Where would we go if a serious rift opened? There were no safety valves, no relatives, few permanent friends to run to" (Eidse, 2004, p.137). Indeed, any difficulties in interpersonal relationships were duly solved by either the one TCK or the other leaving. Into adulthood, Rockholt (a Donna Musil Film, 2005) describes being mean or angry with his girlfriend so that it'd be easier to handle the break up when she left. In short, a pattern develops into adulthood where it is easier for the TCK to let difficulties play out into the inevitable parting, rather than confront and resolve them.

For the TCK, repeated and continual loss plays into the manner in which they approach emotional and relational embedded-ness. One TCK, DeSpain (a Donna Musil Film, 2005), describes this loss as "routine"; "You left one place knowing you were going to another place to leave it". The predictable nature of this cycle is perhaps what is so extraordinary. Many children are uprooted at some point in their lives and have to learn to settle in a new area, or country. TCKs, however, can predict these uprooting and know that they will only settle for a time before beginning again. A TCK arrives in a country *knowing* he or she will leave it in the not-so-distant future. Because of the frequency of the moves, the many opportunities these moves provide, and because such moves are associated with the careers of the parents, TCKs do not always find the space they need to grieve such losses. Some TCKs fear that to grieve such change would "mean denying the benefits of a TCK life" (Gould, 2002, p.153). Indeed, van Reken (1988, p. 4) describes the need to deny such grief any expression as so strong that she learnt to behave in a way that would be interpreted as "well adjusted".

Adult TCKs may battle with the habits this frequent loss has instilled in them. Trinchieri (2004, p.92) writes: "Letting go is a skill I am learning to master. As an adult I insult friends by paying no attention when they say goodbye, my mind already focused on what will come next". Conroy (2004, p.111) echoes, "I can walk away from best friends and rarely think of them again. Many TCKs in adulthood find that maintaining friendships is a vital skill they are late in learning, and one that requires purposeful effort on their part.

Another effect of continual change and loss is that some TCKs fear initiating new relationships in anticipation of pain upon departure. A new relationship can seem like a betrayal of "past loyalties" and a huge risk in the face of "future separations" (Gould, 2002, p.152). For others, the lack of longevity in their relationships only spurs them on to "move quickly through superficiality into deep emotional investment" (Gould, 2002, p.153). This eagerness to forge deep relationships may be understood as symptomatic of unrestrained intimacy. Knight (a Donna Musil Film 2005) explains, "I don't believe that trusting and telling people stuff are necessarily the same thing". Indeed, because of the constant 'newness' of their lives, TCKs share very little historical connections with their peers. Upon making a new acquaintance, a TCK will often be eager to engage in a "confessional impulse" that helps to elicit interpersonal investment from the new friend that helps to cement alliances (Wertsch, 1991, p.265). This, however, does not necessarily equate to trust. TCKs can harbour a deep distrust of their passport peers (Knell, 2001, p.53). In the words of one TCK, as he gave advice to those "going home" to their passport countries: "Be on your guard. They'll try to trick you" (Knell, 2001, p.61).

In their emotional and relational worlds, as well as geographically, TCKs appear to retain a sense of perpetual impermanence. Committing to a particular course of action is difficult when one's base assumption is that the only certain thing in one's life is that the future is uncertain. Knell (2001, p.19) writes that "TCKs often develop a migratory instinct

– they soon get itchy feet after being in any one place for a time. This can affect their academic lives, career, family and marriage". Similarly Knight (a Donna Musil Film, 2005), admits that once anything in his live, such as work projects or personal relationships, settle down and become established and steady, he has an urge to move on and initiate a change. Some TCKs wrestle with this throughout adulthood, aiming for stability but finding the reality of it challenging. Posey (2007, p.3) describes her experience in a mission circular, referencing her husband's support in creating stability:

> *"I am always ready to move sooner than he is. It used to be almost every year. Through the years my husband has pointed out this trend in me and has helped me get past my desire for change. Then the cycle would repeat itself. I would again get the itch to move, and he would help me recognize it, and after a matter of time I was fine again. So far we have now lived in the same house for 7 years and attended the same church for 6 years. We have seen good in the stability for our kids"*

For other TCKs, however, the desire to embed locally is strong and there is a need for stability to compensate for early experiences of impermanence, "I have a strong, overwhelming desire for things to stay the same and not change at all" (Liang, 2011, p.90).

When it comes to possessing the skills necessary to embed emotionally and relationally, TCKs are in one sense well-placed. Wertsch (a Donna Musil Film, 2005), when interviewed for the documentary film *Brats: Our Journey Home*, observes that "What these children learn to do very well is to read other people and then to become the manifestation of that person's wants/needs/desires". This points to the highly developed adaptive skills of people who, as children, learnt how to effectively and efficiently adapt to different cultural contexts on a regular basis. Conroy (2004, p.111) writes, "I'm pathetic in my attempts to make friends with everyone I meet". However, while other significant

relationships were subject to the TCK's adaptive and chameleon-like skills, relationships with pets were of particular significance. Henderson-James (2009, p.39) writes, "The more time I spent with my animals, the more they adored me and invited me to play with them. We belonged together. They were helpless and dependent. I loved them". To be needed by her pets put Henderson-James in a position of power that her other relationships did not afford her; she was needed by them when in other areas it was she who needed love and attention.

Where TCKs do not find themselves emotionally and relationally embedded into their social landscape, they feel themselves to be marginalised. Indeed it is arguable that it is because of feelings of marginalisation, that some TCKs resist embedding into their passport countries into adulthood. Schaetti (1996), president of Transition Dynamics, an international training and consulting firm serving expatriate families, described herself as "terminally unique" and felt that if she hadn't been considered "American" both by herself and by others, the cultural anomalies she presented would have been better understood and accepted by her peers. Similarly, while I am reticent about the validity of comparing TCKs with so called "gifted children", Sheard (2008, p.32) makes an interesting point that in expressing their experiences, TCKs can be marginalised as "poor little rich kids"; that they can find themselves alienated because of the uniqueness of their childhoods.

Locating Identity

Literature on Third Culture Kids forges a clear link between identity and territory. Indeed, TCKs are joined together the shared experience of movement; or a lack of fixed territory. Killguss (2008) writes that the TCK is most comfortable when he or she is rootless, and can be seen as a "foreigner". It is through making the distinction between those with roots in a particular land, and those with no such roots, that we find the TCK identity:

"Movement itself becomes the basis for the exclusion of others that materialises the boundaries of the global body" (Ahmed, 2001, p.20). Through such identification, McCaig (1994) found that "Global nomads recognise each other." In other words, those without territory and who find their roots in perpetual movement bear some kind of a mark that can be recognised by other carriers of the same experience. It is this mark, this TCK identity, which I have sought to unravel from findings in the existing literature.

Much can be understood about what it is to be a Third Culture Kid by examining boundary maintenance problems, such as they are discussed in the literature. TCKs resist categorisation and their reticent reactions to the question: "Where do you come from?" exemplifies this (a Donna Musil Film, 2005). This reticence is based upon a reluctance to limit themselves to one bounded identity. Furthermore, there is confusion as to whether the questioner is expecting to be informed as to the TCK's place of birth, current residence (country or city), nationality, or place of longest residence. Even if the TCK succeeds in responding with the "correct" formula, this answer may bear little relation to how he locates himself in the world.

Killguss (2008, p.2) writes of the importance of boundary maintenance: "Boundary maintenance is undoubtedly what assists our definition of ourselves both as monocultural and, equally, as a 'hybrid-identity'". Even if TCKs resist being categorised according to nationality, the most commonly used 'boundary', place remains inextricably entangled in their notions of self. Dixon and Durrheim (2000, p.27) write that "Questions of 'who we are' are often intimately related to questions of 'where we are'", and as the *where* of the TCK fluctuates regularly, it follows that the *who* would also. For one TCK, a big part of her identity lay in her close friendships but "in each town I had left an important best friend behind" (Daniel, 2011, p.135). For another TCK, ascribed identity changes with each time move: "the natives did not consider him an American; he was a man without a

country, a foreigner in his own land" (Saloutos, 1956, p.115). For this TCK, his own sense of belonging was superseded by his community who, wherever they were located, positioned him an outsider. Outsidership became his relationship to place.

The literature reveals that TCKs do become attached to particular places, not so much because of the particular qualities of that geographical location but because of associations of experience:

> *"Place attachments result from accumulated biographical experiences: we associate places with the fulfilling, terrifying, traumatic, triumphant, secret events that happened to us personally there."* (Gieryn, 2000, p.481)

Indeed, for Liang (2011, p. 83), no matter how many moves were undertaken, Christmases were always spent at her grandmother's in Guatemala, "which is why the memories of ten days in that country once a year are stronger than those of the time we spent in either Connecticut or Morocco."

TCK identities, according to the literature, are often tied into the language connections made with particular places. Sharp changes in environment could render a previously fluent child mute, and unable to communicate with intimate childhood friends (Henderson-James, 2009, p. 25). For others, language became the means by which others ascribed identity to them: "But if I told classmates in the U.S. "I'm from Thailand," they looked at me funny. After all, I couldn't even speak the language. So how could I be "from" there?" (Moore, 2011, p.187). Others wouldn't accept this TCK's claim of belonging, because she didn't speak the national language. Such is the case for many TCKs, especially those who attend expatriate boarding schools and consequently associate mainly with other expatriates. For still others, languages carry with them assumed cultural characteristics that proficient TCKs can adopt and shed at will:

> *"Still, sometimes I pretended I didn't know Portuguese. The uncultured fishermen and peasants who immigrated to New England spoke Portuguese. French was the language sophisticated people of the world wanted to learn."* (Henderson-James, 2009, p.111)

In this way, TCKs may employ agency in terms of identity and belonging, learn the 'rules' of their cultural environments and navigate skilfully through them. In the words of Trinchieri (2004, p.90), "Place is solid, definable… Its history and language are learnable. Place can be conquered".

Because of the role of place in the individual's sense of belonging, the loss of place, a regular occurrence in the life of the TCK, carries great significance (Gieryn, 2000). Some TCKs face loss of place when the host countries they live in suffer governmental or civil unrest, leading to sponsor decisions to evacuate (Eidse, 2011, p.95). In one such case, Hervey (2011, p.173) writes, "family welcomed us, stating that we must be so glad to be out of there, to be "home." But I had just been kicked out of my home". For others, loss of place comes about upon graduation, and the move to university (Moore, 2011, p.186); or it may come about through termination of the parents' career abroad, bringing with it a change in ascribed identity:

> *"This move meant the end of an identity: I was no longer the daughter of a business expat, no longer the recipient of benefits such as household help, annual leaves and transcontinental tickets. I would have to create my own independent identity."* (Moore, 2011, p.193)

Loss of place signals other losses, as have been outlined above: a physical home, an identity as an expat child, and friends, "My friends and I didn't really want to leave Bangkok; we wanted to stay together. But off we went, scattering around the globe, never to be together again" (Moore, 2011, p.186).

For some TCKs, locating identity is a simple matter of seeking out those places that are TCK meeting grounds, such as international schools. In such an expatriate environment, TCKs enjoy "a place where being different was the norm" (Daniel, 2011, p.138). For others, any one geographical place cannot make a claim on them. Sichel (2011, p.197) writes that the host country "never really belonged to me. I was brought up as a foreigner to believe that the United States was my real home". Wertsch (1991, p.271) concludes that the only solution to what she describes as the "psychological diaspora", the culture of not-belonging – "a migration of the soul" shared by so many expatriate children, is belonging. Indeed, the TCK literature suggests that, in the locating of identity, the places of the past cast an echo into the adulthood of TCKs, and that "belonging is the single greatest quest of our lives, a quest that lives in many of us as a powerful unnamed yearning" (Wertsch, 1991, p.271).

The Moral Career of the TCK

As in the exploration of sponsor specific literature in the earlier sections of this chapter, employing Goffman's 'moral career' to the TCK experience across sponsor groups illuminates the significance of both institution and change in the development of a "person's self and in his framework of imagery for judging himself and others" (1961: 128). The interest in the application of this concept to the TCK experience is that the self develops while the individual lives through several different "frameworks" through which he judges and is judged. The risk Giddens (1991, p.78) identifies in such a situation is that self-actualisation may be severely hindered if one cannot demonstrate coherence, or authenticity. "Being true to oneself" is such a prevalent concept that failing this moral imperative leads very quickly to anxiety and shame (Goffman, 1991, p.65). Indeed, Goffman (1959, p.24) posits that society is organised around this very principle of coherence and that, "an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he has certain

social characteristics ought in fact to be what he claims to be". For the TCK, who is to all intents and purposes a hidden immigrant in terms of his relationship to his passport country, this need for authenticity weighs heavy. In this section, I will explore what identity experiences are common to many TCKs, and how these understandings of self develop throughout the TCK's adult life.

As Flexible

From an early age TCKs learn the easiest way to settle in quickly is to be able to quickly interpret the identity and behaviour that will precipitate acceptance. Identity is subject to frequent flux, as and when need dictates. Conroy (2004, pp.111-2) notes that this can have a stunting effect on the development of a core, stable sense of self:

> *"You learn who you are by testing and measuring yourself against the friends you grow up with. The military brats lack those young, fixed critics who form opinions about your character over long, unhurried years… I grew up not knowing if I was smart or stupid, handsome or ugly, interesting or insipid".*

While many TCKs experience growing up amidst frequent change as providing endless opportunities for reinvention, this reinvention may leave them unsure of the authenticity of their identity. For bicultural TCKs, this sense of "faking it" may be heightened: "The bicultural person seems so thoroughly one way in one language, so thoroughly different in another. Only an imposter would hide that other half so well. A liar" (Conroy, 2004, p.303). Where others may doubt a TCK's authenticity when behaviour belies appearance, a TCK may also doubt his own self – wondering where the "faking it" ends and the "real" self begins.

<u>As Gendered</u>

Cultural and institutional understandings of gender also play into a TCK's development of self, and impact upon his or her moral career. As cultural interpretations of behaviour change gendered meaning from one culture to another, so changes the TCK's positioning on gender and gender roles. Liang (2011, p.88) observed how his sister was subject to verbal harassment when without a veil, while he never was free on that count. Other female TCKs noted that at a certain age, their local friends would no longer be able to spend time with them – being married and busy with households and children. Then, dependent upon the context, these TCKs either ended up with few companions, or with more male friends (Schellenberg, 2011, p.111). Either for cultural or religious reasons, a certain amount of gender segregation is experienced by TCKs growing up. For Henderson-James (2009, p.155), her boarding school girlfriends created a secret group where they were assigned boys' names and they'd "challenge the taboo by becoming boys and boyfriends to each other… Becoming boys lent us power and status."

While it is the case for every child that their experiences are gendered by the cultures around them, for TCKs, the changes between cultures heightens the disparity of power experienced in them. Furthermore, as in many cases, TCKs are privileged outsiders in the host cultures, their childhood experiences of gender are both inhabited and observed, allowing the TCK to negotiate gendered mores much more freely than many of their peers. Gender and power becomes a negotiated part of their identity in a very real way, with frequent departures promising the chance to "start over" in a way not experienced by many of their passport country peers.

<u>As Helper</u>

Because of the characteristics of the close expatriate community, in which adults and children interact fluidly as one's teacher may also be a parent's friend and/or supervisor, for example, TCKs may feel part of the expatriate "team", relating easily to both adults and children (Hervey, 2011, p.168). They may be given higher levels of responsibility than their peers at 'home', such as leading youth groups, running outreach programs, teaching and leading worship in church services. Because of home-schooling, requiring higher self-motivation, and/or boarding school, experiences, TCKs are regularly attributed as having significant self-sufficiency. With age, this expectation of personal resource and responsibility increases. When confronted with a surprise birthday party in her tenth year, Henderson-James (2009, p.59) writes, "At that instant I knew I didn't want to be ten. I didn't want to be any older. I didn't want to pretend I knew how to take care of myself away from home".

This self-sufficiency, combined with a sense of the great importance and all-consuming nature of their parents' work, leads to many TCKs going on into careers that are defined by their usefulness to others. Green (a Donna Musil film, 2005), describes a sense of urgency to do something "worthwhile" as a result of observing her parents' purposeful work. As an adult, and new parent, Dimmock's (2011, p.121) major struggle was in feeling less useful to others now she had a young child to care for:

> *"Parenting a newborn was all-consuming. No more village trips, or helping with rabies vaccination campaigns or working with farmers. My body was not my own. My time was not my own. I was stuck at home, not feeling very useful to anyone but my son".*

Similarly, Eidse (2001, p.98) felt a sense of shame when she compared her own efforts at helping others, to her mother's life long service to the needs of many.

As Special/Outsider

TCKs, irrelevant of sponsor, grow up between cultures. They are defined by their difference and are aware from a young age of the distinctions between them and their passport and host peers. There is power in being different: "I am a person set apart, able to enjoy the benefits of the place without paying the taxes" (Iyer, 2004, p.11). Henderson-James (2009, p.121) concurs, observing, "The rules evidently didn't always apply to me, heady stuff for a teenager". TCKs are told from a young age that they are special, mature, with a unique perspective of the world, and possessors of exotic knowledge. Moreover, they are told they are "cross-culturally skilled and globally aware at the age of eighteen" and that they are "prime candidates for… leadership roles" (McCaig, 2011, p.45).

In contrast to these lofty expectations and high status accorded by sponsor and/or adults in the host and passport society, TCKs may feel grossly under-resourced in the passport country:

> *"My shoes were clunky saddles hoes instead of the ultra-cool penny loafers. I talked with a whisper of a Rhodesian accent. I said I reckon instead of I guess. I called my tennis shoes plimsolls… I was sure all those oddities gave me away"* (Henderson-James, 2009, p.191).

In short, TCKs inhabit their identity as special in two ways: They may be special but of high status, or they may be special and an outsider of low status. The degree to which they "belong" may change as often as they change country, or school, and in one culture they may hold superior knowledge while in another they categorically don't belong.

This chapter has explored the experience of TCK migration, through both sponsor specific experiences, and more general incidences of experience that are experienced by TCKs regardless of sponsor organisations. In this way, the literature expands upon

individual narratives and introduces the reader to over-arching themes present in the lives

of TCKs that make connections between early childhood and later adulthood ways of

performing identity, belonging and relationship to place. The interviews carried out in the

course of this research will highlight some themes covered in this chapter, and introduce

ways of interpreting the TCK experience that have not yet been covered in the TCK

literature. By introducing new life stories, I will build upon this relatively young body of

literature to both substantiate and challenge current understandings that surround this

problematic assemblage that is Third Culture Kids.

CHAPTER FOUR: Multi-sited Methodologies

Introduction

This chapter both outlines the ways in which methodological decisions were made

regarding this research project, and describes the specific methods and procedures used for

data gathering and analysis. Firstly, the chapter will map out reasons for adopting a

qualitative approach, and then the decision to use both participant observation and life

story interviews. The role of internet sampling and Skype interviewing is significant to this

research, as participants are scattered globally, and the methods and ethical considerations

associated with these techniques are explored. A discussion of fieldwork implementation

follows, describing the various field sites and ways in which methods were executed.

Finally, the chapter will describe the analytical processes selected and performed to

process data gathered during research.

A Qualitative Approach

The research question explored in this thesis, *"In what ways does being a Third*

Culture Kid affect notions of identity, belonging and place?", set a particular

methodological challenge. This research being orientated around understanding inner

meanings of identity and feelings around belonging and place, I identified qualitative

methods as being most appropriate (Christou, 2004, p.2). Concepts such as these are not

easily, nor can they be usefully, quantifiable. Furthermore, my research question sought to

explore "meanings, processes and experiences", such as is more consistent with qualitative

methods (Christou, 2004, p.2) I felt more quantitative methods, such as surveys and

questionnaires, lacked the thematic open-endedness I desired from my data. Indeed,

quantitative approaches are typically characterised by a conceptualisation of reality in terms of variables, the measuring of those variables, and the identification of relationships between variables (Punch, 2014, p.206).

Whilst a review of TCK literature (see chapter three), gave some insight into the significant themes surrounding the TCK experience, it is a struggle to extrapolate effectively from these writings and research a set of distinct variables which may be measured. Especially nebulous are concepts throughout both academic and non-academic literatures of *belonging*, *identity* and *place* and I have similarly kept a light touch on their meanings in this research. In this way I aimed to keep notions grounded in my respondents' understandings of them, as lived and flexible experiences rather than tightly defined philosophical concepts. "Identity" I have interpreted as arising as an interplay between ascribed roles and identities given to individuals by formal and informal societal groups and organisations, and inner understandings of self as developed by these same individuals. "Belonging" I have interpreted as a sense of "fitting in", a feeling of ease and validation by one's peers in a particular social or geographical milieu. "Place" I have understood as the real and imagined interactions TCKs have with both geographical and symbolic places, and encompass countries, houses, rooms, border-crossing environments, schools, work-places, etc. Also to be considered is the *situated* aspect of identity; where TCKs locate their identities geographically.

In short, I determined that too little was known about the impact of the TCK experience into adulthood for me to confidently use a quantitative approach with distinct variables. In addition, TCKs offered no easy sample population. TCKs were by no means a cultural grouping to be found in one geographical location, and I feared I would struggle to access a large enough number of respondents to mediate the many different variables in experiences that they would present (age of first move, age of return, number of moves,

number of educational systems experienced, sending organisation). Instead, I determined that a qualitative approach would allow for the detail and surrounding contexts, and implications, of these distinctive experiences to emerge. A qualitative approach would also afford much more agency to my respondents to determine relevant themes, and through them, I hoped to encounter unexpected themes and results emergent from their interviews. Indeed, as a TCK myself, I was eager to avoid pre-determining too many closed questions or relevant themes and instead sought a constant reflexivity throughout all stages of research and analysis (Christou, 2004, p.3). I was very aware that my own experiences as a Third Culture Kid could easily bias any questionnaire or even structured interview by allowing for inclusion my own personal bias of experience. In using an interview approach that was open-ended and unstructured I hoped to avoid the introduction of personal bias. On the other hand, because I felt some of my own TCK history countered some of the more popularised narratives of the "TCK profile" (such as feeling a strong sense of belonging to one's sending organisation, or a commitment to frequent international travel), I felt especially committed to hearing a variety of TCK stories, and allowing complete freedom for TCK participants to deviate from what could have been seen as more "important" or "relevant" themes. In this way my insider status contributed very positively to those who had more "subversive" or "alternative" TCK stories to tell, thus problematising simplistic profiling.

Multi-sited Ethnography

The research question, in focusing on the impact of early childhood experiences of mobility on later life, demanded engagement with multiple sites. Having already established a qualitative approach would most suit the gather of data appropriate to the research question, multi-sited ethnographical approaches emerged as particularly well adapted to meet this challenge. Falzon (2009, p.2) describes the method as involving "a

spatially dispersed field through which the ethnographer moves – actually... or conceptually". Ethnographical approaches comprising "an integration of both first-hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organisation and culture", multi-sited ethnography promised an appropriate combination of engagement with the site of the TCK childhood, engagement with the lives of globally disparate adult TCKs, and the opportunity to interpret the ways in which these fields related to each other (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007, p.1). In short, multi-sited ethnographic methods were identified as the ideal means by which the various flows of migration may be "brought into the same frame" (Fitzgerald, 2006, p.1). In this way, it became evident that a multi-faceted and multi-sited methodological ethnographic approach would be ideally suited to the answering of this research question.

Following in ethnographic tradition, I aimed to observe and to participate in the daily lives of TCKs, and to understand the nature of the organisational cultures they inhabited when living outside of their passport countries. I sought to observe, and record, details of their lives without preconceived issues or questions that would filter or lead my observations. However, as my time in the field would be little more than two months, I would hesitate to describe this thesis as ethnographic in the sense that many other research studies would understand the term. I lay claim only to an "ethnographic imagination", an approach to observing social life through "being there", and the recording of time spent in the field through the use of descriptive field notes. For, as Willis (2000: xiii) writes, "...it is only a combination of [the ethnographic range of techniques] *over time* that produces sufficient 'quality' data to generalize an ethnographic account of a social or cultural form" (insertion and italics are my own). Indeed, the time I spent gathering life story interview data with adult TCKs far outstripped my time in the field, and although I would never accept these life stories as producing an inferior "quality" of data, I was not situated in the

social every-day of my interviewees, as I was in the field. Nevertheless, in drawing on my observations in the field, conducting further interviews and in extensive reading around the different social organisations from which my interviewees originated, I was able situate ethnographic data within a sociological imagination. As Willis (2000: iix) writes:

> *"The two [ethnography and imagination] may seem far apart, ethnography faithfully reporting 'the reality' of the everyday, imagination deliberately seeking to transcend the everyday. But, actually, for its own full development ethnography needs a theoretical imagination which it will not find, 'there', descriptively in the field. Equally, I believe that the theoretical imaginings of the social sciences are always best shaped in close tension with observational data."*

In this way, this thesis supplements ethnographic data "on the spot" through the deployment of a theoretical imagination developed by extensive reading as well as through access to life stories, in which the 'on the spot' is explored via the imaginations of my respondents. In a study which is multi-sited, and where the *present* 'everyday reality' of my population is not so physically accessible as the past (which is represented by the ongoing existence of expatriate institutions such as international schools), an ethnographic imagination not only appropriate, but necessary. This thesis therefore is ethnographic in its imagination, its scope and methodological approach, if not in all of its constituent methods.

Choosing Methods: Participant Observation and Life Story Interviews

Arriving at Participant Observation

I determined upon field observation as necessary, both to properly contextualize interviews with adult TCKs and also to illuminate the organisational characteristics of exapatriate communities. As much as interviews were to be a primary source of data collection, they

could only go so far to revealing the social dynamics of growing up a TCK. In this way, fieldwork promised an opportunity to see the ways in which TCKs organised themselves socially, and interacted with the organisational structure in which they lived. I was eager to access the "backstage" areas of "being a TCK" in the field, and get a sense of the coherence of people's experiences, and the extent to which they maintained "impression management" (Goffman, 1959).

Being a TCK myself, it was important to "go back" to the TCK field and (re)immerse myself in an expatriate childhood – both to develop upon and counter echoes of my own TCK childhood context. However, covert observation was quickly dismissed as a methodological option. There are established ethical concerns around covert observation, namely around issues of informed consent. Both complete observer and complete participant researcher roles would have been impossible, in terms of both ethics and practise. My research question, nor my sample group, could be deemed sensitive enough to warrant covert practises for my own, or anyone else's protection, such as has been argued some studies (Mays and Pope, 1995; Clarke, 1996).

Indeed, the only means by which covert participation would have been feasible would have been if I had applied to enter an expatriate community as short term employee, and then used my role within it as covert researcher also. Such an act would have violated trust at the most basic of levels and caused much pain and anguish amongst a community that had welcomed and hosted me, and would have been especially unjustifiable as TCKs, and non-TCKs, within the expatriate community were already, pre-research phase, demonstrating an eagerness to contribute and engage with my research interests with astonishing openness and trust. Finally, covert observation would have been a completely closed option, though on practical as well as ethical grounds. I needed formal clearance and practical help of a sending organisation, or expatriate community abroad, to gain entry

at all. Gatekeepers to these organisations would require some explanation of my presence and my researcher role, if purely observational, would have been impossible to conceal. I instead determined on open participant observation as providing the right methodological balance of immersion and analytical distance. Being open about my role would allow trust to develop with research participants, and participation in the life of the expatriate community would nurture some sense of reciprocity. The observer element especially would give me the freedom to step back from activities that could align me to much with one particular element of the community, and keeping my allegiances as neutral as possible.

Having determined that participant observation would provide a much needed insight into the "field" in which TCKs grow up, I was met with the particular challenge of identifying a 'field' in which to participate and observe. Few formal groupings of TCKs exist once they have returned to their passport countries, so the TCK "field" coalesces around a childhood abroad. For many TCKs, this childhood is itself migratory, and may span continents. Nevertheless, their childhoods may be described as mostly organising themselves around educational facilities, so that the international school becomes the most clearly defined of TCK "fields". Whether set up and run by a sending organisation, or simply used by local expatriates, these schools are international in nature, and act both as cultural microcosms of the larger expatriate community and as a hub for expatriate activity. Data, both field notes and interviews, gathered in this field would then complement data from interviews conducted with "returned" TCKs. As with transnational migrants, data collected from both 'ends' of the TCK journey would aid me to "understand the influence of migration on their ethnicity and identity" (Tsuda, 2003, p.55).

Another "field" that emerged as particular to the Mission TCK community, was that of the member care conference. I was invited to speak alongside an eminent member

care professional, established for many decades in the mission field. This I did, and secured permission to include this conference in my field notes for this research. This fieldwork gave me a broader perspective of the world that TCKs inhabit, from the sending agency perspective. It allowed me a better understanding of the networks between the agencies TCKs are associated with, and the tensions they navigate in identifying and meeting the needs of TCKs, both in the field, and returning to passport countries.

Arriving at Life Story Interviews

Warren (2002, p.85) highlights the ways in which qualitative interviewing may illicit an array of social roles and associated meanings from a respondent's narrative. Because of the complexity of social roles and cultural meanings inherent in the TCK experience, life story interviews were fixed upon early in the research process as an ideal way of suggesting an organisational schema to manage this tendency of qualitative interviewing. The more structured interview was rejected as laying itself too open to my own biases as an insider-researcher. I was eager to hear TCK stories as TCKs themselves presented them, without my suggestions of "issues" "challenges" or "privileges" that have been hitherto so endemic to the TCK problematic. The literature reviews of chapters two and three have demonstrated there to be certain assumptions about the TCK experience, and I wished to avoid hinting at these through structured questioning. I did not abandon structure altogether, however, keeping in mind at all times the basic themes of my research question; namely notions around belonging, identity and place. This served not only to give me overarching, and broad themes to related TCK narratives too, helping to organise my thoughts and, later on, analysis, but it also served as reassurance to my informants, who frequently wanted to know "what I was researching". Having these three themes to present as my research interests seemed to reassure many informants, and provided a sense that "they knew what they were getting into".

Due to the nature of the TCK experience – that of developing a complex and multi-faceted cultural identity due to geographical temporality – life story methods seemed appropriate to encourage the reflective expression of values and relationships, "a reflection of identity constructions and cultural reconstruction" (Christou, 2004, p.3). The life story interview acts as "a fairly complete narrative of an individual's entire experience of life as a whole, highlighting the most important aspects" (Atkinson, 2001, p.126). In interviews, I would ask the respondent to tell me their life story. I would encourage an adherence to chronology, but in the natural flow of conversation a certain amount of jumping about through time was inevitable. I would note down comments to follow up later with further questions. When interviewees seemed uncertain as to how to proceed from one aspect of their story to the next, I would ask prompting questions, such as 'What happened next?' In employing this form of interviewing, I sought to understand how TCKs constructed their histories and which life events took centre stage in their narratives, in order to glean from past reflections a sense of current identity. Life stories collected in the field and during later stages of the research all raised my awareness of the roles and norms that had formed part of TCK life, and demonstrated the complex process of identity formation in a migratory culture (Atkinson, 1998, p.13). I was further attracted to life story interviews as this unstructured approach formed a platform for developing the kind of intimacy with a respondent necessary for self-disclosure on issues as personal as identity and belonging (Johnson, 2001, p.103).

The "facilitation of reflection" is crucial to my understanding of the interview process. Schostak (2006, p.15) writes, "the interview is not a tool but an encounter, an event amongst other events in the lives of people. Each encounter involves negotiations, calculations, interpretations". This approach greatly informed the way in which I carried out interviews, particularly those in the "field". In the interviews I conducted, I saw each

interview as just one of the many encounters people experienced day to day, and indeed, those interviewed were repeatedly observed and spoken to on other occasions. The informal, unstructured nature of the life story as elicited through interviewing greatly facilitated the oft-required shift between interview and participant observation during my weeks in the field.

Once out of the field, however, my "field" dispersed throughout the four corners of the globe. It was clear that technology and the Internet would become central to my obtaining as large and diverse a sample as possible. Matthews and Cramer (2008, p.301) identify the internet as useful in reaching hidden populations. While they apply this to those groups involved in stigmatised activities, the same principle applies to TCKs who are to all intents and purposes, a hidden segment of the population. The geographical dispersal itself becomes much less of an issue when the researcher and interviewee are armed with webcam and microphone (Matthews and Cramer, 2008, p.305).

Skype Interviews and Internet Sampling

In order to keep participant backgrounds as representative as possible of the myriad ways one may be a Third Culture Kid, it was imperative that my interviews span continents also. The Internet may generally be viewed as transnationally linking geographically dispersed peoples. I faced two particular challenges that are significantly alleviated through the use of the Internet: Accessing my widely dispersed, and generally hidden population, and conducting in-depth interviews with people all over the world. In this way I was able to generate a more diverse sample of interviewees that I could have hoped to otherwise (Hewson et al., 2003, p.31).

Access Online

The most significant way in which the Internet has facilitated access to TCKs, in terms of

setting up interviews, is in the proliferation of groups and forums in which TCKs meet and

regularly converse online. The "specifity of focus" of Internet groups creates a unique

sampling opportunity (Hamilton and Bowers, 2006, p.821; Murray and Fisher, 2002).

Online community support may be seen as particularly important for those whose

community is not located nearby and for friends who find themselves in different time

zones. The social networking website "Facebook" has particularly enabled me to find and

contact TCKs regarding potential participation in my project. The site boasts more than

500 million users and is a popular choice for those who have friends all around the world

as it offers an easy, cost-free way of keeping in touch with goings-on in their lives. Once

one has been accepted onto a person's "friend" list, it is possible to read notes they have

written, photos they have posted, and comments other people have made to their "wall".

Facebook has proved an invaluable recruiting device for me for tracking down

alumni from a particular school, and supplied me with a list of names by one of the school

"moms". I could enter these names into Facebook and send them messages, directly

introducing myself and the project and asking if they would be willing to be interviewed.

The website also allows members to set up interest groups so I have been able also to hunt

down informal alumni networks this way, send an email to their group administrator and

ask them to email all the members of the group with an invitation to interview. Through

another TCK group, I was able to learn of people's backgrounds as they introduced

themselves in the forum and then to email those who I thought represented the variety of

experience I was seeking directly.

Furthermore, the informal and unorganised nature of Facebook groups also has allowed me access to those Third Culture Kids who do not as fully define themselves according to the perceived characteristics of a TCK, or who hold no current links to their sending organisations. This led to a more varied sample that if I had been restricted to those TCKs I could contact through more official groups such as MuKappa - for missionary kids - and Military Kid homecoming groups. Nevertheless, the use of internet community groups still limits me to those who self-identify as TCK, a pervasive problem, but it does at least allow me to speak to those who are interested in TCK-related topics in varying degrees.

There is a growing body of literature around web based research, and research on online communities in particular. The most detailed description I have found on Skype and the Internet being used in sampling and interviews has been in Wu and Koolash's (2011) study of Swedish Third Culture Kids. So far, there appears to be very little written guidance regarding the use of Internet technologies in studies with a broader focus than online interaction. Nevertheless, once fear of potential complications was overcome, the use of Internet groups and webcam technology greatly facilitated my work in terms of access to an inherently dispersed population.

Fieldwork Implementation

While gaining access to the member-care focused EuroTCK conference had been comparatively straight-forward, the process of gaining access to a European or American international school for several weeks of fieldwork proved more complicated. I investigated a few different leads to different international schools and re-entry camps in the USA but was either unsuccessful in gaining permission or later made aware of the logistical difficulty of conducting fieldwork outside the UK for any length of time. I

determined to concentrate my efforts on an international mission school that I had myself attended, and whose sponsor organisation had its headquarters in the UK. I had previously hoped to avoid a field that I was so inextricably linked to personally, but it became clear that these personal links would be the means to secure access for me.

By November 2009, arrangements were well in place for my arrival in the mission school in West Africa. I had been interviewed by the mission's UK Regional Coordinator and by a member of the UK board. They had decided that the most straightforward solution to my request to conduct research at the school would be for me to go to the school as a short term missionary, and help out where I could while I was there. It would be made clear, however, both to the school and to the mission at large that my role was primarily to do research. The mission liaised with the head teacher and once permission was granted from the school, applications and CRB checks were filed.

My personal faith and my connection with the mission proved vital to this application process, as information required of me included detailed references from my church, and a Christian friend, an outline of my Christian life and experience, and my Christian convictions. I needed to apply for a visa and, as I would be a walking blood bank to the mission on the ground, to be tested for HIV and Hepatitis B. A malaria course needed to be begun in good time before my exit of the UK, and inoculations were necessary, including Yellow Fever, without which my entry to the country would be denied at the airport. In late November, the ESRC informed me that I would not be granted access to the West African country that hosted the mission school, because the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office had coded all but a small strip to the south of the country as a danger zone. Fortunately permission was granted after my assurances that I would only be accessing the lower portion of the country, which was considered more stable (As it happened, an coup took place during my time at the school, and audible

shooting and helicopter fly-overs lead to the school going on lock-down for several hours). In preparation for departure, I attended, along with other short term missionaries, the mission's orientation weekend in the middle of January 2010, and flew out of the UK on the 20th.

The Mission School: West Africa

Driving up to the school gates, in the inevitable cloud of dust, it is possible to survey most of the campus in one sweeping gaze. A playground lies ahead, flanked by sports field and basketball court on one side, and the dormitory buildings on the right. Behind the central dining hall, also used for assemblies and functions, lies the high school building, with parallel staff rooms facing them both from a strip of one cell rooms. A few feet further on lies another strip of classrooms, housing kindergarten and primary school students. Behind these lie the library, incorporating the computer lab also, and some staff housing, five homes in total. The staff homes are not set apart by any physical boundary other than space, and in crossing from one school building to the next, it is possible to observe washing bleaching in the sun. Sometimes, these homes are used for cooking lessons, piano lessons or social events. All buildings are one floor only, built of and there is an impression of spaciousness, with each building distinct from, though built in relation to, another. Despite the prevailing sand, there are some areas of cultivated grass, prickly yet decorous. Trees are dotted about in the area, and one primary school teacher has determinedly cultivated a vegetable garden behind her classroom. The entire compound is circled by a wall, like many other homes and compounds in the area, for security reason, and guards police the main entrance. The fact that the compound itself is set back from the main road through the city by several hundred feet, combined with the effect of the wall, gives the school a secluded feel; it inhabits a world apart, set apart from the city around it.

Though the river flows not far from the school site, its contribution is less one of effective irrigation, and more a contribution as a site of political tension. The bridge dividing this city is often the first thing blockaded in times of conflict; in these events smoke from burning tyres and tear gas can be just sighted from classroom windows. In cases where the bridge is blocked, some children and parents are separated for the duration. Though these conflicts are not frequent, the proximity of school to bridge makes it the epicentre of any such political upheaval. Despite the relative infrequence of riots and coup-d'états, the fact remains that where many schools have a fire drills, this one has a lock-down drill. I had the privilege of personally observing the effectiveness of this locking down of the school site during a political coup that took place during my research visit. Such political unrest is not so common for this student population for it to be seen as an ordinary part of life, but rather they reacted with a mixture of anxiety and excitement, maintaining all the while a detached awareness that such political concerns did not directly relate to their own lives.

The school bell announces the sudden flow of students pouring from primary school classrooms around the campus. The high school enjoys recess at a different time so, for now, the younger children have the run of the compound. According to the Handbook, the school homes over ninety students from at least ten different countries, and the variety of colours, accents and languages heard amongst the throng support this assertion. Students come to the school from a range of backgrounds. The biggest group are from missionary families but although most students are day students, some have come from being home-schooled for a number of years, while others have spent some time in public schools. Most of the students from non-missionary backgrounds have parents working for NGOs or Embassies. Some of these have spent time in the French school system, or have been schooled in international or local schools in other African countries. The range of

educational and family backgrounds is quite varied for what looks at first sight to be quite a homogeneous institution. This is to say nothing of national variations. Most students are North American, but there are American-Swiss, Pakistani, Australian and students from a variety of other African countries also.

The brevity of this play time, in reality only fifteen minutes long, with the lunch hour itself being under thirty minutes, gives some indication of the high priority placed on the academic portion of the curriculum. The school could largely be described as following the American system in both style and resources, though IGCSEs are taken by high-schoolers. These latter are not popular, with student or teacher populations. At best they are seen as mystifyingly hard work. At worst, they are seen as providing hard work for the teacher, coming with no clear teaching handbook, and as irrelevant by the student. The school is also a testing site for SATs (Scholastic Aptitude Tests), college entrance exams for the USA and Canada. At the turn of the millennia, however, International GCSEs were introduced, an internationally recognised version of the British General Certificate of Secondary Education. While GCSEs are used as standard fare in Britain, the accompanying educational philosophies are often to be found at odds with the American tradition of teaching and learning.

There is little by way of recorded history referring to the origins of the school I studied, yet the school's student handbook reports the school to have been established to meet the educational needs of one inter-denominational, international Protestant mission, to which it remains affiliated today. There were 113 students at the school at the time of my fieldwork, with an almost even split between elementary and high school. Six continents were represented by the student body, with 50 per cent of the students coming from North America, 23 per cent coming from Africa, 9.7 per cent coming from Asia, 4.4 per cent coming from Australia, 2.7 per cent coming Europe, and 0.9 per cent coming from

South America. These add up to 92 per cent, a natural discrepancy resulting from my rounding to the nearest decimal place. However, these statistics on nationality given to me by the school suggest that there were 114 students, rather than 113 students in attendance. 15.9 per cent of the student body were from non-mission backgrounds

According to the same figures provided, a total of 28 teaching, administration and support staff worked at the school: nine full-time teaching staff, seven part-time teaching staff (includes the Principal and dormitory assistant), four part-time support staff, four full-time administrative staff, one part-time administrative assistant, two full-time dorm parents and one full-time dormitory assistant. There were 16 students living in the dormitory during my stay. Most members of staff were North American, although two were Canadian, one was South Korean (raised in America), two were Nigerien, one was Nigerian, and one was Australian. Another mission school in West Africa was caught in rebel activity in 2002, leading to the complete evacuation of students and staff after several days of siege. The school was formally closed in 2005. Due to the closure, several students and staff relocated to other West African mission schools, the school I studied being one of those to receive them.

One particularity of the staff profile at the school is the high incidence of singles among the members of staff represented. From an email sent to teaching staff on March 13th 2010, 50 per cent of those to whom it was addressed were single and 75 per cent of these were women. All of the teaching staff (20 people or so) during my fieldwork visit was North American, apart from three African members of staff, one Korean (who had been raised in the USA), and one Australian. Half of all the teachers present during my first staff meeting were adult TCKs. Although none were this school's alumni, there were some from other mission schools in West Africa.

Teachers are not paid a wage; rather, they raise support just as do the other members of the missionary body. This means that the mission advises as to how much money they will need to support themselves in the field and cover the mission administrative costs, flights, insurance, etc., and teachers raise the money from "home": from churches, friends, and family. As a short term "missionary", I was expected to raise £2,500 to cover my two-month stay. This fundraising is a major focus of a missionary's home leave, or furlough, traditionally a year taken after every four years of service. More recently, missions have become more flexible on the form that leave may be taken; leave may be taken for six months every two years, for example. Teacher absences impact greatly on the teachers who remain. Shortages in teaching staff are a running concern at the school, and it is not unusual for non-teachers to take on the teaching of high school subjects. A running list of staffing needs is posted in the Staff room and emailed out to supporters as part a major prayer request. Teachers are held accountable for their activities by their sending churches and financial supporters. Their lives at the school are communicated enthusiastically through web-blogs, photos, and videos to their supporting churches and friends.

The participatory element of my stint of participant observation lay in the fact that I occupied staff housing on campus, and assisted in the joint 3rd and 4th grade class (due to school size each class comprised of two year groups). I was also enlisted to sort through, clean, and reorganise the Staff Resource Library, a small room to the back of the school library. In the first week of my arrival, I was invited to make announcements in assembly to introduce myself and my research, and to invite students over the age of 16 to interview. This proved very effective. After my first announcement I was bombarded by interested students and walked away with several weeks' worth of interview bookings. Because younger siblings of older respondents were also eager to get involved, I developed the

necessary parental consent forms and cleared this development with my ethics committee. Similarly, I formally introduced myself in staff meetings, and while I left the country with a good number of interviews with adult missionary kids, it took longer for staff respondents to engage with me on this level. A few weeks after my arrival, I was invited by a dorm parent to come to the dorm for dinner and lead the devotional time after the meal as a way of "getting in with the dorm kids" (Fieldnote 10.02.12). I cried off doing a devotional, concerned I might alienate non-Christian students, but accepted the invitation eagerly, and instead shared my own TCK background, and told the assembled pupils about my research. Several dorm students volunteered for interview shortly afterwards.

Gatekeepers proved essential, in both student and staff circles. As in the above example, where a dorm parent gave me the necessary permission to cross over into dormitory space, the school's head teacher similarly encouraged me to get stuck in observing classes and was active in helping me to forge connections between myself and students and teachers alike. More informally, my neighbour was hugely generous with her time and hospitality, and would include me in many dinner invitations and social activities. A family I had known during my time at the school as a student also acted as cultural mediators. If in doubt as to the culturally appropriate action or behaviour, I would seek their advice as long-term missionaries with insight into both local cultural expectations and the cultural tenor of the school.

I enacted many different social roles in the field, some of which conflicted and contradicted each other. Where I seemed to be identified too strongly as a member of one social group, I would have to make a conscious effort to avoid alienating members of another. Some African students and non-missionary TCKs avoided me scrupulously until I managed to befriend one of them and she declared me "alright" to the others. Early on in the fieldwork, I became aware that a rumour was circulating that I was a counsellor, and

that this was scaring students off from engaging with me. Another announcement in assembly clarifying that I was not seemed to put these fears to bed. I had to be constantly aware of my self-presentation, and needed to employ all the social roles I had available to 'be all things to all men'. There are limits to a researcher's ability to make connections with all members in the field, and Bowen's (1964, p.99) observation that "one has to make friends with individual people" rang true in my case. At times, I was aware that I had a tendency to over-identify with the outsiders of the school – partly due to the fact that not only did I operate as part-outsider in being a researcher, but also due to my past feelings while a student at the school. Employing Emerson and Shaw's (1995, p.27) advice, I would register "my feelings, then step back and use this experience to increase sensitivity to the experiences of others in the setting". Indeed, this sense of outsider-ship provided a unique counterweight to what could have felt very much like "coming home", something I had feared could dull my critical research faculties.

A typical day in the field comprised a few hours assisting in the classroom, some time spent working on the resource library, attending assembly, and conducting an interview or two. A couple of students expressed a desire for repeated interviewing, an experience that was most rewarding in that I was able to develop excellent rapport and ask many follow up questions. Interviews took place in the lounge of my staff accommodation, and one took place in an empty classroom. On a typical day, I might sit in on a high school class, spend lunch break with the students, attend a staff meeting, and generally 'hover' in the grounds. I accompanied students on community service trips to the local orphanage, and assisted in the preparation of social events. I took field notes and kept a personal diary, and would memo theoretical observations as they struck me. I transcribed interviews as I conducted them. Frequently, I felt torn between marking out time to write up rich notes, or make sure I was attending all the events open to me. I feel comforted that this sensation

was not unique to my own experience and relates strongly to the observation that a "field researcher will inevitable miss fleeting expressions, subtle movements, and even key content in interactions if his nose is in his notepad" (Emerson and Shaw, 1995, p.23).

This particular field could not be exited on a regular basis. Once there, I was immersed twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, into the life and times of school, staff and students. James (1993, p.11) describes the dilemma facing anthropologists who work within their own cultures, unable to "leave the field". While my time in this field lasted only two months, it was nevertheless true that I was, in a very real sense, a member of the field, as well as its observer. Some members of staff knew of my parents, or had even worked with them. I was familiar with a few of the students, knowing them from when I was a missionary kid at the school. I was aware that the mission world is relatively small, and knew that impressions I left in the field would follow me back to the UK. I flew out on March 20th 2010. In my two months in the field, I had interviewed twenty-nine respondents, seventeen students, one home-schooled student who had been educated at the mission school in the past, and eleven adult missionary TCKs. Of the students, two respondents were interviewed multiple times, and three respondents took part in a group interview as they felt ill at ease being interviewed individually.

EuroTCK Conference: Spain

Shortly after the conclusion of fieldwork in West Africa, I attended a five day EuroTCK conference in Spain to which I had been invited to participate in co-presenting a workshop based on my research so far. I also gained permission from the organisers to take field notes of the conference proceedings and circulated an approved opt-out consent form to delegates before the conference took place. This was an opportunity for me to engage with the member care element of sending mission sponsors, and to improve my understanding

of the global mission field through networking. Furthermore, through presenting my research as it stood at the time, and observing reactions to this, I was able to test out and gauge the level to which my findings resonated with the field itself. If the material presented had failed to resonate at all with the delegation, I would have felt it necessary to question the validity and authenticity of my findings.

Interviews

Once I had left the mission school, I set about contacting graduates and other ex-students of the school in order to build up a cohort of pupils that would complement the life story strategy of the interviews. Through snowballing techniques, and the networking facilities of the social media website "Facebook", I was able to conduct interviews with sixteen ex-students of the mission school. All but three of these interviews were conducted via Skype, a peer-to-peer, real time communication application that allows individuals on different continents to conduct video telephone conversations with one another. In this way, the fact that my respondents were geographically dispersed did not adversely affect my sampling choices. I went on to interview six military adult TCKs, one via email as she was ill at ease with Skype, and one via Skype. Twelve more interviews were conducted with adult TCKs whose parents worked abroad for the government or in business. All of these were conducted in person. In total, I have conducted interviews with sixty-one Third Culture Kids, with adult TCKs numbering forty-three of these. Interviews are heavily weighted towards missionary TCKs, partly because of the field chosen, and partly because of access. A breakdown of the population sample according to age, passport country, sponsor background, and host countries is below:

Pseudonym or Real Name	Age Group	Passport Countries	Sponsor	Host Countries
Aaron	50s	American	Mission	Belgium, Congo

Adam	Teenager	Korean	Mission	Ivory Coast, Niger, Australia, France
Amat	40s	Gambian	Diplomat	Mali, Niger, Senegal, France
Amy	30s	Argentinian	Business/Other	India, United Arab Emirates
Andrew	Teenager	American	Mission	Niger
Angela	20s	American	Mission	Burkina Faso, Niger, France
Ann	20s	British-American	Military	Hong Kong, Malta
Anna-Lise	30s	American-British	Diplomat	Nepal, Butan
Anthony	50s	British	Business	Zimbabwe
Becky	30s	American	Mission	Nigeria
Betty	30s	Canadian	Mission	Niger, Nigeria
Brenda	40s	American	Mission	Mexico
Catherine	Teen	New Zealand	Mission	Niger, France
Cathy	Teenager	American	Mission	Niger
Chris	Teenager	Korean	Mission	Niger
Claire	Teenager	Chadian-Russian	NGO	Dominican Republic, America, Haiti, Benin, Guinea, Mali, Niger
David	50s	British	Military	Germany, Malta
Ed	30s	Singaporean	Mission	Niger, Nigeria
Elizabeth	30s	American	Mission	Canada, Philippines, Nigeria, Honduras, Holland (in Michigan – Dutch majority culture)
Eric	30s	American	Mission	Bangladesh, Kenya
Esther	50s	Canadian	Missing	Nigeria, Niger
Eve	Teenager	Cameroonian	Business	Italy, France, Gabon, Niger
Hannah	20s	Ghanaian-British	Mission	Niger, Nigeria
Helen	50s	American	Mission	Bolivia
Hope	50s	Canadian	Mission	Nigerian, Niger
James	50s	Australian	Mission	Papua New Guinea, Northern Territory of Australia
Jane	Teenager	Nigeria	Mission	Niger
Jim	50s	American	Mission	Niger, Nigeria
Joseph	30s	American	Mission	Niger, France
Karl	30s	American	Mission	Niger, France, Nigeria
Kelly	20s	Indian	Business/Other	Kuwait, Hong Kong
Keren	20s	American-British	Mission	Niger, Nigeria
Kirsty	20s	South African	Business	Hong Kong
Liam	30s	Singaporean	Mission	Niger
Lisa	Teenager	American	Mission	Niger
Lois	70s	American	Military	Japan

Mike	Teenager	Congo	Diplomat	America, Niger, Zimbabwe
Naomi	Teenager	American	Mission	Niger
Natalie	20s	Swedish-Zambian	Business/Other	Zambia
Nathan	20s	German	Business	Belgium, America, Geneva
Nathaniel	30s	Australia	Mission	Nigeria, Niger
Nicky	50s	British	Military	Germany, Cyprus
Octavia	20s	Irish	Mission	France, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger
Omar	30s	Egyptian	Business	England
Paul	50s	British	Business	Venezuela
Rachel	20s	British-Liberian	Mission	Niger, Nigeria
Richard	30s	New Zealand-Canadian	Mission	Nigeria, Benin, Niger
Sally	20s	Australian	Mission	Niger, Nigeria
Sally	20s	British	Military	Germany
Sam	Teenager	Australia	Mission	Niger, France, Benin
Sam	Teenager	Congolese	UN	Kenya, Guinea, Niger
Sarah	20s	American	Mission	Quebec, Burkina Faso, Niger
Seth	20s	Cameroonian	Business/Other	Niger, American
Simon	Teenager	American-Swiss	Mission	Niger, Italy
Tabitha	Teenager	American	Mission	Niger
Tim	20s	British	Mission	Niger
Tina	20s	British-German	Military	Germany
Tracey	Teenager	American	Mission	Niger
Victorya	20s	Russian	Business/Other	South Korea, Sweden
Yasmin	Teenager	American-Swiss	Mission	Italy, Niger
Yvonne	Teenager	Australian	Mission	Niger, France, Benin

Of the sixty-one respondents, sixty-four per cent were missionary TCKs, ten per cent were military TCKs, and twenty-seven per cent were from business or other expatriate backgrounds. Of the adult TCKs interviewed, the most represented age groups were the twenties, thirties and fifties, these making up sixty-six per cent of the total sample. The sixty-one respondents had lived in fifty-one different countries between them, and represented twenty-one passport countries. The number of host countries any one TCK had lived in ranged between one and seven.

As the table above demonstrates, the social-biographical details amongst respondents are diverse. Because of this, this thesis takes into account only the one social-biographical detail for analytical purposes, that of the respondent having spent a significant

portion of their formative years outside of their passport country. Because of the relatively small groupings of different social-biographical variables, analysis by these groupings were felt to have provided meaningless data, and would perhaps have even suggested a causality between variables that could not be born out due to sample size. With a sample of only six military TCKs, for example, it was not appropriate to report findings figuring this detail centrally; this would have been entirely misleading. However, the coding results of military TCKs, alongside business and mission TCKs, fed into the building of a common patterns across the whole spectrum of the sample population.

Interviews lasted between one hour and three, most arriving in at the two hour mark. All were recorded, although my recording device malfunctioned at one interview and I had to make notes instead. I transcribed several interviews before it became clear that my joint condition was going to be exacerbated by long periods of time at the computer. ESRC funding made it possible for a professional transcriber to be employed for the remaining transcripts.

Internet Interviewing

The use of Skype for video interviewing greatly complemented my project's aim of interviewing a population so dispersed by its very nature. Computer technology has now made the use of webcams relatively commonplace, and familiarity with this technology is perhaps particularly high amongst TCKs, who frequently use Skype. In 2008, Skype claimed a user base of more than 300 million registered users worldwide (Hendrickson, 2008).

Skype is available for free download, making it highly accessible, and being able to interview people in their own homes makes the whole interviewing process more time efficient. While I can spend virtually the whole day on a train to go and interview someone

in Southampton, an interview with someone in Singapore takes no more time out of the day than the time involved in the interview itself, leaving me less tired, more prepared, and more alert. Crucially, of course, Skype interviewing has allowed me access to Third Culture Kids who represent a genuine diversity of experience, and it has also facilitated my hearing stories that otherwise would most definitely have gone unheard.

When I decided to use Skype to conduct interviews with people based outside of the UK, or who were too far away for face-to-face interviewing, the advantages of the technology afforded me were self-evident. The challenges, however, presented themselves more subtly but nevertheless needed to be considered and overcome.

Firstly, while the video interview offered me access to people thousands of miles distant, there were still time zones to contend with. Occasional miscalculations occurred, but most interviewees were understanding of these difficulties. Some interviews required more alertness on my part, especially at 5am or at midnight! Yet, more subtly, time zones could complicate efforts at re-creating the coffee-shop atmosphere when I'm huddled to an early morning cup of coffee while they were just settling down in the evening after work. Connections were sometimes poor quality, leading to some interjections of "I'm sorry, what was that?" or "Could you repeat that please?" which inevitably inhibited the flow of conversation. In cases where audio was bad but video feed was good, communication could be sustained by facial expressions combined with text typing until audio could be re-established. The real difficulties came when video and audio feeds were both impaired, and then conversation was much more stilted. Thankfully, this situation only occurred once in my interviews, and the participant was patient and happily reiterated anything I missed. Still, that particular interaction could not be easily compared to an in-person interview in a cosy coffee shop.

Indeed, the immediacy of presence inherent in a face-to-face encounter needed to be actively cultivated in the Skype interview. I would always have a cup of tea in my hands at the start of an interview, and would generally be sitting cross-legged on my sofa at home, trying to exude calm and interestedness towards the little camera in my screen. Sometimes, however, the participant was particularly comfortable being "themselves" in front of the camera. In one interview, when my screen loaded I could see my participant's baby staring into the screen, with his proud mother just dying to introduce us! During the course of that interview, there were several interruptions while the mother needed to soothe her child or put him down to sleep, or pop out to the loo, or fetch something to eat. Whilst all these episodes broke my conventional idea of a "good" interview, one where two people engaged on a relatively intimate level in privacy, and with no interruption, I realised how grateful I was that a) the participant felt comfortable enough to introduce the whole of her life as it was into our interview, and b) that the interruptions actually added that immediacy of presence, without which I could have been left with a fairly false impression of a person's day to day life.

I have had one instance of interviewing by email, where the respondent was reluctant to use Skype and yet located too far away for an in-person visit. I was hesitant as this medium lacked synchronicity, and yet I found it surprisingly useful to have time to formulate thoughtful questions to the responses I received (Bampton and Cowton, 2002, p.4)

Ethical considerations of Skype and Internet mediated interviews

The informality of interaction on Skype mirrored the informality I aimed for in my in-person interviews. However, the nature of the technology adds an extra element to the interaction in that in order to call anyone on Skype, one must add them to your contact list

– your "friend" list, as it were. Once added, they can see when you are online and often feel free to chat, and they may call you any other time notwithstanding time zone differences. This has the advantage that access for follow up questions is made easy and convenient, and one can even send a quick text message online to check on some detail or other, to be read at my interlocutor's convenience. Furthermore, once I realised that I could set myself as 'invisible' to those on my contact list, i.e. not online when really I was, then my privacy was assured. But did I want this? After all, the implication of remaining on someone's contact list is that we are "friends". This holds, for me certain challenges in the handling of data, of appropriate self-revelation, and of whether it is possible or appropriate to ever 'leave the field' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995, p.40).

Similarly, participants accessed via Facebook would often add me onto their "friend" list. Accepting means I can comment on or click a "like" button regarding certain participant status updates and being allowed access to their profile information, photos, etc. This has helped me to prepare for an interview by gleaning a sense of who this person is, their interests, etc. before meeting them for a face-to-face or Skype interview. They have equal access to information on my profile. Such access has proved particularly helpful in cases where I would be interviewing missionary "kids" who were ambivalent about their mission upbringing, and who may have held certain assumptions about me acting as a mission "advocate". In dress, vocabulary and attitude I could subtly distance myself from feelings and attitudes that would have made it hard for interviewees to speak honestly with me. Becoming "friends" on Facebook has continued several relationships initiated in the field. A few participants email me occasionally with their news and ask me for mine.

This kind of research relationship presents both opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, the better I get to know my interviewees, the greater the chance that I represent their views and opinions accurately and fairly. On the other hand, most textbooks

suck in their breath deeply at this level of relationship. Many of the textbooks and advice I received regarding interview situations firmly established emotional intimacy with my participants as not only undesirable and complicated, but even as indicative of "personal degeneracy" on the part of the researcher (Oakley, 1981, p.41). In my experience, however, and in the experience of other researchers (see Oakley, 1981; Green, 1993 and Stott, 2001, p.51), friendship, when initiated by the participant and when the researcher is transparent about realistic contributions they can make to that friendship, need only be a positive feature of the research relationship.

It is important however, that consent should be ongoing, and that personal interaction is not automatically assumed to be data. The impact of knowing contextual information not directly used as data should be duly noted, while if I wish to use any personal emails or information from a "profile" webpage, consent should be gained with this information specifically in mind. In short, one should always check what information is being shared as data, and what is being shared in confidence by friends only. When one is transparent about one's role as researcher and one's professional interest in a particular topic bearing on this research, friendship both increases cooperation and challenges the researcher to be particularly responsible with data gathered in respect of the participant's autonomy and privacy.

Analysis of field work and interview data

Because of my own positioning in this research field, I wanted to employ methodological safeguards to act as checks and balances to my analysis and interpretation of data collected. Dohan and Sánchez-Jankowski (1998, p.496) noted that in ethnographic research "researchers may use those data that were most dramatic in the fieldwork and erroneously present them as being the most significant". Because there was the chance that experiences

in the field recorded in field notes, and topics covered in interview, would to a greater or lesser extent echo and resonate with my own experiences as a TCK, it was important to me to use a software aid. This aid would not only help me to manage the large amount of data collected, but I would be able to see at a glance – or following a few 'clicks' of the mouse – where I had been concentrating my attention. By coding each interview and field note systematically, I felt better able to weigh data against data, rather than against the 'truth' of my own experiences.

I chose NVivo software, available through university licence, and found this user-friendly tool invaluable for organising my data and coding it. By "coding" I mean the process of "indexing the data texts" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, p.29). Reading through field notes and transcripts I would ascribe themes as they seemed to arise in the literature, trying to continually ask of the text, "What am I being told here?" This question helped to keep me aware of the respondent or actors' positionality, and to keep my thematic focus on the story they were telling me through word or action. By "identifying and reordering" the data in this way, it becomes possible for "the data to be thought about in new and different ways" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, p.29).

In the grounded theory tradition, initial codes were "provisional, comparative, and grounded in the data" (Charmaz, 2006, p.48). However, I did not for the most part code simultaneously with data collection. Towards the end of the interview period, coding was mostly established, but most interviews and field notes had been collected before any coding took place. I decided upon this course as another attempt to safeguard against my own subjective experience gaining too much prominence over future interviews. I was determined to keep as much as possible to the life story interview format, and was

concerned that if I was becoming aware of certain codes being prominent in early interviews, my questions in later ones could have become greatly influenced by these initial promising themes. Furthermore, because I was interviewing TCKs of different sponsor backgrounds, I wished to allow the life stories room to "breathe". By this I mean that I wanted to allow for similarities and differences to emerge uninhibited through interviews with TCKs of different sponsor organisations, and was concerned that if I were to conduct interviews with military TCKs, say, after codes were firming up in interviews with missionary TCKs, then gaps along with a certain degree of transference could occur.

Once the 94 initial codes were noted for all field notes and interviews, these provisional themes were re-examined, and gathered into groups under the three broader themes of identity, sense of belonging, and relationship to place. In this way it would be possible to keep my analysis both grounded in the data, and yet keep the focus on my research question:

> *In what ways does being a Third Culture Kid affect notions of identity, belonging and place?*

These groups of codes would then be examined to establish emergent themes, and measured against one another to clarify and develop theory from the data. Whilst some life story researchers recommend presenting interviews intact, and maintaining flow of narrative for contextual benefit, I made the decision to organise the large numbers of life stories included in this thesis thematically. The sheer volume of life stories in this research would have rendered full text inclusion cumbersome, and I felt clarity could be gained by a thematic analysis that would specifically address questions of belonging, identity, and relationship to place in the lives of those TCKs interviewed. Finally, because the life circumstances of TCKs are often extremely identifiable in their details (not many TCKs share the precise combination of host and passport countries with peers), the inclusion of

too much specific context would not have respected the interviewee's request for anonymity.

As discussed, I analysed my data according to codes, or themes, that emerged from the data itself, and these were then related to my overarching inquiries regarding TCK belonging, identity and relationship to place. Upon the organisation of codes into these three broad categories of inquiry, I selected the codes most referred to by the greatest number of respondents as being the most significant for this thesis rather than those that I might have deemed of most "social significance", such as racism in expatriate communities. Instead, I chose to report the stories and experiences of most significance to my sample population.

The social-biographical backgrounds of my respondents were not featured centrally in my analysis, because respondent backgrounds were too disparate to make any resultant findings meaningful. Even within the group of mission TCKs, the largest sponsor organisation represented in my sample, differences of experience such as whether responders were boarders or day students would need to be mediated by the age of boarding school attendance and/or the presence of parents as boarding school workers. However, as broad distinctions may be understood as existing between TCKs from various sponsor backgrounds, this thesis indicates these, as well as age to indicate the proportion of life span reflected on by the respondent.

Concluding Thoughts

The nature of this research project required both geographical and methodological flexibility. In exploring the subjectivities of the internationally mobile TCK, it was beneficial to engage in both the field of their childhoods, and in their adult reflexivity – both extremities of the TCK life story, as it were. Fieldwork and life stories served this

purpose well, and established the contexts of TCK meanings and worldviews. Because of the global nature of my respondent group however, traditional in-person interviews needed at times to be transmuted to the computer screen, thereby crossing otherwise restrictive physical and temporal boundaries. My chosen mode of analysis has also been chosen for its provision for the contextual needs of this project; in short, my proximity to the field. In all methodological decisions, I have necessarily considered whether the method of choice is capable of engaging with my research question and how my own relationship to the field may be best utilised and mediated in both matters of access and analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE: The Third Culture Kid Experience – In the Field

Introduction

The Third Culture Kid experience pushes at the boundaries of traditional approaches to migration. An examination of the literature (chapters two and three) suggests that TCKs add to the melting pot of migration trajectories a kind of *Diaspora through experience*; the shared experience of mobility as mediated by an expatriate community. A better understanding of the TCK experience in the field is essential for understanding the ways in which the TCK experience impacts upon later adulthood constructions of belonging, identity and relationship to place, as reflected in later interviews with them. In pursuit of this, it is pertinent to note that despite their differences, sponsoring organisations, be they mission, military, or business, share certain characteristics - in particular, their use of international or mission schools to educate the children of their expatriate members. As the locus of TCK daily life, these educational institutions are critical to TCK experience. Hence, fieldwork at one of these institutions provides a glimpse into the social and environmental context in which the TCK experience impacts upon adult TCK belonging, identity, and relationship to place in later life.

The present chapter concerns itself less with an analysis of mission school life, than with presenting and exploring some of the kinds of experiences common to many TCKs. Setting the scene of TCK experience in this way will illuminate the later analysis in chapters that focus more specifically on the themes of this thesis – belonging, identity, and relationship to place. In order to set this scene, I explore here the particularities of the mission school structure, within the mission context. In particular, I highlight the fact that despite the great diversity of pupils coming from many different nationalities and ethnic backgrounds, the school curricula and activities are entirely English based.

Mission schools and International schools

Mission schools are, of course, only one of the many varieties of school encompassed by the 'international school' umbrella. According to the Council for International Schools, the number of accredited international schools worldwide was 388 in 2012, but the number of schools using the term 'international' is in reality much greater. The mission school in this study is not, for example, on the accredited list. Indeed, as long as the numbers of transnational workers in the global economy, global governance and charitable service provision continues to rise, so too will the number of international schools increase to meet the demand (Lauder, 2007, p.441). While there are common features among international schools, such as the fact that they are usually private and fee-paying, there remains a great deal of variation between them in all other respects (Hayden, 2006, p.11). In 'An Introduction to International Education, Hayden (2006, p.6) goes so far as to say that attending an international school does not necessarily guarantee an "international" education.

There are certain key features shared by international and overseas mission schools. One key feature is the presence of a mono-linguistic education. While there are international curricula available, such as the International Baccalaureate, many schools founded to meet the needs of mainly British or American expatriates simply adopt their home national programmes. Such was the case at the mission school studied for this research, which was built to meet the needs of a majority American mission. Despite being located in West Africa with a diverse, international student population, the school's curriculum is entirely in the American in tradition. This fact had significant implications for the many non-Americans attending the school. But this school was not unusual. Not only do most international schools operate in English but most teachers working in these institutions come from, or have been trained, in the English-speaking world (Fail, 2007,

p.104). When it comes to the values or educational ideals of any international school, the cultural backgrounds and values of its staff become pivotal to understanding the cultural milieu in the school. Nevertheless, sharing a language of origin cannot determine total homogeneity when it comes to the values surrounding teaching and learning (Fail, 2007, p.107). A key question is how non-American pupils fit into the school and then, on their return 'home', adapt to the educational systems of their passport countries. In particular, where English is not their mother tongue, and yet their education has taken place entirely in English, this raises the question of whether a university education in their passport country is a realistic option. This may pose a serious challenge, given that university education in English-speaking countries is often costly. Such challenges routinely face many students at any international or mission school where they are educated in a language other than their own passport language.

A second feature of international and mission schools is the relatively high and unpredictable staff turnover. While this is true of schools in sending countries, teachers are usually replaced when they leave. Matters are not as simple in the "outback". Odland and Ruzicka (2009, p.6) determined, in a study that included 270 international schools, that the turnover rate was 14.4 per cent per annum, "a figure which places at least these international schools close to the troublesome percentages cited for US schools". While turnover statistics are not available for the mission school, the subject of this chapter, the turnover rate was necessarily high due to the regular staff furloughs, or deputations, attended by each missionary and his or her family. Missionaries typically worked in a cycle of three to four years abroad, followed by a year in their passport countries. This deputation year would be spend reconnecting with extended family, going through medical checks, and visiting churches and individuals that offered prayer and financial support to the missionary in the field. The cycles did vary, with some spending only two years

abroad, followed by six months to a year in the passport country, and these variants depended largely on the policies of the sending mission organisation. Regular absences of even long-term staff contributed a sense of urgency in each year's recruitment drive and the subjects offered to the students altered year by year depending on staff availability. This affected the options that students had when applying later for university courses. One student told me that she needed Computer Technology for the Business course she wanted to take, but that as there was no teacher that year, and may not be one for following year either, this could limit her options later on. She told me she found the lack of IT "really depressing".

Teacher absences impacted also on the teachers who remained. Shortages in teaching staff were a significant problem at the mission school, and it was not unusual for non-teachers to take on the teaching of high school subjects. During my research visit, Physics and some Science classes were taught by non-teachers, who nevertheless had a background in these subject areas, and were available to lead classes. A running list of staffing needs was posted up in the Staff room and emailed out to supporters as part of a major "prayer request". High turnovers in staff, as well as in the student population, altered the social and emotional landscape of any TCK's world. The advent of Facebook and Skype has greatly facilitated the maintenance of relationships among prior pupils or members of staff, despite high mobility, yet in the constant flow of faces there is a limit as to how many a TCK may remain familiar with.

Staff mobility was linked in mission schools to "deputation" a distinctive feature unique to the mission community. Teachers in mission schools are not paid a salary; rather, they raise their own salaries and living support from the personal and church networks in their passport countries. The school fees perhaps reflect this, and set the cost of a boarding school place at approximately £6,500 for a secondary school student. The tuition fees of

the International school of Geneva stand closer to £21,400, although this is an unfair comparison as the latter school has much more to offer in terms of prestige and facilities. The process of wage-raising is one in which the mission first advises on how much staff will need to support themselves in the field and to cover mission administrative costs, flights, insurance, and so forth. Prospective teachers then raise the money from "home" churches, friends, and family. As a short term "missionary", the title by which my own application to conduct research at the school was processed, for example, I was expected to raise £2,500 to cover my nine-week stay. This fundraising is a major focus of a missionary's home leave, or "furlough", traditionally a year taken after every four years of service.

For students from missionary families, these furloughs are opportunities to reconnect with their passport countries and visit extended family. Many mission TCKs accompany their parents on church tours and become involved themselves in representing the parents' sponsored work abroad. This representational role becomes a significant aspect of both the TCK experience in childhood and, for many, impacts significantly upon their sense of identity in later life. Simon describes the experience of touring churches and - as a result of the ubiquitous prayer card handed out at these fund-raisers - being the recognisable face smiling at financial and prayer contributors from many a refrigerator door. It is typical practise for missionaries, and their children, to have professional A6 sized cards printed up with names and address(es) for the benefit of supporters. These get distributed to supporting churches, and frequently end up glued to the refrigerator or notice board. It can be an unnerving experience for a TCK to visit a supporter's home, and find a four year old family photograph displayed in this way. Indeed, it leads to TCKs being very recognisable to the churches they may visit, without TCKs experiencing reciprocal familiarity:

No… yeah… (I was) quite comfortable with my family [in the passport country] but as soon as we get to church and community, not family but people who live there, it's very awkward for me because they know me, they know my family, they're supporting us but… I dunno, it's too many people at one time.

Tracey, on the other hand, stayed with relatives for the duration of her parents' deputation:

My parents travelled around the States, um, raising support so we (the children)… when we started living with them (the relatives)… I think it had been a month, and they came back to visit us for two weeks and then they were gone for two months and then they came back for Christmas… And then they finished their travelling.

Families organised their deputations so that whether visits spanned miles or were concentrated in one area, TCKs were keenly aware that their time on furlough, doing deputation, put their families under particular scrutiny from supporting churches. This was made evident by Jim, an ex-student of the research school, who observed:

Missionary kids on furlough had better be behaved because mum and dad's income depends on it. […] You go out to people's homes to eat a lot. You don't talk very much unless you're spoken to. You mind your manners. You certainly will not complain about anything that is served to you. You will leave these people with a good impression. […] Any house rules were established in my home. If you complain about anything your father will give you a double portion and you will not get up from the table until it is eaten. […] How legalistic is that? Really legalistic but you know it was sort of perceived to be a necessity for the missionary life.

This awareness of the link between their behaviour and their parents' financial security, and standing in the mission world, leads many TCKs to a heightened sensitivity regarding the impressions they make on their communities. This perhaps especially felt in deputation

years, where many weekends may be spend visiting individuals and churches that support the missionary family financially. If the family do not make a 'good impression', i.e. leave supporters convinced that their money is well invested, then this could have a damaging effect. Indeed, if missionaries do not raise the required amount during deputation, then they may not be permitted to return to the field at all. Missionary TCKs are particularly aware that they represent their parent's work abroad, and of the detrimental effect any "bad" behaviour could have on their parent's careers, and their own lifestyle abroad.

The Religious Culture at the Mission School

My personal faith made my presence at the mission school, where I conducted fieldwork for two months, acceptable to the founding mission organisation. This shared faith became a basis for many of my points of connection and social relationships with staff, particularly when their work environment encouraged open prayer in staff meetings and assemblies. A Christian Educational tradition was strong at the school, which had been established by a protestant mission. A "vision statement" published in the Parent/Student Handbook (no longer available online) describes the aims and motivations of the school's educational regime:

> *[This school] is guided by a philosophy of Christian education. God and His Word are central to every aspect of life. Education is truly about preparation for life and finds its completeness in God and His Word. Christian education is committed to the whole person. It develops students' understanding and growth in wisdom, equipping them to transform abstract knowledge into convictions, and revealing Christian character in their service. Its goal is to produce students of intellectual, social, emotional, physical, and spiritual strength and distinction, governed by*

> *godly principles, wisely engaging every field of study and the world around them*
>
> *from God's perspective.*

The school considered its educational duty to include spiritual learning into its holistic curriculum. Despite, or perhaps because of the diversity of its population, the school regarded education from "God's perspective" to be crucial to the effective overcoming of different educational backgrounds and cultural approaches among the pupils at the school, many of whom came from French-speaking backgrounds and from Asia, or spoke a variety of African languages. Just having completed the Accreditation process with ACSI (Association of Christian Schools International) reinforced the school's educational sense of mission.

The religious culture of the school was the main reference point for evaluating social, as well as cultural norms. Where both secular and non-secular schools would identify stealing as problematic, the approach of the mission school was to refer to shared faith, and religious standard, as a means by which the offender may be brought to account. When food repeatedly went missing amongst high school pupils, I was present when the youth pastor addressed them in assembly. He explained that there are some things that God had very "strong emotions" about and referred to a verse that pointed to "six things God hates, seven things he despises". He said that one of those things was a lying tongue, and that "to my mind, lying and stealing are pretty much the same thing". He said that things were going missing and it didn't matter what those things were – it was wrong and it needed to stop. He said that whoever that person was, or persons were, they needed to put all their excuses - "I need it more than them, they won't miss it, and so on" - to one side and come and see him or the headmistress immediately, because "we want to help you through this time". (Field note 03.02.10) Even in the condemnation of stealing, then, the

mission school rhetoric was one of "salvation" and "redemption", where the culprit could be helped and supported through coming forward and admitting guilt.

Staff, students, and other missionaries who lived locally attended a combination of local African churches and an "English" church, a service held every Sunday evening in the school assembly/lunch room. English church was attended by most of the school and wider community, with several day students and boarders taking on lead roles in the worship band as musicians and singers. Besides acting as a community meeting point, this meeting also acted as a platform for community reports, such as the one below:

> At English church this evening, a man involved in Adjami translation spoke to us about his work in villages in Cameroon, Niger and Senegal. Adjami is when a local language is written out in Arabic script. […] They cannot speak or read Arabic but the letters are arranged in such a way as to sound the words, which become words in their own language. Missionaries had been perturbed by villagers telling them that their Bibles were in pagan script, and so had set about doing this as a way of using the concept that only that which is written in Arabic is holy. He reported on stories where after seeing that they could actually read for themselves, grown men's eyes would well up with tears in a show of emotion. These stories were much appreciated by the missionaries and older children (the younger ones had gone out for Sunday school). There were many nods and "Mmm"s of agreement, especially when he mentioned that entire villages, just on reading the Bible in their own language but in 'holy' script, (Arabic) had "decided to close the doors of their mosque and follow Jesus." The Muslim religious leaders became Christian religious leaders. The speaker was met with applause as he returned to his seat.
>
> (Field note 28.01.10)

Reports and announcements such as these provide an opportunity for the wider missionary

community in the locality of the school to reinforce its vision and goals animating its presence in the country, and to be explicitly reminded of the congregation's shared beliefs and values.

Boarding School

Whilst the majority of students at the school were day students, like in other mission schools the dormitory, or "dorm", comprised both primary and high school students and was presided over by dorm 'parents', a family with young children of their own, who worked in this capacity as missionaries. There was also a dorm assistant, who lived in, and who doubled as a high school teacher. The dormitory was a significant presence on the campus, both because of its site on the compound and because of its role as a social and cultural hub for many of its students. The dorm housed sixteen students at the time of my fieldwork, and five of the twenty-one students I interviewed in the field were boarding, or dormitory, students.

Interviews with both current and former students highlighted the significance of the 'dorm' as a site of both cultural and organisational tension and negotiation. Dorm parents tended to be of Euro-American backgrounds, and the majority language of the dormitory was English, despite the presence of multiple nationalities represented by the students living there. One of the biggest minority language groups at the school and dorm was Korean. Cultural tensions arose when "language supremacy" led to the Korean students being discouraged from speaking Korean in the dorm home (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). One Korean student, John, explained:

> If you speak Korean in front of one, even like one, one person who doesn't understand Korean, then … you're in trouble because they report it to the dorm parent or someone else that … we weren't including them.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p.1) argue that language attitudes are "inseparable from… relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors' views of their own and others' identities". The linguistic power relationship between dominant and minority groups in the school dormitory had a significant impact upon Korean students' experiences of integration. Indeed, John, even as he explained the "no Korean" rule, was quick to distance himself culturally from other Korean students:

> So it just, it's just about a matter of adapting and they, they (the other Korean pupils) were too stubborn to let go of their old self. To grab new ones. […] They were just close hearted. […] I mean, they're like, they're like segregated, they like their own little group. They don't wanna be in big group, they like their little, little, little … gang or something you know?

Both Koreans I interviewed had plans to pursue their university careers in America. Clearly, their educational and cultural lives were much less Korean than American.

In addition to language, the dormitory run by the school, and thereby by the founding mission, was culturally representative of that mission's recruitment and authority structures. While some students were able to develop close relationships with dorm parents, others struggled due to the high turnover of staff. One student in particular noted how his dorm relationships had been supportive in his years at the school. Though a current student at the time of the interview, John chose to speak in the past tense, something I explain by his identifying the feelings expressed as being in the past:

> And people in campus were more of a family to me. They were so close to me that I remember I if had bad feelings, when I was depressed or stressed out, I always talked to them and then they wouldn't say anything like, oh, you'll be fine; they would sit with me and listen to me and try to give advice that would affect me and I think that was where I really wanted to live.

The dorm became the place where John felt most "at home", and he identifies it as where he 'really wanted to live' as opposed to distant his parental home based in a neighbouring country. For another student, however, the high turnover of dorm parents created a feeling of alienation from his high school experience. A lack of shared history could cause tensions when dorm parents changed year upon year. Chris noted:

> …people thought I was just, like, being rude… like the new dorm parents, they
> didn't know what was going on because they hadn't been there the year before
> that…

As a result, when struggling emotionally he didn't feel able to confide easily in dorm relationships that lacked intimacy due to the absence of shared history of involvement over time.

Chris was not alone in his struggle to connect with staff, given their high turnover. Ex-students of the school relayed similar experiences. Whilst Sarah generally described her boarding school experience in glowing terms, she remembered the confusion and tension that could arise due to a high turn-over of dorm parents:

> They came for a quarter, and a couple of others… so when you have all those
> different parents… and dorm parents, you just have different approaches to
> everything, so that's the only thing I think that was different, or hard about the dorm
> parents…

While some dorm parents had served the mission in that role for a number of consecutive years, particularly in years in which the serving "parents" were on leave to their passport country (usually a 1:4 year ratio), the dorm would find itself short-staffed. In the above comment, Sarah describes a year where one couple served for only three months of the school year to cover the staffing shortfall. Keren, another ex-student, described how

discipline was the area of particular variance between dorm parents and how the high turnover of students and staff affected her experience:

> And there'd be the whole thing, every year, you had to find out what the rules were this year, what were the punishments this year, you know? Everything was different. You know, some years there'd be corporal punishment; you were spanked with the ping pong bat or something. […] Others it was sitting in a corner, you know, until the timer went and that stuff, so. None of the new kids (knew you), you know, (there were) new dorm parents, new rules!

For these TCKs, dormitory living intensified the experience of highly mobile living. The changes in continents, countries, languages, and cultures experienced as a regular aspect of a TCK childhood were reflected in the microcosm of school and, by extension, mission life in the mission school dormitory. TCKs experienced linguistic and organisational tensions and negotiated their identities in this multi-faceted context. They felt the experience not only of grand scale global transitions that are most frequently discussed in the literature, but the transitions inherent in a school structure that comprised a multicultural population as yet encountering linguistic and cultural tensions, and the challenges of a staff population that frequently relocated, or whose home-leave patterns necessitated regular recruitment of short-term replacements.

Certain dominant themes are raised by this mission school experience. They revolve around a central paradox inherent in the TCK experience more generally: that of encapsulation versus multiculturalism. The paradox of encapsulation centres upon the tensions between a missionary culture of 'reaching out' to the local population and a school that maintains a distinct culture of its own. The paradox of multiculturalism highlights how the experience of belonging, for the TCK, is very much mediated by nationality and sponsor background, and yet routinely generates feelings of separateness

from passport peers back home. Finally, illuminating the TCK relationship to place and "home" is the interplay between current student desires and aspirations for future careers, and the school's cohort of older students who, through later interview, were able to inform me as to how these future aspirations play out on a local and global scale.

TCKs: The Paradox of Encapsulation

A significant paradox of the TCK experience lies in the alienation many TCKs feel in relation to their passport countries, feeling themselves to be more closely connected to their host societies, despite the reality that many TCKs do not in fact make intimate or lasting connections with these indigenous populations. Instead many feel most at home not so much when immersed in other cultures as living as adults within expatriate communities similar to the ones in which they were raised. The expatriate community in which missionary TCKs are raised is distinct and encapsulated. Although geographically located in West Africa, the students I knew at the school remained culturally apart from local culture and local peers, and conducted most cultural and social activities within the confines of the expatriate 'bubble'. Simon summarised it for me: "I don't like it that we're not learning the culture where we are, in the sense that (school) culture is very different from [surrounding] culture. And, in a sense I don't really live in [West Africa] anymore or study [here], it's [the school]." Naomi expressed frustration that she had never become proficient in any of the local languages:

> I don't even know if I actually did have [the primary local language] before we went back to the States and then I lost it, I don't remember ever really knowing [the primary local language], but when we came back [to West Africa] I was already in school and our cousins were right across the yard and there were lots of missionaries just 20 minutes away in ____ so there wasn't a lot of motivation to learn the language and to struggle though cultural differences and stuff like that... I

look back and I'm like - you were a kid, you could have done it so easily!! Why didn't you do it?? (My own replacements for identifying locality inserted with brackets)

Significantly, Naomi observes that the set-up of expatriate compounds often makes other missionary families much more accessible than local ones. Walled compounds in local towns and villages are common, and for reasons of access alone, friendships are thus made more easily within the expatriate community than with local peers. Ex-students of the school echoed these observations. Hannah reflected that her parents were not considered 'real' missionaries because they didn't prioritize time spent within the expatriate community:

We would, you know, you'd think that missionaries… missionaries go to engage with people locally. […] You know, I actually remember once, someone actually saying to me that my parents were not real missionaries because they didn't used to preach in this Baptist church, so they didn't use to stand up and preach like other parents did, they didn't use to go to the Bible study groups like other parents did. And I remember saying to my parents, why aren't you like proper Christians like other parents, like other parents, other missionary parents? […] But at the time it was part of the culture, part of the little community. A very small community.

Indeed, the manner in which their parents' set about their work in the country of mission set these TCKs apart from those around them. Investment in the expatriate community seemed at times to be of greater priority than local investment in relationships, and this distinction inevitably created certain boundaries around the cultural and social experiences of the TCKs.

TCKs: the Paradox of Religious encapsulation

One such boundary, language, impacted upon the TCK's experience of fellowship in the church community, despite the church-building vision of many missionary parents. The school staff and some boarding students, as well as a couple day students and their parents, attended the African church that was an appendage to the mission Bible training centre, just a short walk from campus. That the service was held in French appeared to be the main barrier to eager participation:

> The majority of the School's staff and kids that attended the French service (probably only 10 in total, although there were other [mission] personnel present also) went out for English translation of the sermon. I could have stayed and followed the French but I went out so that I stayed with the teachers and kids.
>
> The kids stared vacantly ahead, not seeming to engage with the sermon at all […] They were surrounded by parents or teachers so they were well behaved, inciting only a couple sharp remonstrations. They talked discreetly behind hands, or laid their heads down on the table.
>
> After the sermon, instead of returning to the service, us 'whites' all left the building and headed home. [Field note, 24.01.10]

Significantly, the spiritual lives of staff and students, as well as of other missionaries locally, appear rooted in the expatriate church world, rather than in the local church lives of African Christians. Religion and personal faith is of huge significance to the life and culture of the mission school, but seems to have little relationship with the host country's spiritual community. Instead, this religious culture is set and negotiated at a mission expatriate level, and culturally bears more resemblance to American Protestant faith than the ecumenical and international nature of the school/mission demographic itself.

Encapsulation through the missionary vision of "helping"

TCKs, whilst living primarily within an expatriate community, nevertheless experience encounters with their "host" culture. Through interview and observation it became clear that the primary mode of mission interaction with their hosts was as employers or helpers. While local members of the community were employed at the school as manual workers - cleaners, cooks, and grounds men, I never witnessed a student speaking to one of these employees. At the student level, interaction with local community took place on outreach trips, in which high school students prepared evangelistic activities to share with children in a nearby village, or in community service visits. Community service was required of grade 9 students and above. Grades 9-10 were required to do 20 hours, and grades 11-12, 30 hours. These hours were a requirement for graduation, and "… at least some of this time must involve working with (the local population)" (School Handbook, p. 19). One popular way of doing this was through visiting local orphanages, and two or three teams of students made regular visits to entertain the children for an hour or so, presenting themselves to their local community either as spiritual guides or volunteer helpers. Naomi appreciated these opportunities to interact locally:

> I really enjoy my community service because it makes me feel... I think it's hard
> and being... and school just takes so much time... that we can be just in a Western
> bubble... home – school – home – school... and community service probably really
> forces you to get out...

For Naomi, these visits gave her the opportunity to interact with and support members of her local community. She describes her involvement:

> RC: What kind of Community Service do you do?
>
> N: Um, like, when I went this weekend, that all counts as community service,
>   when I do puppets, when I... when we go to that school and help with the

crafts... and every Wednesday I help at the Orphanage and play with the

kids. Before I was just playing with the kids and this year I'm going to start

um, teaching some of them English... and we're figuring out what this is

gonna mean... the Papa of the Orphanage, or whatever, asked us if they

would have students at [the school] who would be willing to help teach

English...

During my observations of orphanage visits, I noted how the students enacted a missionary

model of 'helping'. In handing out name tags marked with 'God loves you' students were

following a missionary model. However, in writing this message in English they

demonstrated how they were following this model symbolically, rather than in an actual

attempt to engage meaningfully with the children at the orphanage. Other school activities

also replicated this evangelical model, as did the ways in which students were exhorted

during Assemblies and Bible study sessions to further their own relationships with God

and share Biblical truth with others. Outreach weekends, when high school students visit

villages and put on puppet shows of Bible stories, also illustrated this model of local

engagement. In short, their experience of mission through the school community directly

impacted on the ways in which students positioned their engagement with the local

population.

Student interaction with the local population was designed to mimic certain

missiological approaches. These students, as we saw, were required to makes some kind of

contact with locals as part of their community service, and had to complete a specified

number of hours of community service in order to graduate. The students' engagement

with the local community, in terms of what was organised by the school was limited to

those who were much poorer and more disadvantaged than they were. Their role in the

interaction was a 'helping' one, and this naturally was influential in forming their

perceptions of their host society, and their role within it. When Tracey regularly took pictures of herself holding African children she was reinforcing an image that has become popularised in many charity brochures and Tear Fund adverts around the world; she positioned herself as caring and loving towards the poor, motherless African children. However, once at the Orphanage, though having demonstrated fluency in the main local language on route with her peers, this knowledge was not translated into effective communication with the children she was working with, I noticed. Though one of the rare instances in which a student demonstrated fluency of language and cultural ability in the local milieu, in the event she did not depict eager desire to actually communicate with and relate to locals. Language acquisition seemed restricted to a separate domain of 'exotic knowledge' as opposed to being of any relational value. My observations suggested that those who were native to the host country were constructed by the mission and its students as passive receivers of their goodwill.

Encapsulation and alienation from passport peers

Despite not being fully integrated into the local culture, TCKs do not find integration into their passport culture easy either, or even desirable. On visits or even on the more long-term "return" to the passport country, TCKs find themselves culturally set apart from their countrymen and women, their passport peers as it were, identifying their cultural engagement with their mission host country as the reason for this cultural distance. Tracey observed:

> I think Americans, the way they view Africa, they way they view other countries, is so wrong… like, why not go to Google and look at a map and look it up if you are really interested… Some people, oh it annoys me so much, is they ask if you speak African. Well, if they'd stop and think (a minute), how many languages are in Africa…?

Other TCKs feel alienated due to the cultural gap between their religious expatriate environment, and the secular culture of their passport country. Many felt uncomfortable being exposed to language and morals they had never before encountered, living as they had in the mission bubble. Cathy described her feelings towards her peers in her passport country's high school:

> I remember like, being shocked at people's behaviour… like walking down the hall and seeing two people kissing in the hallway and [she gasps in horror]… [laughs]… so like, [mocks a shout] I didn't know people did that at school!! And like, you know, hearing bad words and having them (spoken uninhibitedly)… just like walking home and telling God how stupid saying bad words was… and I'd… I think… yeah, and just not being in a Christian atmosphere where everyone I knew was a Christian. Yeah, I think that was, yeah… it was just being shocked and being, yeah…

As Cathy notes, most of her life was spent in a distinct, mostly homogeneous, Christian community, rendering her secular peers alien to her. Steven, a non-mission TCK student at the school, saw this encapsulation as the reason why it was difficult for the missionary students to relate and empathise easily with others:

> It's like, it's really weird, it's really weird 'cos they're so nice and they really just want the best for those around them but sometimes they can, the way they've been raised makes them so-oooo judgemental, sometimes and it's like... and the worst part is it's not even their fault .

Students attempting to break into social circles in the passport country found themselves with few resources and insufficient time to complete the task. Chris reflected that it was a "one chance game" to establish belonging:

And, like, when I went to secondary, which is middle school in Korea, it was kind of, once you are alienated, you are alienated, kind of thing... and that's the age that... I mean, even in Korea people agree that middle school kids are still immature, kind of thing. But yeah, so in middle school, once you're alienated, the whole grade or whatever, it's kind of like it's all over.

Instead of being skilled as cosmopolitan travellers at relating to all kinds of cultures and backgrounds, these TCKs found more secular, Western cultures particularly difficult to relate to.

Some students found this 'no man's land', in which they felt stranded from both mission hostland and their parental passport cultures particularly challenging to their own sense of personal belonging. Simon, Swiss-American and having spent a good number of years in Italy, observed;

But then, yeah… I do not consider myself American […] And I don't consider myself Swiss, and I can't consider myself [of this African host country]. American, because I have spent three years there, and two of those being a baby so it's very little time. Switzerland, the same and it's always been all over in a vacation… so having fun… we always did family activities with the other (mission) families because they were on vacation too, but we never really spent time living side by side (with the locals) or whatever. And I can't consider myself (a local in this host country) because I can't speak the language… well I can speak French very well… anyhow… let's not get into that… that's not (here), that's French colonisation. […] Yeah, so… and I don't really know the customs. I'd like to, I love… I love mission trips, getting to know people… Uh, the closest thing I could call myself is Italian, but that's a far stretch… even than… maybe Roman but not…

Simon summed up here the peculiar paradox of TCK's cultural upbringing. Local integration on an intimate, relational basis is rare due to language barriers and the structure of the expatriate community, which sets TCKs up as leaders and helpers to their mission hostland. Yet it is precisely this experience of being raised in a host country that purports to set TCKs apart from their passport peers as more cosmopolitan and adept at 'fitting in' in many different cultural environments. I suggest that while elements of the local culture may be adopted by some TCKs and their families, and have an impact on their identities, for many TCKs the culture to which they can claim ownership is actually that of their expatriate community, and this may be limited and blinkered rather than synonymous with new horizons.

Paradoxically Multicultural

The mission school community, whilst having more North American tendencies, was essentially multi-cultural in its composition. According to the mission school's handbook, the school provided a home for ninety or more students from at least ten different countries. Students came to the school from a range of backgrounds. The biggest group were from missionary families but although most students were day students, some had come from being home-schooled for a number of years, while others had spent some time in local public schools. Most of the students from non-missionary backgrounds had parents working for NGOs or Embassies. Some of these had spent time in the French school system, or had been schooled in international or local schools in other African countries. The range of educational and family backgrounds was quite varied for what looked at first sight to be quite a homogeneous institution. This is to say nothing of national variations. Most students were North American, but there were American-Swiss, Pakistani, Australian and African students from a variety of other African countries as well. The cultural

mélange that existed in this mission school, as in other international educational institutions, highlighted the peculiar cultural influences experienced by TCKs. It is thus not enough to consider the cultural interplay of host and passport country cultures on the lives of TCKs. The cultural explosion that is lived daily in the school life of TCKs merits serious consideration in terms of understanding its impact on the ways in which these TCKs relate to the world about them in their adult lives.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, while the school is international in composition and openly values multiculturalism, the daily cultural experience of many of its students is linguistically monocultural. Indeed, more generally amongst day students, linguistic divisions were drawn along Francophone-Anglophone lines, and this caused some tension amongst the student population:

> In cooking class today, two groups seemed to form. […] all of the black students […] were gathered over by a work surface, forming a loose circle. They were laughing and talking – in a mix of English and French it seemed. Meanwhile, the white students were gathered by the sinks doing the clearing and washing up. There was no interaction between the groups for perhaps 15 minutes although Sarah [a White American] […] came and sat opposite the group of black students and joined easily into their conversation. Katy (Korean) also came over to them and joked around with them for a moment. The black students did not move over to the white students at any point, nor did they call over to them. (Field note 05.02.10)

Over the course of my fieldwork, I discovered that a group of French-speaking students, predominantly black and non-mission, would group together socially, and over lunch breaks in particular. While this resistance to the Anglo "linguistic impositions" was understandable, it was specifically interpreted as a threat to social cohesion (see also

Pavlenko and Blackledge on experiences elsewhere, 2004, p.3). Cathy, an American mission TCK, explained:

> I think sometimes the English-speaking kids feel stupid around the French-speaking kids because the French-speaking kids always speak in French… and I have gotten into a few scrapes, like in accusing them, you know, of not spending time with us because we don't speak French or whatever; and afterwards I realised, you know, when they spend time with us we're always talking about America or something like that, and they don't… you know, it's just hard to participate in each other's conversations because our lives are really (separate)… even though we're all TCKs and we all go to [this school], um, there is a gap between the Americans and the Nigerians and…

Intriguingly, Cathy identified all the Francophone black students as Nigerian, although, in reality, multiple backgrounds were represented in this group, which included Russian and African-American. Upon reflection, Cathy decided that the linguistic divide reflected cultural distance that made it inherently difficult for the two groups to relate to one another. Of note, however, is the identification of one black student with this group who was not French-speaking. Rather, she felt a sense of belonging with the Francophone group on the basis of her own outsider status, and perhaps colour, due to her not being considered a "real" missionary kid.

As in any group or community, there are clear delineations regarding who belongs, and who does not. The most cited marker of belonging to the school community was whether or not one qualified as a mission TCK. One teacher observed of the social divisions between non-mission and mission students:

> Well it's harder 'cause they're like, you know, their driver comes and picks them up after school. […] They don't live as close, so they're not in the community.

Somewhat due to the fact that these students resided neither in the dormitory, nor, in general, as close to the school as mission students, non-mission students did not participate as fully as mission students in the social life of the school. In consequence, they were not seen as full members of the school community. Naomi also highlighted the language barrier:

> We've been getting more students um, from, like, French backgrounds, that they speak both French and English but have spoken mostly French, or something like that... and so they tend to hang out and speak French all the time to each other and so that... and you can get this, like, African group, and then you get the others and it looks really racist or something... and no, we're not trying to be like that... I don't think it's necessarily that anyone excludes them so much, and I do think we need to be purposeful at including people, but I'm trying to work through that balance of excluding people and between (the fact that) you are naturally closer to certain people because of their cultures.

Despite the fact that TCKs worldwide are seen as being particularly adept at navigating and relating to different cultures, the mission TCKs in this school struggled to relate to the non-mission and non-English speaking TCKs in their classrooms.

For some students, the social divide between mission and non-mission groups was especially difficult to navigate. Mike, a non-mission TCK, seemed popular with both mission and non-mission groups. In a group interview with two non-mission TCKs and one mission TCK, he was criticised in his absence for confusing allegiances:

Eve: Last year, at the beginning of the year, _____, he's like [indistinct]… he's not a missionary, like, he's trying to get into the groups…

Claire: He's losing himself…

Jane: He's trying to be like them…

While it was possible to fit in with both groups of students, moving between them opened Mike up to criticism. While censored by the non-mission students for trying actively to belong to the mission circle, Mike himself felt judged at times by the mission cohort for not coming from a similar faith background, feeling himself ostracised because his parents didn't want him attending school-led Bible studies.

Jane, a child of missionary parents who did not belong to one of the mainstream missions connected with the school, felt excluded by the other missionary TCKs:

They find it very hard to accept... it's like this whole thing, like once you don't belong, once you're not the same, once you're not a missionary kid, someone told me I'm not 'really' a missionary kid. My parents are missionaries here. They're like, oh, you're not a missionary kid.

The social exclusion that resulted was felt in leisure hours also:

After that I really saw the difference... you go to the [American Leisure Centre]. These are people, you all go to the same school, you go to the [American Leisure Centre], you see this person, oh, they go to my school, they pretend as if they don't know you.

This kind of social segregation engendered considerable pain and anger, further entrenching the divide between mission and non-mission students.

Similarly, while this school, among many other international schools, prized the advanced linguistic skills of its student population, and many TCKs themselves identify the acquisition of multiple languages to be among the beneficial experiences of a highly mobile life, the school operated on a day-to-day basis, outside language class, entirely in English. Language skills in such everyday contexts were prominent tools for belonging and, for a number of students whose English was not their first language, this hindered their initial attempts to 'join in' both socially and academically:

As the kids came in from recess, Jennifer went to her desk and rather than smiling around and busying herself with her books, she sat quiet and subdued. I went over and asked her how she was. She did not seem her usual self, so I pressed, 'Are you okay?' Jess jumped in at this point – the other two girls were seated also by now. She said, "She's sad because no one would play with her because of her English. I would have but I couldn't find her anywhere." (Field note 04.03.10)

This incident in the third-fourth grade class I assisted in illustrates the challenges of belonging for those who did not speak fluent English upon their arrival at the school. Yasmin, on the other hand, spoke fluent English but was also fluent in Italian. She felt at times better able to express herself in Italian, but as none of her classmates spoke the language, these were moments in which she could feel very alone. Upon arrival at the mission school, her poor written English threw up the question of which grade year she should enter:

I was surprised that they even took me in my own grade. I thought they were gonna put me back […] Like I'd be trying to write a summary of a book or something, and I'd be, like, hey, daddy how do you spell eight? Is it like a t e, because you know, in English there's all these things.

Yasmin faced the challenge of integrating her multilingualism, finding that one language afforded her a sense of belonging in one situation, but was socially inhibiting in another. As was discussed above in the context of dormitory living, English was understood by the school administration as the medium of social cohesion and academic achievement. Students who grouped together using a language other than English were reprimanded and the school culture as a whole deemed such public uses of non-English languages was detrimental to social unity.

While multiculturalism was encouraged officially through events such as the school banquet, "A Night in Paris", the culture thereby communicated and explored was heavily mediated through an American lens. Naturally, "American" culture is filtered and distilled and possibly bears little resemblance to America as a country, yet interpretations of what it is to be American, or at least Western, were very much in evidence throughout this staged scene. Equally, 'Paris' (or France) was interpreted through an American (or Western) prism. When students were directed to bake soft rolls in the shape of "croissants" - despite the fact that French bread can be bought cheaply, readily and authentically and 'real' croissants are abundant locally a statement of preference was being made. The fridges of many missionaries were adorned with price lists of different soft rolls or soft breads in the "American" style that could be baked to order from someone within the expatriate community. My neighbour, who had been working in Africa for over twenty years, never ate "French sticks" if she could help it, she always made her own bread. 'American' bread was easily considered to be the best, and was devoured as though it were a rarely seen luxury at the banquet. In similar vein, the American "moms" preparing the food had a clear idea of what they interpreted as French "fancy presentation". Yet, in making the "French" dressings they stayed very close to "American" favourites – red sauce and ranch. In excluding alcohol from the traditional beef bourguignon main course, the cooks conformed to both local ideas of appropriateness and American missionary ideal of not consuming alcohol (Field notes February 2010).

Whilst the school administration and the mission community more broadly might claim that multiculturalism is a positive fact of life for mission TCKs, the reality of cultural encapsulation and exclusion poses the challenge of creating social cohesion where a culturally dominant group is in control. The mono-linguistic focus of the school curriculum and the assumption of linguistic supremacy challenge, in particular, what multiculturalism

might mean for the school population. Culturally, American western values mediated both academic and social arenas, and did not encourage a meaningful engagement with the cultural knowledge, preferences and values of students from other backgrounds.

Future Aspirations

The imagined futures of these TCK students occupied multiple national spaces, in much the same way as their present lives were experienced transnationally. More generally, TCKs abroad have challenging decisions to make regarding their future careers. Yasmin explained, "The thing is I don't know which continent I'm going for college…" Most of her schooling took place in Italy, but as a Swiss-American, university in Italy would be prohibitively expensive. Her brother, Simon, added:

> So far I'm thinking of going to Switzerland because I have the most family there... by a lot... I have two cousins who are still in school, about 20 in Switzerland, first cousins.

Because he had been attending university while his family remained abroad on the mission field, having extended family located near his university choice is important. Two Korean students were planning to attend university in America, due to their primarily American schooling thus far, but this increased costs.

Out of the eighteen students I interviewed at the mission school, eight discussed their career plans in specific terms. Of those, five wanted to work as missionaries, and were thinking of choosing university courses that would support for this occupational trajectory. Andrew did not specify wanting to work as a missionary, but identified work as a pilot as being his first choice; a career path seen by many students as particularly facilitating a missionary career. Cathy was looking at nursing, "I figure if I study something practical then I can go on the mission field and use it wherever," while Adam

was more interested in working with young people: "then when I get my Bachelors, (I'm) probably thinking about going to […] Bible college, or university and study youth ministry stuff. To help reach out to kids." Lisa wasn't sure on the specific missionary work she would like to focus on but was clear that this was the career she was focusing on:

RC: So would you wanna come back here then?

L: Yeah. I definitely want to.

RC: What would you like to do here?

L: Erm, probably missions, preaching and stuff.

RC: Hmm. Like your parents?

L: Uh hm. Travelling around. I could also, my dad teaches at a Bible school now. […] If I got a degree then I could do that. […] I've always been interested in Bible work so everyone's asked me, I was like well, if I get my degree in Bible (studies) it's (there's) a lot more options open.

Her sister, Tabitha, also interested in a missionary career, described the lifestyle of a missionary as one that especially appealed to her:

I know I want to be a missionary and I'll probably, since I grew up in one place for so long I might move around a lot, but I'm hoping to be in one place a little longer than the others […] just, I think you get to know the culture and the people better the longer you are somewhere and I really would love to learn (about) a new culture and new people.

Training for mission work enables TCKs to maintain a relationship with their hostland experiences even while based in their passport country. Working as a missionary would give Tabitha the opportunity to maintain the experiences of her TCK upbringing into her adult life. Mike, not a missionary kid, had noticed this preference for missionary work amongst his peers, and it concerned him, feeling they were missing a "bigger picture"

However, one student, a third generation missionary kid, was looking at Christian employment, working as a worship leader, but was also interested in working with children with special needs. She was also hoping to employ her language skills gained in the 'field' but didn't focus necessarily on missionary work as a way of achieving this. Yvonne was clearly interested in travel as a major element of a future career; influenced by her early experiences as a TCK:

> I'd like to do something in the area of teaching but when we were in Australia (inaudible speech) (at the) navy base, up in __, that was, I was, like, Ohh! This is so cool. It was really interesting so (inaudible speech) this is like a wild idea, to go into the navy cause I think it would be really cool … […] and just 'cause I've already had that experience, being away from most of the family in Australia, and like the idea of going places … […] sounds interesting.

As a boarding student, Yvonne felt well equipped experientially for navy life, and was keen to continue her childhood theme of international exploration well into adulthood.

The high instance of mission students having such clearly defined missiological aspirations is unsurprising. Many students took ownership of their parents' occuption by describing the possibilities for their own 'missionary' work. Cathy felt her own missionary capabilities came into their own when she attended school in her passport country, in a non-Christian environment:

> Because here, as an MK, your parents are the missionaries; um, you know, it's not that you can't be a missionary but if you want to be a missionary you have to do the same thing that they have to do, like learn the language and spend time with people and that's hard to do when you are going to homeschool and boarding school and stuff. But there every day, for the entire school day, I was in a mission field. And it was like, like, like I had to, I really had to be alert spiritually, I couldn't be lazy

because Satan was in that school, and like, he was trying to pull me down all the time…

Tracey similarly identified strongly with her parents' work. She described her parents' missionary activities:

Church planting. To… we have a Bible School in ____ and a Bible School here. So once we get established in a village, we'll plant a church and encourage them to come for one year to a Bible School. And then, through that, once they see potential in someone who could be a Pastor, he does another year of leadership. So I think we have about forty-three churches in the country… [Oh really?] Yeah, in different villages and towns and… yeah, we also have a primary school in ____, that's there…

By employing 'we' Tracey included herself implicitly in her parents' work in a way that few non-TCK children of financiers or teachers or doctors would consider doing. There appears thus to be a kind of moral complicity between parents and children in the work of mission; the whole family is occupied in serving abroad. This moral understanding may then lead TCKs who desire for an internationally mobile future to serve on the mission field. Such a career path is attractive to TCKs in that it would at once be familiar, thus engendering a sense of 'returning home', and fulfil a personal faith that values missionary evangelisation.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to illuminate the TCK experience in the field, as a social and environmental backdrop to the ways in which adult TCKs engage with the world around them when they reflect on belonging, identity and relationship to place. I have highlighted some of the particularities of the mission school experience common to many TCKs, and

have focused especially on the paradoxes of that experience. The mobile life of a TCK is

paradoxical: international yet encapsulated, multicultural yet with a tendency to accept a

dominant American discourse as hegemonic. The future aspirations of many TCKs seek to

perpetuate this experience of mobility but within the cultural confines of an expatriate

community. The culture of many TCKs, whether mission or international school educated,

seems less to point toward multiculturalism in a meaningful, relational sense, and more

towards the desire for perpetual movement and "otherness together", the sense of being

distinct, as a group, from one's cultural peers. This experience is uniquely facilitated by an

expatriate lifestyle that introduces TCKs at a young age to high mobility and bordered

belonging through encapsulation abroad. This encapsulation is largely facilitated through

compound or "enclave" living or working, echoing research on expatriate lifestyles in

which a certain encapsulation nurtures a predominately "western" lifestyle (Glatze, 2006;

Fechter, 2007b).

CHAPTER SIX: Third Culture Kids - A Sense of Belonging

This chapter is the first of three that will be addressing the expressed aim of this thesis: to explore the ways in which the Third Culture Kid experience impacts upon belonging, identity and relationship to place. For the purposes of the following analysis, I use the term to refer to an experience of "likeness" with one's social peers that is a necessary, and positive, element of the human condition. I understand "belonging" to mean feeling oneself to be "at home", and as presuming to share similar values and the same worldview with an identifiable social grouping. Here, Cohen's (1985, p.12) understanding of community is illuminating. The term "community", as the locus of belonging, suggests "that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups". While the children of expatriates may be said to belong to a global community of TCKs, beyond a shared experience of mobility and transition, TCKs may differ wildly in socio-economic background, sponsor background, language, and nationality.

For TCKs, arriving at a shared history and cultural experience in a landscape of relationships that may be constantly shifting is the particular challenge of belonging. The high mobility experienced by Third Culture Kids complicates the ways in which they locate themselves in relation to their social worlds. Maintaining a sense of transnational belonging is a common thread in both migration and TCK literature, and is a dominant theme in the life story interviews conducted as part of this thesis. The multiple moves experienced by TCKs led many to engage in complex interactions with friends and even acquaintances over multiple locations. In this way, TCKs may be said to achieve a sense of *transnational* belonging.

Despite this tendency amongst many TCKs to synthesize globally disparate connections into a kind of tangible belonging, or community, experiences of marginality may lead to many TCKs employing a style of boundary work that enables them to navigate the social strangeness of their passport peer groups. TCK literature, as seen in the third chapter of this thesis, is voluble on the TCK experiences of marginality and the challenges of "embeddedness" within a local community (Bennett, 1993; Killguss, 2008, p.5). Interviews for this project echoed such themes, and the prominence of boundary work serves to suggest that belonging for the TCK is a delicately negotiated process, perhaps made all the more precious by the pressure exerted upon it by marginality in the passport country, and because "it is threatened in some way" (Yuval Davis, 2010, p.266).

This chapter will present TCK experiences of belonging, with particular reference to transnational belonging, and experiences of marginalisation as well as boundary maintenance. Life story interviews with adult TCKs are also suggestive of their experiences of belonging as these relate to the routine separation endemic to the expatriate experience, and the struggle or desire to maintain long-term relationships in adult life. In examining these particular themes, it will be possible to identify how different TCK experiences impact on their sense of belonging, and the way in which they locate themselves socially in relation to the world about them.

Transnational Belonging

Running through the experiences of many adult TCKs are the threads of transnational belonging. If transmigrants may be understood as being those "whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders" (Schiller, Basch and Blanc., 1995, p.48), then the adult TCK's experience appears to centre upon transnationality. Rachel, a missionary TCK in her twenties, noted that her close friends

were scattered over the globe, yet despite geographical distance she maintained intimate relationships with them:

> I have got friends here, got friends in Australia, America, Uganda, Pakistan, wherever, and I know that if they were ever in Heathrow, I'd go visit, and I've got friends who I can ring up or Skype in the middle of the night if I need to. […] I don't need to be friends with the people down the road. Which is really awful because the people down the road get offended that I don't see them…

The use of telephone and internet video calling technologies has allowed Rachel to maintain intimate relationships with friends in geographically disparate locations. Indeed, her effectiveness at maintaining transnational relationships seems to negate Rachel's need for local attachments. For Richard, a missionary TCK in his thirties, this dearth of local attachments caused him some pain, yet not enough to render him willing to trade places with his locally invested passport peers:

> You know, sometimes I look jealously at people who've stayed in one place for a long time because they've built up a large network. I look, well that would be really nice… but then I look, I look at the friends who I have and they can be across the world and we can sort of connect even though, you know, we're moving around and you can come back a couple of years later and sort of pick up where you've left off and off you go.

Richard nevertheless felt some satisfaction in his being able to remain connected with globally disparate friends over time, yet he hints at the lack of an everyday type intimacy available to those with local relationships. For Richard, his globally disparate relationships bridge years of absence at a time.

Transnational Travel

While everyday involvement is not possible for the participants of these transnational relationships, participation in major life events is nevertheless a significant component of maintaining intimacy. For Hannah, a missionary TCK in her twenties, maintaining transnational relationships involves international travel to attend weddings:

> I had a friend and she was who I consider my best friend, Caroline, who is getting married in… October in Australia, and I'm going to be maid of honour which is really exciting…

For Liam, a missionary TCK in his thirties, living and working transnationally led to his meeting his fiancée whilst working abroad. Due to visa, work and financial constraints, this couple were not able to spend as much time together as they would have liked before their wedding. Transnational relationships open up opportunities for connecting with people globally, but these connections are not without complexity. Similarly, Hannah, a missionary TCK in her twenties, and her partner knew marriage would bring with it a unique level of compromise:

> We need to start thinking about getting married… and about living under the same roof in the same country. And that's going to be a bit of a personal challenge at the minute, 'cos…because I really sort of see my work as in working more internationally, and he's… and he's quite settled in London. That's going to be quite… that's quite a tough one and that pretty much sums up the challenges of living in different places.

Whilst more than happy to maintain their relationship across borders, cementing it by living together raised a lot of challenges to the transnational life with which Hannah felt most at ease.

These TCKs do indeed experience a sense of belonging that crosses borders and inhabits transnational social fields. However, the relationships that form this network are mostly rooted in an expatriate culture rather than national cultural. The links and connections maintained are between those who share in the experience of expatriate mobility, i.e. members of the same international boarding school, rather than those who are locally rooted to a national or geographical identity. Where the transmigrant could be said to be negotiating different cultures when he or she crosses borders, I suggest that a TCK is more likely to be maintaining connection to *one* internationally relevant and unifying cultural identity, that of the Third Culture Kid. There was one exception in my interview sample, and that was Hannah, who had made close local relationships in her host country. Now in her twenties, she recounts her friendships on the mission field:

> We made friends with everybody. Especially like the watchman's kids were very
>
> good friends. The eldest still is, in fact she's a bit of a mentor to me still.

In making and maintaining relationships with local Africans, Hannah is an exception to a tendency amongst expatriate children to have relationships mostly with other expatriate children.

While transnational relationships, and networks of belonging, are certainly significant features of the TCK experience, it would be easy to generalize from accounts such as the above and conclude that TCKs are typically excellent networkers, and skilled at maintaining relationships with the particular aid of internet technologies. However, while this is the case for some, other TCKs find keeping track of their many relationships scattered through time and space to be virtually impossible. Indeed, sponsor organisation background particularly seems to impact on the maintaining of transnational relationships. All of the TCKs quoted above are of mission background, which typically means less frequent moves and to fewer host countries than those of business or military backgrounds.

With lower mobility, relative to other TCKs, it is possible that these mission TCKs have a head start in keeping track of their significant friendships, and find it easier to maintain intimacy once "returned" to the passport country. Ann, in her twenties and from a business sponsor background, notes particularly that regular school changes makes it impossible for her to maintain relationships from her school days:

> I'm really bad at keeping up with long-term friends! I've got some. I've got not from school 'cause I moved schools quite a lot.

Equally, David, in his fifties and from a military background, recalls a conversation with and old school mate tracked down in the process of compiling personal and family history:

> And this was the point. That and he said, "You know, why can't you remember?" and I said, "Because I went to… I've gone to another three schools. I can't remember ninety people's names."

In this way, the transnationality of TCK belonging may be mediated through different experiences of mobility, namely the frequency of school moves. Where moves are less frequent, and TCKs are able, over some measure of time, to develop intimate relationships with both school and school friends, the long-term maintenance of these relationships appears more likely than when high mobility floods the social world of the TCK to the extent that long-term intimacy is rendered impossible.

"Encapsulated" Marginality

Emerging from the life stories of these TCKs are experiences of belonging that can be understood in terms of encapsulated and constructive marginality (Bennett, 1993, p.113). Encapsulated marginality may be understood as the experience of feeling isolated by one's uniqueness; disconnected from mainstream culture or social groups in any one or multiple settings. Anthony, a TCK in his early sixties who referred to himself as a "colonial brat",

reported his experience of encapsulated marginality whilst at school in the host country. Although at school with other expatriate children, Anthony did not easily "belong", challenging the common rhetoric that TCKs often feel most at home, and are most accepted by, other TCKs:

> I was lucky that I could play sport. But I was also unlucky that I was unremorsefully bullied there because … they referred to me as *muntu* or, *Kaffir*, which of course is a term which you don't refer to a white man as. […] Part of the reason was that I came from a liberal family, I never come across the colour bar before, when I got there I did a sort of Zulu African dance. […] Bomf, that was it! You know?!

The word "muntu", means "person/human" in both Zulu and Ndebele languages, and was used in a derogatory way by Anthony's school mates. "Kaffir" is a word derived from Arabic and meaning "non-believer", but was used by Anthony's white peers to speak of Africans in a demeaning manner. Anthony found himself to be isolated at boarding school amongst his own expatriate peers. The liberal politics of his parents and his own comfortable intimacy with his host culture, in relation to the rest of the expatriate community, set him apart even from other TCKs at that time. Anthony had been interpreted as identifying sympathetically with local African culture by performing African dance, and so had made himself vulnerable to association with what was generally considered by his boarding school peers to be an inferior culture. While many children, TCKs or otherwise, experience school bullying in the form of name-calling, this TCK's experience was mediated by the negation of racial belonging endemic to the expatriate culture in which Anthony lived. His main experience of "not belonging" was mediated through the politics surrounding his expression of both African and white cultures in a way that challenged his mono-cultural expatriate community.

For other TCKs, the transition to their passport country culture was the catalyst for encapsulated marginality. Amy, a business TCK in her thirties, reported identifying strongly with one of her two passport cultures until, upon visiting that country, her passport peers identified her as "not-belonging":

> But I, you know, and for a while I was like, yes I'm Argentinean, I'm Argentinean, then you know, it's, I was more comfortable back then saying I'm half Argentine half Lebanese or not even Lebanese, I was Argentinean. And then when I went to Argentina, because my accent sucks in Spanish, they were like, where are you from?

Identifying as Argentinean was not enough for Amy to belong to that culture; indeed the acceptance of her peers was key to her claim to that identity. When Amy's accent identified her as "not-belonging", her passport was not enough to reinstate her as "belonging". This shock of not belonging to the passport country was Omar's experience also. Now in his thirties, he recalls being told that he'd find belonging easier in his passport country than in his host, as he'd look the same as his peers:

> So yeah, […] you're kind of told by your parents that everything's going to be fine there, you're going to blend in, you'll be one of the crowd, whereas if you stayed here you'd always be foreign, you'd always be different. Which to a ten year old makes sense, I suppose! But it wasn't obviously, it was a huge shock for the system and I think I'm appreciating how much of a shock it was now that I'm older than I did at the time. The difference in school, friends and just starting over, not being able to speak the language fluently, being bullied for being different, and I was very shy I was very kind of introverted as well for a few years.

While in his host country, Omar's features marked him as foreign. Yet, "returning" to his passport country made him a hidden immigrant; he looked the same, yet felt culturally distinct from those around him (Pollock and Van Reken, 2009, p.55). Where Omar was overtly "not belonging", allowances, as well as assumptions, would be made for difference. Where Omar was covertly "not belonging" peers would expect behaviours conducive to "belonging", and be less tolerant of cultural error. Indeed, Omar felt more sense of belonging when he looked different, in his host country, than when he felt different, in his passport country.

Tina, a military TCK in her twenties, similarly felt denied full entry into her passport culture. She describes how her background living in Germany placed her in the role of enemy to English peers who maintained a wartime aggression towards that country. The effect of being ascribed a negative cultural identity by her passport peers:

> So that was a bit of a … problem. It's a bit like have you seen the film 'Mean Girls'? […] Where they laugh at her for being, for living in Africa. It was a bit like that … because it wasn't my fault What was I supposed to do? Apologise and say okay, I'll just pretend that I ever lived there? But it was something that carried on right the way up through secondary school, GCSE and 'A' levels and, you know, just things like being called a Nazi, and whenever there was an England Germany football match on, my locker would be spray-painted or have superglue in the lock or … used tampons shoved through, holes, that kind of thing.

Tina's sense of belonging was to be mediated through the cultural (mis)conceptions and preferences of her passport peers. For Richard, a missionary TCK in his thirties, the negative effect of "not belonging" lead him to deep sadness and isolation. The transition to his passport culture completely displaced his sense of belonging, and social location:

Yeah, it was, it was a really painful period, I'd say for about three years I didn't …
I had about a three year transition period where I really struggled with the culture
shock. During that time I got quite depressed […] I did contemplate suicide … I, I
mean I didn't actively do anything about it but you know, there was all sorts of
stuff running through my head. I ran away from school, I deliberately acted out in
different ways just to, I guess, find, you know, how I fitted in a new culture.

Richard's mental health deteriorated during that transitional period where cultures and
continents changed, along with school size, and, as he had previously attended boarding
school, his family's composition. Outside of belonging, socially out of place amongst his
passport peers, as well has facing family tensions and dynamics hitherto mediated by
boarding, he struggled to adjust and suffered in the loss of his expatriate community. The
process of testing new social boundaries to find his place served, in some instances, to
isolate Richard further, and this marginalisation affected him deeply. Richard later found
"his place"; peers with whom he could belong, but Anna-Lise, a business TCK in her
forties, engaging in yet another transition when moving countries for her career found
herself astounded that she could still be susceptible to culture shock:

RC: Do you feel established here? How did, how did that transition work?

A-L: …the first year was horrendous. Absolutely horrendous! And even the
        second year was pretty bad, and even the third year was pretty bad. I just
        remember …

RC: What made it bad? Particularly?

A-L: Well, I remember my family teasing me and saying, you know, you think of
        yourself as so culturally able, you know, sort of … malleable or, you know,
        easily adaptable to all these situations. They said, you are in culture shock.

Although Anna-Lise had identified herself as adaptable, as someone who didn't struggle with belonging particularly, being faced with settling in a new country for any length of time was still a major challenge even later into her adult years.

"Constructive" Marginality

Constructive marginality describes the experience of feeling "at home" in various cultural traditions, knowing how to act appropriately in each as well as maintaining a feeling of home in each" (Killguss, 2008, p.6). Hannah, a missionary TCK in her twenties, archetypal example of how TCKs maintain a sense of belonging in multiple, and flexible, cultures:

> I belong in Amsterdam city centre, where I pay tax, I belong in my workplace, because if I wasn't there they wouldn't be able to do my work and I belong in Ghana, I have a Ghanaian passport to work in Ghana, I'm very proud of Ghana in football. I belong in Northampton and I have a special connection there and I belong… I belong amongst my community of friends from all over who come together in my Hotmail and Gmail accounts. Um, Facebook, I do not belong on Facebook. [Laughs] And I belong… and I also, I also just, I don't know, I have a sense… I have a sense of belonging in myself which I feel very at ease with. Just a sort of, I don't know how to describe it, but a belonging in who I am and in what I choose to do. But yeah, I feel very many… I reach the different types of spaces depending on how I feel.

Here Hannah describes how she maintains the various facets of her cultural identity, and notes the feeling of ease surrounding her role in these different social fields. Hannah has found a way to reconcile these different cultural spaces in her life; she identifies as different, as marginal, yet employs this experience constructively. Possessed of a flexible sense of belonging, Hannah is not culturally limited to belonging in her host or passport

cultures, and instead is clearly defined by her "multicultural sense of self" (Killguss, 2008, p.6).

For Paul, a business TCK in his fifties, maintaining a home in both host and passport countries, meant constructing a relationship with his host country as an adult:

> And I suppose after my parents left or when they must have left, when I was round about twenty-one, twenty-two or something, I'd spent … ten, the best part of ten years with my PhD and Post Doc experience and then I went to the film school here [in the passport country] for three years and during that time I made two, three films in Venezuela where I, for each one I spent several months there. […] So, I had formed a, as it were, a network of friends totally independent of my … parents and their lives that they had nothing to do with at all. They were not… some key Venezuelan friends but they're all sort of mix of French and Belgian and various other sort of ex-patriot people who, who made up the anthropological community there. But I had kind of turned my, my sense of home. It had been, Venezuela was my home … in the, or shall we say, the things that made me feel like home, when I was a child in Venezuela, you know, the drive-in movies and banana milkshakes, this kind of quasi-American style of life, kind of, was not, they were no longer the cultural associations I had with the country.

Paul actively sought to live and work in his host country, making friends and cultural connections that were independent of his childhood expatriate community, and that were thereby more sustainable in his adult life. In this way, Paul was able to harmonize his British and Venezuelen senses of belonging.

Ann, a business TCK in her twenties, uses her ability to adapt to different countries around the world in her work, and actively builds travel plans into her career trajectory. She's a confident networker, maintaining connections with the bank her father worked

with whilst she lived abroad, as well as focusing her attentions on health and accountancy companies that operate internationally, and over overseas training. She is aptly able to operate within the cultural expectations of different groups:

> When I go abroad I just adopt like at work, I get on with things but I'm kind of picture what I'm gonna be like in my mind and then just be like that! […] And then with friends I'm just the same but when I, I find I need to adopt, I adopt a mind-set of what […] I dunno, decide a couple of minutes before I turn up! Like, I adopt a different way of thinking about stuff. […] I think it's based on what I want other people to expect of me. […] So if I want other people to think I'm really nerdy and into work I'll … nerdy and into work and my mind's going, "I actually don't care".

This ability to use marginal experiences constructively pays dividends in the TCK's ability to manage social situations they encounter, either at local or global levels. Ann's chameleon-like tendency to adapt automatically to what she assesses is needed from a situation stands her in good stead for making strong connections with those around her. What this ability does not guarantee, however, is long-term connections. The maintaining of multiple selves poses a challenge to the development of relationships in which intimacy preclude the constant changing of position in order to redress an immediate social or cultural balance. Perhaps this is the peculiar challenge of constructive marginality.

However, while Bennett's conceptualisation of encapsulated and constructive marginality bears out in the life experiences of many TCKs, this theory of perpetual marginalisation fails to explain the experiences of those TCKs who, in adulthood, develop a strong sense of belonging to a local community. One TCK, a missionary TCK in his thirties, did not seek to maintain a multicultural self. Rather he sought adaptation and integration with his passport peers:

I was… my goal was to learn as much as I could as quickly as I could, watch
whatever movies I needed to watch, listen to whatever music everybody else was
listening to, and uh, I mean I was definitely opposed to talking about being a
missionary kid and, you know, if someone wanted to talk with me about it I would
be happy to do that, but I didn't bring it up. It wasn't like I felt like I needed to
stand out, 'Here…I'm a missionary kid, hear me roar' sort of thing.

Karl experienced neither encapsulated nor constructive marginality upon his (re)entry to
his passport country. Instead, he aimed to learn the cultural norms of his passport peers and
to "fit in". In his adulthood he felt a strong sense of belonging to his local community:

I do feel like I have an interest in this country and what's going on and my
community and I feel like I will probably live here for a big chunk of my life,
maybe not always but probably for a long time, and this is where my family will be
so you know, yeah.

Similarly, Joseph and Ed, also mission TCKs, were settled with families and jobs in their
passport countries. They shared no desire to live or work abroad, and seemed thoroughly
embedded in local lives. There is some suggestion in the current discourse (Pollock and
Van Reken, 2009; Sand-Hart, 2010) that this approach to a highly mobile childhood is a
sad waste of experience. I would suggest however, that Karl's ability to lay down roots and
adapt effectively to his passport culture suggest skills that many of the TCKs I interviewed
either were not able to mobilise or did not desire to achieve.

Belonging through marginality

As we have seen above, some TCKs do experience marginality as intensely isolating, and
others find a way of engaging globally through the constructive use of a marginal identity.
Still others, hitherto absent from much of the literature, shed marginality upon "return" to

the passport country and achieve "localised belonging", or a local embeddedness through

with TCKs may connect with their local communities in a meaningful way. However, data

from life story interviews suggest that many TCKs find solidarity in their marginality. Like

the concept of constructive marginality, TCKs may feel at home in different cultural

milieus, solidarity through marginality implies that many TCKs feel most comfortable

being marginal *together*. In this way, seeking out other marginals becomes a means by

which TCKs may reaffirm to themselves and those around them, that they are, in fact,

culturally distinctive.

TCKs described how, upon finding themselves culturally marginal when in the

passport country, they actively sought out other marginals to align themselves with.

Nathaniel, a mission TCK in his thirties, described his approach to making friends:

> I found a friend on my first day who didn't have any friends, he'd just come to the
>
> school, I befriended him. It wasn't an equal friendship because he was
>
> intellectually quite … quite slow but, he followed me around for the next two years.

Although shared marginalisation was the basis of this otherwise unlikely friendship,

Nathaniel had astutely identified the necessity of finding another "outsider" with whom he

could form an alliance of sorts. Rachel, a mission TCK in her twenties, spoke of her

tendency to seek out friendships with members of other cultural minorities:

> I know that I have more of an affinity towards somebody who has been an MK or
>
> international student. All my friends laugh at me, that wherever I am I will
>
> gravitate towards the international student in the room. […] Because I understand,
>
> looking at Englishness from the outside. So you know, when I go to uni the first
>
> person I'll make friends with is the one who, you know, the Irish person who grew
>
> up in Pakistan. Oh, you will understand why I'm confused so I'm gonna be friends
>
> with you.

Richard, a mission TCK in his thirties, also found solidarity through friendships with other cultural marginals:

> I think another thing that really helped me adjust back to New Zealand was I made a group of friends at the high school who were all the new immigrants in New Zealand. I did not have one Kiwi friend. I, my friends were Malaysian, Pakistani, Indian, Chinese, the whole works but not one Kiwi. Erm I was the nominal white person and even then I, you know, I really wouldn't classify myself as strongly from New Zealand.

Both Rachel and Richard found affinity through outsidership, and by connecting with other marginals, they shore up their own sense of belonging, through the collective experience of marginalisation.

For TCKs settled in countries other than their passport countries, the need for minority affiliation is crucial to developing a sense of belonging. While marginality through nationality may easily explain their lack of affinity with the host culture, they nevertheless feel strongly drawn to other international groups, or cultural marginals. In her childhood, Amy, a business TCK in her thirties, identified most strongly with other marginals, describing her group of friends as the "Halflings" in reference to their dual nationalities. Into adulthood, she remains close to other marginals, feeling unable to break into local friendship groups:

> I mean we're all united in the one thing, namely that we can't make friends with English women! […] That, that's sort of what brought us together… […] is you know, and all of us have tried to break into the English society, so it's not without trying. […] We, we go to the toddler groups, you know, a lot of English mums there…

Victorya, a business TCK in her twenties, observes that she has mostly travel-oriented friends, rather than "proper, proper English […] not that many just, you know, British British friends." This TCK identifies those with international experience, or the more globally minded as being something apart from the normal English, or British person. Seth, a business TCK in his twenties, also noted:

> I find it easier for me to relate to international kids because… you know, I guess we have something in common, we're all international.

Amy, Victorya and Seth all construct themselves in opposition to the host culture, framing themselves as international, rather than foreign. These TCKs hold a sense of belonging that is globally referenced, rather than simply feeling an absence of belonging amongst passport peers.

This search for other marginals extends, for many, to their search for romantic partners. One mission TCK noted that she had married someone who was also from a highly mobile background, and they now live abroad themselves as missionaries; "We were both rolling stones. We roll together, this whole thing." Many missionaries appeared to hold the belief that missionary TCKs were particularly suited to partner each other due to their shared experiences. This belief is so pervasive in the mission expatriate community that Eric, a mission TCK in his thirties, found himself on the receiving end of much incredulity when he began dating a non-TCK, now his wife:

> See I, I bought into the lie that, I mean there were several, my parents and several other missionaries and my parents never said, but a lot of the missionary parents who were in the community that I was in were just like, you know you're best friends will always be TCKs. It's, you know, and the assumption was, you'll marry a girl that's a TCK. You know? And she's the only one who could possibly understand you. […] And, so, when I met, when I met ____, this, this girl's

awesome you know, […] and a couple of the parents found out that we were … we
were dating or engaged and you know, how in the world could you date someone
that's not an MK [missionary kid]?

Eric's experience was that the search for and expectation of minority solidarity was such
that it precluded close relationships with non-TCKs. Many TCKs expected to find
solidarity with other TCKs, and orientated their social worlds accordingly.

Boundary maintenance

Boundary work involved in living in the host country is, to a greater or lesser extent,
institutionalised, often through the educational experience of being schooled with other
TCKs. Meanwhile, passport country experiences render the boundary work of belonging a
much more overt, requiring more individual negotiation on the part of the TCK. The TCKs
appears to belong, by virtue of sharing the same nationality and/or race of his peers, whilst
culturally he or she is separated from the TCK expatriate world with whom he is most
familiar and identifies most strongly with. It is in the passport country that boundary work
becomes particularly significant in the TCK's struggle for self-expression and belonging.

Even while their adaptability and cosmopolitan potential is ever the focus of much
of the TCK literature and individual narrative, for many TCKs, the distinctiveness of their
personal and group selves is the focus of everyday boundary work, by which I refer to
those processes and activities that individuals seek to define both who they are, and who
they are not. Kirsty, a business TCK in her twenties, described how redefining the cultural
boundaries of her identity facilitated a positive sense of cultural marginality:

So like if, when I'm in Hong Kong and someone asks me where I'm from I'm more
likely to say South Africa. […] Or England. […] And when I'm in South Africa
I'm more likely to say Hong Kong or England. […] I wanna seem unique or, like,

> different, so like if when I'm in Hong Kong, if I say I was born in Hong Kong,
>
> they'd be like, okay. So I'm saying no, no, no, it's not okay!

In using her multiple "homes" as cultural capital, Kirsty is able to balance her perpetual distinctiveness, and maintain clear boundaries around her identity as supra-normal. Redrawing boundaries of belonging, so as to exclude herself from whatever majority group she is faced with serves Kirsty's need to identify as marginal, and she draws creatively on her cultural resources to this end. Similarly, Natalie, a business TCK in her twenties, found it difficult being seen as part of the majority:

> In Zambia since I'm mixed race [...] there're not that many mixed race people
>
> there so I would always sort of stand out and the same in Sweden. And then when I
>
> went to South Africa for the first time when I was sixteen there are a lot of
>
> coloureds there [...] and I hated it. It was just like I was one of the crowd. [...] I
>
> was like oh there's so many of them, I'm not special anymore. [...] The whole
>
> thing of wanting to be different, I think it goes for all parts of my life. Not just
>
> culturally or physical appearance. [...] I mean if you ask my friends they'd
>
> probably describe me to be a person creature of extremes, if I do something it has
>
> to be quite extreme.

Being mixed race externalised Natalie sense of not belonging in a way she was quite comfortable with. In this way, her boundary work was conducted via her appearance, as well as her preference for going to "extremes", and was employed as a visual aid to others that signalled, "I do not belong".

For Ann, a business TCK in her twenties, it was important to be seen as someone who embraced travel and anything "new":

> Whenever people meet me they're like you're the most brilliant networker, you know everybody. You've made all these contacts within ten minutes of arriving and I guess I always feel comfortable in new situations.

However, immediately after making this statement, Ann goes on to illustrate her ease in new situations by describing a holiday she took on her own and on which she met new people. Crucially, however, this holiday took place in one of her host countries, and in an area where her family own a home. Furthermore, she gravitated towards the company that employs much of her family. She describes the visit largely in terms of the connections established in this familiar space:

> And I just turned up, I didn't really know anybody there anymore. My uncle is staying there for a while, we've got a family house up there. We don't go very often and I just met some people, I went to HSBC it's like my family company. […]and I just went out and went to HSBC and met some staff at HSBC and they adopted me for a few weeks. […] Went, they had like a bank yacht and stuff, so we just went round and … stayed in random people's apartments! I'm a bit… I just like to meet new people.

While on the face of it, Ann conforms to the idea of a cosmopolitan traveller at ease with the new and exotic, her world is encircled by the networks and connections established during her own time living in host countries, and her family's roots abroad. Her sense of belonging is firmly centred on the bounded world of her family connections and the expatriate community abroad.

The existence of such online groups such as "You know you're a missionary if", TCKid in the UK, and TCK World demonstrates the need for many TCKs to find belonging in each other. However, a recurring theme raised by participants in this research was dissatisfaction with being confined to the boundaries of belonging implied by a

universal TCK group. Many TCKs rejected boundary work that aimed to define them in terms that compared them with other TCKs. "You know you're a missionary kid if" is a classic example that attempts to categorize the missionary TCK experience into a list of defining bullet points:

> You can't answer the question, "Where are you from?"
>
> You speak two languages, but can't spell in either.
>
> You flew before you could walk.
>
> You have a passport, but no driver's license.
>
> You have a time zone map next to your telephone.
>
> You speak with authority on the quality of airline travel.
>
> You have strong opinions about how to cook bugs.

Sally, a missionary kid in her twenties, spoke scathingly about such lists that imply uniformity amongst missionary TCKs:

> Everyone assumes we're this one thing. That all the researchers said! You know, all those "You know you're an MK when…" or whatever!! Perlease!! We had this a couple of lunch time sessions for MKs, […] was like kind of weird, like we're all getting lumped together in this group. Kind of like the self-help group for MKs.

In the same way that Sally objected to being 'lumped together' with other MKs, Omar, a business TCK in his thirties, objected to being "pigeon-holed" by the TCK concept:

> I think that you know for a group of people who are probably, some of the most individual people you could ever meet, I've only read the one book but it felt like they're trying to pigeon hole everybody. […] There, that there is that, , incomplete sense of identity or lack of identity or there are different degrees of it, levels of it, but, we are very individual. And there are other life experiences as well as being a TCK that make us relate to places and people in different ways.

Individuality remained of prime concern for Hannah, a mission TCK in her twenties. Not having heard of the TCK concept before the study, being more familiar with the term MK, she remained sceptical of any limits placed on her own individual subjectivity:

> I think it's very interesting, I think at least it feels quite positive, you know? Um, it's not the term half cast, which has a bit of a negative connation… You know, Third Culture, I think it's… I think it's a positive term but I wouldn't say I identified with that. I prefer to see myself as an individual…

TCKs do congregate in online groups and through personal and school networks, and do identify as belonging to a group who share common characteristics, as is evidenced by the existence of such groups. However, while TCK boundary maintenance may indeed focus for some on the shared characteristics of those who define themselves as TCKs, others resist even this level of group belonging. For many TCKs, the individuality of their personal circumstances is defended strongly against any attempt to universalise their experiences. "Not belonging" is treasured in that it illustrates the uniqueness of any one TCK story, and this individuality is emphasised again and again in the boundary work that establishes TCKs as exempt from any kind of group belonging such as may be experienced by passport country, non-TCK, peers.

Routine Separation

The routine separation experienced by many TCKs has a significant impact on experiences of long-term belonging into their adult lives. Temporality goes on to define many TCK relationships and, in so doing, puts time limits on many relationships into adulthood also. The following section will explore TCK memories and reminiscences of separation and the temporality of relationships, with a view to better understanding how TCK experience

long-term relationships, both within the context of family and friends, but also in their romantic relationships.

For military TCKs, the "crisis" that most often separates them from a parent is conflict. Lois, a military TCK in her seventies, found herself apart from her father, from the age of 5 to 11, due to war:

> My mother, pregnant, took my sister and me to the small town in Pennsylvania where she had grown up and where her parents still lived. We moved in with my grandparents until my brother was born in January 1943; then we moved to a house nearby that became available to rent.

Living in extended separation from her father, threw her into closer reliance and geographical proximity to her biological extended family. For Tina, a military TCK in her twenties, the separation from her father during his military work was a contributory factor to her experiencing breakdown:

> …and I think I kind of gave up watching the news cause I thought any minute now I'm gonna see my dad turn up, you known, strewn across the ground kind of thing. […] Which is very morbid but … I challenge anyone to not think that, and that, that was really bad. I ended up going into hospital actually because combined pressures of school and bullying and the fact that my dad could be killed, I had a little sort of mini breakdown. […] So I ended up in hospital over that. And actually it was the fact that I ended up in hospital that got him home early, because my mum told him and he said right my daughter is ill, I'm going home and he sort of did the, did the thing that they have to do, he got a plane to wherever was going anywhere vaguely near England and he travelled for three days on planes all over Europe!

This particular experience is perhaps most specific to military TCKs; the fear of harm coming to a parent separated due to conflict is an experience peculiar to this TCK

community. However, Keren, a mission TCK in her thirties, also feared that absent parents could come to harm:

> 'Cause, other communications, didn't really have radio, let alone telephone. And letters, it could easily be a three week delay between sending and receiving a letter and I can remember, I can remember being at times being really worried for my parents knowing that if anything happened I wouldn't necessarily hear about it for a couple of weeks. […] I can remember being worried that they would get bitten by a snake or get fever or, you know, and stuff. […] I found out the other day they did at one point, they were both down with yellow fever, and having to look after [my younger siblings] at the same time. […] But again, I didn't find out 'till years later.

For Keren, the physical dangers of the environment in which her parents lived provided the backdrop for perpetual unease for their well-being, a nervous state heightened by slow, or absent communication, when illness was experienced. Lack of communication rendered Keren fearful that her parents would suffer and she would remain unawares; further fragmenting an already disparate family unit.

For some TCKs, crisis is experienced as an emergency medical evacuation. David, a military TCK, also spoke of the experience of belonging to an extended expatriate family. He was fostered out when his father needed evacuation with his mother accompanying:

> It's a stroke, okay. […] So they, they send him back to London to Queen's Neurology, for neuro surgery, okay. […] My sister and I are fostered at this point, this sounds terrible, all this. […] No it, it was traumatic actually. […] For me. I've now, I'm now fostered. […] Yes. I'm now fostered; I'm fostered to a vicar… My sister is fostered to a physiotherapist, okay.

David separated from both his parents and his sister at this time of crisis, and his care was placed into the hands of the expatriate community into which his parents were embedded, as not only providing the emotional support of an extended family, but the material and practical support of an extended family also. David had no control over this "fostering" decision, it was a decision made during a time of crisis, and one that separated him, not only from his parents, but also from his sibling. Into adulthood, David has become fascinated by family history, and dedicates much time and energy to the tracing of long-lost family members, seeking connections to people and places with whom he deeply desires intimacy and a sense of affinity.

Many TCKs experience routine separation, not as a result of crisis, but as a built-in reality of expatriate organisational life. For many, this was most often expressed in the frequent travel undertaken by the father. Kirsty, a business TCK in her twenties, spoke of her father's frequent absences due to business trips:

> I never really saw my dad that much cause he was always away on business trips […] and I feel bad for the way I treated him, actually, because I mean it's not my fault, as a child I didn't really know him … that well. So whenever he came back from a business trip I'd always wanna hold my mum's hand and not his.

Meanwhile, Paul, a business TCK in his fifties, and boarding school attendee, observed that his parents were not a part of his "imaginary", his experience of daily life:

> I … look back in a way and think, think that I probably never got to know my parents as well as most people know their parents on account of being, that I lived, separated from them most of the time. And when my wife first got to know me she thought my parents must be dead or divorced! Or some scandal about, because I never mentioned them […] She noticed and she didn't like to ask […] because she thought

that I was probably not mentioning them because of some dark secret […] But the fact is that they just weren't, I guess, part of my … imaginary.

These TCKs experienced regular, and occasionally long, periods of parental absence, and this altered not only the family dynamic of parent-child relationship, but also the "imaginary" of familial belonging for the TCK. Whilst for many, the nuclear family is the locus of belonging, for some TCKs, these family relationships are rendered complex and multi-layered through the experience of routine separation.

Echoes of this routine separation reverberated onwards into their young adult lives for many TCKs through university living. Family separation into adulthood is particularly common for the children of American missionaries, who often work in the field abroad after a TCK's "return" to the USA for university study. Although Eric, a mission TCK in his thirties, saw his parents three times during his first year of college, they were based abroad for the remaining three years. However, because he had chosen a college based near his mission's home office, he nurtured and developed an extended family relationship with the other missionary staff:

So… the staff at the home office actually, they were missionaries I had known from Bangladesh, like the doctor that delivered me in Bangladesh was at the home office. […] So he would come on Sundays and we'd go out to Bengali restaurants and eat Indian food and they would help me do laundry and that kind of stuff, so that really helped. […] to ease the transition into college.

Indeed, Helen, a mission TCK in her fifties, sought out, and selected with care, an appropriate 'extended family' to stay with for the last two years of high school in the USA, rather than returning to the field with her family:

When Mom and Dad were ready to return to Bolivia after my sophomore year, I asked them to let me stay in Winona Lake so I could finish high school at Warsaw.

I felt that it had taken me so long to fit in, that now I was part of the high school crowd, I didn't want to make another change. […] I knew that Mark and Sue had kept MKs before so I told my folks I'd like to ask them if I could live with them. We had other families offer to keep me but most of them had small children and I didn't want to just be a live-in babysitter. God worked it out that the Browns accepted me into their home and treated me as a daughter for the next two years.

These TCKs reformulated the traditional nuclear family paradigm to incorporate the expatriate community that maintained itself transnationally in both host and passport countries. Identifying "replacement", or "stand in", family support networks becomes a way of effectively engaging belonging in what would otherwise be starkly unfamiliar territory.

Long-term Belonging in Family

Some TCKs felt able to actively nurture and develop close relationships with parents, well into their adult lives. Ed was a mission TCK, a boarding student whose parents continued working abroad after his "return" to his passport country. He interprets his parental relationship as a locus of his identity:

I like some sort of, like, an anchoring point, and maybe the thing that is… my parents are here so. […] So, so that kind of like, I think I read somewhere about the TCK, the book by Dave Pollock […]it's this, I think he said that sometimes it's family or your parents that are so much like an anchoring point, so it depends on where your parents are. For a time they were in the US but now they're back and at least now […] I can ring them like every week. Maybe contact and meet them twice a week, once when I go to the church and once more in the week days I'll go to … I'll go back to … my parents' house.

However, for other TCKs, early experiences of family separation continue to have a distancing impact on their adult relationships with family. Karl observed:

I think that I don't… right now, I don't feel… that close to my parents. Um… and I'm not entirely sure why, I'm kind of speculating that perhaps it had something to do with basically leaving… leaving the home at 14. Um… and not living there again [laughs] really for any length of time after that. […] Um, I feel that it is a time, you know, an important time in your life and uh, that in adolescence, a lot is going on, you know, if my parents had been right there with me, would things have been different? Maybe. Yeah…

Richard, another boarding student, found that upon "return" to his passport country, dealing with the transition of the move was complicated by the fact that he was unused to living in a family routine; "erm, there was very little emotional connection".

For one adult TCK in particular, however, the boarding experience had an extremely painful impact on his relationship with his mother, in particular:

And so… every chance I get I let her know. Mum, I spent another eighty-five dollars this week on counselling, happy to talk about it anytime you want to. […] I just don't want her to … reach her old age thinking that she's accomplished something as a mother.

For these TCKs, the impact of routine separation in their TCK experiences in the field continues to be felt into their adult familial relationships. While mission and military TCKs often experience a strong sense of an expatriate extended family, this appears, at least for these TCKs, to be a response to the challenges of being physically distanced from the nuclear unit.

For those TCKs who choose to live abroad as adults, physical distance from parents becomes a new reality. One mission TCK, in her forties, who as an adult chose to live and

work abroad as a missionary herself, feels strong familial responsibility towards her ageing

parents, and feels a strong bond of commitment to their welfare:

> You know, we need to be prepared and just assure my parents you know, hey!
> We're there for you, you know, […] you guys are just as important to us and you
> know, you're part of God's plan for our lives so it's not just what we're doing right
> now so, we're there for you. I think, yeah, probably more so just to assure my
> parents that they weren't all alone, in this!

However, while the above TCKs felt some distance from parents due to the routine

geographical separation experienced in childhood, Anna-Lise felt set apart from her

parents culturally, explaining:

> I mean my parents never understood this idea that it was different to grow up in a
> culture that wasn't their own, for me and my sister, than it was for them- to move to
> cultures that were not their own, as adults. […] It's a totally different story.

Indeed, while Kirsty, a business TCK in her twenties, had registered some distance in her

relationship with her father in her childhood years, she highlighted her close relationship

with her brother, through the constancy of their shared experiences:

> And I think if it wasn't for him I would have fallen apart like… like I'm very close
> to him. So … […] That's the only constant thing.

Kirsty felt closeness to her brother in part due to their shared experiences; they had shared

in many transitory experiences together for which they had no established peer group to

whom they could relate.

Long-term Belonging in Friendship

With every move, the social world of the TCK transforms. Moving country introduces new

cultures, schools, and family and friendship networks. For those who mostly alternate

between the same host and passport countries, some continuity of community connections may be more possible, but such is not the case for those TCKs whose parents are moved from one assignment to the next, such as those working in the military or with international corporations. Even for those whose parents are rooted in one country abroad, while these moves often occur in three or four year cycles, the chances are high that one will return to the host country and find friends have moved on themselves. Even where friends mostly follow similar cycles, the fragmentation due to high mobility compromises the smooth development of intimacy which deepens over time. Esther, a mission TCK in her fifties, observed that while her peers were developing formative relationships in their teenage years, her experiences of mobility kept her from having such lasting relationships with her peers:

> It was, you know, when you think about it your teenage years? Every single year I was in a different … country or … or, you know, you know, so … there often isn't, perhaps I don't really know, cause it wasn't my experience but in talking to … friends now they say that they're … their formative friendships were during those years.

Similarly, Amy, a business TCK in her thirties, spoke of the "continuous stages" of her friendships:

> Because one best friend leaves and then I meet someone else in school, and then I become, you know, I choose a best friend and then that person leaves and […] it was just like these continuous stages of best friends…

These TCKs experience fragmented experiences of friendship because of high mobility, an experience shared by their expatriate peers but rendering them unusual upon "return" to the passport country, where they found themselves surrounded by established peer groups that shared history together.

While Amy speaks of temporality, she also indicates intimacy in her childhood friendships. Similarly, Ann, a business TCK in her twenties, experiences friendships as intensely intimate, but for a short duration:

I still see but I kind of have passionate friendships first. Like I'm really good friends with you for like six weeks and then I just go away! Cause I'm doing something else […] Commitment isn't my strong point.

Kirsty, a business TCK in her twenties, on the other hand suggested that temporal unpredictability led her to keep friends at a certain emotional distance:

I kind of struggled with that like my whole life. I don't have that many friends now […] I just feel like, I know this isn't true but my mentality is that I'm just gonna have to say goodbye to them at some point.

The experience of high mobility has led Kirsty to assume future separation in friendships, even when mobility has slowed and her peer group has become more stable. Indeed, Elizabeth, a mission TCK in her thirties, noticed that the childhood pattern of temporary friendships has continued into her adult life also; "I have friendships for now and then … then move on."

Karl, a mission TCK in his thirties, feels quite comfortable with temporary friendships:

The only thing I think I would say about that is, and this is something I've known about myself for a long time, is friendships are a particular kind of easy come, easy go thing… um, if it doesn't work out, it doesn't work out. I don't put a lot of effort into maintaining long-distance relationships. I'm always happy to see people again but, you know, if it doesn't… yeah… if it doesn't work out, it doesn't work out.

This attitude towards effort and attachment in longer term friendships can cause hurt and upset to less mobile peers. Karl recounts telling long-term, intimate friends of a decision to move away:

> I was best man at the wedding, so I guess you would say that these were our best friends. And there was this experience where we were at this restaurant and told them that we were going to be leaving and we were going to Chicago and they started like, crying… and it was just like, 'Woah!' [laughs] and we had to pretend to be sad and all that… but for us it wasn't…

Karl, married to another TCK, found it hard to relate to adult friendships on a long-term basis, and didn't see the emotional necessity for it that his closest friends did. Similarly, David, a military TCK in his fifties, described his experiences of friendship:

> Being a forces child was really cruel, because you kept being moved. You'd make a friendship and then it would, so I just didn't bother. […] So I, I didn't particularly bother. I never really kept in touch with people and I'm not really very much of a people person…

The emotional networks of David's childhood were regularly fragmented, and David managed this by disengaging from close friendships. Now very much settled geographically, he still has little desire for close friendship.

Some TCKs, however, respond to routine fragmentation of friendship by constructing these fragments as multiple rootedness instead. Kelly, a business TCK in her twenties, uses her friendships as a way of maintaining a sense of belonging, of roots:

> I remember even when I was younger telling my ex-boyfriend I was like, you do realise that even when we break up I'm gonna be in touch with you? And he was like, what? I was like, yeah, I have an obsessive compulsive keeping-in-touch disorder […] That's just, it was something I had begun to learn, how to let go a bit

more. I don't know what it is. […] I think it's my way of kind of holding onto like, you know, I don't wanna be completely rootless.

Natalie, a business TCK in her twenties, also maintains close contact with some of her childhood friends:

I have a few international school friends that also live in London and I feel that there is a special bond that we share […]   That I couldn't really share with anybody else […] I guess it's just us coming from similar backgrounds. We get each other.

For this TCK, shared history with her school friends nourished a sense of belonging that held them together as a group. They belonged together through their shared experiences and a shared history. Hannah, a mission TCK in her twenties, made a point of maintaining connections with her friends all over the world, and she maintained these relationships over time and often through virtual space:

I belong amongst my community of friends from all over who come together in my Hotmail and Gmail accounts.

For Hannah, internet technology greatly facilitated her networks of belonging, and helped her to maintain a sense of cohesiveness in amongst high geographical mobility.

The reliance on internet technologies to maintain geographically disparate friendship, and family (Hannah would Skype her mother while cooking her evening meal), networks is perhaps indicative of a new development in the way TCKs manage their long-term relationships. For TCKs students today, Facebook and Skype may be accessed much more easily while in the field abroad than for TCKs in the same location ten years previously, and advances the possibility of maintaining friendships and contacts between passport and host country schools, churches and extended family. Present day TCKs may fire up their computers and wave happily to newly arrived cousins cooing at the screen or

thank grandparents for gifts "in person". While it would be precipitate to suggest that friendships maintained in this manner would be the same as those conducted in person, and side-by-side, containing all the mundane aspects of life, as well as the photo-worthy, it would be interesting to consider the specific effects this technology has on future generations also, as it develops and transforms relationships all over the globe.

Long-term Belonging in Romantic Relationships

While experiences of belonging in family and friendship appear common to TCKs from mission, military and business backgrounds, sponsor background becomes a more significant variable when considering the TCK experience of long-term romantic relationships in adulthood. Mission communities emphasize the importance of long-term commitments and monogamy in romantic relationships, as well as teaching abstinence. For TCKs from this background, making long-term romantic commitments seemed without challenge in itself, despite the difficulty in making long-term friendships. Rather, the challenge seemed more focused on the appropriateness of the mate chosen, as so many mission TCKs were decided upon working abroad that a similarly travel-minded companion was of importance. Mission TCKs also faced a cultural challenge in the world of dating, as these informal alliances were heavily limited or supervised in their host environments and were foreign experiences upon entering their passport countries.

Elizabeth, a mission TCK in her thirties, noted that she had married someone also from a highly mobile background, and they now live abroad themselves as missionaries. These TCKs experienced belonging in relationship expressed as the search for common backgrounds; a search for other mission TCKs, often on a similar career trajectory towards a host country. Romantic relationships become a vehicle to both find belonging and replicate the early years of one's childhood by re-entering the field.

For many mission TCKs, dating was fraught with cultural challenges that greatly hindered belonging in partnership. Rachel, a mission TCK in her twenties, found it difficult to imagine ever entering into a long-term relationship with a TCK or non-TCK because she felt so unsure of the social rules surrounding a dating relationship:

I think, because it was quite hard settling back in England, I'd always felt a little bit like … I'm in a social situation but I'm not entirely sure what the social norms are for this group. I'm probably gonna stick my foot in it, any minute, so I was always a bit nervous, kind of watching everybody else, what are they doing? And if I was confident with things I'd join in, but a lot of the time I'd be like I don't really know what, how I'm supposed to act or be in a situation. And going to Uni it was very much, I suppose _____ is a strict boarding school! There were just rules about everything. You could get expelled for drinking, smoking, for you know, everything had a rule and coming back to England nothing had a rule […] Anything was fine, and that was just, I just felt I'm used to having rules and if I don't know what the rules are, I don't understand […] And always very aware at the same time, I'm probably, you know socially, making a big faux-pas! I don't really know. Anyway so that's always kind of been a bit of an issue […] So I've always thought you know, I'm not gonna get married…

Coming from an expatriate community and boarding school environment where one's romantic life came under strict scrutiny from authority figures, to feeling unsure as to the new social "rules" of her passport country greatly unnerved Rachel. Indeed, when she did enter into a relationship, it was a very damaging one, something Rachel puts down to not knowing what was a "normal" relationship in her passport country:

And this is where you kind of think, which I think has had probably a very negative impact of, because you don't know social norms like, well is this normal? 'Cause

> obviously, there is no rule about this in England, but to me you're quite weird but, nobody else seems to think you're particularly weird, so maybe this is the way it's done, and I'm just being really naïve and backward and … strict missionary background.

Being unsure of the social norms and expectations surrounding dating relationships led to much heartache for this TCK. Angela, a mission TCK in her twenties, experienced a damaging relationship as well, and attributes her decision to overlook areas of tension to her desire for stability and her belief that God would help her mend the relationship:

> Yeah, I mean I think some of it, I might have been embarrassed or ashamed of, a little bit, and I dunno, I was just holding so tightly onto it I thought this was my answer, you know, this was gonna be my stability. You know? […] Getting married, I think I really wanted stability, I didn't want to have to keep saying goodbye to people in my life […] and so getting married seemed like a good solution. […] I think that, in the whole naïve thing I just thought this was it, I just … and of course I kind of combined my faith there into it a little bit, in ways that I shouldn't have been thinking you know, Ineed to press on you know, God can help me do anything right? […] Instead of identifying that this is a bad relationship that I need to get out of, I kept thinking, Oh God will help me get through this.

Having committed to her partner, leaving yet another significant relationship, particularly through choice, didn't initially occur to Angela when she became unhappy. This relationship was to be her answer to stability and settledness.

Indeed, for some TCKs the very settled state of marriage was a painful accompaniment to an otherwise welcome union. For Richard, a mission TCK in his thirties, part of his marriage commitment was to give up thoughts of an international life:

> …it was really a big thing for her to go back to New Zealand and settle down and I guess that was a commitment I made as part of that, we would go to New Zealand and that. I guess I gave up that … international feel, wanting to be international.

In fact, at the time of the interview Richard and his family were preparing to move abroad as part of a career change suggested by his more settled wife. For Sarah, a mission TCK in her twenties, however, international mobility looks unlikely to ever appeal to her partner. This was the one factor in her breaking off their relationship before eventually choosing to remain with her partner over her desire for mobility:

> I broke up with him several times over the next year and half, very sure that God had created me to live overseas and not in [America].

These TCKs faced a choice between mobile futures, or futures with their loved ones. In the lives of adult mission TCKs, childhood experiences of mobility greatly impact on their future relationship choices.

Military TCKs were more open than mission TCKs to divorce and separation as being a part of their relationship histories, and expressed some difficulty in settling down with long-term partners. David, a military TCK in his fifties, had been married three times, attributing this partially to "not being able to cope". He has now been married to his third wife for sixteen years and they are very geographically, as well as emotionally, rooted in each other's lives. Lois, a military TCK in her sixties, met her husband while at university, "dropping out in order to marry a naval officer, once again taking up a military life that involved many moves." He was from a settled background and, after military service, became a lawyer. They divorced when Lois was forty, after she had returned to university. She now lives with her partner of thirty years. Tina, a military TCK in her twenties, has only experienced short-term relationships noting that she hadn't had a relationship last longer than two years. While this is a very select sample of military TCKs, their romantic

attachments seem to echo the struggles of long-term commitment, combined with a desire for relationships to provide a sense of stability. In later life, however, relationships seem to provide the TCK with a more stable sense of belonging.

Business TCKs and those of other sponsor backgrounds focused mainly on their hesitation to commit to long–term romantic relationships. Ann, a business TCK in her twenties, associated marriage with settling down, not something she was keen to do:

> Do you know what also I find weird? I find it hard to comprehend things like getting married and having children. Or women having long-term careers. They are two things I find … strange. Like I could, I'm a female in a career. I'm a, my mum's a nurse but most or none of the other females in my family have ever worked. It's all the men that work cause they're international. And the women go with the men. […] Really odd, to get married and want to have children before you're thirty because no one… I don't wanna settle down. When I'm married I feel I'll have to not work and I'll have to travel with my husband. So I don't wanna do that …

Ann observed that in the expatriate world in which she travelled, women's careers were superseded by husbands and family commitments, limiting the travel experiences she so enjoyed. For this TCK, choosing marriage would mean sacrificing international independence.

Natalie, a business TCK in her twenties, spoke of her struggle to commit long-term to any relationship:

> Most of my relationships have lasted about two or three months […] I did have one relationship which lasted two years. It was a bit on and off […] And I was, yeah, I did feel that […]the first three months were fantastic, and then afterwards I just started feeling really trapped and 'get me out of here' but I was determined to stay

in and try to make it work, which obviously it didn't. […] And also just the feeling

that maybe it will work if I can change myself […] and get myself to commit,

because I would like to be in a relationship.

She was not alone if finding commitment difficult. Omar, a business TCK in his thirties, also observed that he had "never been in a relationship that lasted more than two years". He spoke of his fear, and tendency to leave the relationship, rather than be the one who is left:

But again, this isn't something, you know, to brag about, but I have never been

dumped. And it's me kind of running for the hills before … Oh no, this is getting

serious, Oh what's gonna happen? […] It's not working and it's usually, they

don't see it coming. At all. And I think, I, I can't do it, I can't do it gently. I can't

break it to them gently. It appears to them out of the blue. I mean, to me it's been

going round in my head for weeks and months, and the,. I'm sorry it's not working

out. […] Um but, yes I, I this is a TCK thing. This is also… family, you know, as

you were saying, the whole airport thing, but no, I made a conscious decision at

sixteen in the midst of crying my eyes out. I'm not going to cry at the airport again.

And I don't, it doesn't matter who, who it is that I'm saying goodbye to at the

airport, it's very casual in my mind. See ya! And that's how it is if I'm ending

relationships, it's just … bye (laughs)!

Omar saw an echo in his manner of leaving relationships of his childhood experiences of frequent separation through mobility. Meanwhile, Nathan, a business TCK in his twenties, had no desire to speak much of his relationship experiences, save to refer to Pollock and van Reken's (2001) work on Third Culture Kids:

Pollock's book states this as well, and I've just found it to hold quite true in my

case - you for like some known or unknown reason, you can't commit to

somebody […] Which is kind of, like, something you need to do in a relationship, so that's pretty much me in my case.

For Nathan, inability to commit was a major theme of his romantic relationships. Kelly, a business TCK in her twenties, also identified a struggle with commitment in relationship:

I think how, how it's been since I moved back to Dubai […] is that I've been going for really unavailable people […] and quite happy with that. Which really surprises me […] 'cause it's like there's no danger of this turning into anything important […] Like, you know let's just have some fun. […] But it's not satisfying. But then you know, recently, when I've been in Dubai, I've been like, look, actually like, I've actually found myself interested in people cause I'm like this could go somewhere. Like I could see these people for like […] and not worry about. […] And I know the reality is probably that even if I go back I'm not just gonna go for someone who I wanna stay with for the rest of my life, but at least it might be someone I can see myself with for a year, or more […] You know? Which is something which is a step in the right direction!

While Kelly saw she had been shielding herself from long-term commitment by engaging in relationships with unavailable people, she also identified a need for a shift in habit; she was starting to look at relationships in terms of longer stretches of time.

While sponsor background appears to impact significantly on the instances of longevity and monogamy in TCK romantic relationships, the challenges faced by these military and business TCKs particularly, coalesce around the challenges of maintaining relationship commitments over extended periods of time. Mission TCKs focus more upon their need for partners of similar TCK backgrounds, and for those who are aiming to return to the mission field, the need for mission-minded partners.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways in which TCK experiences of belonging in the field impact upon their adult experiences of belonging. Through the use of internet technologies, TCKs experience belonging transnationally, maintaining links with a geographically disparate community of TCKs around the world. This finding mirrors Gick Schiller et al.'s (1995, p.48) definition of transmigrants as those "whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders". Harnessing the possibilities of the internet, TCKs are typically expert at maintaining cross border connections and, in so doing, they explore virtual spaces of belonging (Roudometof, 2005). They experience marginality in solidarity with each other, often moving through feelings of encapsulation into constructively employing their experience of marginality in ways that seek to connect their experiences with those of other highly mobile populations.

Many TCKs continue to construct themselves as marginal well into their adult lives, preferring to maintain boundaries around their cultural allegiances that clearly identify themselves as not-belonging, non-normals. Boundary work is especially focused on emphasising individuality. In this way they are extreme examples of the ways in which globalisation offers greater options for self-construction (Scholte, 2000, p.9).

For some TCKs, the routine separations endemic to their childhood experiences abroad reverberate well into their adult relationships, challenging the creation of long-term romantic partnerships, as well as long-term relationships with family and friends. These patterns of belonging that are so disrupted in childhood continue to have a profound impact of the ways in which TCKs belong in the adult lives. While some TCKs adapt to this by finding the notion of long-term relationships off-putting and undesirable, the lack of a shared history and experience causes pain and social challenge to others. Many TCKs use

technology, such as Skype, and frequent international travel to maintain connections, and find a strong sense of belonging may be felt in these relationships.

One of the ways in which many TCKs construct a sense of collective identity not depended on the nation state (Featherstone, 1996) is through staging a return to the "foreign" abroad, feeling themselves to belong most in the expatriate world. Faist (2000, p.9) describes transnational communities as "connected by dense and strong social and symbolic ties over time… based on solidarity". Faist is of course limited by the broad assumption that transnational refers to connections between two countries only, one passport and one semi-permanent host. Nevertheless, the observation of transnational solidarity is upheld in my findings; where all members of the expatriate community are "strangers" to their locale, belonging may be negotiated on a more equal footing than in the TCK's own passport country, where stranger-hood is a lonesome.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Third Culture Kids and Identity

In seeking out the ways in which the Third Culture Kid experience impacts upon later life constructions of belonging, identity and place, this thesis has so far explored the cultural context many TCKs inhabit (chapter five) and the ways in which adult TCKs experience belonging, and not-belonging (chapter six). This seventh chapter explores the ways in which identity is constructed through the TCK experiences and how these constructions continue to impact upon the lives of adult TCKs. TCKs typically experience a broad range of attributed identities due to the particularities of the expatriate communities in which they live. Three of the most dominant of these, as experienced by interviewees, are nationality, career, and uniqueness. This chapter will explore these particular aspects of TCK identity and the ways in which they are negotiated and (re)constructed by adult TCKs into their adult years.

Nationality and Identity

Earlier discussions surrounding the nature of the TCK experience, found in chapter five, have established that the expatriate culture many TCKs inhabit in the field is largely American. TCKs of both American and non-American nationalities must negotiate with this hegemonic majority culture, and it is within this cultural framework that they establish themselves as belonging, or not-belonging. Indeed, as chapter six illustrated, TCKs often struggle to identify themselves as being members of their passport peer groups, thus confounding traditional definitions of boundaries. Whilst highly mobile individuals may be expected to be free of parochial concerns and bordered national identities, interviews conducted in the course of this research indicate that the relationship between nationality

and identity remains significant for research participants, and is first established in the field.

Organisational nationality

To begin my discussion of identity, one dimension of note is that expatriate communities are typically organised along national lines. Many military bases illustrate communities grouped not only along employment lines but along national ones as well. Access to non-Americans on an American base, for instance, is extremely regulated. Victorya, a Russian TCK in her twenties, described her access protocol when attending an American Military school in Korea:

> Because this was an American army school and I had a Russian passport and, I was the only one allowed on the army base so I'd be dropped off by the gates and then have a special card and then I had to go and show the officer inside my card, he'd tick me off and then go in.

Victorya's nationality introduced certain security checks into her school day, and impeded her parents from entering the school site themselves. Although a student at the school, her identity is clearly interpreted along national lines. Encouraged by her parents to immerse herself in an English-speaking education, she felt enthusiastic about the school's national culture, yet her national distinctiveness was emphasised by her entrance onto the compound every morning. For David, German on his mother's side and British on his father's, developing a "forces" identity while growing up in military enclaves was always complex due to his heritage:

> So being in Germany and sort of being in, post war, you've also kind of got all of the, you've got this thing that of course the Germans were the enemy for, for many, many years. The Germans were the enemy and so this kind of, it crops up throughout my life. Obviously my… it doesn't sort of feature so much with my

> mum, she knows she's German. But I've always been half-German, half-English
>
> […] and so it kind of fascinates me in a way, and so obviously because I was born
>
> just after the war, there is that, that imprint still there of everything that was going
>
> on.

Surrounded by military expatriates, representing Britain along with the majority of his military TCK peers was particularly challenging when David's national background was less clear-cut. In deference to this private tension between British and German identities, military- style comics were not welcomed in David's home, focused as they were on subduing German threats:

> ...now one thing as a child, as I was growing up kids had things like… you would
>
> play soldiers…you would have [Commando] comics. I didn't do any of those
>
> because I was kind of like from this split, I had this like, split kind of thing…You
>
> know, we didn't talk about Germans in that kind of way.

 Some international expatriate communities, such as Christian missions, nevertheless were reported by TCKs to nurture national alliances between minority nationalities in opposition to the cultural majority, the "Americanos". Tim, a mission TCK in his twenties, recalls schoolmate bantering over national sports:

> I remember that we ganged up with the Aussies. […] against the, the Americans.
>
> 'Cause generally, the Brits and the Aussies were good at pretty much every sport,
>
> but of course we delighted in the fact that all the Americanos and everyone else had
>
> no idea what or how cricket was played.

Nevertheless, for some non-American TCKs, identifying as a member of a minority national grouping was something of a painful experience. Hannah, a British-Ghanaian TCK in her twenties, remembers feeling singled out because of her minority national status:

But I still remember it initially was quite difficult to belong in a school where they were all Canadian, Australian… […] American… hardly any British missionary kids… and, and yeah, I do remember a few not nice people in terms of that initial settling in.

Hannah's nationality mediated her experiences in the mission school and years later, she still recalls the discomfort of being identified as of a different nationality. For many TCKs, one's primary identity was one's nationality, and this biographical fact determined much of their experiences in the field, in the host country(ies).

This was not always the case, however. The experience of one TCK illustrated that for some, their expatriate background was sometimes of more significance than their nationality. Anna-Lise, an American TCK in her forties, explained how, because her father worked for the UN rather than for the US government, she was excluded despite her nationality from many of the resources and privileges granted to others living under the American expatriate community umbrella:

We were not allowed to go to the American expat compound […] It was a big deal because we couldn't… because that meant that the friends at school who had access to that compound were cool, right? 'Cause they could take us to the swimming pool and they could take us to the commissary. That was really the thing, right, we could buy, they could buy 'M&M's; we were not even allowed in to see this kind of American-style supermarket.

In this way, nationality emerges as significantly mediating TCK experiences of living and identification whilst living "in the field" abroad. However, a more subtle discourse regarding attributed and experienced nationalities, also emerges from interviews, indicating that nationality identification complicates life in the passport country, where more obvious claims may be made on TCK national and cultural allegiances.

Tensions between attributed and experienced nationality

In the field, in childhood, TCKs develop ideas around national identity that continue to impact the ways in which they interact with the world around them into their adult lives. In this way, the TCK experience has a significant influence on both personal and public identities. Sally, a mission TCK in her twenties, recalled how, as an Australian and in the national minority, she'd grown up identifying primarily with her American peers. It wasn't until she "returned" to her passport country, that she realised the extent of this identification:

> I felt like when I came to Australia…I didn't understand Australian culture. I
> possibly understood American culture better than Australian culture, or even just
> Australian general knowledge.

This national identification with America, rather than Australia, made the transition from living in an expatriate community to living amongst her passport peers all the more challenging for Sally. Indeed, it is possible that identification with her hosts' culture, that is, with West African culture, would have been more understandable to Sally's passport peers than her identification with American culture, when she had never lived in the United States. This complex amalgamation of national identifications renders it peculiarly difficult for the TCK to produce a coherent national history that can be readily understood by a less mobile passport peer, and can render their stories at best incoherent, and at worst, insincere.

For some TCKs, the rift between their perceived nationality and their experienced national identification can externalise emotionally experienced identities in complex legal wrangles. Helen, a missionary TCK in her fifties, was Bolivian by birth and American through naturalisation. In adulthood, upon her projected return to Bolivia, her childhood host country, to work as a missionary, she was told that her dual citizenship was not

acceptable. Faced with being forced to renounce one or other of her national identities, she was lucky to be rescued by a lawyer who intervened in her case.

Nationality as both Stabilising and Negotiated

However, while national identity proved for Helen to be a precarious negotiation of identification, for others it serves as the one stable element of their ever flexible identities. Amat observes that his Gambian passport has the final word on what nationality he is attributed with:

> One of the things that is most clear to me is that I am a Gambian, you know, whatever happens! […] When I was, I did my high school and then I left for university, I travelled on a Gambian passport […] so I recognised that I'm a Gambian.

While many other elements of his identity felt open to negotiation, Amat, a diplomat TCK in his fifties, felt secure in having one clearly defined national identity. Similarly, Karl, an American mission TCK in his thirties, was very clear as to his national identity:

> I definitely like feel like I'm American living in America and… yeah. I feel like I belong to this country.

While Karl finds his national identification straightforward to define, he nevertheless takes some time to isolate his national identification from the more "nationalistic" Americans:

> I think so, although…… I do sort of distinguish myself from… really nationalistic people. I feel… I don't feel like a strong sense of pride in my country. My philosophy has always been, you didn't choose where you were born so why should you be so proud of it.

Despite not being exactly "proud" of being American, Karl nevertheless does not seek out national identification with his host country, and perhaps his is one of the less complex

transitions from host to passport country, as he would have been in the majority culture in his expatriate community also.

For other TCKs, the relationship with national identity does not always run smoothly, yet remains a significant aspect of their selves, albeit one with which they regularly wrestle. Omar, a business TCK in his thirties, now settled in his host country, describes how his Egyptian passport identity still claims him:

> I have an uncle, my mother's brother, he left Egypt when he was in his early twenties, and moved to America. He's a chemical engineer and the first time he went back for a holiday was after twenty-five years. And I just can't understand how anybody could do that. This is your country. More so than it is my country […] He went once and it's been another fifteen years now since he's been back. And he's denying his Egyptian identity […] As angry as I am with Egypt, it is part of who I am. I can't pretend it isn't.

While Omar is not wholly at ease with his Egyptian national identity, he nevertheless recognises it as a significant element of his self, and maintains a physical, as well as an emotional, relationship with that country, visiting regularly and keeping abreast of political events. Though more at ease living as a "foreigner" in the UK, Omar as yet cannot, nor seeks to, shake off his national identity.

National identity is, for many, used as a kind of marker by which to interpret those around them. If different nations are commonly associated with different climates, cultures, dress and language, the tendency is to attribute these characteristics to those who inhabit those nations. For many TCKs, these attributed characteristics, based on their national identities, cause confusion regarding their experienced identities. Amy, a business TCK in her thirties, found it trying to be attributed with an imputed national culture (or in her case, two cultures) of which she knew nothing. Lebanese-Argentinean, but growing up in Dubai,

she had little sympathy for those TCKs who struggled to identify with their national identities. With such a complex national background, and being a third generation TCK herself, she felt she didn't identify anywhere:

> So it really used to bother me when they [other TCKs she was at school with] were growing up when they would say, "Oh I don't feel English". Alright, or "I don't feel Italian" or "I don't feel … whatever". I'd be like, "Shucks! You don't even know, you have no idea what it really feels like to not, to really not feel anything […] To not feel Lebanese, to not feel Argentinean, or any of the aforementioned backgrounds! […] So, and I, yeah, that question "where're you from?", I hated it. [..] A passport is just a piece of paper. It doesn't mean anything, you know? It doesn't say who I am or what languages I speak or what culture I come from…

Frustrated by the simplistic connections made between her nationality and her identity, Amy shunned all attempts to box her sense of self in accordance with her passport identity.

Omar, an Egyptian TCK, felt similar discord between his experienced national identity, and his nationality as perceived by others:

> Well, most people would look at your name first if they haven't met you, or your features. I do think that accent makes a big difference because I know that when I'm at work for example, if I'm moving to a new place, if I'm meeting a new patient, there's a little bit of apprehension, you know, oh they look at the name on the letter, oh he's gonna have a really strong accent, we won't understand him […] and then I open my mouth and you can just see their faces relax and it's incredible how much difference an accent makes.

While Omar identified as British, his features denied him full acceptance into a British identity. Observing how accent could be used as a social resource, however, he illustrates how possession of Standard English gained him partial entry into a British identity. Where

his name belied his sense of self, his voice could reassure host country peers of his internally negotiated sense of self.

Multiple citizenship

For many highly mobile families, multiple citizenship is a highly sought after social resource. Being the owner of several passports lends flexibility to living and working that is much prized in many expatriate communities. Indeed, Ong's (1999, p.6) concept of "flexible citizenship" is directly applicable to the contexts in which many TCKs and their families find themselves, "opportunistically" responding to the globalising business economy. Ann, a British business TCK in her twenties, whose parent were of German, English and American heritage was born in the United States for the express parental purpose of gaining an American passport. She describes her family's value of multiple passports:

> They want me to be able to work anywhere in the States. I can work in Canada. […] And to be able to work anywhere in the UK […] Yeah, I'm probably got the least passports in my family, most of my cousins have Australian passports as well and some of them have Hong Kong…

However, possession of multiple "nationalities" did not cement Ann's experienced identification in any single one of them. This is the case for many in the expatriate community, where "citizenship in the profound sense of duty toward or identification with a particular nation-state is minimal" (Ong, 1993, p.771). Indeed, whilst working at the British Foreign Office, Ann experienced increasing discomfort in the perception of her national identifications and the reality of her national ambivalence:

So it was really interesting but I couldn't work there, I can't, I don't feel a lot of

allegiance to being British so I found it […] quite difficult to… 'cause I'm an

American citizen and a British citizen, although I've never lived in America!

Similarly, Anna-Lise, an American TCK, in her forties, grew up to value her multiple

citizenships:

So I was always raised with that sense of you're special because you've got two

citizenships. In fact, my sister went on to move to Sweden so that she could claim

some kind of European citizenship […] So that she too could have dual citizenship

[as Anna-Lise had gained by being born in Britain], that somehow marked,

somehow marked being a product of more than one culture, even though Britain

was not, until I got a job here, a culture that I had any relationship to at all.

Like Ann, multiple national identities marked one out as special, a future global nomad.

Like Ann, one of Anna-Lise's citizenships was to a country of which she had no personal

experience or sense of identification.

It may be tempting to assume that an increased deterritorialisation of identity will

necessarily render national identity irrelevant for TCKs (Lash and Urry, 1994, p.254) .

Certainly, postnationality is posited as closely connected to deterritorialisation and a rise in

the notion of universal human rights (Urry, 2000, p.188). However, this chapter has

demonstrated that nationality remains for TCKs a key element of their early childhood

mobility, both mediating this experience through attributed identity, and remaining central

to the ways in which they position themselves globally. Indeed, the entrenchment of

national dividing lines in some expatriate organisations goes some way to explain the

ongoing significance of national identity for many TCKs (Fechter, 2007a and 2007b). For

TCKs, national identity defines, confuses, and dictates to them their future employment

paths. National identity may, for some, cement otherwise fragile and complex selves.

Indeed, as the literature in this field suggests, the extension of dual citizenship acts as a way of extending the influence of the nation state, thereby stabilising the complexity of identity experienced by many TCKs (Itzigsohn, 2007, p.128). Others express frustration against the limitations of characteristics attributed to them via nationality. Saloutos in 1956 identified the limitation of nationality in attributing belonging, and observed many returnees being characterised as foreigners in their own lands. For many TCKs, this strangerhood remains a relevant aspect of their experience of national identity, positioning themselves as not quite belonging to their host cultures, nor quite belonging to their passport ones. In this way, many TCKs wrestle with nationality as one of many facets of their identities, jostling for space alongside the many personal and public faces they present to the globe in which they live. Bordered identities, expressed through national allegiances, remain significant to the lives of TCKs. Highly mobile lives, rather than reducing the role of national identity for the development of the self, instead introduce complex relationships with multiple countries. For the TCK, public nationality remains a significant aspect of personal identity.

Career and Identity

TCKs grow up uniquely aware of the connection between career and identity. Missionaries live and work outside their passport countries through a deep-seated desire to serve God abroad. Military personnel work outside their passport countries as an expression of duty and love for their country. While business employees who work outside their passport countries may feel less representative of a higher calling, they nevertheless remain acutely aware that their lifestyle abroad is maintained only through their employment status. Loss of job means an inevitable return "home" so one's career is an especially defining aspect of one's life. TCKs growing up in these expatriate communities are, therefore, particularly aware of the relationship between career and identity. This interdependency of career and

lifestyle was painfully brought home to Anthony, a "colonial" TCK in his fifties, when his father had to leave his work and return to England:

> That was one of the times, the only times, one of the two times I saw my father crying. He left the school [after a visit] with sunglasses on […] He was just too embarrassed to show how sad he was, knowing that we wouldn't continue there.

The loss of his father's job meant an end to Anthony's time at his expatriate public school, and a return to the UK in reduced circumstances. Not only did the family experience the material loss of income, but also experienced loss in their social world, and found themselves automatically transported to their passport country.

The TCK experience of mobility and cultural exposure leads to some speculation as to the future careers of expatriate children. Traditionally, "TCK careers" may be ones where the TCK works outside of their passport country in languages or amidst cultural diversity, for example in international schools, in development, in the military, or as anthropologists. In planning their own future careers, missionary TCKs, as seen in chapter five, are especially focused on those sectors that will facilitate a return to the field as adults. The "return rate" of mission TCKs appears high, especially amongst the teaching staff of the mission school, the site of my fieldwork in this research. Approximately half of the teaching staff were adult TCKs themselves, out of whom six were interviewed. Indeed, six of the thirteen ex-school alumni members I interviewed also worked in "typically TCK" jobs. All but one of the TCKs interviewed who came from a business or diplomat TCK background themselves had TCK careers. However, only one military TCK interviewed had a typically "TCK career", that of working as an educator in international schools. This section will explore the career trajectories of TCKs to better understand how their TCK experiences impact upon their careers in adult life. Because sponsor background

plays some part in the predictability of "return" to working abroad, this section of the chapter is organised accordingly.

Mission TCKs and career trajectories

The return of mission TCKs to the field is observed with some degree of pride by the mission community. Amongst many in the Christian world, receiving, and being open to, the "call" to "full time Christian service" is seen as the greatest service. On a human level, a high degree of "return" could be seen as indicating that these TCKs experienced their time abroad very positively, and vindicating parental and mission-level decisions that could otherwise be interpreted as depriving the child of certain experiences he or she would have had in the passport country – the privilege of being a day student in an affluent society with access to a myriad of educational and material resources, as well as enjoying geographical stability. A question I was asked on a number of occasions by parents of TCKs during my research visit was, "Is the TCK experience good or bad?" There was a driving need amongst many mission employees to feel reassured and justified in their career decisions, knowing these had a significant impact on the future shape of their children's lives. Helen (2010, p.3), a mission TCK in her fifties, now living and working in her childhood host country, wrote in her memoirs:

> Of the kids that were in my class, all but one have been missionaries in South
> America and two of us continue as missionaries.

While the desire to return to the mission field is certainly high amongst missionary TCKs, two of my participants returned because of a desire to offer stability to young TCKs in the field, rather than due to a desire to evangelise the local population. Becky, a TCK in her thirties, recalled the stability her own father had offered students by being a long-term missionary teacher:

> He became known as Mr J and the kids could all, you know, at university get-togethers and even though you may be… ten year different from this group, or something [i.e.: the oldest and youngest in the group could be ten years apart in age], they can all say "Mr. J" and you know who you're talking about. […] I just felt […] if we had a few stable people…

Similarly, Brenda and her husband were concerned about the high turnover of dorm parents experienced by missionary TCKs:

> You know, there had never been the same set of dorm parents, you know, in the years that [the school] had been open. And we just saw these kids and they just, were so pliable and, you know, they needed stability and somebody that could, you know, do a good job at being there for them. So… we just really felt like the Lord was telling us to be a part of their lives so… we did that for a while!

The motivation to return to the mission field, for these TCKs, was focused on the needs of the younger TCKs they saw around them, perhaps from a sensitivity born of their own experiences. The TCK experience led them, not merely to replicate their parents' work, but to use their knowledge of the TCK experience to better enhance the experience for future TCKs.

As discussed in chapter five, many mission TCKs fix on their future careers as missionaries from a young age. Nathaniel, in his thirties, claimed to have fixed upon his later life career trajectory before he had reached his teens:

> So when I was eight years old I decided that I wanted to come back and work with the people in the group that we've come back to.

Nathaniel focused all his further education experiences on preparing for his return to the host country. Similarly, Sarah, in her twenties, describes how she had planned on returning as a missionary teacher to her old mission school:

> I always felt that God created me to live on a mission field, like… you know, some people have a really hard time being a missionary 'cos it's so different and I felt like I was made for it… like, I totally grew up in another culture and I loved it… and I loved speaking French, and I loved doing these… I mean, my whole goal really was to go back to [the mission school] and teach and I was just online the other day on [the mission's] website and they need a 3rd/4th grade teacher at the school and like, that was my job, and if I wasn't married and had a baby, I'd be there right now…

These TCKs planned their career trajectories to clearly align with "returning" to the mission field. Although Sarah never made it, since she instead chose marriage and have a family with a partner uninterested in working abroad, a part of her still called for and desired an expatriate life abroad.

Like Sarah, not all missionary TCKs who envision returning in this way see their plans fulfilled. Sally, a TCK in her twenties, spoke of how she and her husband had planned to go and work in Ethiopia, but had their plans cut short because of the husband's ministry training:

> We would like to go overseas, eventually, hopefully to an African country. We had planned Ethiopia because my husband's been there before, but… at this stage we're kind of in the middle of wondering what's gonna happen with our lives! Because my husband's training to be a, minister of a church […] and that's gonna mean staying here for a few years, in a church and yeah, (it) just seems to be getting further and further away, the possibility…

For Sally, who had trained as a nurse so she could be useful abroad, this delay in the original plans was a stressful experience. The possibility that she would instead be living and serving as a minister's wife in a relatively wealthy suburb concerned her:

> And to think my life will end up being that, it feels quite… unimportant? I dunno, just boring! Like unnecessary, I dunno, so there's a lot of other things. I've just seen so many needs in the world that the idea of doing that is… quite stressful for me.

Going abroad to work and meet needs she'd identified as a child in her host country would have allowed Sally to integrate her childhood experiences with her adult career. Whereas as a child she felt helpless in the face of desperate need, as an adult she was equipped to make a difference. However, her present circumstances were rendering her specialist training and experiences redundant, and this disconnect between her sense of self and actual place in the world challenged her sense of self and purpose in relation to the world around her.

Some missionary TCKs, however, returned to a broader international way of life, rather than returning specifically to the mission field. Hannah, a missionary TCK in her twenties who grew up in West Africa, noted:

> It was one thing studying development in Africa and Asia and then another thing supporting people from these countries who were living down the road from you and had no access to services, and were undocumented, and you know, poor… and had no food…

Her experiences working with refugees while at university led on to involvement with organisations working with HIV and other health issues amongst African populations. This work has meant living abroad for some time along with international travel. Similarly, Liam, a Singaporean missionary TCK in his thirties, who grew up in West Africa, found that experiences in his university years led him abroad for research and volunteering:

I came back to Singapore for a couple years. Um I was doing odd jobs like freelance stuff which wasn't very satisfying so I ended up volunteering and going to Uganda for… two, I don't know… almost two years.

Where mission did not call to these TCKs, being useful to those in developing countries, specifically on the continent in which they spent their childhood, was important for job satisfaction. Echoing Sally's need for work that felt "important", Hannah and Liam developed careers that allowed them to target areas of need that they felt to be of significance.

For some TCKs, work within an international community feels like coming home. Angela, a mission TCK in her twenties, found it possible to immerse herself in all things international through her university network. Going abroad wasn't absolutely necessary to her achieving an international career:

So I wasn't super involved on campus, until I discovered this group and I thought, I dunno, I'd just been kind of praying for an opportunity to connect with my campus and yeah, I was just walking across campus one day and I saw the club booth and found out they had an international student group

Volunteering in this group as a student, and then continuing to work there after her marriage, gave Angela an international outlet for her missionary TCK self:

I love working with international students. I think that has totally connected to my MK-ness.

As an MK (Missionary Kid) working abroad in a host country was not as integral to recreating the expatriate community of her youth, as working in an international community with other young people.

Other mission TCKs were drawn to careers that had a significant element of international living. Tim, in his twenties, was drawn to the military as a career and found

that not only did this career suit his love of travelling, but also put his childhood

intercultural experiences to good use:

> When you're talking to Muslims and stuff like that, it's very easy for me to
>
> automatically just go back to just not moving my left hand at all and you know, and
>
> not opening out my palm or anything else. Or not pointing. [Referring to codes of
>
> conduct he learnt as a child when interacting with Muslims]

Richard, in his thirties, found the international way of life was a long time coming as an

adult, having first settled with his non-TCK wife and children in New Zealand. However,

at the time of my interview, his wife had recently suggested working abroad and Richard

had jumped at the opportunity:

> The contract is for two years but we are leaving New Zealand with no intention to
>
> come back […] We don't know where we'll end up.

For these missionary TCKs, returning to the mission field was either unappealing or not an

(immediate) option. Yet they expressed a need to return to some kind of shared

expatriate/international way of life which felt both familiar and strange. These TCKs found

comfort in their transitions and sought ways to incorporate diversity into their daily lives.

Other mission TCKs, however, settled in their passport countries, with no

discernible desire to live internationally. Karl, in his thirties, returned to his passport

country for university, and lived there without his parents for those years. Once he finished

his studies, he got a job locally, and waited for his fiancé to finish college. He told me:

> I stayed with that company for nine years and […] we moved just once… […] I
>
> think after we'd been married about five years we bought a condominium, moved
>
> closer into the city […] then after four years of living in that condominium we
>
> decided to… that it was time to just try something different. I wanted to leave the
>
> company, so I looked around for a job, found a job working in a hospital in

Chicago, basically doing the same thing I'd been doing up until then, except for a lot more money.

Karl's description of his settled life was striking inasmuch as it contrasted with the stories of TCKs who hadn't settled. His contentedness in "doing something different" that nevertheless looked a lot like what he'd been doing before, and his descriptions of life in packets of time, each as much as five years long, was a world away from Hannah's life story, where she spoke about her only hesitation about doing a Ph.D. being the time commitment:

I would settle for a Ph.D., I have to say. I have started to want to do a Ph.D., um… I'm just trying to work out in what [laughs]. So I would love to do a Ph.D., amazing that I would… um… you know, at least settle for three years… *three* years!!

Similarly, Joseph, in his thirties, had settled in his passport country for a significant degree of time:

I've been teaching at a private school for eight years and she's [his wife] been working, and we have, coming up in November, our baby will turn two.

While not desirous of an international career, Octavia, in her twenties, was mostly concerned that she should have enough challenge in her work:

I really like working under stress, the pressure of something challenging.

While open to working for mission, she wasn't willing to stick to office work but needed a career that was nevertheless stimulating and exciting.

Like Sarah, who turned away from plans to work in her host country, Rachel, a mission TCK in her twenties, had planned to live and work overseas, but had found herself settled in her adult life:

> I'd always assumed, right, I'll become an OT [Occupational Therapist], then I'll go back. […] There's no point, I know of friends who went back, after graduating, went back to Nigeria, because that's what they knew and that was the same place. Well, I don't ever want to do that, sort of just go because that's the easy option.

This missionary TCK identified returning to her host country as being the "easy option", as sticking to the familiar. This "easy option" being classed negatively implies that, for Rachel's sense of self to thrive, a degree of challenge was essential, and that, in employing a high level of self-awareness, she had realised that, for her, settled-ness was more of a challenge than international living.

For these adult missionary TCKs, career in mission, international living, or being settled in the passport country were vehicles for an individual sense of self borne from a childhood experience of self in the host country. In choosing between these career trajectories, these missionary TCKs expressed how they intended to navigate their place in the world about them. Some found their selves inextricably entwined with their childhood experiences of transition and change in a land that identified them as foreign. Others found themselves drawn, not to mission, but to broader expressions of service and care, leading also to international living and travel. Still others found that being settled in their passport countries was by no means incompatible with their childhood experiences of being an "Other", and instead of moving away, began to invest locally, where they could belong and build non-mobile futures with their families.

Military TCKs and career trajectories

Of the five military TCKs interviewed, only one had pursued an international career trajectory. A British TCK, Nicky, in her fifties, found that work abroad came to her easily,

as she had ways and means of making international contacts that greatly facilitated employment:

> I just felt like, everything in my, in terms of my career, I never ever had, sort of, interviews for anything!

Her teaching qualifications and international experiences made her skills transferable, and multiple connections around the world made her a frequent recipient of job offers. Nevertheless, Nicky found it hard to stay in one job for long:

> I think I've got this migratory instinct 'cause I realised that I'd only ever spent two years living, you know, maximum of two years in any one place or any one job. So, he [Dave Pollock, author of '*Third Culture Kids: Growing up among worlds'*] said, 'Well, once you know about it, you don't have to be a victim of this kind of moving on for the sake of moving on', so I always say that's why I ended up staying seven years in Israel, but actually it was a wonderful place because it was just full of other displaced people.

Nicky managed to stay for so long in Israel, working at an international school, because of the diversity it afforded. Working in a varied international environment mirrored the expatriate community living of her own childhood, and afforded a sense of familiarity combined with challenge that appears to be the particular goal of many TCKs.

> Nevertheless, should a TCK wish to 'settle' into a more permanent life of 'otherness' abroad, visa and work restrictions may dictate otherwise. Nicky described her own reasons for eventually leaving the school after seven years:

> You can live there [in Israel] for seven years and then you have to leave the country for a year because of visa restrictions.

Having intended to return after a one year sabbatical, Nicky, perhaps inevitably, altered career course slightly during that year and became involved more directly in work with

TCKs, working alongside Pollock for a while in America with *Interaction International*. In this way, living and working abroad maintains and generates an inherent mobility; to move abroad means, in some cases, to continue moving abroad, and to thereby perpetuate a sense of "otherness", introduced in childhood and thriving in adult diversity.

For other military TCKs, however, the "otherness" of their childhood was not perpetuated into adulthood by an international career choice. Most military TCKs interviewed settled into careers in their passport countries. In fact, David, in his fifties, felt so settled in his passport country that, at the time of interview, he had lived in the same city for thirty-one years. Nevertheless, while shunning military living, David nevertheless followed in his father's footsteps by working in hospitals, albeit civilian ones.

> I'm now in a hospital. My grandfather was in the Royal Medial Corps, My father
>
> was in hospitals! I am now in hospitals […] I feel comfy. I can talk to my dad.

While David stayed in a career trajectory familiar to his family, Lois, in her sixties, describes how, in choosing to pursue academic achievement, she broke with a traditional career trajectory:

> Many of the boys I had known during my teenage years on a military base went on
>
> to West Point as preparation for following their fathers into a military career. I
>
> suppose many of the girls went on to be military wives. I think our lives diverged
>
> greatly at that point as I began to focus solely on a life of academic achievement.

While Lois broke with an internationally mobile career trajectory, in seeking academic achievement and becoming a writer, she nevertheless sought out what would have been seen as a somewhat alternative career choice by many of her passport peers, especially as a woman. Two other military TCKs headed towards careers in alternative theatre, and Methodist ministry. While a small sample, these TCKs nevertheless demonstrate that internationally mobile careers are not universally attractive, and many TCKs find other

career trajectories that interest and challenge them, as well as break with expected employment paths.

TCKs from business and other sponsor backgrounds, and career trajectories

TCKs from business and other sponsor backgrounds were by far the most likely to "return" to traditionally TCK career trajectories. Of twelve TCKs interviewed, only two were living and working in their passport countries. Two TCKs interviewed had settled into anthropology as a long-term career. Paul, in his fifties, described his attraction to the subject:

> I read through the prospectus at Cambridge University and I came across this discipline called anthropology, and that seemed to me to be… interesting […] and would enable me to pursue further this question of cultural relativity.

While Paul remains sceptical of the links between his childhood experiences abroad and his desire to study anthropology, Anna-Lise, in her forties, was more conclusive about these TCK experiences and her attraction to the field:

> Well, anthropology allows me to a) travel and b) consider the concept of culture. So I went to graduate school in the US.

For Anna-Lise, anthropology formalised a lot of the cultural ponderings she had begun to have at a young age. Indeed, anthropological research lead both Paul and Anna-Lise back to their host countries for significant periods of time. Nathan, in his twenties, observed that his career trajectory was a "stereotypically TCK" one:

> I mean now I'm guess I'm beginning stages of what I suppose could be called a very, stereotypical TCK career which is that of a translator, and so I've just finished my Master's Degree and I'm just getting into translation.

In a similar vein, Kirsty, in her twenties and raised in Hong Kong and South Africa, focused her future career plans on the international, having a desire to work on conservation globally, and in China specifically:

> Now I'm currently waitressing […] Only because I'm saving up money because in February I'm moving to Taiwan […] Because I want to learn to speak Chinese […] Just because I feel like a connection to, like, China, like, that part of the world. And also because I, like, my ultimate goal is I wanna work in, like, conservation.

While Ann did not identify so strongly with one particular area geographically, she remained adamant that a career involving international travel was absolutely essential for her:

> I'm finding it quite hard being in a proper job where you're not allowed to just leave the country but… I'm working, you kind of need to do a job in one country before you can go onto an international scheme, which is what I want to do.

Indeed, just as military TCK Nicky experienced an open international field in pursuit of her career, so too Ann's contacts around the world were likely to greatly facilitate her desire for an international lifestyle. These TCKs developed careers that intentionally focused on issues of culture or language, interests sparked by their internationally mobile childhoods and exposure to various cultures. Similarly, TCKs from business or other sponsor backgrounds focused on careers in health, education, conservation, psychiatry, but outside their passport countries, and with a mind to future mobility.

The extent to which childhood levels of mobility are sustained into the adult lives of these TCKs indicates a very real possibility of future second and third generations of TCKs being born into a culture of flexible borders and international careers. Business TCKs were in no hurry to replicate the careers of their parents, however, and only one followed in their parents' footsteps in this particular respect. Indeed, in Omar's case, a

TCK in his thirties, this career path was mapped out for him from a very young age by his parents. However, for most, allegiance to the big business that had drawn parents abroad was shunned by many, and they chose instead to work independently or with NGOs. However, for some TCKs still in their twenties at time of interview, there is yet time for a more formalised international career trajectory to take shape.

Career guidance

TCKs are often spoken of in the literature and by those who work with them in the field as potential "leaders of the world" due to the fact that their international and intercultural experiences have shaped them into perfect cultural bridges for the future (MacLachlan, 2005). However, while many participants did indeed achieve the high levels of educational achievement that are predicted more generally for TCKs, none referred to themselves as potential leaders in the sense described above. Indeed, some TCKs spoke of finding their place in the world of work as a peculiar challenge. Amy, in her thirties, complained of a lack of career guidance, leaving her unfocused and floating in a sea of endless options:

> I didn't know what I wanted to do, international relations, journalism, I had no idea. I was a very, very lost kid. And in Dubai they don't really give you career guidance; they're not very big on that.

A lack of focus, and endless opportunities afforded by family connections all over the world, and an international education, led to myriad different directions being listed on Amy's curriculum vitae. Having completed a first degree in Spanish, she later worked in auditing, then PR, then marketing. Disillusioned with the sphere in which she worked, she took time to travel, considered teaching, began the training, married and put all on hold while she started a family. At the time of interview she was pursuing an interest in photography. In a similar vein, while Natalie, in her twenties, nurtured ambitions of becoming an artist, she had also suffered from a lack of direction regarding career:

> I'm still waitressing! [...] I've decided that maybe I'm just gonna focus on art,
> maybe that's my calling [...] I didn't have a sense of direction [...] which I do now,
> even if it doesn't work out [...] At least I have something to focus on.

Natalie, of Swedish and Zambian parentage, was, at time of interview, settled in London
and was excited to finally feel she had a focus for her energies. Kelly, in her twenties and
still in further education, had completely abandoned any one particular career plan:

> I'm trying not to make [a long-term career plan] [...] Just go with the flow and not,
> like, impose anything on myself. I think that's best.

For Kelly, long-term plans were restrictive at a time when all the variables of country and
occupation lay wide open before her. Indeed, for those TCKs, who did have particular
career trajectories in mind, the lack of guidance and future-mindedness caused by high
mobility was problematic. Indeed, for Kirsty, in her twenties, high levels of mobility not
only compromised her long-term career vision, but the resources she had with which to
achieve it:

> In Hong Kong, I was a ballet dancer [...] and when we went to South Africa, a
> small town, nothing there, I was doing my Royal Academy of Dance and I was
> really goaded. I just had to stop and now, and I auditioned for them, the Royal
> Academy of Dance when I came here [London]. And they rejected me. So that was
> a major, like, regret.

Here high mobility and compromised her capacity to develop her talent to professional
level, thus greatly shaping her career trajectory, even where a specific focus was in place.

While some TCKs, such as those already mentioned, feel vague about their future
career trajectories, others may feel a certain pressure to achieve success, in a way
consistent with MacLachlan's (2005) and others predictions of TCKs as shining lights of
cosmopolitan knowledge. Anthony's experience, however, indicates that this pressure to

"be someone" was burdensome at times. He noted that his short career in the army wasn't

successful because he was repelled by too much responsibility:

> I knew there was this pressure to succeed, and always [be] first of the production
>
> line. There was this expectation Anthony's going to be an accountant. Anthony's
>
> going to be a lawyer […] You were going to succeed, you're a white boy […] I
>
> wouldn't just be a bank clerk. I was gonna be the bank manager.

It wasn't until later in his adult life that Anthony discovered that his employment and his

identity were not inextricably linked:

> I worked at that time in a chicken factory, a small chicken factory, so to speak, and
>
> had… was a chicken catcher, a chicken plucker, and the lot. And it's the worst job
>
> I've ever done. But I got on with it, I provided money, and I gained new insights
>
> […] what I learnt was that I was still Anthony, could still go to the cricket club…

Anthony's story is consistent with what I have observed as being the dominant paradigm

when considering TCKs' role in an increasingly global world. When accrediting the

mission school at which many of my participants attended, the team from ACSI

(Accredited Christian Schools International) asked "Are people coming out of [this school]

as the kinds of Christian world changers that we want them to be?" They specified that the

school's vision statement should include the aim to create Christian leaders from among

attending TCK pupils (Field note 04.03.10). While other international schools may not be

aiming at developing *Christian* leaders from their attending TCKs, the impression of TCKs

being primed for world domination are nevertheless prominent (McCaig, 2011, p.45).

For these TCKs of business and other backgrounds, career remained a means by

which their selves were both expressed uniquely and located globally. For some, the high

level of educational and occupational achievement expected by their expatriate community

could be a burden; for others a gap may exist between high expectations and concrete

career goals. Those TCKs focused on international careers may find themselves aided by the very community in which they were raised, and by the provision of contacts and networks in which they may live and work abroad. For other TCKs, an ideal career may appear to one that facilitates the contemplation of culture, exploration of relationships between worlds, and international travel. In either instance it is clear that the communities in which TCKs are raised form part of what could be understood as a civil society born of a cosmopolitan lifestyle, and the subsequent structural facilitation of TCK careers through these established expatriate communities (Held, 2003; Keane, 2003).

Career Identity: Cosmopolitanism as an experiential and ethical outlook

The possible interplay between the TCK experience and cosmopolitanism emerged at an early point in the development of the research. The role of cosmopolitanism in the TCK experience is one that will be explored more fully in my concluding chapter, as an important thread that draws together and illuminates much of the analysis that will have been presented in the preceding four chapters on "the TCK in the field", "belonging", "identity", and "place". However, in light of discussions in the preceding sections highlighting the career trajectories of TCKs, it seems appropriate to examine the relevance of cosmopolitanism as an experiential and ethical outlook in the lives of these TCKs.

In the preceding sections, I have presented the ways in which many TCKs, particularly from mission and business backgrounds, embark on career trajectories with overtly cosmopolitan overtones. By "cosmopolitan careers", I refer to those trajectories that are orientated internationally, in languages, and with a distinct inter-cultural interest. These career paths may be safely assumed to be predicated upon cosmopolitan values of openness and cultural diversity (Werbner, 1999, p.20). On the face of it, the propensity of TCKs to "return" to fields abroad, and to live in cultural diversity clearly demonstrates the

presence of cosmopolitan values. Indeed, these cosmopolitan values focus the activities of even those TCKs who didn't return "abroad". Many of these "non-returnees" nevertheless went on to careers engaging in activism and "helping" roles. In returning to the familiar cultural fields of their youth these TCKs employ the cultural skill sets of cosmopolitans, and operate with an awareness of and interest in a diversity of cultural experiences. In short, in experiential terms, the cosmopolitanism in with TCKs engage focuses less on the exotic unknown, and more on an expatriate culture that is both global and replicable. Indeed, it may be that these TCKs engage in cosmopolitanism as an ethical outlook more than as an experiential reality. Typically critical of the "narrow-mindedness" of their non-TCK passport peers, these TCKs seek out ways to engage on an international horizon, and the most clearly visible expression of this cosmopolitanism is the consistent engagement of TCKs in international careers focusing typically on humanitarianism and/or development.

Identity and Feeling Unique

In liberal theory it is argued that all human beings are all unique. Yet the TCK experience of uniqueness is one that distinguishes them from both host and passport peers; they perpetually feel set apart from their surrounding communities, except perhaps from other TCKs. Interviews identified the experience of feeling unique as one of the defining aspects of the TCK identity. While TCKs frequently grow up as overtly different from their host peers, racially, or linguistically or as members of expatriate communities physically set apart, their return to their passport country introduces a new experience of difference. Difference becomes covert, and TCKs may feel lost in a crowd, set apart only through an inner world that yet defines itself through difference. Many TCKs seek to externalize their internal experience of difference by highlighting their high mobility and exposure to various cultures. In this way, they not only achieve authenticity by synching outer and inner experiences of difference, they also obtain "permission" from passport peers to be

different in more subtle ways, such as their lack of knowledge of popular music or fashion, accent or habit. Here, Taylor's (1994) emphasis on the importance of identity recognition is illuminating.

Taylor (1994) argues that identity formation is largely dependent upon the pictures of self that are mirrored back to individuals or groups of people by larger society. Where an individual or group of people is "misrecognised", "real damage, real distortion" may be suffered (Taylor, 1994, p.25). Indeed, TCKs as a group engage with the identity politics peculiar to an ever globalising and mobile world in as much as the cultural tensions they inhabit through high mobility creates "the conditions in which the attempt to be recognised can fail" (Taylor 1994, p.35). This section outlines the ways in which TCKs experience their uniqueness as a defining aspect of their identity formation in childhood, and how this is a quality that continues to be much valued into their adult lives. For TCKs ever at risk of being misrecognised in both host and passport cultures, effective identity communication is a life-long effort.

<u>Unique as Children</u>

The most obvious difference TCKs display from their passport peers is that of being highly mobile. This is expressed through the distinction of being passport owners. In more recent years, as foreign holidays have become increasingly ubiquitous, this may no longer set TCKs apart. Yet for Rachel, a mission TCK in her twenties, ownership of a passport rendered her exotic in comparison to her classmates not too long ago. Rachel described how she displayed her passport at school and her excitement at being unique:

> I remember we had a show and tell thing and I brought a passport and I was the
> only person in the class with a passport, and that was so exciting!

Being able to display her passport ownership helped Rachel to distinguish herself from her classmates and demonstrate her difference. Similarly, when Lois, a military TCK in her sixties, was presented with the opportunity, she'd happily reveal her exotic birthplace to passport peers:

> I do remember feeling quite smug if the topic of birthplace came up and I could slip in the information that I had not been born in the USA.

By mentioning she was born outside her passport country, Lois found she could easily externalise her otherwise invisible difference from her passport peers, and in doing so she could go some way to synthesising her inner and external identities – the former feeling of being culturally distinct from those around her and the latter seeming to identify her as culturally similar to her passport peers, possessor of the same nationality and current location.

Some TCKs more than others resisted identification with passport peers. Not sharing the same cultural knowledge as one another could create a rift between TCKs and non-TCKs, and lead some TCKs to feel to be the possessors of superior cultural knowledge, due largely to their experience of world travel. Kelly, a business TCK in her twenties, found school difficult for this reason:

> I didn't like school, I mean, I like… I think I thought I was a little better than everyone else at school […] You idiots from Dubai!

Feeling superior set Kelly apart from her passport peers, but did not make her time with them easy. Similarly, Sally, a mission TCK in her twenties, felt her cultural knowledge to be of greater value than that of her passport peers:

> I think I found myself… thinking I was better than… them [laughs]… than, I dunno, just 'cause I thought ah, you don't know anything?!

Sally found it took her some time to navigate these feelings and begin to identify more with her peers, as identifying as "better than" was an isolating experience and not one that she wanted to maintain.

While Kelly and Sally sought out ways to identify as different from passport peers, Anthony, a colonial TCK in his fifties, found passport peers identified him as different due to his behaviour and physical abilities:

> People used to ask us why we weren't black 'cos we lived in Africa. There was, just, no idea, and they'd see us running on the beach in bare feet, which was a pebble beach, and they'd wonder how on earth we could do that? […] And so we were quite well known around there.

Anthony and his siblings became exotic in their passport countries because their behaviour identified them as 'foreign'. For him, uniqueness was experienced in both his inner and external worlds, and he could not have "passed" as a passport peer because his behaviour betrayed him. This experience of being identified as different has saved many a TCK from the normal consequences of breaking the social rules adhered to by their passport peer population. Rachel, Ghanaian-British, found that her mixed race background allowed her to move easily, and safely, between the racially demarcated social groups in her neighbourhood in Britain:

> There was a park at the end of our road and I walked with a friend, we were sitting in the park and one of the… who now is the local drug dealer in our street, he came up and he was like, you know, "You're alright Rachel because you're not one of them so I'm gonna let you sit in my park but, you know, if that white friend of yours wasn't with you I'd beat her up 'cause it's in my park". You know, and it's sort of, that was, that was how we were sort of… "Oh, you're allowed to beat me on sports day because you're different" […] "You're allowed to be weird because

you're weird anyway!" Because you don't fit […] which was quite nice in a way 'cause people went, well, we won't try and figure you out just yet.

Rachel's mixed racial heritage combined with her background as "different" made her excepted from certain social rules that others were expected to adhere to. Any deviances from the cultural norms would be put down to her "weird" background, and she was thus liberated from the social confines and controls of her passport peers.

This experience of perpetual uniqueness in childhood is largely a normal aspect of life for the TCK. For some, like Anthony, being unique is a somewhat ascribed identity, one that he is expected to fulfil when amongst passport peers. For others, feeling unique is such a significant part of their selves that where it is not immediately recognised by passport peers, TCKs purposefully externalise aspects of their "exotic" selves so as to bring harmony between inner and external identities. For some TCKs, being identified as different offers a kind of "carte blanche" to break the normal social rules adhered to by their passport peers in a way that liberates them from having to learn new cultural norms upon each and every move.

<u>Unique as Adult</u>

While many TCKs identify as special, or unique, in their childhood years, this status depends largely on their present reality of being foreigners in a host land(s). A sense of being unique is fostered by high mobility, accents that perhaps don't fit their nationalities, and a lack of familiarity with passport country social and behavioural norms. Many TCKs go on to "settle", at least for some period of time, in their passport country, however, and it is at this point that the attributes that helped them to attain "unique" status begin to diminish. Without regular mobility, claims to "belonging" elsewhere begin to ring hollow in the ears of passport peers, and the adoption of passport country social norms begins to

render their "uniqueness" increasingly invisible. Nevertheless, interviews revealed TCKs to be resourceful in finding ways to assert and maintain their claim to a unique identity.

Participants at interview were reflective about how their life stories differed from those of non-TCKs. David, a military TCK in his fifties, was eager at interview to represent his story as distinct from those of non-TCKs, and wanted particularly to emphasize the "special-ness" of his story:

> You know, everybody's different, everybody's got their own little story. I like to think that mine's perhaps a little bit more peculiar than others, but, you know, it's taken us, you know, two hours to kind of, like, go through it!

While he acknowledged the validity of everyone's having a distinct story, his identity was firmly rooted in his being set apart, and in the sense that his experiences were special. However, far from feeling the TCK experience trumped all others, Omar, an Egyptian TCK in his thirties, found himself curious about the lives of more settled people:

> Yes, you always kind of felt […] different in a privileged kind of way but I didn't, I didn't like it, I didn't feel privileged, I felt, now, I would rather I had a family unit that had lived in one country all my life! […] and I had friends and neighbours that I've known since I was a child who lived down the road. That to me was more impressive as something I aspired to.

Here Omar almost glorifies the experience of settled people to the extent that it could be seen as more part of his imaginary as necessarily part of a real, lived experience by less mobile people.

Some TCKs find increasing invisibility over time to be a challenge to their identity as "different". Angela, a mission TCK in her twenties, describes how she found this sense of invisibility more challenging the longer she lived in her passport country. Although Angela still felt "different" years after having "returned" to her passport country, her

increasing cultural competencies were marking her out as typically American, just like her peers:

> As someone who's been here for a while now, I think one of the things that I still find difficult, even though, you know, I've caught up with a lot of the movies and music, you know… They're stuff that's easier for me, culture-wise, but I think for me, one of the hardest things is I still feel like I carry a lot of my African identity […] I feel like people are starting to see me and assume I'm American, just like them.

Indeed, at the time of interview, Angela and her husband were planning on going abroad with missions. It is possible that, over time, losing the experience of uniqueness becomes increasingly uncomfortable, and the high instance of TCKs choosing to move abroad, for short or long periods, is a way of being recognised as different by surrounding peers, either host or passport, in a way that supports an internal sense of being set apart and can thereby unify a sense of self as unique. Like Angela, Nicky, a military TCK in her fifties, identified strongly as "different" and felt most comfortable in an environment that nurtured this sense of "otherness":

> I much preferred being a foreigner in a foreign land. I certainly… you're different, you're special… you look… in Nigeria obviously, you know, I was in a place where there were absolutely no other white people whatsoever so you're kind of… very special. And I remember some VSOs once saying, oh, isn't it going to be terrible when we go back to England! No one, you know, notices us anymore!

Nicky had not only grown up as the 'other', she chose employment in her adult life, such as VSO work, that would provide an environment where others would recognise the uniqueness she felt within. For those TCKs who choose to settle in their host countries, their identity as foreigner, as different, is more straightforwardly maintained. Omar, an

Egyptian TCK in his thirties, found that at times in his adult life, to be set apart as the
"foreigner" suited him:

> I've gone through phases actually, when I was in Oxford, I was… I was pleased, I
> don't know if pleased was the right word, I liked the fact that I was the only
> foreigner, quotation marks, in the team.

Omar added verbal quotation marks around foreigner, finding it amusing that his
"otherness" was interpreted along racial rather than cultural lines, in the sense that he
looked foreign but *felt* British.

Some TCKs find other ways of maintaining their identity as "unique", ways that are
not dependent on employment abroad. Rather than relying solely on her past experiences
as sufficient markers of difference, Tina, a military TCK in her twenties, was eager to
maintain her uniqueness through her educational preferences:

> I mean pretty much every student in an English school has read some Jane Austen,
> maybe some Bronte, plenty of Shakespeare, you know, you've read all the big
> English authors but not many will have read people like Hawthorne and Melville
> and, Hemmingway, Fitzgerald, you know, those kind of authors, so I quite liked the
> fact that I was being unusual.

Tina found a way of maintaining uniqueness even while, as she settled more and more into
her passport country, her identity as "foreign" would become harder and harder to
maintain. By identifying with American novelists less well known in Britain, Tina was
able to increase the complexity of her identity by aligning herself with America, a country
she had never lived in. She also achieved a quirkiness, a "non-typical" English student
identity that suited her inner experience of having been "different" growing up.

For these TCKs, feeling unique was an important component of a childhood
identity that set them apart from host and passport peers alike, as suggested by Iyer (2001).

Some TCKs relied on the "uniqueness" of their stories; stories that formed part of a "mythology of experience" that set apart their histories and identity from their passport peers (James, 1993, p.15). Indeed, uniqueness was the identity with which many TCKs felt most comfortable, echoing Killguss's (2008) findings that TCKs were most comfortable when positioned as "foreigners". Into adulthood, however, these TCKs engaged in boundary work, negotiating both the cultural resources of their histories to construct an identity of "difference", but also seeking markers of difference in their present lives that could indicate uniqueness to their passport peers (Killguss, 2008). In this way, TCKs may be seen to engage in a project of authenticity in which internally felt "uniqueness" is externalised to avoid the shame that threatens those whose social characteristics do not marry with the identity they are projecting (Goffman, 1959 and 1991).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways in which TCKs navigate and construct their selves in relation to the world about them. Emerging from the data, nationality, career, and uniqueness were means by which TCKs constructed their identities, and located themselves socially. In much of the literature around TCKs, a global supranational culture is said to exist whereby individual nationalities matter little to the individual TCK's experience of the world. The data from these interviewees suggests otherwise; that, instead, nationality remains the means by which the TCK experience is mediated, and contributes greatly to the self- and other-constructions of identity. Career choices and preferences remain for TCKs as for non-TCKs the means by which personal identity is expressed in interaction with surrounding cultures and organisations. For many, careers are the means by which TCKs may return to international lifestyles and expatriate culture. Finally, identity was constructed by many TCKs as being "unique". This experience of uniqueness vacillated between experiences of 'specialness' and experiences of distance,

and being set apart from peer communities. Many TCKs nurtured a sense of "uniqueness" in their adult lives, especially where time passing seemed engulf past markers of difference.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Third Culture Kids and Place

Place emerges as the last in the trio of themes through which we have explored the TCK experience and its long term impact on the lives of adult TCKs. An analysis of *belonging*, *identity* and *place* coalesce to describe the experience of growing up in an expatriate community, outside the passport country. The bringing together of different TCK stories in previous chapters, has begun to build a picture of what the long term impacts of this childhood experience are, and of how adult TCKs navigate both the global and local worlds in which they are situated. This chapter will explore the role of *place* in this navigation, and its significance to the TCK experience.

Throughout data analysis, three themes emerge as particularly significant in locating "place" in the TCK experience. Firstly, places emerge as localities inhabited on a global scale, grounded physically in the lived experiences of TCKs. Cresswell's (2004, p.10) notion that landscapes position the viewer on the *outside* of the scene, while places are experienced from the *inside* is challenged by the lived experience of landscape, as related by many TCKs. Indeed, interviews indicated that a lived experience of landscape brings a certain geographical challenge to the lives of TCKs.

A second theme emergent from the data concerns the ways in which TCKs negotiate "settling" in place; a learnt behaviour that depends very much on conscious choice. Drawing on Bauman's (1995, 1998) notions of vagrants and vagabonds (see chapter two), data indicates that TCKs appear to engage with the spaces of their mobility as "elite vagrants", employing a cosmopolitan outlook that is typically rooted in the culture of the expatriate organisations that gave them birth. As discussed in chapter two's review of migrations literature, Bauman (1996) conceptualizes vagrants as permanent wanderers

compelled to perpetual mobility. "Home" also emerges here as a negotiated understanding closely linked with "settling".

Finally, I explore the places of the memory, and how TCKs anchor past experiences through the memory of place. If place is constructed through a process of repetition of inhabited meanings, TCKs may well find themselves outside of such processes and divorced from the creative processes that attach their passport peers to memory of place (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 82,85). In this way, this chapter aims to synthesize themes emergent from life story interviews with such theorisations on place that give shape and meaning to the patterns indicated by TCK interactions with, and relationship to, place.

The Primacy of Place

As the location of the TCK's life is subject to significant and frequent change, many assert that relationships become "home" to the TCK, and that these become a significant emotional, rather than physical, landscape for their daily lives. Indeed, in the narratives of some, this primacy of relationship over environmental context is most clearly indicated in descriptions of "return" in later adult years. Liam recalls a visit he took to his primary host country nearly a decade after he'd left:

> … all I wanted to do was go back and visit, that was all I cared about. But then it slowly dawned on me [when I did visit] that, like, everyone I knew there was leaving or had left, so like, all of the kids who were slightly older than me were all gone for sure.

Weighing up whether he would want to "return" to visit his host country, Seth, a business TCK in his twenties, echoed:

> Honestly, I don't think I would wanna go back because a lot of the people I knew
>
> while I was at [the school] aren't there any more so if I went it would just be a
>
> bunch of completely new faces…

For both Liam and Seth, interest in the places of their childhood years was mediated by interest in the relationships of those years. With the absence of these relational threads that grounded their memories in place, the places of these years became mere spaces, physical landscapes void of emotional value. Notwithstanding these particular accounts however, this understanding of mobility as inherently eroding place/space meaningfulness falls short of understanding the significance place holds for many TCKs, and neglects to consider that despite regular moves, in many cases people come and go more regularly than places. In any expatriate community, families arrive and leave on different cycles, meaning that TCKs may wave goodbye to friends several times during their stint in the host country, before leaving themselves. Indeed, as I suspected that place could not so easily be dismissed as irrelevant to the TCK's experience, I was particularly interested in the significance of place to the life stories of TCKs.

Landscapes and Places

Cresswell (2004, p.10) differentiates landscape from place by highlighting the significance of one's perspective, "In most definitions of landscape the viewer is outside of it. This is the primary way in which it differs from place. Places are very much things to be inside of". Where landscapes, or "locales" may adequately describe a scene or environment, or build a picture of the "material setting for social relations", a sense of place is constructed via an interplay between feelings and practices, "… places are practices. People do things in place" (Cresswell, 2009, p.170). While landscapes may be deemed mere physical environments with which the TCK interacts; this interaction may be both grounded and

intimate, and thereby deeply significant, and yet without the social activity that Cresswell would call necessary to transform *landscape* into a more relationally significant *place*. The construction of place, and locality, remains a central tenet of theories around glocalisation, as discussed further in chapter two. The applicability to the TCK experience focuses upon the ways in which TCKs operate locally with a global perspective. While the global perspective is commonly acknowledged, the significance of the local, the construction of *place*, is often overlooked.

Exposed to many varying landscapes throughout their childhood experiences of mobility, TCKs typically demonstrate a grounded, intimate knowledge of the shape and function of these myriad environments. A teacher at the mission school during the period of my fieldwork described how the TCKs in her class approached an assignment very differently from their non-TCK counterparts in America. Here she describes a project which focused the students' minds on the geography of place:

They wrote stories for me in my English class, I was really fascinated because the kids in the States when I had to do this project, they were coming up with you know, "Let's make up an island, we'll call it Flamingo Island, and it's the shape of a flamingo. It's a rock star island and it's the shape of a guitar, and a bunch of millionaires live there and this is my house and it has a waterfall and a helicopter pad and I'm a famous soccer player!" You know, and I was just like, way over the top and not even realistic! And, you know, I gave it, I assigned it to these kids, and they're like, "Well, we should look up like, probably should do Africa cause that's what we're all familiar with you know? So some place in Africa and let's do an island and okay, so what are the natural resources in this area of the continent?"! And they were like… […] Looking up a whole bunch of stuff to figure out like… […] Just… it was just interesting to watch the two different … groups go about it.

The particularities of geographical environments were, for these TCKs, a part of a lived experience and intimacy with landscape that gave them grounded realities with which to work and orientate themselves. This incident in a classroom in Africa hinted at a grounded perspective of landscapes that challenges the notion that, due to frequent mobility, TCKs are little affected by the peculiarities of locality. Instead of eroding the significance of environment, the experience of multiple localities encourages TCKs to compare, contrast, and construct a three dimensional perspective of landscape.

In describing life experiences, the landscapes of TCK lives may hold more significance than the relationships they contained. Indeed, some TCKs had especially strong objections to the characterisation of TCKs as disconnected from place. Eric, a missionary TCK in his thirties now working as a missionary himself, described his love of multiple landscapes:

> We're told that third culture kids have … your roots are in relationships not in a place. […] Well, I understand that, I do, but I just don't know … I have very good relationships with some of my friends from high school…We very rarely talk. Now we are continents apart […] I have roots in places too, like… I miss being here [in West Africa]. I love this place, at times. I miss Kenya, you know, I love going back to … Florida. I love water skiing. It's Lake _____ where I learnt to water ski, where I learnt to windsurf.

For Eric, landscapes anchored his life in a way that relationships could not achieve. Relationships faded over time, but the experiences that inhabited landscape remained a significant part of his life, into adulthood.

Eric describes his love of the landscapes of his childhood as linked to his experiences of engaging with those spaces, in terms of water-skiing, for example. In similar vein, Rachel, a mission TCK in her twenties, recalls how visits to her passport

country were greatly mediated by the spaces of her childhood landscapes. Here she describes the different experiences of living abroad, and living with her grandparents in the UK:

> The way I remember [my home in Africa], there were no fences anywhere. You could, as long as […] we knew where the…, it was like an imaginary fence. [You could wander] if you went to the airstrip, and the road and the riverbed and the hospital. If you went, you had to stay in that rectangle […] So we'd go for day trips, we'd wander out, we'd go all sorts of places. So we had that freedom and then coming back and being in a… we were living in my grandparents' attic, sort of five of us in one room with a garden, that… yes, was interesting, 'cause it had lots of bushes and you could hide under lots of things, and around things but actually was a very tiny space.

Landscape mattered to Rachel, inasmuch as it was the locus of childhood, of both exploration and confinement. Changing countries changed landscapes, and thereby, changed experiences. This is not an experience confined to TCKs, but is important to consider in the light of their particular experiences of mobility. Far from being an insignificant element of their experiences as TCKs, place as landscape mediates these experiences significantly. These interviews challenge the tempting assumption that TCKs orient their mobile lives around relationships rather than places.

For many TCKs, the mobility they experience moving between different landscapes, and the cultures inhabited therein, fosters a certain comparing and contrasting between the lived experiences of these landscapes. Kelly, a business TCK in her 20s, experienced a shift in her independence when her lived landscape changed from Hong Kong to Dubai:

[In Dubai] my mum won't let me walk to X. You know, we were young, I guess, so

it wasn't unreasonable but because I was… I lived in Hong Kong where I'd been using public transport from the age of seven, on my own. It was really weird for me […] you know, cut of my independence […] I mean, when my parents realised that my friends' parents were kind of, like, oh they can't walk, they were like, oh there must be a reason. Maybe, maybe it's not safe to walk in Dubai…

Here we see Cresswell's landscape transformed into place as social relationships both impact upon and are impacted by the immediate landscape practices. Kelly's experience of Dubai was heavily impacted by a "sense of place based on mediation and representation" (Cresswell, 2009, p.169). Her social relationships were affected and limited by her sense of confinement in place within Dubai's broader material landscapes.

This experience of place as confinement, both in terms of limited independence and of confined expatriate relationships, motivated Kelly to avoid London when settling on the UK as her site, or chosen landscape for further education:

I was like, I don't wanna just come and have the same experience that I'm having in Dubai and live in that international bubble, and like, you know? So I chose Nottingham for that reason and it was exactly what I wanted. You know, I felt like I picked up on a lot of little, like, well, nuances that my friends [from Dubai who chose to study in London] wouldn't […] and it was nice. It was nice to be able to like, even just, like, identify, like, subgroups within the English.

The social processes that are negotiated to construct place, as well as the material characteristics of landscape, were significant to Kelly's adult, as well as to her childhood, experiences of mobility. This interplay between landscape and place is common to many TCK narratives. In particular, the role of a familial sense of belonging plays a significant role in mediating the construction of landscape as the site of social relationship, or "place". Experiences of these sites of belonging diverge greatly however, and seem largely

dependent upon the potential complexity in parental mobility and/or ancestry. Where much

of Kelly's extended family were located in Dubai, making it a place of significant

relationships, Amy, a business TCK in her thirties, had ancestral links scattered across the

globe, though through her parents she identifies herself primarily as Argentinean Lebanese.

She thought this to be a distinction between her and many of her TCK peers at school, and

one she felt keenly:

> …even growing up in Dubai, even though there were a lot of kids around me, other
> TCK kids, I used to hate it when [they'd say] "Oh, we don't feel English […] you
> know, 'cause we spend most of the year here in Dubai", and I was like, "Yeah, but
> every summer you go home […], there is a place that you go to for your holidays."
> […] The first time I went to Argentina was when I was, like, nineteen! The first
> time I went to Lebanon I was twenty-eight […] there was never, like, let's all go
> back to Lebanon in the summer to your grandparents' summer house, you know?

As far as Cresswell's (2009, p.173) concept of "home-place" goes, as the "centre of

meanings and field of care", Amy's was by no means easily located. Amy remained

frustrated into adulthood by the ambiguity of constructing "place" out of "landscape", and

felt she had inherited the luminal spaces of her ancestry.

Place as Global Challenge

Into their adult lives, place represents a particular challenge to TCKs. Accustomed to

cultural diversity, as experienced especially in the interplay between expatriates and locals,

some TCKs seek out places that embody a similar diversity. However, with a highly

mobile background, and especially if possessing dual nationality, the options for adult

habitation are varied. Natalie, a business TCK in her twenties, and of dual Zambian and

Swedish nationality, spoke of how she came to decide to live in London:

Well, I mean, the first place I moved to was Chatham, outside London, it's a bit of a shit hole but it was a lot better than Sweden. Still, quite, you've got the cosmopolitan vibe and it's so close to London. […] And then I moved to London and I absolutely loved it and I still do […] I think I might just stay here for at least another five years or so. I think to be honest I wouldn't like to live anywhere in England apart from London. 'Cause London isn't really England.

Identifying London as an "international" city, Natalie identified it as nation-less, not England. Here she echoes Appadurai's (2003, p.339) conceptualisation of "translocalities", where cities in particular may become "substantially divorced from their national context". While Natalie was clear that she was not comfortable in Zambia or Sweden at the point of interview, London provided a place, albeit only considered an option in the short term, which embraced her multiplicity. It is possible that the very disjuncture from any sense of "locality" that made London feel comfortable to her initially, was inevitably too far from a deep-rooted need for local belonging, to know and be familiar with one's place in the world.

While the less mobile may struggle to choose where to attend university, or where they would like to work, TCKs find themselves making these decisions on a global rather than national scale. Not only must they choose between educational institutions, they must also choose between countries. Kelly, a business TCK in her twenties, described how her choice to come to England to study was negotiated with her parents based on its proximity to their home in Dubai. She told me that her choice of study in the UK was "kind of arbitrary":

So I applied, I initially applied to like… a million universities in California, my parents are like, "Over our dead bodies you're not going there! […] It's too far and you'll never come back", 'cause like they knew I wanted to get out of Dubai and

they knew it's like, I'd probably just be, like, "Yeah California!" […] And also it's a, it's a twelve hour time difference. So I think they were like, you know, "If we call you, we're never gonna be on the same page, flying home's gonna be a mission." I don't understand it… So I chose England because I, I didn't wanna stay, I couldn't stay in Dubai.

Similarly, Victorya's mother was eager to keep her daughter, a business TCK in her twenties, within easy flying distance:

And, yeah, I applied to Berkley and my mom literally begged me to not… to not go because she said like, choose England and just not… like, not… don't because it's gonna be too far, and that's what happened. […] She wasn't happy about me doing International Relations but she'd rather have me do a course which… according to her, would ruin my life, somewhere closer so I just struck my life in a radius where, for example, Ryan Air flights are available, and I chose England.

For these TCKs, landscapes, far from remaining abstract backdrops, represent a very real geography of choices to navigate. The material and social boundaries and borders of landscape mould the educational and career choices of TCKs and their families. In this way, physical environments emerge as significant players in the shaping of the future adulthoods of TCKs, just as they have shaped their childhoods.

Third Culture Kids as Elite Vagrants

Applying Bauman's notions of vagrancy (1995,1996, 1998) to the TCK experience illuminates the processes by which TCKs interact with, and move through, Place. As seen in chapter two's review of migration literature, Bauman (1995, p.94) describes the vagrant as "a stranger; he can never be 'the native'... whatever he may do to ingratiate himself in the eyes of the natives, too fresh is the memory of his arrival". This effectively aligns with

the many accounts of TCK strangerhood represented in this thesis, but goes further to suggest motivations for the perpetual movement of TCKs into their adult lives. Where Bauman's vagrants are typically compelled in onward motion through lack of resources, TCKs experience an inner compulsion towards rootlessness - a restless and constant seeking after the novel. This section will argue that TCKs experience a kind of "vagrancy" as suggested by Bauman (2000), and that this vagrancy, as suiting a world adapting increasingly to a nomadic rather than settled tendency, could be best described as situating TCKs as 2elite vagrants".

The TCKs interviewed were raised rooted in several specific landscapes (especially in the case of missionary TCKs), and indeed in the social and organisational Place of their parents' employment and lifestyle. They were tied to the lands of their employers. Upon entering further education, or coming of age, they were expelled out of their parents' lands and here many began living out their careers of vagrancy. For many TCKs the urge to wander is innate and inescapable, a desire and search for a place of their own, for they may never return to the places of their childhoods, unless it be in perfect replication of their parents' careers (as is the case for some missionary TCKs in particular). However, unlike Elizabethan vagabonds these TCKs have resources. They are typically well educated, and not "without visible or lawful means of support" typically attributed to vagabonds (Cresswell, 2011, p.239). These vagrants are rather like disguised elites. Well resourced, financially, culturally and educationally, TCKs are typically welcomed by sedentary populations, yet their wandering unpredictability may well unnerve their settled peers.

Interviews indicated that TCKs from various backgrounds shared the wanderlust of the old-style vagabond. Nathan, a business TCK in his twenties, told me that further education provided the route by which he could satisfy his desire for mobility:

I've got to go to China for a year as part of my course… which is one of the appeals for my course as well. And I lived in Shanghai for a year when I was twenty-one, and then I came back to Newcastle to finish my undergrad, my Bachelor's Degree.

Similarly, Amat, a diplomat TCK in his fifties, found that studying abroad in America was a way of inviting change into his world. Indeed, he arranged this overseas study without the knowledge of his friends or family:

The interesting thing about my going to America was that actually my parents didn't know I was going to America. You know, my friends didn't know I was going to America, which was quite strange because what I did was… the American Embassy stamped a visa for me. I was given my ticket and so on and I went home and I remember it very well, it was on a Friday and I just packed things in a bag and took a taxi on my own. I went to the airport and left.

In this move of striking independence, Amat echoes the unpredictability of the Elizabethan vagabonds, who frightened settled populations with their master-less wanderings.

However, master-less though these wanderings may be, there is a certain predictability in the rhythm of such wanderlust. Seth, a business TCK in his twenties, described how his 'itchy feet' syndrome would be reactivated every two years at least, for he doesn't "stay in the same place for a long time". While no longer in full-time education, he would love to find a job that would allow for perpetual travel. For Jim, a mission TCK in his fifties, the "itch" would come every four years; "Always restless, every four years I get an itch to move." Ann, however, a business TCK in her twenties, found the four years at one university close to unbearable:

But I stayed at [university] for four years; that's the longest I've ever lived in one location for… I couldn't even bear that… it's like, I loved Keele but… it was very difficult for me to stay in one place for too long.

Indeed, in order to cope with being, albeit temporarily, rooted at university, Ann travelled regularly, and the longest she had gone without leaving the country was three months. Keren coped with encroaching sedentary life in a different way. While she was unable to move herself, she rearranged the space around her instead:

I could never be still, completely still, keep things the same. I'd start to think, well, now what if we did this, you know? This might work better or look better. 'Cause that's the thing, even when I was in one place for a year or so I would change it around. [My husband] typically gets annoyed when I… when he comes home from work and I've completely rearranged the house!

Change was crucial to Keren's lifestyle, and where international mobility was not possible, she would change what she could, in her immediate environs.

These TCKs resemble Bauman's vagrants inasmuch as they are masterless wanderers, unable to predict where their next journey will take them, and for how long they will remain. However, Nathan's account clarifies that these vagrants are not without resources, and have full agency in their wanderings:

I've lived here [in England] for, like, eight years, which outside of Germany is, like, the longest I've lived anywhere. And I have a job which I enjoy and I'm not struggling for money. I have some, I have some decent friends and stuff. I'm getting enough creative outlet with, like, the hip hop, and everything involved and stuff. So, I'm just like trying to take it on a day to day basis, 'cause I know, there's like this thing that I can't, like, place my finger […] like wanderlust or whatever.

While Nathan acknowledges the draw of wanderlust on his life, he acknowledges the benefits of settledness also. He notes that he has adequate resources, so no need to move for financial reasons. He has friends, and is embedded socially in a local music and dance scene. His wanderlust is an inherent part of his TCK experience, yet he chooses when and how to act upon its desire for mobility. Despite the draw of constant mobility, Nathan, like many TCKs, is also drawn to settledness, to a construction of home in place.

This section has demonstrated that TCKs appear to engage with these places of their mobility as "elite vagrants". Where Bauman's (1996) vagrants are typically compelled in onward motion through lack of resources, TCKs experience an inner compulsion toward rootlessness – a restlessness and constant seeking after the novel. In this way TCKs may be conceptualised as elite vagrants, engaging in a mobile world and rejecting settledness through choice, employing personal and cultural resources in perpetuating vagrancy.

Settling into Home

During the research process, notions of "home" emerged as significantly complex in the lives of TCKs. Interviews indicated that while place was of great significance to the TCK, "home" was an ambiguous concept to them, and one that did not particularly capture their imagination. James, a mission TCK in his fifties, summed up an attitude regarding "home" prevalent in Christian communities:

> You know, I'm very global orientated in respect of place. We always had a song we sang as a family, "This world is not my home, I'm just a-passing through!"

For many mission TCKs, this view of "home" as transient, and ultimately located in heaven, offers comfort and reassurance when struggling to find one's place in the world. For non-TCKs' friends, however, this approach to "home" can be surprising. Richard, a

mission TCK in his thirties, describes the general reaction amongst his non-TCK friends to the news that he will be going abroad for work:

> What I would say is there is a big difference between myself and a lot of the Kiwi friends that I have. Like up in Auckland, I've got to know some people who lived in the same suburb all their life. They've left school, they've got married, they've had jobs, whatever, but they've spent forty years in the one place. They, they can't comprehend the fact that we're gonna fly half way around the world and set up home there and that's, that's fine for us. And you know, for me that's quite normal because I don't define a home in the physical sense.

Because "home" was not easily defined, very few TCKs sought to define it at all, focusing instead on the frequent creation of "home(s)" made necessary by high mobility, as Rapport and Dawson(1998, p.27) suggest. Here, in moving between homes, "one's home is movement *per se*" (Rapport and Dawson, 1998, p.27). Some expatriate families aim to buy a home in the passport country, to be rented out whilst abroad, as a way of securing a physical "home" to return to. In this way, the house becomes the locus of time spent in the passport country, thereby familiarising TCKs with the surrounding landscape also. Rachel, a mission TCK in her twenties, speaks here of "number thirty", her "home" in her passport country:

> So we bought a house so that we'd have somewhere to always, because we always went back to number thirty, but so that we'd always have somewhere to come back to here and we could go to the same schools.

In buying a house, Rachel's parents created a place for her to put down roots; a consistent landscape for relationships in a local community, initiated on deputation with the potential for development in adult life. However, for some TCKs, where "home" is to be found in place, being grounded geographically may prove complicated. Natalie, a business TCK in

her twenties, describes her regret at not being able to visit her "home" as often as she'd like:

> I've tried to go to Zambia at least once a year. But financially it's not… If I could choose I'd go there three, four times a year. […] It's still home.

Natalie struggles to spend as much time "at home" as she would like to; her mobile life, and the financial implications of this, interferes with the draw her "home" has for her. For many TCKs, "home" is a nebulous concept, verging on irrelevant in the sense that it is not the "place" that holds the significance. In "place" there is power and choice, a purposeful moving forward to frontiers new and old, albeit the global scale of these mobility choices renders place complex and challenging at times. While home in place may be created, and nurtured, the concept is not immediately embraced by these TCKs.

The Time and Memory of Place

Indeed, landscapes become defining reference points in the telling of many a TCK story. Yvonne, a high school student and a missionary TCK, reflected that the life of the TCK is primarily defined by its landscapes:

> I always remember stuff as - I was in Australia and then I was in France, and then I was in Australia and then in France, in [West Africa]. Then I was in Australia, then I was in [West Africa] […] I think a lot of times you can't remember the relationships that you've had. 'Cause I know I've had a best friend in France and then a best friend in ___ and then my best friends in Australia. I have many, many friends here but you forget about some relationships. 'Cause there are those key relationships that you remember, but overall it can be hard sometimes to remember which relationship was where and when it started and when it ended or whether it's still going…

Yvonne illustrates here the significance of landscape as a marker, or bounded space, by which experiences and mobility may be catalogued and organised; "first I was here, then I was there". In this way, landscape inhabits life experiences, rather than simply acting as interchangeable backdrops.

Ann, a business TCK in her twenties, aptly illustrated the frequency of landscape transitions possible in one childhood:

> I moved back to England [from America] when I was about two months old […] Then I first moved to New Zealand when I was two for my dad's work. We lived there for about a year and a half […] And then moved back to England for a year and then we moved to Hong Kong for five years […] and then I moved to England again for a year […] And then we moved… to Malta […] and then my parents got divorced and moved back to England, but my dad still lived overseas […] and I used to spend maybe two weekends a month overseas when he was in Germany, and then when he was in the Bahamas I spent all my summer, all my holidays there.

Here Ann, like Yvonne, demonstrates how shifting landscapes become markers that help to map a TCK through their life story.

Cresswell (2004, p.82) writes of places as being constructed through "the reiteration of practices – the repetition of seemingly mundane activities on a daily basis". If this is so, then the peculiar challenge for the TCK lies in that interaction with place wherein they have little opportunity to partake of its social construction. Being highly mobile, many TCKs lack the resources necessary to explore any "reiteration of practices", and as such find themselves place-less, without personal investment in the places in which they find themselves to be strangers. Pollock and van Reken (2009, p.107) refer to the "delusion of choice" experienced by many TCKs. They write;

"...a choice to act is offered ("Would you like to run for class president next year?") but circumstances or the intervention of others arbitrarily eliminates that choice ("Pack your bags, we're leaving tomorrow")."

The shared meaning of place may be elusive to TCKs, who find themselves without the collective memory (or resources to investing building future memories) necessary to share in the practice of place alongside their peers (Cresswell, 2004, p.85). However, interviews with TCKs suggested that they nevertheless engaged with significant projects of place construction. TCKs described the literal marks they left on their childhood landscapes, while others grappled with artefacts of place, photographs, or other objects, that stirred memories of place. Still others described how story-telling became a way of constructing a place publicly, how memory could be immortalised through prose, and the places of memory could be constructed as markers to the self.

Certainly, places were inscribed with memories. Nathan, a business TCK in his twenties, walked me through a memory of the very physical landscape of his childhood:

If I were to, you know, go on a tour of Geneva with somebody, I know I'd go... I'd go to, like, this spot that would interest me, like... You know, this was my school, this was where we once hung out on the beach and had a really, really good party [...] And this is the graffiti that I helped to spray...

One of the places of his childhood, Geneva, was a formative place, a place where memory inscribed the landscape with a literal, "Nathan was here". Place was transient, yes, but not insignificant in Nathan's life and memories.

Other TCKs spoke of place as represented by artefacts, photos, or collections. Lois, a military TCK in her seventies, recalls how photographs taken by her father preserved for her the memories of a Hawaii now lost to her:

My father had been a very good amateur photographer and so we always had lots of photographs and also movies he had taken, including those years in Hawaii. Going back I'm always sorry to see how crowded Honolulu is, how many skyscrapers, because in those old films it is a smaller, quieter place, with no hotels at Waikiki.

These photographs were artefacts of a place lost to a physical landscape but ever present in the memories of this TCK. Indeed, for David, a military TCK in his fifties, photographs were passports to otherwise lost memories of place:

To be honest, I… without the photographs, I remember nothing. I remember nothing at all.

For David, photographs conjured up the echoes of past lives, memories anchoring his experience to the concreteness of place. In addition to these pictorial artefacts, however, David also treasured collections of toys and books from his childhood. These material objects were as close as he could get to his otherwise insubstantial memories of place. Objects could be carried around with him, and possessed, in a way that Place had never been so materially possessed in his childhood:

Now today, I actually have a collection of Ladybird books. Okay? I love them. They're all originals. Which I have sourced from places like antique centres […] and I've got… they're all… they are a bit of a time capsule, they are a time capsule.

In recapturing his childhood years through the collecting of books, David locates identity and belonging. Growing up place-less, he now relocates place into the memories of his childhood, as represented through the artefacts of childhood.

Finally, interviews suggested that the story-telling traditions of many expatriate families generated a particular kind of place construction. TCKs typically grow up amidst sophisticated story-telling. Families share a library of favourite stories, often highlighting the more 'exotic' elements of their lives abroad, with extended family members and friends

on visits to the passport country. Missionary TCKs in particular expressed familiarity with the family folk-lore that passed into public memory. Eric, a mission TCK in his thirties, described how a place from his childhood had become inscribed in his memory through photographs, scars, and stories:

> I was able to go back to the jungle station one time; they reopened it, when I was in the fourth grade. So I took a trip back up and visited with my dad but I have no original memories of… It was cool, and I'd seen some pictures. My parents had a few pictures, my dad's a photographer so… I have scars from stuff up there, from accidents I had that my parents told me what I did [how I got them].

Place was constructed, and reconstructed, through the story-telling traditions of family, and in so doing, became a place of public memory, of belonging. Tim, a mission TCK in his twenties, observed, "You get shown pictures, told stories, taken them on as your own." Similarly to Eric, Tim's public memories of his TCK experience were located in stories of place, photographs of place. His history was located firmly in Place. Stories could come to represent the distilled essence of what life in place looked like. Elizabeth, a mission TCK in her thirties, was clear about the connection between story and self: "family folklore, and constant talking about Nigeria, and Nigeria's constantly a part of… who I was, and who my family was." Cresswell (2004, p.85) wrote:

> *"The very materiality of a place means that memory is not abandoned to the vagaries of mental processes and is instead inscribed in the landscape – as public memory."*

Where TCKs lack access to the resources of time, investment and ownership that allow for material inscription of memory onto the landscape, I would suggest that the 'vagaries of mental processes' are not so insignificant to the construction of public memory as Cresswell appears to suggest. Rather, through the repeated construction of the self that

TCKs undergo (see chapter seven) and the tradition of family folklore encouraged through storytelling to both the other (passport peers) and each other, public memories locate Place firmly in the TCK experience. Where significant places are not present in the physical landscape, to be touched and referred to daily, the imaginary constructs these places as public memorials to their past, and present experiences of TCK mobility and settledness.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored concepts of place as an inhabited, "real" and experienced landscape, TCKs as elite vagrants and the significance of place as mediated by time and memory. TCKs experiences of landscape and place challenge the current discourse in which TCKs are deemed place-less, disconnected from the localities in which they live and which they leave. Indeed, interviews with TCKs revealed a complexity in their relationships to place that reveals TCKs to interact with Place, and engage with it, in a meaningful way.

The experiences of these TCKs suggest that while many of them experience a transnational belonging to a global expatriate culture (see chapter six), the locality of place nevertheless remains a significant element of their childhood experiences of mobility. Indeed, these findings bear out Gidden's (1992, p.187) observation that "Everyone still continues to live a local life". As Ó Riain (2008, p.189) observed, globalisation stops short of eradicating the relevance of Place and instead creates deeper connections between Places. These connections between Places are often the means by which TCKs come to construct an understanding of the world through lived, meaningful experience.

This lived experience of place informs the experiences of these TCKs in later life. As Fechter (2007b) observed, expatriate communities are so far from placelessness as to be far from borderlessness also, instead actively moving both across borders and experiencing

the limitations of borders. TCKs reveal themselves to be affected by the landscapes of place, and continue to experience the border-limits of these places, in terms of decision making regarding further education, and in their later wanderings as elite vagrants, maintaining through choice a perpetual movement through Place.

CHAPTER NINE: Cosmopolitanism, Identity and Experience

The preceding four chapters of this thesis sought answers to this thesis's research question:

> *In what ways does being a Third Culture Kid affect notions of belonging, identity*
>
> *and place?*

By way of answering this question, this thesis introduces data arising from field work and interviews with Third Culture Kids, focuses on developing an intimate understanding of the TCK experience abroad in childhood, and identifies ways in which this experience impacts upon adult notions of belonging, identity and place. This discussion chapter will now integrate these findings within the current landscape of migration literature, as well as identify the ways in which these findings coalesce to suggest that the TCK experience and its long-term effects contribute to, as well as challenge, discourses around "otherness" and cosmopolitanism. In this way, an analysis of data grounded in experience and first-hand narrative may illuminate the theoretical implications of a TCK's experience of mobility

Contribution of thesis data to existing literature

This chapter seeks to discuss the contribution of these research findings and to analyse their theoretical implications. Indeed, the analysis of new data regarding the experiences of Third Culture Kids must be seen as contributing to a broader field of research and writings in this area. It is perhaps particularly helpful to revisit some of the theoretical groundwork laid out earlier in this thesis in order to situate this thesis' findings within an appropriate framework.

Globalisation as "deterritorialisation", "reterritorialisation"

Globalisation has been and continues to be interpreted in many and varying ways, both in common parlance and an established field of research. The interplay between globalisation and "deterritorialisation", however, is of special interest in the case of the Third Culture Kid experience (Scholte, 2000, p.16). The global processes by which an increasingly interdependent world blurs borders both economically and relationally, has a deterritorialising effect on many of the globe's inhabitants. While many are feeling themselves less and less fixed in geographical terms, TCKs are especially affected by a loosening of more traditional territorial ties, seemingly reinforced by the regular loss of cultural and relational connections due to frequent mobility.

Indeed, many TCKs take pride in the deterritorialised nature of their careers and relationships, emphasising their "uniqueness" and "otherness". Interviews found many TCKs keen to present the drama of highly mobile childhoods as part of a continuum into their adult lives, sharing plans for future international travel and experiences. For some TCKs who had settled in their passport countries, at least in geographical if not in relational terms, a focus on the "otherness" of the childhood elements of their histories was preferable than communicating the perceived mundane routine of their adult lives.

High levels of childhood mobility, facilitated by increasing levels of global fluidity and flow, lead to many TCKs feeling disconnected from territory, be those passport or host country territories. However, while deterritorialisation "lifts" social relationships from local involvement, "reterritorialisation" reconstitutes these relationships in flexible, "in-between" spaces (Lash and Urry, 1994, p.254; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, p.9). Far from deterritorialisation divorcing TCKs from a sense of community or belonging, they instead located themselves in the reterritorialised spaces of the expatriate, in the fluid communities

of the internationally mobile. TCKs found themselves frequently bound together by a shared experience of the organisational cultures that orchestrated and mediated their mobility (Faist, 2000, p.9). In short, the inherent transnationality of expatriate communities unified and constructed "territory" for those scattered passport identities, (re)connecting those who shared in an experience of mobility and expatriate belonging. Indeed, new constructions of fluid spaces enable many TCKs to perpetuate the inner compulsion towards movement, propelling them away from settledness and towards comfortable marginality as "elite vagrants" (Bauman, 1995). While deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation aid theorisations of the "how"s of TCK mobility, the notion of elite vagrancy illuminations the "why"s of adult TCK mobility. In short, de- and re-territorialisation explains the ways in which TCKs are both products of increasing globalisation and active agents in constructing new ways of belonging in a world of blurred borders. Elite vagrancy, however, suggests that TCK mobility is primarily perpetuated into adulthood because of an inner compulsion towards restlessness, rather than external motivators, such as are experienced by labour migrants, exiles, and refugees.

In this way, the processes of deterritorialisation, reterritorialisation and vagrancy may be seen as especially helpful in understanding the ways in which TCKs experience territory and belonging, both in childhood and in later adult life. Traditional territorial ties are broken down but, instead of a void, new territories are constructed in their place, mediating a sense of loss of belonging, and introducing notions of global belonging to a broad organisational culture developed through the shared experience of cultural in-between-ness and global mobility.

Marginality as a Moral Career

This thesis identifies many TCKs to be most at ease in the border spaces of belonging and to possess very fluid identities. Without a stable set of cultural expectations or peer group many TCKs struggled to develop a coherent sense of self and their own abilities and limitations, living as they did, "outside the box". Goffman's (1959) notion of "moral careers" here illuminates the ways in which TCK marginality may collide uncomfortably with more settled non-TCK identities. Goffman (1959) observes that there are certain expectations for individuals to be what their social characteristics claim them to be, and that non-TCK peers may struggle to process the TCK's moral career, or sense of a coherent self. Time and again, TCKs expressed awareness that their external features and official nationalities would ascribe a cultural identity that they themselves did not identify with. They told of a disconnect with who their passport peers expected them to be and know, in terms of shared cultural resources and values, and their own personal sense of themselves and their patchwork histories.

However, this thesis does not provide clear date to support a sense that TCKs lack a strong sense of self; rather it emphasizes the TCKs' tendency towards marginality, towards those spaces where measurement against one's peers is rendered redundant through lack of common denominators. Indeed, many TCKs engage in complex boundary maintenance to fend off assumptions of "common" belonging or straight-forwards affiliation to their non-TCK passport peers. This pursuit of marginality expressed itself in the transmission of the TCK experience to future generations; nearly half of all those interviewed were either second or third generation TCKs themselves, or were raising children as TCKs. In this sense, perpetual marginality emerges as a primary characteristic of the moral career for many TCKs.

Transnationality and TCKs

In childhood years Third Culture Kids maintain connections with passport countries despite the majority of their time being settled in one or more host countries. The ways in which TCKs maintain multiple connections over multiple localities marks them out as transnational par excellence (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995, p.48). However, my research would suggest that, in adulthood, the majority of these transnational connections become more associated with the symbolism of broad transnational fields, as their relational associations with their host countries wane (Itzigsohn et al., 1999). Yet, for many TCKs, the narrow transnational field of everyday connections is more meaningful, and a return to the mobility of the expatriate community may be necessary to regain it. Settledness and an associated reduction of transnational connections may be perceived as threatening and stagnating to TCKs who especially value grounded relationships in multiple cultures or locations.

Where TCKs do choose to return to more narrow transnational fields (Itzigsohn et al., 1999), this is achieved typically through reactivating membership to a global expatriate community. For many TCKs, however, this expatriate community engages with host countries from a particular positionality, that of helper to the less fortunate. Many TCKs from military and business backgrounds will have had their interaction with local populations in their host countries mediated by their role as "miniature advocates" for their country or organisation, and have engaged with host cultures as volunteers in various guises (Henderson-James, 2009, p.13). This is even more pronounced amongst those TCKs of missionary background, who may well operate within the "rescuer model" (Wickstrom, 1998b, p.160). It is possible therefore, to observe that the kind of transnationality engaged in by TCKs extends beyond the maintenance of family connections and friendships, or even organisational ties. My research suggests that Third Culture Kid transnationality may

be characterised by humanitarian concerns and even the "rescuer model" as suggested by Wickstrom (1998b), as their positions in their host cultures typically identified them as privileged, and the organisational structure of their communities frequently encouraged a sense of concerned responsibility.

<u>Citizenship and TCKs</u>

The Third Culture Kid experience encounters citizenship as problematic, and contributes significantly to the discourses around postnationality (Urry, 2000), centrality of nationality (Molz, 2005), and experienced rather than ascribed identity (Sassen, 2002, p.235). TCKs typically resist ascribed national identities, preferring instead to see themselves as members of a global community, able to see beyond national political or social interest to more universal events and interests. In this sense they are characterised by postnationality. However, echoing Molz (2005), this research suggests that nationality nevertheless has a central role to play in the development of TCK identity, as it mediates the way in which TCKs experience the expatriate communities in which they are raised. For those TCKs in expatriate communities in which they are minorities, "language imperialism" may make nationality a significant factor in the TCKs' notions of belonging and even, in more concrete terms, future educational and career options.

Third Culture Kids as Cosmopolitans

I suggest that TCKs contribute heavily to the advancement of cosmopolitan ideals, with their flexible approach towards mobility as well as their cultural curiosity and openness. The literature on cosmopolitanism is broad, with varied perspectives both with regard to the nature and expression of cosmopolitanism (see chapter two). However, inasmuch as cosmopolitanism is generally understood to imply, at base, "an orientation, a willingness to

engage with the Other" (Hannerz, 1990, p.239), TCKs would certainly merit discussion as having this orientation.

Cosmopolitans are said to build relationships with a "plurality of cultures", acknowledging and engaging with "the coexistence of cultures in the individual experience" (Hannerz, 1990, p.239). Cosmopolitans eschew identification as tourists, as easily identifiable members of their passport countries, preferring instead to "immerse themselves in other cultures" (Hannerz, 1990, p.241). Historically, cosmopolitans have been identified as elites, using high levels of mobility to consume high culture on the global stage, and have thereby opened themselves up to criticism as being "rootless", being both unconcerned and unaffected by local attachments and commitments (Delanty, 2000, p.54). Indeed, some TCKs imply that this disconnectedness from the local is fundamental to the TCK experience, both as children, and on into adult life. Werbner (2008, p.60), however, argues that the "new cosmopolitanism" has an ethical dimension, combining both local and global commitments in a bid for a rooted orientation towards diversity. The extent of this rootedness, or rootlessness, on TCK orientations to a plurality of cultures is central to understanding the nature of TCK cosmopolitanism.

TCKs as rooted cosmopolitans

Hannerz (1990) observes that some cosmopolitans may not simply be individuals in the process of navigating multiple territorial cultures. He suggests that they may be involved also with a supra-territorial cultural, a kind of "transnational network" (Hannerz, 1990, p.240-1). It is to this kind of cosmopolitan experience that TCKs appear especially affiliated, and in this way TCKs may typically be seen simultaneously as rootless, in terms of lacking a clear territorial cultural 'home' in which they invest long term, and as rooted, in a non-territorial transnational network composed of international organisations and a

distinct expatriate cultural framework. Chapters six and seven, on TCK belonging and identity, express this TCK rootedness in an expatriate culture in some detail, revealing the maintenance of broad transnational links between TCKs and other highly mobile internationals.

Chapter seven illustrated how expatriate communities represented 'home' to many TCKs, attracting many to (re-)enter internationally-focused career trajectories in their adult lives. Most TCKs typically leave their host countries as teenagers (if not before) to access further education in their passport countries. This period of transition can be uncomfortable, as TCKs struggle with passport country expectations of belonging and bereavement of a host country to which they may well be refused belonging. The organisational cultures of the expatriate worlds of their childhoods offer sanctuary from this persistent and often painful cultural exile. As noted in chapter seven, the rate of "return" of TCKs from mission backgrounds to expatriate, international organisations was especially high; half of the teaching staff at the school discussed in chapter five, at the time of fieldwork, were adult TCKs themselves. Over and above this, more than half of adult TCKs of mission background worked in internationally focused careers. Of TCKs of other organisational backgrounds, a 'return' to the expatriate culture of childhood was implemented by the vast majority via various trajectories also. Careers "returned" to by interviewees included working abroad for an international health focussed organisation, studying abroad as an international student, NGO work abroad, working with refugees, and anthropology. International careers typically brought with them a community of expatriates, a reconstruction of the intercultural communities of the TCK childhood. The predictable consistency whereby so many TCKs surround themselves with familiar diversity indicates a certain cultural rootedness in what may be termed "TCK cosmopolitanism". While these TCKs employ a cosmopolitan perspective, seeking out

diversity and especially expressing global ethical commitments to the alleviation of suffering, their particular stance is rooted in the organisational cultures of particular expatriate networks. In seeking out communities of like-minded mobile internationals, TCKs maintain and extend roots to expatriate communities that were developed first in their early years.

Hannerz (1990, p.243) describes expatriates as those who can afford to experiment in terms of self and belonging, knowing all the while that they have the security of a home to which they may return. I would suggest that these expatriate communities are increasingly made up of individuals for whom home is the broader expatriate field. Should one field eject them, due to habitation or citizenship limitations for example, another will accept them – and they know and expect these fields to reproduce the broad cultural signifiers with which they are so familiar. For some, the field of anthropology, arguably cosmopolitan in itself, provides a social and cultural framework with which to re-enter the mobile communities of TCK childhoods. Certainly, for many TCKs, rooted cosmopolitanism combines the desire for diversity, global perspective, and regular challenges to conceptions of self, identity and belonging with the an easy familiarity born of early engagement in just such social contexts, experienced via expatriate organisational cultures.

Theories around rooted cosmopolitanism have centred on the idea that an open, inquiring attitude towards diversity, alongside a commitment to universal issues, does not preclude enduring commitments on a local, territorial or communal level (Werbner, 2008). The narrative of cosmopolitan identity and belonging, as tracked through chapters five through eight of this thesis however, suggests that cosmopolitan rootedness need not be territorial at all, but instead based on a more complex broad transnational network that links together a distinct but globally disparate expatriate culture, or organisational culture.

Furthermore, the rootedness of the TCK in this global culture frequently draws them "home". Nevertheless, a rootedness in a global expatriate community does not negate the significance of an inner compulsion to perpetual territorial mobility.

TCKs as rootless cosmopolitans

The concept of a "rootless cosmopolitan" has historically been used to denigrate those who seem to hold few territorial ties, thus threatening a sense of commitment and investment in local social and economic structures. Ideologically, however, cosmopolitanism lends itself to an inherent rootlessness; a lack of strong local attachments and identification encourages an openness towards the "Other" that might threaten a more fixed, territorially based identity. As chapter eight illustrates, Bauman's (1996) writings on vagrancy and the vagabond go some way to providing an intellectual framework through which the rootlessness of TCKs may be better understood. Where Bauman's vagrants are typically compelled in onward motion through lack of resources, TCKs appear to experience an inner compulsion towards rootlessness - a restless and constant seeking after the novel. This willingness, indeed, desire to engage with the Other marks TCKs as a predominantly cosmopolitan group, rootless in that they resist the more bounded national identities of their passport-country peers (Hannerz, 1996).

The restlessness of the vagrant was a defining feature of many TCK life stories. An internal compulsion to mobility, an internal inescapable restlessness, is so seminal to the impact of the TCK experience on adult life that the mobility actually constitutes a "break"; a welcome relief in a world that would otherwise suffocate many TCKs with stillness. For some TCKs, however, while this internal compulsion toward mobility remains a very present aspect of their adult lives, it becomes a less welcome aspect of their life-experience. The restlessness that some TCKs feel regularly propelled towards can

become a heavy weight. The internal restlessness and compulsion towards mobility described by many TCKs echo the constant and relentless propulsion of vagabonds, due to external pressures, as described by Bauman (1996). These TCKs lack neither the means or resources necessary to settling, yet they seem bound to maintain into adulthood the high mobility of their childhoods, making them into "elite vagrants", a seemingly disparate group of people united by early childhood experiences of high mobility, rootless and homeless in terms of territorial boundedness, yet a constant search for the familiarity and rootedness of an expatriate community.

The rooted/rootless dichotomy present in cosmopolitan discourse is called into question by the simultaneity of both presented by TCKs. The experiences of many young TCKs impact on patterns of mobility and belonging into their adult lives, such as highlights a rootedness in a distinct expatriate culture where a sense of belonging is secure. TCKs are expected by their "home" expatriate community to continue into these patterns of mobility, and to make 'good use' of their early experiences of navigating multiple cultures (Sand-Hart, 2010). The TCK culture, or transnational network (Hannerz, 1990) to which they belong, expects TCKs to maintain some continuing, albeit perhaps nominal rather than experiential, allegiances to their sponsoring organisation, and indeed, many TCKs feel an intense sense of gratitude for the uniqueness of their childhood experiences growing up abroad. A "good TCK" uses his experiences of mobility and marginality constructively, maintaining both organisational loyalty and an active interest in other cultures. Appiah's (1997) writings on "cosmopolitan patriots" is informative here; highlighting the competing loyalties many cosmopolitans may experience between global and national cultures. However, TCKs rarely identify themselves as patriots at all, tending rather to distance themselves from national allegiances, and identifying more clearly as members of their sponsoring sending organisation or, in the case of some business or

diplomat TCKs, as "internationals". In this sense, the impact of territorial rootlessness of these cosmopolitan TCKs is not to be overlooked, providing as it does a strong internal compulsion to constant movement that shapes the social and territorial context of lives into adulthood.

Origins of TCK Cosmopolitanism

<u>Collective cosmopolitanism or the cosmopolitan individual?</u>

Rapport (2012, p.104) speaks of cosmopolitanism as offering "emancipation" from "superficial differentiation" into social categories such as ethnicity or class. For him, cosmopolitanism is the ultimate in individualising projects; liberating people "to become themselves" (Rapport, 2012, p.101). This vision suggests that cosmopolitanism is an especially individual quality; a quality beneficial to and emerging from self-actualisation. However, Werbner (2008, pp.50-51) argues that both normative cosmopolitan, imagining a global society based on democratic republics, and cultural aesthetic cosmopolitan, imagining a global "space of cultural difference and toleration", stress "collective creativity". Werbner (2008) claims that cosmopolitanism acknowledges, and even relies upon, the fact that so-called cosmopolitan individuals are in fact very much embedded in societal networks that have engendered particular worldviews that encourage a cosmopolitan outlook. Indeed, the consistency with which the adult TCKs interviewed here displayed a propensity towards cultural aesthetic cosmopolitanism is certainly suggestive of a commonality of experience. Writings on other societal networks, such as Hannerz's (2004, p.34) foreign correspondents, imply a structural bias may exist in certain sectors towards a cosmopolitan outlook, and that individuals may be involved in an attempt to collectively further the culturally aesthetic cosmopolitan values; "Some foreign

correspondents, it seems, are quite self-conscious about their cosmopolitan convictions, going to work with the hope to educate.".

Chapter five explored one example of expatriate environment, the mission school, and demonstrated how elements of the experience were representative of many TCK childhoods; inasmuch as educational institutions typically form the locus of the TCK's social world abroad. International yet encapsulated, multicultural yet with a tendency towards one (typically American) dominant cultural discourse, these expatriate subcultures greatly impact on the TCK's orientation to both the local and the global well into their adult lives. Brennan (1997, p.156) confirms the tendency for transnational corporations to maintain a distinct national character, "because they always approach their own multicultural inner works and public faces from the perspective of a single... base culture". Despite this tendency, however, these expatriate communities in which TCKs are embedded nevertheless maintain some degree of openness towards other cultures. However limited in scope (the mission school focused TCKs on engagement that placed the students in evangelising or "helping" roles, as seen in chapter five), these organisations nevertheless encourage a global awareness and inter-cultural discourse, acknowledging the inter-cultural careers of their employees, the embeddedness of their organisation in a host culture, and the multi-cultural demographics of their own expatriate community. Indeed, chapter seven highlights the extent to which these expatriate communities nurture a cosmopolitan outlook, a desire for "difference and toleration, multiple cultural competencies and shared communication across cultures" (Werbner 2008, pp.50-51).

Interviews with adult TCKs demonstrated the very global outlooks possessed by many. Chapter seven particularly explored the high rate of TCKs "returning" to expatriate communities to work as adults, most often in "helping" roles. International careers in humanitarian and development fields are popular, as are careers that allow for cultural

introspection, with TCKs choosing to live and work outside of their passport countries. Displaced in childhood, expatriate communities and international employment offered a kind of sanctuary to these TCKs; a place of meaningful vision, where problems and their solutions may be viewed on the global "big screen", and where displacement, being the norm, comes to signify home.

Some TCKs, at the time of interview at least, had not "returned" to expatriate communities abroad. They instead demonstrated a stance towards cultural aesthetic cosmopolitanism that is not dependent upon travel; instead urging them on towards engagement with the "other" in their local communities, where they could enjoy engaging with cultural difference on a regular basis. Other TCKs struggle in their adult lives when admission into the global expatriate community is hindered. For them, growing up abroad had hard-wired her as cosmopolitan, and as feeling at home with cultural variety. They may feel their worldviews focus much more on global, rather than local, horizons, and struggle when living what they see as a non-cosmopolitan life. Having maintained an open cosmopolitan outlook in their adult life that had been nurtured though their childhood, TCKs may struggle when they feel unable to explore and engage with other cultures.

These accounts concerning a TCK propensity towards cultural aesthetic cosmopolitanism, as explored in preceding chapters, demonstrate that expatriate communities go some way to nurturing this quality in their children. For these TCKs, the expatriate community engenders an open interest in diversity and cross-cultural communication, an interest that continues to call to them in their adult lives. TCKs experience expatriate organisations as the locus of these attitudes, as well as the means by which these cosmopolitan worldviews may be expressed, so they frequently return "home" to expatriate communities abroad. Hannerz (1990, p.248) suggests that, to the cosmopolitan, home might be "a comfortable place of familiar faces, where one's

competence is undisputed and where one does not have to prove it to either oneself or others, but where for much the same reasons there is some risk of boredom". TCKs certainly seem to find this "comfortable familiarity" in the expatriate or international world of employment, yet manage to avoid the "risk of boredom" by making diversity itself their home. The ambivalence towards a physical home, as expressed in chapter eight, lends support to the idea that TCKs are more comfortable with the concept of home as movement (Rapport and Dawson, 1998, p.27).

A cosmopolitan skill-set

The TCKs interviewed in the course of this research appeared less to identify with some kind of global universal culture of cosmopolitan diversity, and more to employ a wide range of skills that enabled them to effectively cross cultures, adapting to many different cultural milieux. Woodward and Skrbis (2012, p.130) posit that a strong link exists between cosmopolitanism and "a particular set of cultural competencies":

> "...being cosmopolitan itself is a culturally located competency, perhaps even a strategy, that affords individuals the capacity to see, identify, label, use and govern dimensions of social difference in ways which reproduce patterns of cultural power"

In this way, Woodward and Skrbis suggest that cosmopolitanism may be best described less as an "outlook" and more as a "skill set" arising from a specific set of environmental circumstances. For TCKs, the high mobility of their childhood and the correlating development of skills to manage these high levels of transition suggest that this is the kind of cosmopolitanism in which they engage. Being able to access and engage with the cultural subtleties of the society around them gives TCKs access to "cultural power", thereby employing a cosmopolitan skill-set in a way that makes cultural distinctions around them more understandable, and thereby relatable.

In somewhat similar vein, Hannerz (1990, pp.239-40) argues that this cultural power offered by cosmopolitanism positions the individual as master of the cultures to which he or she may now access:

"...cosmopolitanism can be a matter of competence... Competence with regard to alien cultures itself entails a sense of mastery, as an aspect of the self. One's understanding has expanded, a little more of the world is somehow under control."

A cultural competence equips TCKs with a strong sense of multiple belonging; they feel rightfully embedded in multiple geographical and cultural locations. They learn how to maintain relationships globally, through email, and develop and learn how to belong abroad in new cultures, and engage effectively with the means of nationally-based rights of belonging, passport and right-to-work paperwork. TCKS have effectively expanded her understanding, and a good deal of the world appears effectively under her control.

Competence amongst other cultures should not be confused with any kind of permanent allegiance to it; the cosmopolitan "has... obvious competence with regard to it, but he can choose to disengage from it. He possesses it, it does not possess him" (Hannerz, 1990, p.240). TCKs often pride themselves on their chameleon-like ability to pick up and shed cultural allegiances with remarkable ease, adjusting their personas to fit the cultural circumstances surrounding them. Cultural competences get employed in each social situation where TCK sense a need to meet a particular social expectation. Crucially, meeting these social expectations is based on a TCK's skills at reading the cultural environment rather than on shared set of cultural expectations. Even where a TCK does seem to have settled into one particular culture, his is often a temporary settledness; "the cosmopolitan may embrace the alien culture, but he does not become committed to it. All the time he knows where the exit is" (Hannerz, 1990, p.240). Settledness itself may be

motivated by a set of cultural competences rather than long-term investment in a society based on a set of shared cultural values. For many TCKs, cosmopolitanism is experienced as a set of cultural competencies developed out of a need, and a desire, to effectively manage high mobility in childhood, and to maintain access to diversity in adult life.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the growing up in expatriate community nurtures a rootedness in that community, a sense of belonging to a fluid, disparate group of expatriates. The TCK experience also nurtures a cosmopolitan outlook that draws the TCK on towards the novel, and the "other"; they find themselves seeking out the margins and find identity in "otherness together". These TCKs have their experiences of mobility heavily mediated by Place, but find themselves beholden to no special geography, instead moving through an increasingly nomadic world as "elite vagrants". The TCK experience develops a cosmopolitan skill-set that these individuals continue to nurture and employ throughout their lives, and this skill-set facilitates the perpetuation of the TCK identity for adult TCKs. In this way, TCKs may be seen raising their own TCKs as high mobility continues to take their families around the globe. Despite the numerous variables differentiating TCKs from one another (nationality, sponsor background, number of years spend abroad), the clear cosmopolitan identification that unities them signals the existence of an experience of mobility truly distinct from more established migration discourses.

CHAPTER TEN:

Conclusion

Migration narratives on belonging, identity and place

As established in the opening literature chapters of this thesis, the Third Culture Kid

phenomena is by no means "new", yet the significance of the Third Culture Kid experience

is growing exponentially. The last twenty-three years have seen the numbers of people

living abroad increase by a rate of 25 per cent per decade, standing at 154 million in 1990,

and reaching 232 million in 2013 (UN News, Sept. 2013). This increase in international

mobility does not appear, however, to have brought with it the mutual understanding and

shared sense of humanity that could have been hoped for. Rather, our world has

demonstrated time and time again that cultural clashes are more to be expected than

cultural exchanges, and that increases in ethnic tensions seem to follow increased mobility.

In light of this messy relationship between globalisation, mobility, and cultural exchange,

TCK narratives go some way to illuminating the ways in which the highly mobile interact

with multiple cultural worlds, and the impact of this mobility on belonging, identity, and

relationship to place.

Many Third Culture Kid narratives have been heard over the course of this

research. For some TCKs, these interviews were a unique opportunity to tell stories and

share challenges that they rarely had a chance to in the hustle and bustle of daily life. The

disparate puzzle pieces of their histories came together for a brief hour or two, and

crystallised in a deeply meaningful way for both them, as interviewees, and me, as

interviewer. The emotion I feel when faced with the challenge of drawing "conclusions"

about these complex and beautiful lives surprises me, and reminds me, as it must to every

researcher who is brought into face-to-face contact with the humanity of their "data sources", of the responsibility we have to our respondents, to their stories.

These stories were sought out in response to my thesis objective, namely *to better understand the ways in which the TCK experience impacts upon notions of belonging, identity, and place*. Key to this endeavour was the establishing of what the TCK experience consisted. Chapter two, "Mapping Third Culture Kids onto the Migration Landscape" established that the TCK experience had little history in traditional migration fields of research, and chapter five, "The Third Culture Kid Experience" presents and interprets data gathered from fieldwork designed to immerse me in one of the sites of the TCK experience. This fieldwork chapter explores the paradoxical nature of the TCK experience, as young TCKs navigate the peculiarities of the expatriate cultural world they inhabit and, in participating both in its replication and in resistance to it, they partake in a *diaspora of shared experience*, a coherent culture shared by the children of expatriates.

The Third Culture Kid Experience

Field work conducted amongst TCKs living "in the field", i.e.: young TCKs living outside their passport countries within expatriate communities, revealed some key characteristics that go some way to describing what it means to live the 'TCK experience'. Whilst living in expatriate community, TCKs typically experienced monolinguistic education, namely English, and the impact of this cultural bias is felt most by students from non-English language backgrounds. Perhaps the most long-lasting impact of this educational environment is that, for some TCKs, a monolinguistic education in a language other than their passport language effectively locates their further education outside of their passport countries.

Other characteristics of the TCK experienced, as emerging from the data, include the high staff turnover experienced in the international school and the impact this had on TCKs' sense of structural and relational continuity, as well as their educational opportunities. TCKs also experienced a strong sense that they were representatives for their parents' work abroad, and also their organisational culture more broadly, although this was more strongly felt amongst those TCKs whose parents were missionaries, than amongst TCKs with parents from other organisational backgrounds. As representatives, TCKs are often assumed by passport communities to be in full support of the vision and values of their sending organisations. Indeed, fieldwork data indicated that TCKs experience assumptions of homogeneity on the field as well as off, with expatriate community members emphasising shared faith as the basis for inter-community relationships. The religious culture of the school was reinforced both through curriculum and the social life of the community, and emphasised homogeneity in what was, in my observation, an impressively heterogeneous group in terms of nationality, religious background or denomination, and organisational background.

Fieldwork data indicates that the TCK experience is imbued with paradox. In the first instance, their communities are international in composition, yet tend towards cultural encapsulation. Students at the international school found their social worlds orientated primarily within the expatriate community, and that relationships with settled locals were few and far between. These were hindered by the physical separateness of expatriate habitation; the missionary compounds were visited by local employees so domestic spaces were rarely shared. This separateness compounded religious encapsulation also, as their spiritual lives are more likely to be nurtured by the expatriate community and separate "English" services, than by the churches their parents may have established and be working in. As members of the "helper" community, many TCKs find that the local

relationships they do build, encouraged through community volunteering organised by the school, are often one-directional, with themselves positioned as the more powerful "givers". Furthermore, despite being multicultural in composition, there emerged a dominant operating culture, and this favoured English-speaking North Americans. Paradoxically, this community of TCKs, representing myriad linguistic and cultural backgrounds, distilled into those who easily adapted to, and thereby belonged to, the dominant cultural discourse present in the expatriate community, and those who did not.

The fieldwork conducted in the course of this thesis indicates that the TCK experience may be understood in terms of the structural complexities of living highly mobile lives, as indicated by high staff turnovers and the representational roles that accompany the lives of many TCKs, as well as by the paradoxical nature of living in expatriate community abroad. TCKs find themselves immersed in an international, multicultural community that nevertheless operates with more homogeneity of culture and value system that could perhaps have been predicted. TCKs may find themselves to be encapsulated in expatriate communities set apart from the local communities that house them for a variety of reasons relating to organisational culture and the structure of an expatriate social world. Having established some significant identifiers of the TCK experience, this thesis moved on to tackle the ways in this experience impacted notions of belonging, identity, and relationship to place in the adult lives of Third Culture Kids.

The TCK experience's impact upon notions of belonging

Interviews with adult Third Culture Kids indicated that notions of belonging were mediated by a sense of marginalisation, an extension of embodying the "other" throughout their childhoods. Chapter six explored how Bennett's theories of constructive and encapsulated marginality interacted with adult TCKs' accounts of living in the margins

(1993). Typically, TCKs described their lives in terms of constructive marginality in which they achieved a sense of belonging with other marginals; a kind of "otherness together". Significant in facilitating this connection with other marginals, often other childhood friends met at various international schools, was the internet. The internet, via emails and web-chats, kept relationships afloat that would otherwise have been severed by distance, as childhood friends destined to return to separate passport countries left one another.

For some TCKs, the inevitable separation from childhood friends combined with routine separation from family to significantly challenge notions of belonging later in adult life. TCKs may attend boarding schools for a variety of reasons. Their parents may be occupied in very rural parts of their host country. In such cases, established educational structures in the local community may simply not exist, making home-schooling the only other option. Even in towns and cities, expatriates may choose to opt out of local schooling options, wanting to find more transferable language and grading systems to fit the eventual move of their children to their passport countries. In such cases, expatriate communities turn to international schools, often home to boarders as well as day students, or they may establish their own schools, such as many missionary agencies have done. This thesis establishes, through the analysis of interviews with TCKs, that the long-term and routine separation of TCKs from their families (for siblings may be left alongside parents) is, for many, a significant element of the TCK experience.

Complex family dynamics were among some of the challenges some TCKs met with when "returning" to their passport countries. Where TCKs had become used to holiday-time cohabitation only, transitioning to the passport country upon a family's leaving the "field" would be compounded by the necessity of redrawing family relationships to fit everyday longevity. For some TCKs, the "return" to the passport country would be made alone, their families remaining abroad. Many of these TCKs

became skilful at finding and creating communities, often with other TCKs, to act as support networks in the absence of present family. For others, however, the necessary reliance on the goodwill of relatives which whom they had little personal relationship could be a strain. Many adult TCKs determined to find life partners who embraced mobility as much as themselves, and those who did not faced a struggle to reconcile their love for their partner, and the call of the "other".

In short, highly mobile childhoods seemed to 'hard-wire' most TCKs interviewed with a need to perpetuate cycles of change and mobility into their adult lives. However, the truncated relationships that accompanied high levels of mobility made "belonging" a marginal affair, a state to be constantly negotiated and consciously worked through. TCKs belonged more to communities of other "others" than to stable geographically-located communities, and sometimes felt distanced from nuclear as well as extended family networks. This "constructive marginality" experienced by many TCKs was constructed as a positive force in their lives, the stability of their passport peers often represented to me as objectionably stagnating. The facilitation of the internet in particular has leant agency to the construction of marginal belonging favoured by many TCKs, and is the medium by which many far-flung intimacies are woven together to form a sense of "otherness together".

The TCK experience's impact upon notions of identity

Interviews with Third Culture Kids indicate that identity constructions centre on nationality, career-orientations, and a sense of uniqueness. As fieldwork established, the multiculturalism of expatriate communities does not reduce the importance of nationality in mediating the TCK experience "in the field". Instead, the nationality(ies) of TCKs position them in their expatriate communities as members of either the dominant or

marginal national culture(s). Expatriate organisations often carry a dominant nationality also, which contributes to this sense of national identification. National identification may be especially complex for those TCKs who may be members of minority national groupings within a broader expatriate community. As one Australian TCK growing up in West Africa related, she felt more identification with American than with Australian culture, causing no little confusion for her passport peers upon her "return" to Australia. In this way some TCKs negotiate between the their attributed nationality (typically their passport nationality) and their experienced nationality(ies) developed through the experience of living and identifying with a dominant national culture within the expatriate community. However, although for many TCKs national identities are contested sites, for others "nationality" stands as their only stable and constant identity in a world where other facets of their identities are more subject to adaptation and negotiation. Wherever they go, their passports declare constant national identities. Of course, for those TCKs with multiple citizenship, this stability of national identity is traded willingly for the highly prized "multiple citizenship" that resources and perpetuates a flexible national identity.

The future career orientations of young TCKs in the field, and the career trajectories of adult TCKs indicated that the TCK experience perpetuated a certain mobility in later life. This mobility married best with career trajectories that allowed for travel and contact with the "other". The vast majority of missionary and business TCKs sought employment in organisations that either led them back to their host countries, as missionaries themselves, or as anthropologists, for example, or they sought new cultural horizons, embracing cultural "strangerhood", yet typically within the familiarity of expatriate communities abroad. Fewer military TCKs followed this route, but as the number of TCKs interviewed from this background was relatively low, drawing conclusions from this is problematic. However, this thesis goes some way to demonstrating

that the TCK experience leads TCKS towards identifying most comfortably with "otherness" and "strangerhood", yet the means by which they find employment abroad tends to be from within a community of strangers, and more likely than not involves perpetuating membership in a global expatriate community, and in so doing, raising their own TCKs abroad also. Data suggests that these TCKs do share in a cosmopolitan outlook, but from a position of rootedness in a diasporic community of other expatriate wanderers.

Finally, interviews with TCKs indicated that a sense of their own uniqueness was central to both young and adult TCK identities. TCKs felt set apart from their passport peers by their experiences of mobility; they felt more connected to global news and events and felt frustrated by a perceived lack of interest by their peers to engage with experiences that were foreign to them. This sense of uniqueness added value to their histories, and TCKs were often keen to highlight to me in interview how complex their life stories were. TCKs had grown up being defined as different, set apart from local peers in their host countries, by status, culture, language or education, as well as their passport peers, and many felt uncomfortable with being mistaken for a non-TCK in their passport country. Some TCKs would emphasize their uniqueness in conversations with passport peers, highlighting their different experiences or expressing alternative cultural allegiances. Others sought out other marginals, befriending international students and identifying with non-mainstream groups. Later in adult life, and the longer TCKs remained in their passport countries, the harder it became to continue to maintain an overt cultural uniqueness, and so they would seek out other ways to nurture "otherness", perhaps through employment abroad where "otherness" would come more naturally and need little justification or explanation.

The TCK experience's impact on relationship to place

Third Culture Kids expressed complex relationships to the places of their childhoods. The landscapes of their youth were real and inhabited, experienced as solid geographical backdrops that mediated their experiences of childhood play and relationships. Indeed, in organising complex histories, TCKs would often order their stories in terms of place, using geographical transitions to mark out what happened when and where. In short, memory triggers were found in first identifying *where* events to place and relationships formed. In their late teens, *place* presented itself as global challenge, the practical logistics of geography, as well as the location of extended family, mediating college and university choices.

As adults, place continued significant in the sense that many experienced strong inner compulsions towards movement; they would feel compelled to move through place, as "elite vagrants". Though well-resourced with both education and language skills, TCKs typically experienced a sense of strangerhood in place that would motivate their perpetual movement towards, and then on through, other places. In this way, they seemed to be operating as elite vagrants, propelled through an ever shifting landscape, unwilling to settle in any one place for long. Nevertheless, this perpetual movement does not render place irrelevant. Memories "in place" are nurtured though story-telling, and the collection of curios from each place, cementing the "realness" of place in the memory. These memories of place, constructed as self-contained stories, serve to construct place as an organising principle of TCK history, providing evidence of the solid existence of an otherwise temporary and ephemeral experience of the "other". In this way, the TCK experience can be seen as impacting strongly upon adult TCKs orientations to place, and the role of place in organising histories. As "elite vagrants" TCKs demonstrate a relationship to place that is

fluid and flexible; their ambivalence to "owning" Place does not preclude attachment to it, however.

This thesis indicates that the TCK experience of early childhood mobility, and embeddedness in a global expatriate culture, impacts upon later orientations towards belonging, identity and place in such a way as to locate TCKs as cosmopolitans. These TCK cosmopolitans are not cosmopolitan patriots as such, feeling little national allegiance or territorial rootedness, but they are rooted in the organisational cultures of their childhood, and perhaps even adult years, and are generally committed to a stance of openness towards the experience of other cultures such as is indicative of an experiential cosmopolitan outlook.

The Major Claims and Contributions of this Thesis

As the above summaries of findings indicate, this thesis set out to better understand the experience of growing up abroad, and to track the long term effects of this experience on the ways in which TCKs orient themselves towards belonging, identity and relationship to place. Through the exploration of TCK narratives, this thesis has advanced three major claims; firstly that TCKs form a particular kind of imagined diaspora, secondly that TCKs demonstrate a distinctive kind of cosmopolitanism, one that is rooted in an expatriate transnational network, and finally, that TCKs may be conceptualised as 'elite vagabonds' in their particular orientations to the world around them. This chapter will now explore the ways in which this thesis has contributed to the literature on expatriates, engaged with "rooted" cosmopolitanism, and built on Bauman's theories of vagrancy to extend our understanding of the ways in which TCKs related to the world through which they have travelled.

As demonstrated in a review of the literature, writings on expatriates are most often limited in scope to cover only those experiences of the employees themselves. The spouses of expatriates are sometimes explored, but the experiences of expatriate children are marked only by their absence. This is perhaps the most significant contribution of this thesis to the current scholarship on expatriates; that it introduces into the imagination a migrationary experience hitherto under-explored. However, some of the themes raised in this thesis echo some of the work of writers who do focus on expatriates, in particular those issues of boundaries, encapsulation, and place (see Butcher, 2010; Fechter, 2005, 2007b; Glatze, 2006).

Where expatriate writers denote compounds especially with a "bubble"-like quality that permeates all aspects of expatriate living, this thesis expands on that observation through fieldwork and interview to explore the ways in which this bubble is experienced by TCKs, and its impact especially on their educational environment (see chapter five). Where this thesis departs from existing expatriate writings is in its focus on the long term impact of expatriate living for the children involved. Current writings focus on expatriate enclaves, sometimes exploring the "before" and "after" lives of the inhabitants (see Butcher, 2010), but are limited in scope because they can assume a certain passport cultural stability in the expatriates of whom they speak. In contrast, this thesis examines the experiences of those for whom the expatriate "bubble" is the primary cultural base, and the culture from which notions of belonging, identity, and relationship to place spring in their adult lives. In short, expatriate literature helps to situate and embed our understanding of the world in which TCKs are raised, but stops short of examining the experiences of TCKs themselves, and especially of observing the ways in which these early experiences have significantly formative effects.

The rooted cosmopolitanism of the TCK combines a sense of global citizenship that resists the limitations of national allegiance with a cultural identity developed by and grounded in an expatriate transnational network. In this form of cosmopolitanism, TCKs reject the limits of national identity to position themselves as global citizens. Nevertheless, this thesis indicates that, in practice, TCKs construct belonging, identity and relationship to place in terms that position them as members of a cultural community, rather than individual global pioneers. This cultural community both forms their particular cosmopolitan outlook and grounds their understanding of the world around them in term of belonging together, often building on a sense of togetherness based upon the experience of marginality, or strangerhood, itself. This juxtaposition of both global identity and an experience of cultural rootedness, highlighted by concepts such as fixity, Third Space and enunciation (Bhahba, 1994), challenges our understanding of belonging to reach beyond the territorial.

In *"The Location of Culture"* Bhabha (1994, p.38) deploys notions such as "fixity" and "Third Space" to explore the ways in which (post)colonial artists and writers create a "third space" beyond fixed national boundaries, which is the "precondition for the articulation of cultural difference". Although Bhabha's arguments, which reflect on colonialism and its aftermath, are not the direct focus of this thesis, his theory of the interplay of culture, power, and hybridisation are relevant to a conceptualisation of TCK belonging, identity and relation to place. Like postcolonial writers, TCK identity work is constituted through continuous acts of enunciation, creating an emergent Third Space that both encompasses and expresses the tensions they experience between fixity and hybridity.

Fixity is conceptualised by Bhabha (1994, p.66) as the means by which nations engage in the "ideological construction of otherness". By contrast, rooted cosmopolitanism encompasses an openness of mind towards cultural diversity and relativism typically

expected of cosmopolitanism, yet its rootedness in the expatriate transnational network relies on belonging in opposition to the Other. Indeed, for many TCKs, this Other is not necessarily an exotic, ethnic stranger of their hostland, but may instead be the stranger from their own passport country. The very rootedness of this cosmopolitanism distances its members from the non-cosmopolitan "Others" in their passport countries. Indeed, the TCK grasp of their passport national culture is often one of fixity, one that essentialises and assumes a sense of historical rigidity. This positions the TCK, by contrast, as distinct from and, at times, in opposition to national identity and belonging. This is not to say that fixity has no role to play in the expatriate network culture's approach to host country cultures; this thesis has indicated findings that suggest that that essentialising project still takes place. Rather, the questioning of fixity in the TCK's relationship with passport as well as host country problematizes the premise that nationality is the primary basis for cultural belonging.

If rootedness is indeed to be found in an expatriate transnational network, as this thesis suggests, then the cultures colliding and being negotiated in the TCK Third Space are not restricted to either "national" or "minority" ones. Instead, the particular tensions experienced by TCKs arise from their challenge to cultural or national fixity through enunciation, i.e. through performance and practice. This introduces ambivalence into any fixed sense of belonging. Nevertheless, true to the general cosmopolitan approach of TCKs, the Third Space they collectively produce is almost universally welcomed by those who are, by the very nature of their existence, actively involved in the process of (re)shaping their cultural identities and relationship to the world around them.

It is worth noting that the acts of utterance, of enunciation, that challenge and break down pre-existing suppositions around established or fixed culture, rebound upon their own identities as TCKs and challenge a growing list of assumptions of any fixed TCK identity,

membership or stereotyped characteristics. In this way, TCKs are heavily involved in acts of self-enunciation, in a constant challenge to passport country nationalist or cultural fixity on the one side, while they fix their own developing sense of communal identity as Third Culture Kids.

In summary, TCK rooted cosmopolitanism is both an experiential outlook and a skill set, as I have argued in chapter nine, and is employed by the children of expatriate employees, whose very access to their hostlands largely depends on colonial outposts, as established in chapter two. The rooted cosmopolitanism employed by TCKs is also a form of identity work in which TCKs engage. For many TCKs, a cosmopolitan outlook is an essential aspect of their ethical identity, one that compels them to nurture and develop a global empathy and sense of civic responsibility, at the same time resisting nationalistic claims of identity or belonging. This rooted cosmopolitanism, once stripped of territorial allegiances, nevertheless positions the TCK as grounded within a transnational network.

The simple lack of territorial rootedness need not suggest a culturally disconnected cosmopolitanism. TCK rooted cosmopolitanism goes so far as to introduce the concept of non-territorial rootedness, and demonstrates the ways in which TCKs are grounded in a broader transnational network. TCK cosmopolitanism suggests that the tensions and challenges of a TCK's cultural positioning necessitate fierce engagement with any reified ideas of culture or nation, through passionate enunciation of a hybrid culture constantly in flux. Indeed, the particularity of TCK rooted cosmopolitanism lies in the positioning of TCKs as almost permanent inhabitants of a Third Space as they wrestle with the perpetual problems of identity resistance and (re)building.

Moving from the cultural positioning of TCKs in relation to rooted cosmopolitanism to their geographical positioning, this thesis contributes also to a better understanding of the ways in which TCKs navigate their physical, as well as their cultural

worlds. Bauman's theorising around vagrants and vagabonds provided a useful paradigm that echoed much of what I saw described in my data about the TCK experience of perpetual mobility. In particular, Bauman (1998, p.92-3) writes of a kind of "propulsion" into mobility, and effectively juxtaposes the tourist and vagabond experiences in his statement;

> *"The tourists move because they find the world within their (global) reach irresistibly attractive – the vagabonds move because they find the world within their (local) reach unbearably inhospitable. The tourists travel because* they want to*; the vagabonds because* they have no other bearable choice.*"*

Though expecting to hear narratives focused on a fascination with the exotic of place and foreign travel, my respondents chose instead to express difficulties experienced in "settling" amongst passport communities. The resultant encapsulated marginality, and belonging through marginality is discussed in detail in chapter six. In this way, TCKs appear to be more 'pushed' into mobility, than "pulled" by attraction alone, and in this way especially, TCKs appear very much akin to vagabonds, continually propelled through space by their own inability to settle and reside within 'local' populations.

However, Bauman (2000) sees vagabonds very much in the context of a continually shrinking world, where settled spaces are squeezed into almost non-existence by increasingly nomadic populations, borne high on the wave of liquid modernity. This thesis contests the extent of this "squeezing of the settled" by indicating the extent to which locality, and "settledness" remain problematic to the TCK. It is true that the TCK may re-enter nomadic spaces with relative ease, but this ease of escape into transnational currents does not equally indicate a reduction of the primacy of place to their experiences of mobility. On the contrary, this thesis had demonstrated the continuing importance of Place in the TCK narrative, both on the field and in later life.

Furthermore, Bauman conceptualises the vagrant within the parameters of the consumer society. He writes that the vagabond is a "flawed consumer" insomuch as their lack of resources make them "useless"; their crime defined as being "nothing other than to wish to be like the tourists – while lacking the means to act on their wishes in the way tourists do." (Bauman, 1998, p.96). Herein lie some of the ways in with TCKs differ from vagabonds as far as Bauman conceptualizes vagrancy; firstly, they typically possess both financial and substantial cultural resources and secondly, they tend to, at best, feel scornful of tourists as cultural despots.

TCKs do not tend to belong to the global poor. Even if coming from families experience relative poverty in their passport countries (missionary TCKs especially, but also business TCKs where parental divorce or a bad deal has stripped them of financial security), TCKs nevertheless possess more financial and certainly more cultural resources than Bauman's vagrants. This is why I have chosen to conceptualize the TCK as an 'elite vagrant'. The push motivators hold strong for the TCK, and the internal predisposition to perpetuate mobility is equally suggestive. But it is possible to move beyond poverty as an obvious propulsion to wander, and suggest that an internal propulsion towards mobility is an additional and equally influential limiter of the choice to settle.

Finally, Bauman (1998, p. 94) describes the vagabond as the "*alter ego* of the tourist", saying he is also "the tourist's most ardent admirer". This cannot be said of the TCK. Though propelled to move through the same places as the tourist, the TCK as elite vagabonds reject the cultural consumerism of the tourist. As elite vagrants, TCKs are not the "flawed consumers" of Bauman's (1998, p.96) conceptualisations; rather they have the resources to consume culture as tourists, and yet consider such consumption as despotic. Instead, operating from a position of rooted cosmopolitanism, TCKs seek after ways of moving through place that actively encounters the Other, albeit from a place of "elite"

safety and from within the protection of the expatriate bubble. TCKs position themselves as travellers open to diversity and as far from the cultural consumerism of tourists as is possible.

In short, Bauman's "vagrant" is a useful mechanism for understanding the motivators that propel TCKs into further mobility in their adult lives, yet the concept requires some deviation in its application to the TCK experience more broadly. Its most significant utility lies in challenging the notion that TCKs continue to experience travel in their adult lives as a kind of inevitable destiny due to their cosmopolitan skill-set. Rather, this thesis suggests that perpetual mobility may be more indicative of the "otherness" of the TCK experience, comprising a strong sense of marginality that sets them apart from their passport peers to such a degree that onward mobility is the "only bearable choice" (Bauman, 1998, p.93).

Limitations of Research

There are four particular limitations present in this thesis that should be addressed here. The first refers to sample composition. My sample, as discussed in chapter four, is biased towards mission TCKs. This is mostly due to accessibility of sample, being myself a mission TCK I could snowball sample effectively to find other mission TCKs willing to be interviewed. It is also biased more consciously, in an attempt to follow up the "setting the scene" initiated by fieldwork at a mission school, with adult TCKs who had attended the school themselves. In this way I was able to build up an idea of the long term effects of that particular TCK experience, but this did have the effect of heavily weighting data in favour of mission TCKs.

Although interviews with TCKs of different sponsor backgrounds did inform part of what emerged as a coherent narrative surrounding the TCK experience, and the long-

term impact of this experience, generalisability amongst TCKs of military backgrounds is especially hard to claim. A larger sample of TCKs from this sponsor background especially would have gone some way towards confirming the generalisability of this thesis' findings. As few informal groups of adult military TCKs have a public internet presence, it is possible that targeting more formal alumni groups would be an effective way to target sampling and redress sample bias.

The second significant limitation of this work is due more to sample size. I had hoped to build a coherent idea around the long term impacts of the TCK experience on adults of different age groups, establishing patterns as they may emerge throughout the life cycle. However, upon analysis, I did not feel that I had sufficient numbers of interviewees in each age group to achieve a reliable analysis, especially in consideration of the many other variables of experience that needed to be taken into account: age of move abroad, age of return, passport/host country background, number of moves and countries lived in, family dynamic, day student or boarder, to name but a few. To achieve a broad overview of the impact of the TCK experience at different stages of the life cycle, a much greater sample would need to be accessed to account for some of these other variables also. More focused questions than I chose to adopt for interview would aid in gathering more pertinent data in this regard also.

A third limitation present in this research is that my analysis stops short of identifying specific broad and narrow transnational fields as identified by Itzigsohn et al. (1999, referred to in chapter two). They describe broad transnational spaces as a "field of relevant symbolic references", and narrow transnational activities as those everyday activities that may sustain a broader identity elsewhere, but that are not explicitly wedded to conceptions of belonging in and of themselves (Itzigsohn et al., 1999, pp. 324-5). In this way, belonging to multiple identities may be interpreted as layered; belonging to a broad

transnational field may describe the White American TCK who identifies as "African" but whose narrow transnational activities limit the expression of this identity to a rejection of mainstream American pop culture in favour of traditional "African" music in her dorm room. I did not employ these conception distinctions in my analysis of data, focussing instead on broader themes of belonging in terms of the groups with TCKs best identified, and the mechanics of belonging in the face of repeated separations. Employing Itzigsoghn et al.'s notions of broad and narrow transnational fields would have lent a valuable subtlety to my analysis, yet I felt that the unfocused nature of interviews did not provide me with the details regarding every day activities of belonging that would aid in such an analysis. As such, I limited myself to referring to broad and narrow transnational fields as part of a broader discussion of the ways in which TCKs engage transnationally with their host countries.

A fourth limitation related to the ways in which belonging could be interpreted though the narrow transnational fields of everyday belonging is that of citizenship. Although debates around shifting meanings of and attitudes towards (multiple) citizenship are highlighted in the migration literature as one of the central notions to reveal issues of belonging and identity, and I discuss its relationship to TCK notions of belonging more broadly, it is not a theme that I address directly in my coded analysis of the TCK experience. The open-ended interviews with student and adult TCKs did not tend towards discussions of embeddedness (or otherwise) in local communities, focussing instead on feelings of multiple belonging and transience. More focused questioning could have revealed TCK notions of citizenship more clearly, identifying in a more grounded fashion how TCKs interpreted the rights and responsibilities of belonging to local and global economies. This analysis would have contributed significantly to existing understandings surrounding the ways in which the TCK experience impacts on belonging, identity and

place, and would illuminate the ways in which TCKs do or do not invest in both local and global communities and economies.

Future Research Considerations

This thesis outlines and discusses an analysis of data gathered during the time of this research. In pursuit of timely completion and coherence of narrative, it is inevitable that certain lines of analysis were set to one side in favour of pursuing others. I have prioritised those overarching themes most clearly emergent from the data, and have focused detailed analysis on these areas. This does not preclude, however, the presence of other ideas that deserve both some acknowledgement at this stage, and hopefully greater time and attention invested at some future point. The limitations referred to in the preceding section may be understood in terms also of their potential for some focus in future research. In addition to these, however, this section highlights four areas as particularly worthy of future research consideration: gender, virtual community, more cohort sampling, and longitudinal study.

As discussed in chapter three, gender significantly mediates the TCK experience of both host and passport countries. Female interviewees indicated that they had fewer local playmates in host countries as they reached their early teenage years as local girls took on more domestic duties than their TCK peers. This impacted not only the social networks of these TCKs, who typically turned to more solitary pursuits, such as reading, or simply spent more time with other expatriate children, but their proficiency in local languages also. The potential impact this had in later life in terms of connection to their host countries would be worthy of further exploration. Experience of place also seemed to differ between TCKs of different genders. It is likely that female TCKs would have more restrictions placed on their movement in certain host countries, leading to a different experience of territory and associated belonging. Expectations on dress and perceived "modesty" could

be seen as mediating the TCK experience differently for male and female TCKs. Some adult TCKs spoke of "dating cluelessness" upon return to their passport countries, with one student TCKs remarking her discomfort upon feeling herself backward in the arena of make-up and fashion. There is currently little research dedicated to this area, though Gerner and Perry (2000) address this in terms of cultural acceptance and career orientation, and this thesis did not focus on this theme especially due to the open-ended nature of interviews providing hints at, but no substantial, data. However, future research is this area would be meritorious.

Data collected during the course of this thesis also hints at the significance of internet technologies in maintaining, and creating, a virtual community of TCKs. TCKs mentioned in interview the significance of Skype, a free program enabling webcam and voice calls to anyone around the globe, and referenced its use in maintaining intimacy with family, friends and romantic partners. Forums and support groups based solely online also proved significant inasmuch as some TCKs interviewed had only identified themselves as Third Culture Kids after finding and relating to such virtual communities. Future research focusing specifically on the functions and roles of these online groups and communities would go far in illuminating the processes by which TCKs identify as Third Culture Kids, and continue to maintain this identity long-term. The means by with such virtual communities develop and appeal to certain adult TCKs would also increase our understanding regarding the ways in which TCKs engage with community, and belonging.

This research makes use of cohort sampling in order to compliment data gathered via interview and participant observation from an international mission school in West Africa. Future research would benefit from using this combination of research in a multi-sited approach, using several international schools as field and interview sites, and

obtaining interviews with ex-students in a similar manner. The advantage of using several school sites would be to greatly increase generalisability of any emergent patterns, and to act as a means to better understanding the TCK experience 'in the field' across sponsor background.

A longitudinal approach to the study of the TCK experience and its long term effects would also be of great value. Beyond the resources and remit of this thesis, a longitudinal study would nevertheless give a more detailed account of the long term impact of growing up a TCK, as well as providing more conclusive arguments for causal links that may emerge during such research. Initiation in-depth interviews with TCKs still based abroad, and following their development and changing notions of belonging, identity and relationship to place would contribute significantly to our understandings of how a TCK identity may shift and adapt over time. Retaining the life story format would also allow researchers to see how narratives of experience may shift and change, providing an understanding of how time and altered circumstances may alter memories in their turn.

Conclusion

This thesis comprises nine weeks of fieldwork and life story interviews with sixty-one Third Culture Kids. Observations gathered and stories heard coalesced to inform the analysis set out in the previous nine chapters of this work. Data was organised along the lines suggested by the guiding research question: In what ways does the Third Culture Kid experience impact upon notions of belonging, identity and relationship to place. Analysis of the TCK experience "in the field" centred upon the paradoxical and complex nature of childhood mobility, highlighting the significance of expatriate organisational culture in mediating negotiations between host and passport cultures. Analysis of interviews with adult TCKs from various expatriate backgrounds suggested the ways in which this TCK

experience impacted on constructs of belonging, especially that of organisational community and the impact of routine separation on later relationships. TCK identity was suggested to centre on notions of nationality, career, and a sense of perpetual uniqueness, such as is constructed in childhood and nurtured through adult life. Analysis indicated TCKs to have share in a complex relationship to Place, experiencing it as a crucial player in their experiences of mobility. TCKs moved through place as "elite vagrants", resisting territorial concepts of "home", and many finding instead their locus of belonging to place as centring on the global expatriate communities in which they were raised.

These findings are suggestive of TCKs as cosmopolitans, deterritorialised through early and frequent childhood mobility yet reterritorialised through a rootedness centring on the expatriate communities which are so familiar to them from their youth. Attracted to the margins and borderlands, these TCKs express cosmopolitanism as experiential outlook, open towards "otherness" but typically operating from a particular organisational standpoint, especially seeking out careers that orientate adult mobility towards "helper" roles, missionary work, humanitarian aid, and working with other disadvantaged groups on a global scale. In this way, the study of the experiences of Third Culture Kids provide an insight into the long term impacts of high childhood mobility on orientations towards belonging on both local and global scales, identity construction within expatriate organisational cultures, and orientation to place when in the context of regular and frequent transience. In a world where international mobility is ever increasing, the value of these insights can only increase in their turn.

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Appendices

1) Ethical Clearance letters

2) Parent Information and Interview Consent Form for under 16-year-olds

3) 16+ year-olds Information and Interview Consent Form

4) TCK Staff Members' Information and Interview Consent Form

5) EuroTCK Conference Attendees Information sheet and Opt Out Form

6) Adult TCK Information and Interview Consent Form

K E E L E
U N I V E R S I T Y

ACADEMIC SERVICES DIRECTORATE
RESEARCH SERVICES

21 December 09

Ms Rachel Cason
9 Cemetery Road
Knutton
Newcastle
Staffs
ST5 6DH

Dear Rachel

Re: 'Third Culture Kids: A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place and Transnational Belonging'

Thank you for submitting your revised project for review.

I am pleased to inform you that your project has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel.

Amendments to your project after a favourable ethical opinion has been given must be notified to the Ethical Review Panel. If there are any amendments to your project please contact Nicola Leighton Research Governance Officer n.leighton@uso.keele.ac.uk.

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact Michele Dawson in writing to m.dawson@uso.keele.ac.uk

Yours sincerely

Dr Nicky Edelstyn
Chair – Ethics Review Panel.

cc RI Manager

KEELE
UNIVERSITY

ACADEMIC SERVICES DIRECTORATE

RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

28 October 2010

Ms Rachel Cason
9 Cemetery Road
Knutton
Newcastle
Staffs
ST5 6DH

Dear Rachel

Re: 'Third Culture Kids: A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place and Transnational Belonging'

The above project received ethical approval from the Panel in January 2010 to conduct interviews at a school in West Africa. Your request to undertake the project at another site (a school in Brussels) was approved by the Ethical Review Panel as it was clarified that the project will not be altered in anyway just extended to another site

Amendments to your project after a favourable ethical opinion has been given must be notified to the Ethical Review Panel. If there are any amendments to your project please contact Nicola Leighton Research Governance Officer n.leighton@uso.keele.ac.uk.

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact Michele Dawson in writing to m.dawson@uso.keele.ac.uk

Yours sincerely

fr Dr Nicky Edelstyn
Chair – Ethics Review Panel.

cc RI Manager

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ACADEMIC SERVICES

RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE

24 June 2011

Mrs Rachel Cason
9 Cemetery Road
Knutton
Newcastle
Staffs
ST5 6DH

Dear Rachel

Re: 'Third Culture Kids: A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place and Transnational Belonging.' – Application for ethical approval of Phase Three of research, as set out in the protocol/proposal.

Thank you for submitting your revised project for review.

I am pleased to inform you that your project has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel.

Amendments to your project after a favourable ethical opinion has been given or if the fieldwork goes beyond the date stated in your application (February 2013) you must notify the Ethical Review Panel via Michele Dawson.

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact Michele Dawson in writing to m.dawson@uso.keele.ac.uk

Yours sincerely

M. Dawson

**pp Dr Nicky Edelstyn
Chair – Ethical Review Panel**

CC RI Manager

Information Sheet for parents of under 16s

K E E L E
UNIVERSITY

Title: 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging

Researcher: Rachel Cason

Invitation

My name is Rachel Cason and I am a PhD student at Keele University, which is located in Staffordshire, UK. For my PhD in Sociology I am conducting a study 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'. The research is supported by the Economic and Social Research Council UK (ESRC). The study seeks to understand the experiences and careers of persons who grow up outside their countries of origins because their parents are or were international workers. You need to know that I myself am a Third Culture Kid. I was born, grew up, and went to school in _____. I only came back to England on a permanent basis at the age of 16.

Why have I been asked to take part in this study?

I am trying to understand as many different perspectives as possible concerning what it is to be a TCK. Your perspective is important because you are guiding your child through different cultures and school systems, in particular. Your views on how your family approaches re-entry, and belonging in many parts of the world are of particular interest to me.

I am very much hoping that you will agree to be interviewed by me for this study. This interview would be informal, and we'd conduct it somewhere where we both feel comfortable. I expect it to last about an hour, but it can be more or less depending on how you feel. Over the research period, I will be meeting and interviewing people from many different Third Culture Kid backgrounds. Your contribution will be invaluable to my PhD.

All of the research data that I collect during the study will be kept strictly confidential. I will keep your identity anonymous unless you request otherwise. Any information which has your name, address and any other identifying information, including your consent form will be kept in a locked box and/or will be password protected on my computer. I will later analyse our conversation and write up results so that they may contribute to my wider findings later on.

The Research

These interviews form part of my research, which also includes observation of Third Culture Kid community in daily life and public events. I will also be making observational notes about community life among TCKs. These will be observations made of TCK daily life such as takes place in the school compound (playground and classes) and public events (such as visits into town or on leisure trips). I will be observing how TCKs interact with each other in ways that form community, and activities or interactions that help me to understand the ways in which TCKs see themselves in the world.You are, of course, free to decide if you wish to take part or not. If you agree, then in order to ensure maximum transparency, my aim is to follow the ethical procedures laid down by the ESRC, which ask participants to sign a consent form. You need to know that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time.

What if something goes wrong?

In the interviews, I will be asking you about your life histories, and any events in your life that are significant for you. Because any life has its ups and downs, this may lead to subjects that you find emotional. We don't have to talk about these if you don't want to. You can control what we talk about, and I don't expect to discuss anything that distresses you. As for the observations, I will be trying to 'watch and learn', but if there is anything particular you want me to leave out of my notes, please just let me know. Because of this, I don't expect any problems to arise in this study, and therefore there are no special compensation arrangements. Regardless of this, if you wish to complain about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please write to Nicola Leighton who is the University's independent contact for complaints concerning research. The contact details are as follows:-

Nicola Leighton
Research Governance Officer
Research & Enterprise Services
DH1.13,
Dorothy Hodgkin Building
Keele University
ST5 5BG

Who is organising the research?

I am conducting the research, under the supervision of Professor Pnina Werbner and Dr.
Dana Rosenfeld of Keele University, England.

Contact for further information

Rachel Cason: r.m.cason@ilpj.keele.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: <u>'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'</u>

Name of Principle Investigator: **Rachel Cason**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the ☐
   above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. Participation
   a. I agree to be interviewed for this study ☐
   b. I agree to be included in the researcher's observations and field notes ☐

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to ☐
   withdraw at any time.

4. Anonymity
   a. I **do not** wish data collected about me during this study ☐
      be anonymised before it is submitted for publication.

5. I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future ☐
   research projects.

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature

CONSENT FORM

(for use of quotes)

Title of Project: 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'

Name of Principle Investigator: **Rachel Cason**

Please tick box

1.	I am happy for any quotes to be used	
2.	I don't want any quotes to be used	
3.	I want to see any proposed quotes before making a decision	

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature

Information Sheet for 16+ year-olds

K E E L E
U N I V E R S I T Y

Title: **'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging**

Researcher: **Rachel Cason**

Invitation

My name is Rachel Cason and I am a PhD student at Keele University, which is located in Staffordshire, UK. For my PhD in Sociology I am conducting a study 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'. The research is supported by the Economic and Social Research Council UK (ESRC). The study seeks to understand the experiences and careers of persons who grow up outside their countries of origins because their parents are or were international workers. You need to know that I myself am a Third Culture Kid. I was born, grew up, and went to school in _____. I only came back to England on a permanent basis at the age of 16.

Why have I been asked to take part in this study?

I am trying to understand as many different perspectives as possible concerning what it is to be a TCK. Your perspective is crucial because you are still regularly experiencing moves between your country of nationality and where you live most of the time. You will be able to tell me what that is like and how you live in each place with memories of this fresh in your mind.

I am very much hoping that you will agree to be interviewed by me for this study. This interview would be informal, and we'd conduct it somewhere where we both feel comfortable. I expect it to last about an hour, but it can be more or less depending on how you feel. Over the research period, I will be meeting and interviewing people from many different Third Culture Kid backgrounds. Your contribution will be invaluable to my PhD.

All of the research data that I collect during the study will be kept strictly confidential. I will keep your identity anonymous unless you request otherwise. Any information which has your name, address and any other identifying information, including your consent form will be kept in a locked box and/or will be password protected on my computer. I will later analyse our conversation and write up results so that they may contribute to my wider findings later on.

The Research

These interviews form part of my research, which also includes observation of Third Culture Kid community in daily life (such as in the school compound – playground and classes) and public events (such as visits into town or on leisure trips). I will be observing how TCKs interact with each other in ways that form community, and activities or interactions that help me to understand the ways in which TCKs see themselves in the world. You are, of course, free to decide if you wish to take part or not. If you agree, then in order to ensure maximum transparency, my aim is to follow the ethical procedures laid down by the ESRC, which ask participants to sign a consent form. You need to know that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time.

What if something goes wrong?

In the interviews, I will be asking you about your life histories, and any events in your life that are significant for you. Because any life has its ups and downs, this may lead to subjects that you find emotional and/or distressing. We don't have to talk about these if you don't want to. You can control what we talk about, and I don't expect to discuss anything that distresses you. As for the observations, I will be trying to 'watch and learn', but if there is anything particular you want me to leave out of my notes, please just let me know. Because of this, I don't expect any problems to arise in this study, and therefore there are no special compensation arrangements. Regardless of this, if you wish to complain about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please write to Nicola Leighton who is the University's independent contact for complaints concerning research. The contact details are as follows:-

Nicola Leighton
Research Governance Officer
Research & Enterprise Services
DH1.13, Dorothy Hodgkin Building
Keele University
ST5 5BG
England

Who is organising the research?

I am conducting the research, under the supervision of Professor Pnina Werbner and Dr.

Dana Rosenfeld of Keele University, England.

Contact for further information

Rachel Cason: r.m.cason@ilpj.keele.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM for 16+ year-olds

Title of Project: 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'

Name of Principle Investigator: **Rachel Cason**

6. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

7. Participation

    a. I agree to be interviewed for this study ☐

    b. I agree to be included in the researcher's observations and field notes ☐

8. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time. ☐

9. Anonymity

    a. I **do not** wish data collected about me during this study ☐ be anonymised before it is submitted for publication.

10. I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future ☐ research projects.

_____ _____ _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____ _____ _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature

CONSENT FORM for 16+ year-olds

(for use of quotes)

Title of Project: 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'

Name of Principle Investigator: **Rachel Cason**

Please tick box

1.	I am happy for any quotes to be used	
2.	I don't want any quotes to be used	
3.	I want to see any proposed quotes before making a decision	

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature

Information Sheet for TCK Staff Members

KEELE
UNIVERSITY

Title: **'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging**

Researcher: **Rachel Cason**

Invitation

My name is Rachel Cason and I am a PhD student at Keele University, which is located in Staffordshire, UK. For my PhD in Sociology I am conducting a study 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'. The research is supported by the Economic and Social Research Council UK (ESRC). The study seeks to understand the experiences and careers of persons who grow up outside their countries of origins because their parents are or were international workers. You need to know that I myself am a Third Culture Kid. I was born, grew up, and went to school in _____. I only came back to England on a permanent basis at the age of 16.

Why have I been asked to take part in this study?

I am trying to understand as many different perspectives as possible concerning what it is to be a TCK. Your perspective is important because you are part of a network involved in TCKs' everyday lives. Your views would help me to better understand how TCKs manage multiple cultures and regular moves.

I am very much hoping that you will agree to be interviewed by me for this study. This interview would be informal, and we'd conduct it somewhere where we both feel comfortable. I expect it to last about an hour, but it can be more or less depending on how you feel. Over the research period, I will be meeting and interviewing people from many different Third Culture Kid backgrounds. Your contribution will be invaluable to my PhD.

All of the research data that I collect during the study will be kept strictly confidential. I will keep your identity anonymous unless you request otherwise. Any information which has your name, address and any other identifying information, including your consent form will be kept in a locked box and/or will be password protected on my computer. I will later analyse our conversation and write up results so that they may contribute to my wider findings later on.

The Research

These interviews form part of my research, which also includes observation of Third Culture Kid community in daily life and public events. I will also be making observational notes about community life among TCKs. These will be observations made of TCK daily life such as takes place in the school compound (playground and classes) and public events (such as visits into town or on leisure trips). I will be observing how TCKs interact with each other in ways that form community, and activities or interactions that help me to understand the ways in which TCKs see themselves in the world. You are, of course, free to decide if you wish to take part or not. If you agree, then in order to ensure maximum transparency, my aim is to follow the ethical procedures laid down by the ESRC, which ask participants to sign a consent form. You need to know that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time.

What if something goes wrong?

In the interviews, I will be asking you about your life histories, and any events in your life that are significant for you. Because any life has its ups and downs, this may lead to subjects that you find emotional. We don't have to talk about these if you don't want to. You can control what we talk about, and I don't expect to discuss anything that distresses you. As for the observations, I will be trying to 'watch and learn', but if there is anything particular you want me to leave out of my notes, please just let me know. Because of this, I don't expect any problems to arise in this study, and therefore there are no special compensation arrangements. Regardless of this, if you wish to complain about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please write to Nicola Leighton who is the University's independent contact for complaints concerning research. The contact details are as follows:-

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ST5 5BG, England

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I am conducting the research, under the supervision of Professor Pnina Werbner and Dr. Dana Rosenfeld of Keele University, England.

Contact for further information

Rachel Cason: r.m.cason@ilpj.keele.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM for TCK Staff Members

Title of Project: 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'

Name of Principle Investigator: **Rachel Cason**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the   □ above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. Participation

   a. I agree to be interviewed for this study   □

   b. I agree to be included in the researcher's observations and field notes   □

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to   □ withdraw at any time.

4. Anonymity

   a. I **do not** wish data collected about me during this study   □ be anonymised before it is submitted for publication.

5. I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future   □ research projects.

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature

CONSENT FORM for TCK Staff Members

(for use of quotes)

Title of Project: 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'

Name of Principle Investigator: **Rachel Cason**

Please tick box

1.	I am happy for any quotes to be used	
2.	I don't want any quotes to be used	
3.	I want to see any proposed quotes before making a decision	

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature

Information Sheet for EuroTCK Attendees

Title: **'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging**

Researcher: **Rachel Cason**

Invitation

My name is Rachel Cason and I am a PhD student at Keele University, which is located in Staffordshire, UK. For my PhD in Sociology I am conducting a study 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'. The research is supported by the Economic and Social Research Council UK (ESRC). The study seeks to understand the experiences and careers of persons who grow up outside their countries of origins because their parents are or were international workers. I myself am a Third Culture Kid. I was born, grew up, and went to school in _____. I only came back to England on a permanent basis at the age of 16. I am attending the EuroTCK conference in the hope of bettering my understanding of the ways in which TCKs understand and engage with the world. I am particularly interested in the views of those who work with TCKs, or who are adult TCKs and so I am very much hoping that you will agree take part in my study.

The Research

If you were happy to participate, then reading this is the only thing I ask of you! My research at the conference will involve me taking notes of conference proceedings, views of TCK life that are expressed in this arena, and other observations that I can make of the ways in which the TCK experience is expressed. These notes will be analysed later and included in my thesis. If you **do not** wish to be included in such notes as these, please fill in the "opt out" form below and return it to me via email. I would also be very interested in interviewing people who are TCKs themselves or who work with TCKs, particularly relating to re-entry issues. If this is you, and you are willing, please feel free to contact me.

All of the research data that I collect during the study will be kept strictly confidential. I will keep your identity anonymous unless you request otherwise. Any information which has your name, address and any other identifying information, including your consent form will be kept in a locked box and/or will be password protected on my computer. I will later analyse our conversation and write up results so that they may contribute to my wider findings later on.

What if something goes wrong?

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Who is organising the research?

I am conducting the research, under the supervision of Professor Pnina Werbner and Dr. Dana Rosenfeld of Keele University, England.

Contact for further information

Rachel Cason: r.m.cason@ilpj.keele.ac.uk

OPT-OUT FORM for EuroTCK Attendees

Title of Project: 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in
Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'

Name of Principle Investigator: **Rachel Cason**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the ☐
   above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. Participation

   a. I _____ (name) do not wish to be observed ☐

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to ☐
   withdraw at any time.

4. I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future ☐
   research projects.

CONSENT FORM for EuroTCK Attendees

(for use of quotes)

Title of Project: 'Third Culture Kids': A Case Study in Nomadic Identities, Place, and Transnational Belonging'

Name of Principle Investigator: **Rachel Cason**

Please tick box

1.	I am happy for any quotes to be used	
2.	I don't want any quotes to be used	
3.	I want to see any proposed quotes before making a decision	

_____ _____ _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____ _____ _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature