

**Third Route Kids: A New Way of Conceptualizing the Adult Third Culture Kid
Experience**

by

Tamara Lynn Williams

M.A., Trinity Western University, 2005

H.B.Sc., McMaster University, 2003

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Abstract

The current conceptualization of Adult Third Culture Kids (TCKs) is challenged and reconceptualised as Third Route Kids (TRKs) through both an extensive analysis of the current literature on TCKs and through an ethnographic study of four adult TCKs. The study involved utilizing thematic analysis of focus groups with four TCKs. Six themes were identified: The Problematics of Being Asked Where You are From, Relationship with Self, Relationship with Others, Relationship with Society, TCK Culture, and Global Awareness. These findings are integrated with current research on TCKs. They also challenge the current conceptualization of culture and cultural sensitivity that is utilized in counselling psychology. Suggestions for future research are also made.

Preface

This study was reviewed and approved by the University of British Columbia's Behavioural Research Ethics Board, certificate number: H11-01978-A001.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Third Culture Kids (TCKs) are not a new phenomenon (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001). They have been invisible minorities as long as people have migrated and moved between cultures. In this modern day and age, however, their numbers are steadily increasing. The study of TCKs began in the 1950s when Drs. John and Ruth Hill Usem studied expatriate communities in India. The original TCK definition was offered then as:

a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship with others of similar background (Pollock and Van Reken, 2008 p. 19)

This definition was encapsulated within a chapter where TCKs were said to be children of ex-patriot parents who were planning on returning to the parents' passport country. This description of TCKs has not been substantially changed since its conception. The definitions of culture and what it meant at the time are not clear. The literature on TCKs does not clarify this point.

The difficulty in reviewing TCK research is both the paucity of it, the variance in the scientific rigour utilized by the researchers, and the theoretical and methodological diversity of the research that does exist. Studies of TCKs that have been published within the last 20 years that are research-based, have sufficient academic rigour, and focus on culture or identities in TCKs are very rare; there were only five quantitative studies, four qualitative, and two mixed-method studies that met these criteria. Several of the studies only mention culture or identity incidentally, and culture is not always the main focus of the research. Only two studies provide definitions of the words "culture" or

"identity" (Bell, 1997; Walters & Auton-Cuff, 2010), and in Bell's study, the participants are the ones who provide the definition of these terms. The lack of clarity in the terms used makes it difficult to compare one study to another, since different meanings in the way culture is operationalized will affect the meaning of the interpretation. When referring to individuals who have lived a globally mobile childhood, the term "TCK" will be utilized. When referring to their less mobile peers, the term "sessile" will be utilized. For a more detailed explanation of the terms, please refer to *Terms and Use of Language*, which appears later in this chapter.

Studies by Cottrell (2002), Gerner and Perry (2002), Gerner, Perry, Mosselle, and Archbold (1992), and Huff (2001) document differences between TCKs from the United States of America (USA) and U.S. citizens who are sessile. These differences range from a higher percentage of TCKs receiving advanced education (Cottrell, 2002) to U.S. TCKs being more culturally accepting than their sessile U.S. peers (Gerner et al.). TCKs also feel significantly different from their sessile peers (Bell, 1997; Fail, Thomson & Walker, 2004; Walters & Auton-Cuff, 2010; and Williams & Mariglia, 2002). They have an increased interest in mobility (Bell) and can report experiencing or continuing to experience grief, loss, and pain (Bell; Gilbert, 2008). With the exception of the Walters and Auton-Cuff study, all of the studies focused primarily on TCKs with a U.S. passport and, when comparing TCKs to their sessile peers, utilized a U.S. sample as the control group. However, the Walter and Auton-Cuff study interviewed a group of TCKs whose passport was predominantly Canadian. This concentration on U.S. TCKs is a flaw in the research, because the Gerner and Perry study indicated that there are significant differences between TCKs whose passport is American and TCKs whose passport is not from the United States.

A significant difficulty in researching or providing therapy to TCKs from a counselling psychology perspective is not only the lack of research on this population, but also the fact that there is no conceptualization of their situation in the current theoretical lenses. Sue and Sue (1999, 2008) provide a framework for multiculturally sensitive therapy. Within this framework, culture is almost synonymous with race or ethnicity, with some recognition of “other” categories of multiculturalism (i.e. sexual orientation or disability). Culture is conceived of as monolithic categories of which a therapist must master the awareness, knowledge, and skills in order to be a good therapist. This view of culture commodifies culture. This commodification of culture and use of monolithic categories to refer to individuals creates an artificially simplistic understanding of culture. These categories and the theory behind them have no conceptualization for the experiences of TCKs, thus offering therapists and theorists no assistance when working with this population. The framework is also a U.S.-centric one with no discussion or conceptualization of cultures or cultural interaction beyond the borders of the USA, giving it limited usage in other locations and, especially, with populations that are globally mobile.

Arthur and Collins (2010) and Justin (2010) offer a more nuanced view of culture within their multiculturally sensitive counselling theory. Coming from a Canadian perspective, this theory rejects monolithic categories of culture and allows for a more nuanced understanding of culture. Culture is not equated with race or ethnicity but is seen as a much more complex concept than ethnicity. An important part of the Arthur and Collins conceptualization of culture is as follows:

Culture is a more idiosyncratic concept than ethnicity, with each individual selecting, consciously or unconsciously, the components of their experience, history, context, and relational affiliation that define who they see themselves to be. This opens the door for individuals to hold multiple identities either

simultaneously or concurrently. What is noteworthy for us in the use of the term *culture* is that it both self-defines and inclusive of factors that are not necessarily connected to the culture of origin. Individuals may have multiple cultural identities that evolve and change over the lifespan. (p. 15)

"Multicultural" is therefore defined as including "a wide range of identity factors, most commonly: ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, mental and physical ability, socio-economic status, religion, and age" (p. 15). Within this theory, Justin introduces the concept of hybrid identity, which conceptualizes "identity to be a fluid and dynamic phenomenon that is located across a range of contradictory social contexts. This idea reinforces the notion that people live within multiple contexts and therefore possess multiple identities" (p. 322). Third space occurs when identities from two or more different cultures interact; they can create new ways of being cultural and new ways of understanding that may defy conventional wisdom. Justin introduces these concepts in relation to immigrant populations and the first generation after immigration. The way that these interactions may show up in a therapeutic setting is also explored. Although this theory is more nuanced and flexible, there is still no real conceptualization of TCKs. TCKs are not technically immigrants, since the country they "return" to is their passport country. Although they have many things in common with immigrant populations, their experiences are also unique from them. Although the Arthur and Collins theory of culture allows for the possibility of TCKs in therapy, it does not provide therapists with conceptual or practical support for how to work with this population, and the questions asked by these theorists are unlikely to reveal the history of TCKs and may even occlude their past experiences.

The difficulty in utilizing culture in the way it is traditionally utilized in psychological studies of acculturation and enculturation is that it may oversimplify and mislead researchers from the complexity of the situation. This is clear when looking at

the difference in findings between acculturation/enculturation, as it is conceived in psychology, and how culture is explored through an ethnographic lens. Two studies were completed in diverse high schools. The first, by Giang and Wittig (2006), was done from a psychological perspective, utilizing Berry's (2006) theory of acculturation. Here, when a minority culture interacts with a majority culture, individuals within the culture can utilize four coping skills based on two factors—a wish to interact with those from the dominant culture and a wish to maintain their own cultural heritage. Groups with a high need to interact with the dominant culture and to maintain their culture of origin utilize the integration strategy. The separation strategy is used by groups who do not want to interact with the dominant culture and want to maintain their own culture. If a group has little interest in maintaining its own culture but wishes to interact with the dominant culture, members of the group are likely to utilize assimilation. A group that neither wants its own culture nor wishes to interact with the dominant culture will use the marginalization strategy. Giang and Wittig gave surveys to students of different ethnicities attending high school in the USA. Although their definition of culture discriminated between culture and ethnicity, their questionnaires did not often equate ethnicity with culture. From these surveys, Giang and Wittig concluded that the highest self-esteem was found in students who utilized the integrationist method of coping, and the lowest in those utilizing the marginalization method of coping.

When the Giang and Wittig (2006) study, with its broad categories of ethnicity (i.e. Asian), is compared to the ethnographic work of Yon (2000), the meaning of its results become less clear. Yon spent a year in a diverse high school in Canada, talking to, watching, and interacting with youth. He documented the fluidity and flexibility of the cultures there, showing that definitions of things like ethnicity meant different and

sometimes unexpected things to the students attending the school. One student that Yon perceived as black explained that he was not black, and then defined black as students coming from the Caribbean. Other students' families for several generations had been mobile, and their culture was a mix of the many places they, their parents, and their grandparents had lived as well as those of their friends and family friends. Yon challenged the idea of roots or genetic heritage being a meaningful or even helpful term for use in understanding culturally diverse populations. He explains that ethnographic theory originally commodified culture and viewed it as something that could be placed in discrete definable categories under which roots would make sense. Operating from a more nuanced understanding of culture, Yon proposes that "routes" instead of "roots" is a more meaningful way to conceptualize culture. The routes an individual, family, or group take through the world and through different cultures provide a more meaningful way to understand the current cultural orientation of the person than does a preconceived notion of what a black person should be, culturally. From this nuanced perspective, the findings of the Giang and Wittig study become less clear. Did the students have the same understanding of the ethnic categories as the researchers did? Or did they interpret the categories differently from the researchers? Did the students' ethnicity match the culture the researchers assigned to it, or was it more nuanced and complex, like that of the members in the Yon study? The layers of nuanced and complex information available in the Yon study creates an interesting contrast to the more streamlined approach offered by Giang and Wittig. It also makes it difficult to compare, contrast, or draw conclusions across the different research methodologies.

Terms and Use of Language

When discussing a nuanced and complex topic, choosing terms that will both provide clarity and accuracy while not oversimplifying the topic at hand is a significant challenge. For clarity of reading, unified terms will be used throughout the study when referring to different populations of note. When referring to individuals who have lived part of their childhood outside of their parents' passport country, with the plan to return to the passport country, there are several terms that can be utilized: Third culture kids (TCKs), global nomads, culturally complex, and so on. In this study, I chose to use the term "TCK" because it is the one most frequently utilized in the literature. There are difficulties in utilizing this term, since not all people with the experience wish to be called TCKs; also, "TCKs" references children, while the participants in my study are all adults. It should be assumed that when the term "TCK" is used, "Adult TCK" is implied when it is used in regard to an adult, unless specifically stated otherwise. In utilizing a single simple term to clearly categorize a group of people, there is also a risk that this same term can be utilized by clinicians and researchers as a monolithic identifier, allowing the reader to oversimplify the individual being discussed into a single category of identity, TCK. The use of this term in that way is to be discouraged at all costs. A person who is a TCK will also be many other intersecting things in regard to his or her identity. To understand such a person, both his or her TCKness and the many other aspects of the personhood need to be encountered and explored.

Similarly, for clarity of reading, a simple term is needed as a reference point when referring to individuals who have lived a relatively immobile lifestyle, especially throughout their childhood. One term used by a participant in this present study is "sessile." This term means "fixed to one spot," according to the *Oxford English*

Dictionary. Its use here is in reference to people who have lived the majority of their lives and, in particular, their childhoods, in one location. The choice to utilize this term is to afford clarity to the discussion and to honour the participants' voices in their discussion of their peers and friends who lived less mobile lifestyles than the TCKs did. It is not, once again, to be utilized as a monolithic identifier of people.

It is further understood that neither group being referred to by a single term is homogeneous in its presentation. There are levels of international experience that one can have as a child, and likewise levels of sessility. The diversity within each population is acknowledged and should be remembered throughout all discussions in this study. In addition, it is not the intent of the author to create an "us versus them" attitude in the reader, but to honour differences of experience when they occur, while respecting that each life path is unique, valuable, and worthy of acknowledgment. However, for the sake of clarity and readability, these terms will be utilized to refer to the two populations when they are discussed throughout the study.

Rationale for the Study

Little is known about the experiences of TCKs, their identity, if they have a culture, and what that culture is like. Even less is known about the needs of this population in a therapeutic setting. Current theories of multicultural sensitivity do not include a conceptual or theoretical understanding of TCKs, instead focusing on predetermined categories of culture (i.e. race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation) that are often monolithic in nature and in which TCKs have no place. This leads not only to a lack of appropriate care for TCKs but to a discrimination against them by the field of psychology, since they are not one of the "right" cultures and therefore are not seen as

a group that needs culturally appropriate care. It is essential for psychologists to develop a more fluid and nuanced understanding of culture, one that does not depend on predetermined categories but allows for the complexities inherent in not only the experiences of TCKs but in other diverse populations.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of the study is to explore the experience of being an adult TCK, whether there is such a thing as a TCK culture, and the nature of that culture and its relevance in today's society. The three research questions for this study are:

1. What is your present day experience of being a TCK?
2. Is there such a thing as TCK culture?
3. What is that culture and its relevancy, if any, to today's society?

Research Paradigm

A thicker, more nuanced understanding of culture is needed in order to conceptualize and understand the experience of TCKs. As a result, the ethnographic methodology of content analysis will be utilized from a critical realist epistemology. Martin and Sugarman (2000) argue for the need for a middle ground in psychological research, one that allows for the strengths of modern and postmodern methodologies to be utilized and which helps to balance the extremes of both. This middle ground will make psychologists more effective in their study of human interactions, without the oversimplifying reductionism of human interactions that is the weakness of modern theory and research, while still allowing for reality and truth to exist. This middle ground, for the study of culture, can be found in critical realist theories on culture. The critical

realists argue that “The popular conception of the scientist patiently collecting observations, unprejudiced by any theory, until finally he succeeds in establishing a great new generalization, is quite false” (Polanyi, 1964, p. 28). They also argue that

The hermeneutic tradition leaves us with only a choice between ‘interpretations’...we are trapped within the illusion of the epoch without even the hope of making our escape by bumping up against empirical data. (Outhwaite, p. 22)

The middle ground is critical realism, which allows for culture to be both a constant factor that predates any person in it, similar to the modern positivistic view, but which also allows for the fact that humans are actors within culture and can change it, a more hermeneutic viewpoint. Bhaskar (1998) provides the following definition of culture:

People do not create society. For it always pre-exists them and is a necessary condition for their activity. Rather, society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. Society does not exist independently of human activity (the error of reification). But it is not the product of it (the error of voluntarism)...Society is only present in human action, but human action always expresses and utilizes some or other social form. Neither can, however, be identified with, reduced to explained in terms of, or reconstructed from the other. There is an ontological hiatus between society and people, as well as a mode of connection (viz. Transformation that the other models typically ignore). (p.39)

This allows for culture to be a real entity capable of study but also something with multiple layers interacting and being created by those who are also constrained by it. This philosophical view of culture is in line with ethnographers like Kleinman (1988a, 1988b) and Davies (1999) and their treatment of culture in a reflexive and nuanced manner. It is within this tradition of reflexive critical realist ethnographic philosophy that the design of the study is rooted. The selection of reflexive ethnographic methodologies is to facilitate a wider lens of research of the experience of TCKs, one that allows them to share their experiences in their own voice while still being held within a larger social and historical context. This is in line with the research on TCKs which indicates a social

form of identity (Bell, 1997; Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004; Finn Jordan, 2002; Pollock & Van Reken, 2001; and Williams & Mariglia, 2002).

The methodology of this study utilizes a research design similar to that utilized by Hamid, Johansson and Rubenson (2011). In this study by Hamid et al., thematic analysis was conducted on focus group meetings of parents in Pakistan who were raising marriage-aged daughters and preparing them for marriage. This present study used a focus group of four TCKs who met twice for three hours. The discussions followed the three research questions for the study. The focus group meetings were then transcribed following the methods for transcription outlined by Lapadat (2000). The main researcher did all the transcription and emotional markers; significant physical gestures or extended pauses in conversation were explained in full within ellipses in the text. Content analysis was conducted on the final transcripts, using six steps laid out by Braun and Clarke. Content analysis revealed six themes and thirty categories. The themes were: The Problematics of Being asked Where You Are From, Relationship with Self, Relationship with Others, Relationship with Society, TCK Culture, and Global Awareness.

Significance of the Study

This study is the second of its kind to specifically study TCKs whose passport country is not the USA. Since there is evidence that TCKs with passport countries outside the USA are different from those with passports from the USA, this is important for providing a clearer understanding of TCKs. It is also the first study to study TCK culture and provide practical suggestions for appropriate paradigms, theories, and culturally sensitive techniques to utilize with this population. It is hoped that the findings

of this study will help facilitate culturally appropriate care for TCKs and provide a theoretically firm foundation for future research to proceed from.

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is comprised of five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, which outlines in brief the entire dissertation. The second chapter is a comprehensive literature review that situates the research on TCKs within the current acculturation, enculturation, and multicultural theories within counselling psychology and contrasts these with ethnographic theories on culture. Goodness of fit for understanding the TCK experience as well as utility within a therapeutic setting are explored.

The third chapter is the methodological chapter. Initially this chapter situates the methodology within ethnographic epistemologies, which are then also situated within critical realist epistemologies. Both the critical realist epistemology and ethnographic epistemology are explored in detail. Methodological details are then provided regarding the focus groups of TCKs, participants, the transcription process, content analysis, and the researcher's subjectivity.

The fourth chapter is the results chapter. In this chapter, the five themes and thirty categories revealed through the content analysis are explored in detail, providing subjects' quotations. Figure one and Table one are contained in this chapter. Figure one is a visual reference for the themes and their corresponding categories, while Table one provides detailed samples from the content analysis and the themes to which they belong.

Chapter five is the final chapter. In this chapter, all of the themes from the literature review are situated within the literature review. Theoretical and technical

advice for practitioners and researchers is provided. The different cultural theorists and their suggested treatments for TCKs are compared and contrasted with a focus on the utility and effectiveness of each theory for use with TCKs. Finally, the limitations of the current study along with suggestions for future research are discussed.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

There are an estimated 2.5 million Canadians living abroad (Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2007) and large numbers of expatriates of other countries residing in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). No data is kept in regard to how many individuals have lived part of their childhoods outside of their parents' home culture, but these statistics suggest that the numbers are substantial. A Third Culture Kid or TCK is defined by Pollock and Van Reken (2001) as follows:

A person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship with other of similar background. (p. 19)

This definition is encapsulated in a chapter that discusses the fact that the parents of TCKs are expatriates who plan to return to their passport country. This makes the experience of TCKs similar but unique to that of immigrant children and their families. Several definitions of TCKs have evolved separately, throughout the world, that share similar core meanings, as demonstrated by the similarities in the Japanese definition of *Kikokushijo*, as discussed by Goodman (1990):

Kikokushijo are those who have had the experience of (a) being born in Japan and (b) brought up in the mainstream of Japanese culture. When they reached a (c) certain age, they (d) went overseas with their parents. While they were being brought up overseas, they (e) received some influence from the local culture. After (f) a few years, they (g) returned home and were brought up in the mainstream Japanese culture again. (p. 10)

Throughout the literature, there are many terms used to refer to TCKs: global nomads, military brats, missionary kids, and Kikokushijo, to name a few. For the purpose of this paper, the term "TCK" will be predominantly utilized. In its use with adults, it is inferred that "adult TCK" is meant. There are difficulties and limitations inherent in the term

“TCK” and many of the other terms utilized for individuals with this experience, but since “TCK” is the most widely utilized term in the literature, it is the term that will be utilized throughout this particular study. A more detailed discussion of the terms and definitions for TCKs is provided under the heading *The Study of Third Culture Kids*, later in this chapter.

Despite the increasing numbers of TCKs in our globalized society, their experience has received limited academic and psychological attention. TCKs constitute a complex group that proves difficult to study, since the literature on TCKs and indeed on culture itself is varied and lacks cohesion. It is therefore easier to look at the different streams of thought in regard to culture and the interactions between people of different cultures and then to see how those streams present research in regard to TCKs. In order to situate the study of TCKs, current trends in methodology and conceptualization from several related fields will be reviewed. A review of acculturation theory and research, which will include Berry (2006), Yoon, Langrehr, and Ong (2011), Giang and Wittig (2006), and Kim, Atkinson, and Umemoto (2001) will then be contrasted with an anthropological study using anthropological theory and methods to explore cultural interactions (Yon, 2000). These areas of research will help to provide a context for the studies on TCKs and provide insight into if and how those streams of thought are represented in the literature on TCKs. This discussion will then be placed within current psychological flows of thought in regard to culture and diversity, drawing from Sue and Sue (1999, 2008), Sue, Bernier, Durran, Feinberg, Pedersen et al. (1982), Arthur and Collins (2010), Justin (2010), and Henderson Metzger, Nadkarni, and Erickson Cornish (2010). These works will be reviewed in regard to both theoretical framework and clinical competency, with a focus on their applicability and utility when working with

TCKs in a clinical setting as well as on their utility in providing theoretical understanding of both the culture and identity of TCKs.

Acculturation and Enculturation Studies in Counselling Psychology

Before reviewing the research on acculturation and enculturation in counselling psychology, it is useful to know what the different terms utilized here commonly mean in the field. The study of acculturation did not begin in the field of psychology; as a result, the terms and definitions that psychologists use to discuss it are often borrowed from the sister field of anthropology, a field which has been studying this phenomenon for over half a century. In 1936, Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits offered this seminal definition of acculturation in a leading anthropology journal: “Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.” This definition is the one that appears to still be in use in counselling psychology research today (Yoon, Langrehr, & Ong, 2011). Although this definition allows for the fact that acculturation can occur in a bidirectional manner, it does not fully account for the impact of power differentials, which are often present when a smaller cultural community moves to a larger host culture. In this situation, the smaller community is often under pressure to acculturate to the larger cultural context in which it finds itself. One response to this pressure to acculturate is to enculturate, or to hold on to their culture of origin (Kim, Atkinson, & Umemoto, 2001). In response to these two opposing pressures, Berry (2006) suggests that there are four different strategies utilized by people in this situation. They are integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization.

Berry's (2006) discussion of acculturation involves three major factors. The first is the nature of the cultural interaction. In a plural society, this is split along two variables: the mobility of the group, listed as either sedentary or migrant, and the voluntary or involuntary nature of the cultural interaction between the two groups. For instance, indigenous peoples are listed as sedentary and involuntary, since they did not move before the cross-cultural interaction, and the interaction was not one they sought out. An example of an involuntary migrant group would be refugees or asylum seekers, while immigrants and sojourners are seen as voluntary migrant populations. Ethno-cultural groups are, according to Berry, an example of a sedentary voluntary group.

The second factor Berry (2006) addresses is the acculturation strategies of the larger society. These are conceptualized along two continuums. The first is the drive to maintain one's cultural heritage and the second is the wish to have contact with other groups. The four resulting categories are multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation, and exclusion. A society that has a high interest in maintaining their cultural heritage and in having relationships between the different groups that comprise it will utilize multiculturalism as a strategy, where the groups interact with each other, but each can keep its own cultural heritage. A melting pot occurs when the larger society has a low interest in maintaining its cultural heritage but is still highly motivated to have relationships occur between the different groups within the society. The last two categories occur if a society has little interest in interactions occurring between the different groups. If that society also has a focus on maintaining its cultural heritage, it will utilize segregation as a strategy, where the different groups remain separate from each other. If a society has low motivation to interact with the different groups that comprise it and a low interest in maintaining their cultural heritage, then exclusion is the

strategy most likely to be employed when dealing with groups that are different from the majority group in society.

When a new group arrives in an established society, according to Berry (2006), its members will be limited and constrained by the overall strategies of the dominant society in the way it handles groups that are culturally different. Overall, Berry identifies four distinct strategies that individuals or groups can choose when living within a dominant culture that has a culture that is distinct from theirs. As with the strategies chosen by the dominant society (discussed above) the group can choose four strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. These strategies are organized along two factors: how strongly the group wishes to maintain its cultural heritage and how strongly the group wishes to interact with those from the dominant culture. The two strategies that have a strong interest in maintaining cultural heritage are integration and separation. The integration strategy allows the non-dominant group to maintain its cultural heritage while still being able to interact with those from the dominant culture. If there is a strong desire to maintain the group's cultural heritage and little to no desire to interact with individuals from the dominant culture, separation from the dominant culture is the strategy most likely to be used. The final two strategies are assimilation and marginalization. In both of these strategies, there is little interest in maintaining the group's original cultural heritage. When this low level of interest in maintaining the original cultural heritage is paired with a low interest in interacting with the dominant culture, the strategy of marginalization is the one most likely to be utilized. If the group wants to interact with the dominant culture, but has little interest in maintaining its own cultural identity, members of the group are most likely to use the strategy of assimilation.

Research of acculturation by counselling psychologists has been expanding rapidly in the past two decades. A meta-analysis of the quantitative research conducted on acculturation in the past 22 years in counselling psychology was conducted by Yoon, Langrehr, and Ong (2011). Using a mixed method of content analysis and meta-analysis, the authors explored trends in the study of acculturations/enculturation, including research design, content areas, and conceptualization. In addition, the meta-analysis focused on the relationship between acculturation/enculturation and variables of mental health. Selection criteria for the articles selected were as follows: they had to have been published between 1988 and 2009 in *The Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *The Counseling Psychologist*, *Journal of Counseling and Development*, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, or *the Cultural and Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*; the articles had to have used quantitative research design; and finally, they had to have used acculturation or enculturation as a study variable. According to the study, 132 articles met this criterion. Using three judges, a content analysis was conducted, and a classification system was created. A Cohen's kappa was utilized, and the interrater reliability was .91. A literature review and a review of previous meta-analysis revealed several themes within the literature, which were then used to create variables for the content analysis.

The authors noted several trends in the research of acculturation in counselling psychology. The first was the significant increase in the number of published articles on this topic in recent years compared to 22 years ago. The second is an increase in the number of studies using bilinear and multi-dimensional acculturation measures as opposed to unilinear measures. This shift is most pronounced after 2005. The bulk of studies have focused on the acculturation process of Asian American or Latinos, with a

paucity of research on European Americans, native Americans or African Americans. Over half the studies sampled college students. The most common methodology was surveys, which were used to draw a connection between outcome measures and level of acculturation. This view of acculturation has recently begun to change, with some more current studies looking for moderating or mediating factors. The authors point out that most of the studies fail to take larger social factors into account in their research design.

A significant methodological difficulty in reading these studies is that culture itself is not defined. Not only that, but the definition of acculturation utilized is taken from over half a century ago, from a field that has since changed its definition of culture twice (Yon, 2000). According to Yon, anthropology has gone through three phases of cultural understanding, beginning with attribute theory, where culture was seen to be a “set of stable knowable attributes.” In this theory, objectivity and positivism were used in the study of culture. This phase was followed by the conceptualization of culture as a text, where writing culture was to create culture. The current phase of cultural understanding in anthropology is a postmodernist view, where culture both is created by and constrains people at the same time.

Although no clear definition of culture is present in the counselling psychology acculturation/enculturation research, their definitions of acculturation and enculturation seem to fit best in the attribution theory of culture proposed by anthropologists almost a century ago. As a result, the studies reviewed in the meta-analysis focus on culture as being closely related to ethnicity, as seen in the way the majority of studies identify themselves as studying participants not by cultural orientation but by ethnicity (Yoon, Langrehr, & Ong, 2011). From this conceptualization, one could believe that ethnicity is

a core or perhaps the central component of culture, although it is unclear if this is intentionally meant or if it is only implied due to the lack of a definition of what is meant by the use of culture in a particular study. Counselling psychology and acculturation/enculturation research would benefit from a clear definition or an explanation of their view of culture.

This difference in theoretical orientations to culture has a significant impact on the methodology chosen, the focus of the study itself, and the results and conclusions that are drawn. A clear example of this can be found by following two studies on the impact of cultural orientations in high schools (Giang & Wittig, 2006; Yon, 2000). The first study is done from a counselling psychology perspective, and it utilizes the terms "acculturation/enculturation" and leans heavily on John Berry's (2006) acculturation model, with a focus on the acculturation strategies utilized by the ethno-cultural groups in response to the larger society (Giang & Wittig). The second study comes from a modern anthropological perspective, and it does not utilize the terms "acculturation/enculturation" but instead situates itself reflexively within a larger social and philosophical discussion of culture (Yon).

The study done from a psychological perspective uses data compiled from 427 high school students attending a large and "ethnically diverse" public school in the suburbs (Giang & Wittig, 2006). Utilizing survey-style questionnaires, students' acculturation styles were ascertained according to the model proposed by Berry. These styles were then correlated with personal and collective self-esteem scores from the same questionnaire. The authors are careful to state the ethnicity of each participant: 31% White, 21% Asian, 20% Latino, and 6% African-American, with 22% listed in the other/mixed category. The place of birth is also carefully noted, with 21% of the sample

born abroad and 76% of the sample born in the United States of America, leaving 3% in the unknown category. Although the authors are careful to discriminate between ethnicity and culture in their initial discussion section, this is not evident in the study design, where all the questions utilized for acculturation are ethnicity-based. For instance, “I am happy I am a member of the ethnic group I belong to” (p. 729) is a part of the affirmation/belonging subscale, and “I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own” (p. 729) is from the other group orientation scale. Ten questions ascertained personal self-esteem, and sixteen items from the Collective Self-esteem Scale were used to assess collective self-esteem. A factor analysis was run on the sample, and all ethnic groups equally utilized the four acculturation strategies proposed by Berry in 2006, so the sample was analyzed as a whole.

Individuals who utilized the integration strategy were seen to have the highest levels of personal self-esteem and were significantly above the rates seen in separationists and marginalizationists, but were not significantly different from assimilationists. Marginalizationists had significantly lower collective self-esteem than assimilationists, integrationists, and separationists. Integrationists had significant increases in their collective self-esteem scores as compared to assimilationists, but not in comparison to separationists. Several main conclusions drawn from this were that out group orientation and ethnic identity are stable and distinct. On this conclusion the rest of the study results rest. Acculturation is seen as a move to or away from your ethnicity, and “out group” is defined along ethnic lines, with members of your ethnicity being a part of your in group and members of other ethnicities being a part of the out group. One acculturates to other ethnic groups. At no point in the discussion is the possibility

mentioned that culture is separate from ethnicity and that as a result, a cultural out group may not be identical to an ethnic out group.

Diversity of cultural orientations within an ethnic group are also not addressed. This is interesting, since the categories the participants are placed into are very broad. Asia, for example, covers a large geographical and culturally diverse region of the world, but the study does not differentiate between different experiences of Asia or even the different “ethnicities” one may find in the Asian continent. Despite these difficulties, the authors offer a second main conclusion, that there was a relationship between ethnic identity and personal self-esteem. The authors discuss how students with higher out group orientation also had higher levels of self-esteem on several of the measures. Students with positive self-esteem are also happy with their ethnicity and are therefore more comfortable seeking interactions with “outgroup members.” This correlation may not indicate that the individuals are happy with their culture of orientation, since ethnicity and culture may be viewed as distinct categories in the minds of many modern high school students, as the following study illustrates. The authors also concluded that acculturation and public or private membership collective self-esteem were moderating factors. They also noted that assimilationists and integrationists shared many similarities, with a difference in the level of personal and collective self-esteem.

It is difficult to fully understand what the results of this study mean or understand how to apply them to individuals, due to the ambiguity regarding culture and ethnicity that this study utilizes. The large sample size is an advantage and allows for strong statistical analysis, but without full clarity in the definitions of the terms from the outset, the study is not as effective as it could have been. A further difficulty with this study is that a highly complex series of constructs were condensed into fewer than thirty scaled

questions, and the students were given no opportunity to respond to the constructs and state if they found the constructs relevant or if there was additional information that they consider useful, regarding their view of ethnicity or culture. A final and significant flaw of the design is the concept of self-esteem itself, which is viewed very differently by many cultural groups in the world. In some cultural groups, it is considered a positive quality, in others a negative quality, and in others an irrelevant concept. As a result, it is possible that the differences in self-esteem are not a factor of the transitional styles but of the underlying cultural beliefs of the participants. This confound is not discussed or addressed by the authors.

In a study asking a similar research question, Yon (2000) spent a year in a diverse high school in Toronto. Yon utilized the anthropological method of ethnography to study culture, race, and identity in a setting where diverse ethnic and cultural interactions were occurring. Since Yon was at the school on a daily basis for a year, he was able to observe the interactions of groups of students in a wide range of settings over an extended period of time. His data also includes interviews with the students themselves, classroom discussions, and interviews with teachers. In addition, the history of the school and its current economic and political situation are used to give a larger perspective to these observations. Beyond this, culture itself is placed in a broader historical, academic, and social context. Yon first educates his readers on the history of cultural definitions, before explaining his perspective. What emerges is a very complex series of social interactions along the theme of culture.

The study focuses on the fluidity of identity and how the interactions of the students challenge the commonly held sociological and social beliefs about culture and ethnicity being binary. The study discusses how the identities the students lay claim to

are not perfect predictors of their behaviour and how even these labels can be seen to change and shift as well. The students' descriptions of themselves are diverse and often controversial. A good example of this is Steve, who does not lay claim to any ethnicity and whose "social networks transcend the boundaries of race and ethnicity one moment and reinforce them the next" (p. 64). Steve has white skin but dresses like and hangs around the African-Canadian students. Sometimes this is accepted, and at other times, he is referred to by the slur, 'Wigger.' When discussing Steve, the study summarizes this situation by saying:

The openings and possibilities of these postmodern networks have less and less to do with where Steve is from and more to do with where he finds himself now. In other words, the social relations that help form the identities of Steve and other youth like him have more to do with "routes," the various trajectories, interactions, and networks through which these youth are connected, than with "roots," or counties of origin birthplaces, and ethnicity. Again we see that the culture that they are in the process of making through these inter-connections transcends the ethnic absolutism often invoked by antiracist and multiculturalist discourses. (p. 64)

This exploration of the routes rather than roots dialogue is a theme for many of the students discussed in the study. Martha is a student who recently immigrated from Serbia but who describes herself as Spanish. In this sense, she appears to be using Spanish as a cultural and not ethnic category, and this statement of hers is met with varying reactions from other students. A recent immigrant from Tunisia, Hadji, does not like to be identified as African, since the popular definition of Africa does not include the northern sections of the continent. Other students in the school happily define themselves along ethnic categories such as Black or Italian, and some only socialize with students who are within the same group as them, whereas some students who identify themselves as being one ethnic category routinely demonstrate friendship and cultural perspectives from other groups or traditional categories. Even the ethnic

categories are met with confusion when the students are asked for a definition. Trevor, a dark-skinned male, was asked what his idea of black was, and he answered, “For me, I see Black as being Jamaican. From... [pause] er, not so much from the Caribbean, but Jamaica. People from Jamaica I would say are Black.” (p. 87) When asked about people who have been Canadians for many generations and are Black, Trevor answered, “Well, I would consider them Black, but most Black people wouldn’t, because they’re Black but they are also Canadian. Because they are Black by skin, but I guess they wouldn’t consider them Black by culture” (p. 87).

Here Trevor raises an interesting point about the divergence that can occur between culture and ethnicity. The discussions like this that occur throughout the interviews show a complexity and multi-layered nature to identity and how terms like ethnicity and culture do not appear to mean the same thing to all subjects. This complexity is further born out in a discussion with Gio, a son of Italian immigrants, who tells a story of going to a club and seeing a group of Black people and then realizing that they were all speaking to each other in fluent Italian. Gio concludes that “It just shows that you can’t always look at the color of the skin. You have to go deeper into it.” (p. 89). This discussion illustrates how the different cultures and “ethnicities” are more interactive and less rigid than was supposed in 1968, when the definition of acculturation was created. In this modern globalized context, culture appears to be more complex and therefore needs to be treated in a more complex way.

After reviewing the study by Yon (2000), it becomes increasingly more difficult to understand what the findings from the Giang and Wittig (2006) study mean. For instance, when the students in their U.S. sample read the word “ethnicity,” what did it mean to them? Students in the Yon study seem to have an ambiguous, complex, and

multi-faceted response to the term “ethnicity,” and several students avoid its use altogether. I wonder what Gio or Trevor would have interpreted the questions on the study from Giang and Wittig to mean and how accurate a view of their social interactions those responses would have provided. Is it possible that youth in the United States have a more simplistic approach to culture and ethnicity than do Canadian youth, or is the way that the psychological study asks for information about ethnicity or race creating an overly simplistic view of the cultural interactions and ethnic landscape than could be uncovered through alternative study protocols? It is evident that the study of culture in the human and social sciences needs to include more complex and multi-faceted definitions if it is they are to mine the more complex and interesting aspects of how culture is created, changed, and practised in a globalized society.

The Study of Third Culture Kids

Third Culture Kids or TCKs are a unique population in the cultural landscape. The definition of a TCK “...is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents’ culture”(Pollock & Van Reken, 2001, p. 19). The seminal book in which the definition is found proposes a developmental and cultural theory around how TCKs develop. The tenets suggested by Pollock and Van Reken are being researched along with a variety of other questions regarding TCKs. TCK is not the only term utilized to describe these individuals; other terms include transculturals, global nomads, Military Brats and Kikokushijo. Kikokushijo is a term coming out of a relatively country-specific research tradition in Japan. According to Goodman (1990):

Kikokushijo are those who have had the experience of (a) being born in Japan and (b) brought up in the mainstream of Japanese culture. When they reached a (c) certain age, they (d) went overseas with their parents. While they were being brought up overseas, they (e) received some influence from the local culture.

After (f) a few years, they (g) returned home and were brought up in the mainstream Japanese culture again (p. 10).

It is interesting to note that despite these two definitions occurring at different times, in complete isolation from each other and in culturally unique locations, they have startling similarities to each other. The experiences and in particular the cultural identity and cultural experiences of this population are difficult to study, and there has been very little research attention dedicated to this group. Only one published study has been completed to date on Canadian TCKs, and in total, there are fewer than 5 books and fewer than 20 articles researching the experiences of this population. Synthesizing the research is also difficult, because the focus, research traditions, and research questions are widely different. In addition, culture is rarely defined in these studies, making their interpretation more complicated. In addition, the major traditions of cultural research are often ill-equipped to deal with this specific population and the unique difficulties it poses in being researched. This lack of definition in regard to culture limits the utility of studies written more than 20 years ago, since it creates ambiguity about how culture is operationalized in the study. Since the definition of culture has shifted dramatically over the last few decades and at different times for different fields of research, extrapolation of meaning is not possible. To avoid misinterpreting the meanings of culture and the corresponding results, studies published more than 20 years prior to this present paper are not included in the literature review.

Another series of articles or book chapters were not included in the literature review because they lacked academic rigour; some did not provide any details on sampling, methodology, or the analysis procedures used, simply making claims without utilizing scientific methodology to support them. One of these was included within the literature review as an example. A final group of articles was excluded because these

articles' focus gave them limited utility in regard to the focus of this present study, since neither identity nor culture was discussed in the articles. Once the requirements for inclusion in the literature review were met only 11 studies were included in this literature review.

Despite the large number of studies completed on acculturation and how acculturation works on an individual or psychological level or on a group level, it is difficult to directly apply those studies to the experiences of TCKs or Kikokushijo. One of the major difficulties that prevents this is a fundamental assumption made in acculturation studies, that the person acculturating comes in with a clear, distinct, and highly definable culture of origin and then interacts with another distinct, highly definable, and widely recognized new dominant culture and that this interaction then leads to a classic choice of acculturation style (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). The cultural landscape/life of TCKs does not fit this pattern. TCKs come from the meeting of one or more cultures and continue to exist in that context, often with a regular shift in which cultures they are interacting with and gaining exposure to. It is therefore difficult to define which culture is their “true” culture of origin. In addition, counselling psychology’s cultural sensitivity models would encourage the researcher to define culture of origin along ethnic lines. This not a helpful definition when working with TCKs, since their cultural experience and visible ethnicity are often not in accordance with societal expectations (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001). In other words, for TCKs, culture is less linked to a genetic endowment and is more of an experiential and active personal creation. There may be times in a TCK’s life where his or her experience of acculturation is in accordance with the definitions of acculturation created by counselling

psychologists, but there will also be many times where this definition will obscure, mislead, or even blind the researcher to what is occurring in the TCK's life.

Ethnographic methodologies appear to be a better fit for the study of the cultural experience of TCKs. As *Elusive Culture* (Yon, 2000) demonstrates, "cultural" interactions are not clear-cut, unidirectional, or even clearly definable; they are instead a complex system of creating and being restricted by culture and society. The more open-ended approach utilized by ethnographic researchers allows them to assess complex cultural situations without simplifying the interactions inherent in them.

In order to understand what is currently known about TCKs and which research methodology is the most appropriate, a review of the methodology utilized to date is essential. The following studies are loosely separated into qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods groupings in order to help create a methodological framework to understand how the choice of methodological designs of studies provide both strengths and weaknesses when utilized with the TCK population. Each study is reviewed to see what the definition of culture is in the study and the strengths and weaknesses of the study, based on the question and methodology. Studies included in this literature review need to be research-based and focused on questions of culture and/or adjustment of TCKs, and they need to have been published in the last 20 years. Studies were taken from books and peer reviewed journals, and studies not demonstrating academic rigour were excluded from the literature review.

Quantitative studies. Between 1991 and 1997, 607 TCKs completed 11-page questionnaires on their family history, demographics and social history, and attitudes and opinions (Ender, 2002). The majority of those sampled—78%—had parents in one

of the branches of the military. Almost 97% currently lived in North America. Seventy two percent of the respondents had moved between five and ten times in their childhood. Over 95% had received at least some college education. Geographic mobility was found to be the most stressful aspect of this lifestyle, followed by normative constraints and family separation. Although this study provides general information about the participants' lives, it does not allow for the full impact of often complex experiences to be explained. An example of how this study obscures the full impact of complex experiences is its use of the term 'normative constraints.' Normative constraints—one of the more stressful aspects of being a TCK—is a complex term which refers to the rules and regulations both spoken and unspoken that are imposed on organizational families, both from the organization and the host country. Simply stating that these normative constraints are stressful, as this study does, does not provide a complete picture of what those constraints are, how they impact daily living, or what their impact is on cultural interactions.

Gerner and Perry (2002) compared TCKs from different passport countries, using the Internationally Mobile Adolescent Questionnaire. Internationally mobile adolescents from the USA, internationally mobile adolescents from various countries, and non-internationally mobile adolescents living in the USA were compared in this study. A two-way multivariate analysis of variance was used to analyze the results, treating the six subscales as dependent variables. Despite the focus of this study on cultural acceptance, culture is not discussed or defined. There was a significant interactional difference for gender and nationality. Cultural acceptance was higher for U.S. women than U.S. men, but internationally mobile youth showed no gender difference in their sensitivity. Language acceptance in women of both the USA and those with

international mobility was higher than that of their male counterparts. This study concluded that there were significant differences between internationally mobile youth and non-internationally mobile youth. They also reviewed the literature on TCKs/internationally mobile youth and noted the sense of marginality that is felt by this population upon return to their home country. These findings highlight the importance of taking gender into account when studying this diverse population.

Gerner, Perry, Moselle, and Archbold (1992) gave questionnaires to 222 U.S. students attending secondary school in a Midwestern state. Students at two U.S. international secondary schools were given questionnaires, 489 were returned from a school in Thailand, and 365 were returned from a school in Egypt. The majority of the international sample has U.S. passports (34%). The rest of the sample was from Asian Countries (26%), European countries (17%), Middle Eastern countries (15%), and other nations (8%). A significant number of the Egyptian participants were removed because they were local non-mobile attendees of the U.S. school in Egypt. A 70-item Likert scale was designed for the study. Students were asked to rate their feelings toward ten nationalities, family relationships, peer relationships, cultural acceptance, language acceptance, stereotyping, future orientation, and travel orientation. Questions on biographical details were also asked. Globally mobile U.S. students were more culturally accepting than their non-mobile U.S. peers; they also rated themselves as more interested in choosing an international career in the future and in travel and learning other languages. Likelihood to stereotype was not found to be significantly different between the two U.S. samples. The internationally mobile U.S. students were then compared with their internationally mobile peers from other nationalities. The non-U.S. internationally mobile sample rated themselves as more interested in learning

languages, as closer to their families, and as more inclined toward international careers than their internationally mobile U.S. peers. The U.S. internationally mobile adolescents were less likely to stereotype than their other internationally mobile peers. This study supports the idea that internationally mobile youth, or TCKs, are a distinct population from their non-mobile, or sessile, peers. It also shows that there may be a difference between the U.S. adolescents studied and those from other passport countries. This study never defines many of the terms it uses. Terms like culture and stereotyping are often unclear in their use. Also the way that the likelihood to stereotype was found was that unique students were asked to rate their feelings toward ten nationalities. If their feelings were negative, this was equated to stereotyping. It is possible that adolescents from widely different backgrounds may have interpreted many of the Likert questions differently than Gerner, Perry, Moselle, and Archbold intended. Without clear definitions of how these words are being operationalized by the researchers, it is even more difficult to extrapolate how they were interpreted by the students reading and responding to the Likert scale questionnaires.

Huff (2001) administered the Parental Attachment Questionnaire, the Social Support Questionnaire, the Homecoming Cultural Shock Scale, and the Student Adaption to College Questionnaire to 49 missionary kids (MKs) and 65 non-MKs attending Westmont College or Biola University. The students ranged in age from 17 to 25 years, with the mean of 19 ½ years of age. Overall, the study concluded that MKs were not at higher risk for college maladjustment, decreased perceived social support, or disturbed parental relationships. MKs rated their parents as facilitating independence more than their non-MK counterparts did. Huff concludes that MK families are more likely to be highly adaptable and cohesive and able to facilitate independence. She then

concludes that although TCKs “may be more equipped to act independently, their ability to connect with others may be lacking” (p. 259). The aforementioned statement is interesting, when the results from the other research scales are taken into consideration, since no significant differences were present between MKs and non-MKs on perceived social support and college adjustment. It would appear that MKs are not in a position, at least from these findings, to have greater difficulty connecting with their peers, at least when compared with their non-MK peers. It is curious that Huff would draw this conclusion from the parental attachment measures, when the data from the perceived social support measures do not support this statement, and the parental attachment measures do not ask questions pertaining to social interactions with peers.

A final area of comparison between MKs and non-MKs is reverse culture shock. MKs had a greater level of reported distance from U.S. culture and a greater interpersonal distance than their non-MK peers did. Huff suggests that “A negative reaction to American cultural values and difficulty in social adaptation are common challenges during the reacculturation process” (p. 259). A solution is proposed that “missionary personnel implement and expand re-entry programs designed to integrate non-MKs back into the American culture. Educating MKs on the current American cultural norms, values, and trends may alleviate some of the initial distance felt from the culture” (p. 259). No discussion of the value of the other cultures experienced and embraced by the MKs is given, and the only acceptable goal recognized by Huff is for an MK to fully integrate into U.S. culture with all its norms and mores.

Culture, in the study by Huff (2001), is perceived as a binary choice, and participants could either choose to identify with their host culture or their home culture. The home culture was identified as U.S. culture. This treatment of culture is in contrast

to other studies on MKs like the one by Gerner, Perry, Moselle, and Archbold (1992), where TCKs were allowed to choose which country they felt they most belonged to, without any constraints or pressure by the researchers to identify with a particular country. No conceptualization of a third or hybrid culture was present in Huff's study. The definition of culture itself is also absent from the study, making all findings difficult to interpret. Often the "healthy" or desired outcome for all participants is viewed as becoming completely Americanized upon their "return" to the USA for university. These ideas are most clearly evident in Huff's (2001) discussion of reverse culture shock. This term was developed to talk about the culture shock experienced by expatriates upon their return to their home or passport country. Its use with TCKs who may never have lived in their "home" or passport country is interesting. Is it possible that instead of experiencing reverse culture shock, they may just be experiencing culture shock upon exposure to a new and unfamiliar culture? The suggestions to parents and counsellors are likewise very U.S.-centric. When discussing parenting styles being infused by local cultures, with those raising their children in Africa more likely to encourage independence in their children while those raising their children in Asia were more communal in their style of parenting, the author concluded with the following:

Because the research clearly supported the correlation between autonomy and independence with college adjustment in North America...MK parents in Easter/Southern Asia who are planning on sending their children to college in North America may need to consider separating how they are raising their children from the cultural mores where they are living (p.260)

Personal variables of TCKs were analyzed, and differences among TCKs were identified in the Huff (2001) study. TCKs who attended five or fewer schools as children were more likely to have a greater "Affective Quality in their Parent-Child" relationship than those who had attended more schools. Location in the world impacted parenting

style, since parents were influenced by the local cultural norms and mores. MKs raised in Asia were more likely to be raised in a more communal manner, and those in Africa more likely being raised to be more independent. MKs who perceived themselves as Americans were less satisfied with their social support than those who perceived themselves as nationals. Once again, a binary view of culture as all or nothing is presented, and Huff concludes, "Because the MK is neither an American nor a National, they often chose one cultural identity to identify with" (p. 260). It was noticed that MKs coming to the United States before the age of 15 experienced less grief over leaving their host culture and less distance from others compared to those who returned over the age of 15. Similarly, MKs who had moved fewer than 11 times experienced more grief and interpersonal difference than those who had moved more than 11 times. Huff suggests that MKs who move less become more integrated into their host culture, while those who move more develop a sense of rootlessness. MKs who had lived in boarding school felt less interpersonal distance in the U.S. university environment than their MK peers who did not attend boarding school. Finally, when returning to the United States, MKs who perceived themselves as Americans (citizens of the USA) culturally experienced less culture shock than those who viewed themselves as "nationals" while abroad. Once again it is possible that for those who were culturally nationals, they experienced culture shock and not reverse culture shock, but this is not discussed within this study. Overall, the study by Huff has several significant difficulties and limitations. The lack of definition of culture and the perception of culture as a binary choice are difficult, especially since the goal placed for counsellors working with U.S. TCKs is to assist them in fully embracing U.S. culture. There is no discussion of the possibility of TCK culture or a TCK being allowed to embrace a non-U.S. culture. The

complete focus on U.S. culture and TCKs with U.S. passports is also problematic when working with TCKs who either do not want to embrace U.S. culture or are from other passport countries.

An overview of the quantitative studies completed on TCKs is difficult, due to the range of quality of the sample selection and methodology. If these concerns are set aside, very few of the quantitative studies focus on identity development, culture, or cultural interactions. Those that do lack any definition of culture or identity, and the meanings of these constructs appear vague. What the quantitative studies on TCKs do provide is evidence of different and partial demographics of this population. They also support the idea that TCKs are distinct from their sessile peers. In order to understand the complex experiences and viewpoints of this group, more open-ended questions are needed that allow for the participants not only to rank their feelings on a form and to detail their mobility, but also to provide the complexities of this experience for them. Often, quantitative studies are better set up to ask these open-ended questions and explore complex interpersonal interactions.

Qualitative studies. There are not many qualitative research studies about TCKs available that were published within the last 20 years and that have sufficient academic rigour to be useful in this analysis. Of the studies included, four of the five that are reviewed here are the studies that met the requirements of academic rigour, being published within the last 20 years and with a focus on culture or identity. The fifth study is included as an example of the lack of academic rigour that excluded several studies from being reviewed. Those constitute the majority of the studies available on TCKs and their experiences of identity and culture.

Tyler (2002) interviewed 60 high school students and 16 adult professionals living on a U.S. military base in Germany, using open-ended questions. These transcripts were then used to create themes of concern for the students. This study does not clearly address culture or identity formation, nor does it define them. Throughout the study, it compares the current experiences of the TCKs to those of people back in the United States and their adjustment difficulties to a new location. A significant difficulty with this study is that it does not clearly explain its methodology, the sample selection, or the creation of themes from the interview transcripts. The questions that were used in the interviews are not given or discussed, and the definition of “adult professionals” is not given. The reader is left with little information about how the data in the study was arrived at.

Overall this study has limited utility. It was included as an example of the types of studies that were excluded from this literature review on account of a lack of academic rigour. The lack of methodological information provided, coupled with the lack of definition of terms, makes the information and findings from this study unusable in this context. Other studies of similar quality were excluded from this review of research on TCKs.

Phenomenological methodology was utilized to interview military brats who participated in an online group or attended a conference for military brats (MB) (Williams & Mariglia, 2002). An initial set of questions was given either over e-mail or in a conversation, and these communications continued until saturation of data was achieved. In addition, the researchers remained involved in this study for a year, and in addition to the interviews and discussions with the participants, notes were taken at the conference and in other settings. This study never directly addresses identity or culture,

so these constructs are never defined or discussed. Five themes related to military brats having voluntary group membership were identified. These are: keeping up as staying connected, others like me—creating safety, lack of social hierarchy, disconnected adults/adjustment issues, and impact of military life on feelings about family. In many of the categories, the MBs discuss their need to keep contact with others and comment on how joining the online organization allows them to have “a sense of roots, history and [of] belonging some-where” that “no [one] else [could] better understand” (p. 74). Other MBs comment on how contact allows them to be with their “own kind” (p. 74). The need for connecting with others of shared experiences is highlighted in this article. The MBs also discuss the difficulty of adjusting to “civilian” culture. Since this article focuses almost solely on TCKs' interactions with each other, it cannot comment on what TCK interactions with non-TCK culture entail.

Walters and Auton-Cuff (2010) completed feminist, voice-centered interviews with 8 women between 18 and 23 years of age. This paper is very focused on identity development and clearly situates their definition of identity within a broader setting. They discuss the theoretical views of identity from a counselling psychology viewpoint. Prior research on identity and TCKs is also reviewed and analyzed, focusing on the multiple or complex sense of belonging and the difficulty in identity formation.

In the study by Walters and Auton-Cuff (2010), methodology is biographical phenomenology and utilizes the Listening Guide as the form of questioning. Trustworthiness was created through bracketing, follow-up interviews, where feedback could be given by the participants and through the use of an auditor. The interviews were listened to four times, each time with a different focus. The final analysis was to create an “I poem” for each of the women who were interviewed. An “I poem” is a poem

that the researcher creates by listening to the voice and unique ways of speaking of a participant and then creating these words in stanza form.

The first emergent theme was the disruption of transition. Here the participants discussed how the transitions affected them. The authors point out that the act of transition may interrupt development when individuals have to focus on adapting and surviving. A second theme was the stability of spirituality. In this sample, many participants found stability in their lives through their spiritual beliefs and practices. The third theme was the pervasiveness of “different.” Here the authors noted that the participants spoke about being different in their experiences, where they have lived, and just feeling different themselves. A fourth theme was the silencing of voice. In this situation, the need to fit in and be accepted in a new place can make the participants deny themselves to fit in. The sense of belonging is the fifth theme. In this study, the participants found their sense of belonging in relation to other TCKs, and these relationships were significant in their identity. The sixth theme was the autobiographers as women. Here the participants appeared to still be developing their sense of womanhood and experiencing equality and inequality and processing these experiences. Walters and Auton-Cuff (2010) conclude that the context in which identity is developed is significant. They also noted that the participants tended to approach relationships with more caution. Similar to their monocultural counterparts, they experienced silencing. The authors advocated that TCK women have their voices heard.

Bell (1997) is the mother of two TCKs and a journalist; she utilized her journalistic skills to conduct 13 in-depth interviews with 6 men and 7 women whose home passports were from the USA. Her analysis of the interviews led to ten themes. Theme

one is Culture shock: learning to be American Quick. Here the TCKs talked about being aliens in the USA and needing to weigh choices and evolve into themselves. In the second theme, the need to stay in touch with “who I was when” is discussed. Here TCKs discussed how they learned they were different and adjusted to feeling different. They expressed different philosophies on their accents and a need to find a place of belonging and a wish to be different. Thirdly, the experience of being hidden immigrants was discussed. Here the TCKs discussed stories of learning to go with the flow, how their world view was altered from those around them, and how they maintained distance. The fourth collection of stories were around the migratory urge felt by the TCKs, who often felt restless despite being settled. They spoke of a wish to move and of the difficulty in coming to terms with stability. A fifth series of stories were around roots and how the TCKs in the study viewed roots as people and not locations and the way the TCKs fought to keep relational ties tight across distances. The theme of commitments like marriage and career spoke of partners chosen and career goals for the participants. Participants in the seventh set of discussions spoke of costing out the pain. They spoke of feeling marooned and being angry, of their minority status, and of wondering if they should have stayed at home. In the eighth theme, a discussion occurred of what hindered or helped and of how they felt about their experiences now. Participants discussed how this built their character and taught them to adapt; another spoke of the importance of family and “home bases,” while another spoke of the importance of being given a voice. In the ninth series of stories, participants shared what stuck for them and their evaluations and wishes as a result of this experience. They discussed the strengths of the family and how this affected how they wished to raise their families. The final chapter was the amazing life stories, in which the

participants told of everything from mobs and chaos to meeting royalty. The participants had unique and interesting stories to tell from their travels.

Although this study is not an official research study, the open-ended questions here create one of the most effective descriptions of the complexities of global mobility in an individual's life. Although theories of culture, cultural interactions, and identity are never discussed, the participants themselves address their beliefs and provide their own definitions for these concepts when they apply them to their lives. In the stories, the sense of difference mentioned in the quantitative surveys is conveyed in a more contextualized and multi-layered way. This allows for the complexities in not only this concept but in other concepts from the literature, like rootlessness, mobility, and belonging, to take on a more multi-layered and complex focus. It would be interesting to see if more information would occur if these questions were asked of TCKs whose passport country is not the USA.

Gilbert (2008) used naturalistic inquiry, with both face-to-face interviews and follow-up e-mail conversations, to explore the loss and grief experienced by 43 adult TCKs from 19 to 61 years of age. The majority of the sample (32) were U.S. citizens, with an additional 2 holding joint citizenship with the US. Two individuals in the sample were Canadians. The following themes were found in the study: Disenfranchised Grief, Losses: Person, Losses: Places, Loss: Pets, Loss: Possessions, Existential Losses, Loss: A Safe and Trustworthy World, Loss: Who I Thought I Was, and Loss: A Place They Can Call Home. Gilbert concludes that TCKs deal with grief resolution long into their adulthood and that that grief may even remain unresolved due to the disenfranchised nature of that grief. The study raised questions about TCKs

experiencing prolonged adolescence, having difficulty with commitments, and feeling alienated, which it ties to this experience of grief and loss.

The qualitative studies on TCKs are varied in their focus and in the methods utilized. Some of the methodologies utilized and the sampling procedures are very unclear, while in others, the methodology and sampling are clear. One study focuses on identity formation and how this operates for TCKs; one is focused on selective group involvement with other MBs as adults; and another is simply a series of open-ended interviews with individuals allowing a window into the worlds of several TCKs. Overall themes of rootlessness, belonging, mobility, identity as a complex and multi-layered process, and difference are present. None of the studies focused on cultural interactions directly or allowed TCKs to define how they see culture or if it is a relevant term to them. It would be interesting to see the results of such a study.

Mixed-method studies. The final studies included in this review of research on TCKs were those utilizing mixed methods in their research. Most studies in this category utilized a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methodologies in their research.

The study conducted by Cottrell (2002) is difficult to classify, since the method of data collection is never stated. It appears that the sample of 603 American adult TCKs (ATCKs) who were abroad during the cold war period and 92 ATCKs who were abroad prior to the end of World War II were studied using a combination of surveys and interviews. Since this is not entirely discernible from the study, it is difficult to fully explain how the data was collected. This sample had spent a significant amount of their childhood outside the United States of America, with 18 living abroad for more than 15 years and 45% living abroad for at least 10 years. This study focused on the

educational and occupational choices this group of individuals made. This is placed in a historical context as well as in the context of the sponsoring organizations within which these families travelled abroad. Compared to their peers who were raised in the USA, ATCKs were more educated, with 81% holding at least a bachelor's degree compared with 21% for their stateside peers. Seventy three percent of ATCKs stated that their overseas experience affected their educational decisions. ATCKs were most likely to be working in executive or professional positions that involved leadership, expertise, and independence. These positions were most likely to be in the human services, with 39% working in medical, educational, religious, or social service positions. Seventy percent of ATCKs stated that maintaining an international component to their life was important, while 72% had an international dimension to the work they were doing. Overall, ATCKS felt well-equipped to deal with a globalized world but also felt these skills were underutilized. The study concludes that the experience of growing up internationally has a lifelong impact and is not something an individual grows out of. This study also points out the paucity of research into how TCKs integrate their complex and multicultural childhoods into their adulthood.

Fail, Thompson, and Walker (2004) completed a mixed-method multiple case study design on international school students who were between 20 and 50 years of age. Eleven TCKs completed questionnaires by mail and then completed in-depth interviews. These multi-dimensional pictures of their lives were combined with an in-depth literature review of the experiences of TCKs.

According to the literature review, sense of belonging is a significant concern for TCKs. In this discussion, some researchers emphasize the negative impact of such moves, and others focus on the positive effects of these experiences. The challenge of

returning to the home culture and the reverse culture shock that this causes is also a theme Fail, Thompson, and Walker (2004) list in their summary of the literature on TCKs. Identity in TCKs is a complicated topic. In the literature review, the marginalization of TCKs in their “home” culture is raised. Related to this is the ambiguous and ambivalent feeling TCKs have regarding concepts like “home” and “roots” and at the same time, the extreme ability of TCKs to adapt and adjust to almost any setting is highlighted. At the same time, home life and the values of their families have a significant impact on TCKs. Overall, the authors noted that it was difficult to draw specific conclusions from the literature, due to a lack of research and to the subjectivity of the questions raised by the literature.

Through the interviews with participants, Fail, Thompson, and Walker (2004) highlighted encapsulated marginality and constructive marginality as two different coping strategies. The distinction made in this study is that encapsulated marginality is a feeling of marginality that remains the same even after an extended period of time. It is a sense of not belonging to a community. In constructive marginality, the sense of difference is still felt, but the individuals are contented with their situations and see advantages to their backgrounds. The interviews also discussed the sense of reverse culture shock and the experience of feeling foreign in your home country. Personal experiences listed by the interviewees were both positive and negative in nature. Overall this article does allow for a more complex and multi-faceted look into the experiences and identity development of TCKs. Although culture is discussed throughout the article, the way that this term is utilized is never fully clarified.

Both mixed-method studies allow for a more complex understanding of TCKs. The first study was more rigid in the questions asked, and the results are thinner in their

descriptions of TCK experiences. The second study by Fail, Thompson, and Walker (2004) allows for a more integrated look at TCKs and their experiences. It provides support to some of the findings from previous studies, but it also lacks a clear contextualization of how the word “culture” is being utilized.

Overall, studies on TCKs lack a definition of culture or identity. This creates an ambiguity in interpreting findings of TCK studies, especially when wanting to integrate the research across studies.

Culture and Cultural Sensitivity in Clinical Practice

It is difficult to summarize the literature on cultural sensitivity in psychological practice, since there is a diversity of definitions, theories, and opinions within the field (Arthur & Collins, 2010). According to Arthur and Collins, there are four significant terms that need to be addressed when discussing multicultural issues in clinical practice: race, ethnicity, culture, and multicultural. They further point out that the literature on multicultural counselling focuses almost exclusively on ethnicity and race. This section will explore several current theorists from the field of psychology and their approaches to multicultural sensitivity. This area of psychology stresses the need for developing clinical competency when working with these “populations.” Many of the theorists stress the idea that most training programs do not adequately prepare practitioners for working with culturally diverse populations and that additional specialized knowledge, skills, and training are needed in order for practitioners to be effective with these populations (Sue & Sue, 2008). This section explores the understanding, definitions, and views of culture proposed by several leading theorists in the field. It then explores how these views and skills are applied in clinical settings.

Widely viewed as seminal contributors to the field of multiculturally sensitive counselling are Dr. Derald Wing Sue and Dr. David Sue (Henderson Metzger, Nadkarni, & Erickson Cornish, 2010). In an early work by Sue, Bernier, Durian, Feinberg, Pedersen, Smith et al. (1982), racial and ethnic groups are privileged in the discussion of cultural sensitivity in multicultural counselling, but acknowledgement is made to “other variables such as sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic actors, religious orientation, and age” (p. 47). The paper primarily focuses on the experiences of racial minority groups in therapeutic, research, and educational settings and on the need for substantive change in order to support them. A model for change in the profession is forwarded in the form of developing cross-cultural counselling competencies. These competencies will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs. The position paper highlights the discrimination and lack of appropriate care provided for ethnic and racial minorities and the need for a different framework to be adopted when working with these groups.

In *Counseling the Culturally Different: Theory and Practice* (1999), Sue and Sue further develop the focus forwarded in the aforementioned paper. Here the history of the USA is privileged, and all discussions are made from a U.S.-centric viewpoint, with all discussions and examples occurring from that position only. This makes it challenging to apply the concepts discussed to contexts outside of the borders of the USA. In this book, ethnicity and racial identity are strongly privileged in the discussion of cultural sensitivity. An easy way to depict this privileging of race in the discussion of culture is in the layout of the book. Two chapters are dedicated to identity development, the first entitled “Racial and Cultural Identity Development: Therapeutic Implications” and the second entitled “White Racial Identity Development: Therapeutic Implications.” Cultural

identity development outside of the context of race and of physically visible markers of race as conceptualized in U.S. culture is not a focus of the book.

This it leaves the reader wondering how more complex populations form an identity, such as a white child adopted by black parents. According to this theory, this child would follow normal white racial identity development. However, it could be argued that the culture of the child's adopted family would have an influence on his or her identity development. Sue and Sue do devote extended discussion to how identity is formed in cultural minority groups such as African Americans and how oppression and internalized racism can negatively impact these groups. This in turn has a significant impact on how these individuals grow to understand themselves.

Later in Sue and Sue's (1999) book, four chapters are dedicated to counselling specific racial groups: African Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians and Alaskan Natives, and Hispanic Americans. It is interesting to note that the chapter on counselling Asian Americans privileges Oriental Asian cultures, with little discussion of the many and varied South Asian Cultures (i.e. people from India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, et cetera). There is a tendency to treat ethnic groups as homogenous groups, which, according to Arthur and Collins (2010) is difficult to support in the Canadian context.

The chapter is dedicated to the "other" cultural minority groups is entitled "Counseling Gays and Lesbians, Women, the Elderly, and Persons with Disabilities." This focus on race, sexual orientation, gender, age and disability makes it difficult to create an understanding of ATCKs within this book who can be from any "race" and may also be a part of a "other" cultural minority group. The book raises very important points on the need to combat discrimination and create therapists who are more

sensitive to privilege. There is no discussion of individuals from bicultural, multicultural, or culturally complex backgrounds, including those from mixed racial or ethnic backgrounds. The focus on ethnic and racial contexts, or, as in the last chapter, “other” cultural contexts does not include a discussion of culture apart from these categories. This detailed look at the experiences and identity development of specific categories of individuals does not include a discussion of the experiences of third culture or multicultural populations outside of their racial, sexual, economic, and religious positions as conceptualized within the current U.S. political system. This makes discussing the experiences of TCKS difficult within this theory.

In Sue and Sue’s most recent book, *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice* (2008), several significant trends emerge. The first is that this book, like the aforementioned work, is written primarily from a U.S.-centric point of view. The book is written for counsellors from the USA counselling individuals in the USA. The second trend is that culture is often dissected into what Arthur and Collins call monolithic categories. The distinction between ethnicity and culture may become blurred.

Sue and Sue’s (2008) book states that “Multicultural counseling competence is defined as the counselor’s acquisition of awareness, knowledge, and skills needed to function effectively in a pluralistic democratic society” (p. 46). This definition immediately points the reader toward a more North American setting. It also stresses that in order to be able to develop multicultural competencies, three areas of ability must be achieved. The first is to develop an awareness of yourself as a counsellor—your views, background, and biases. The second is to develop knowledge about a number of culturally diverse groups, “the socio-political system’s operation in the United States in respect to its treatment of marginalized groups in society” (p. 47), of the generic aspects

of therapy, and of institutional barriers faced by culturally diverse individuals. Finally, therapists must develop skills in order to be culturally competent. These skills include communicating and responding using both verbal and nonverbal helping responses, institutional intervention skills, anticipation of helping styles, and the ability to play helping roles that lead to environmental interventions. From the first chapter, it becomes clear that this book is written primarily, and perhaps only, with a thought to therapists working in the USA with populations that also reside in the USA. This U.S. focus continues to the end of the book, with all stories, examples, and discussions being about citizens of the USA within the historical context of the USA, working with clients who live in the USA. This poses a difficulty to those working in Canada or in countries other than the USA, since the definitions offered in this book are encapsulated within U.S. culture and context. This is also a difficulty when the populations that are the focus of therapeutic interventions may be internationally mobile and are therefore not just referencing U.S. culture as their primary experience and focus.

One of the most clear definitions of culture offered in the book begins with a discussion of culture and then ends with a focus on ethnicity, race, gender, age, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation:

We believe that each of us is born into a cultural context of existing beliefs, values, rules, and practices. Individuals who share the same cultural matrix with us exhibit similar values and belief systems. The process of socialization is generally the function of the family and occurs through participation in many cultural groups. Reference groups related to race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, age, and socioeconomic status exert a powerful influence over us and influence our worldviews. (p. 33)

It is true that in the U.S. context, these particular reference groups are a powerful influence over the culture of individuals. It is not clear if this influence is universally felt and experienced in the same way in all cultural contexts. It is also interesting that

discussions of culture in the book often digress to discussions of just the reference groups alone, and often the reference groups are used interchangeably with the word culture, for example, African-American culture. This focus becomes clearer when the layout of the book is taken as a whole. Similar to their 1999 book, Sue and Sue also have several chapters on specific groups on which to focus understanding in order to be a multiculturally sensitive clinician. These are: African Americans, American Indians and Alaskan Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Hispanic/Latino Americans, Individuals of multiracial descent, Arab Americans, Jewish Americans, Immigrants and refugees. Falling under the “other multicultural populations” are sexual minorities, older adult clients, women, and individuals with disabilities.

The difficulty with creating boxes into which people of interest can be placed is that it privileges certain types of difference while potentially neglecting those of other types of difference. It is possible that in some contexts equating culture with reference groups may create a higher likelihood of stereotyping. This book on multicultural sensitivity does not have a chapter dedicated to cultural diversity. There is also no chapter dedicated to individuals from culturally complex backgrounds, and as such, there is not a clear reference point for discussion of TCKs. The main question Sue and Sue encourage clinicians to ask is if their clients fall within one of the aforementioned predetermined reference groups; if a client does not fall within those, little advice or support is given for working with them, and their experiences are not stressed as experiences a therapist should treat with cultural sensitivity. The main questions Sue and Sue would ask of a client, or more specifically a TCK, are his or her race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, gender, and religious affiliation. This would

possibly prevent the counsellor from learning of the TCK's culturally unique and complex background and would prevent appropriately sensitive therapy from occurring.

In their overview of multicultural competencies, Henderson Metzger, Nadkarni, and Erickson Cornish (2010) summarize and explain the layout and philosophy of the *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling Competencies*. This book is dedicated to creating culturally sensitive therapists competent in working with a range of cultural groups. In this book, the word “culture” is never defined. There is a strong focus on therapists showing multicultural competency, and although competency is defined, multicultural is not. In order to be considered competent, a therapist must demonstrate that he or she understands, is capable, can do things in an appropriate and effective manner, and is qualified to work in a particular area. Following Sue and Sue’s (2008) lead criteria for competency, the book is organized according to knowledge, skills, and attitudes/values needed to work with a specific population. Clear categories for cultural competency are created, and a chapter is dedicated to each category. The categories are age and diverse older adults, disability, ethnicity, immigration, language, men, multiracial identities, race, sexual orientation, size, social class, spirituality and religion, transsexual/intersex/transgender, white identity, and privilege and women. No chapter is dedicated to cultural sensitivity.

The book does point out that it does not cover all areas of sensitivity. There is a strong focus on privilege and power dynamics in the book. Each group is encapsulated in its own chapter and presented as a separate, unique culture. This creates a tendency to place people in monolithic, predetermined categories of identity. So although I may feel competent to deal with a person who is of a larger size, having received training in working with this specific population and possessing the awareness, knowledge, and

skills to work with an individual who is in this size category, there is not a discussion of dealing with a larger sized client who has a disability, is transgendered, has recently immigrated, and is from a minority religious group. The intersection of identity markers and their impact on the individual's identity, culture, and needs in a therapeutic setting is not given a clear enough discussion. A difficulty with this is that it may give therapists an unnecessarily simplified understanding of culture and identity as monolithic, easily defined and conceptualized categories. This viewpoint may also limit the questions therapists are likely to ask a client. When looking to see if a client falls into one of the thirteen categories in the book, a therapist is likely to miss other essential aspects of that person's identity, culture, and history; this in turn is likely to create a situation where a therapist may miss important aspects of a client's culture. In the case of TCKs, these questions are unlikely to reveal the complex identity, cultural experiences, and interpersonal patterns that are essential to understanding and conceptualizing their life stories; in fact, these questions are likely to create a false sense of understanding in the therapist while obscuring the TCKs' lived reality. (These aspects of TCKs are explored in more detail in the section titled *The Study of Third Culture Kids*.) In addition to the aforementioned difficulties, this book is also conceptualized from a purely United States perspective, giving it a more limited use in countries with different historical and cultural markers than the USA. It is also difficult to know how to utilize these theories with globally mobile populations that reference experiences and cultures outside of the U.S. milieu.

Written from a more Canadian perspective is *Culture-Infused Counselling* (2nd ed.), edited by Nancy Arthur and Sandra Collins (2010). In this handbook, stories and information are presented from a primarily Canadian context. The use of the terms

culture, race, ethnicity, diversity, and multicultural are all clearly defined in the first chapter. When discussing race, Arthur and Collins note that “In Canada, unlike the United States, interracial marriage has been common from the time of colonialization. Consequently, differentiation according to racial grouping is not feasible” (p. 14). They argue that ethnicity is a more useful term within the Canadian context. The APA (2003) definition of ethnicity is utilized in this book, meaning “the acceptance of the group mores and practices of one’s culture and practices of one’s culture of origin and the concomitant sense of belonging” (p. 9). Arthur and Collins also caution that “ethnicity should not be misconceptualized as setting up discrete categories. As in all other aspects of one’s identity, the salience of one’s ethnicity may vary across time and circumstance” (p. 14). Culture is clearly defined as including shared clusters of the following:

- worldviews, beliefs, and values
- rituals, practices, customs, or norms
- language, history, ties to geographical locations; and
- social, economic, political structures (p. 14)

Their definition of culture includes the following assumptions: “(a) each individual is a cultural being, (b) culture is learned and is transmitted through social interactions from generation to generation, and (c) culture is dynamic and mutable” (p. 14). An important part of the Arthur and Collins conceptualization of culture is that:

Culture is a more idiosyncratic concept than ethnicity, with each individual selecting, consciously or unconsciously, the components of their experience, history, context, and relational affiliation that define who they see themselves to be. This opens the door for individuals to hold multiple identities either simultaneously or concurrently. What is noteworthy for us in the use of the term *culture* is that it both self-defines and inclusive of factors that are not necessarily connected to the culture of origin. Individuals may have multiple cultural identities that evolve and change over the lifespan” (p. 15)

Multicultural is therefore defined as including “a wide range of identity factors, most commonly: ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, mental and physical ability, socio-economic status, religion, and age” (p. 15). Instead of using the term “minority groups,” Collins and Arthur utilize the term “non-dominant.” This term is preferred because “minority” can be a misleading term, inferring that the minority group is in some way lesser and in fewer numbers, while “non-dominant” focuses on power relations within the society. These definitions and ways of utilizing cultural orientations draw from current anthropological thought as well as from current individuals within the cultural psychology movement. The move away from tying culture to ethnicity and race allows for a more nuanced understanding of non-dominant populations and also opens the door for potential discussions of hidden non-dominant populations. A strength of this model, when applied to TCKs, is the movement away from a simplified modular view of identity and cultural orientation, allowing multiple and complex relationships to self, others, and culture to exist and to be fluid throughout time in a single individual.

Justin (2010), in the *Culture-Infused Counselling* book, writes a chapter on intersections of identity. This chapter explores hybridity, situational ethnicity, and in-between spaces. Written entirely from a Canadian perspective, it discusses the experiences of non-dominant second generation immigrant populations. Here the terms “multiple and intersecting identities,” “hybrid identity/third space,” and “situational ethnicity” are introduced. Multiple and intersecting identities are introduced as something all people possess, not just non-dominant populations. Justin argues that “Conceptualizing individuals, particularly members of non-dominant populations, into monolithic and singular identity categories assumes a reductionist perspective that

devalues all other dimensions of the individual” (p. 322). Viewing identity through this more nuanced lens allows the therapist to conceptualize

individuals as possessing multiple and intersecting identities that encompass variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, class, socio-economic status, religion, and immigration status offers a more comprehensive framework for understanding the complex and multifaceted phenomenon of identity and the challenges faced in negotiating broader issues of identity. (p. 322)

When this nuanced view is applied to case studies, the issues inherent in the more monolithic views of culture and race become apparent. The lives of second-generation immigrant individuals are utilized to show the complexity of identity at intersections of culture. Through this comes the experience of a hybrid identity, a concept that considers “identity to be a fluid and dynamic phenomenon that is located across a range of contradictory social contexts. This idea reinforces the notion that people live within multiple contexts and therefore possess multiple identities” (p. 322).

When identities interact between cultures, “through the process of cultural translation, individuals faced with dichotomous cultural influences merge these influences to create” the third space (p. 322). This space may displace the prior histories and creates new structures “which are inadequately understood through conventional wisdom” (p. 322). Of relevance to the third space is the concept of situational ethnicity. Here it is recognized that “particular contexts may determine which of a person’s identities or loyalties are appropriate at any given time;” (p.322) the process of determining ethnicity or identity markers and ties is fluid and dynamic, not a static state. In different contexts or different social situations, the ethnicity of the person may shift or change to match the demands of the situation. This fluidity is more complex than the static definitions of ethnicity offered by other multicultural counselors. These concepts, although fluid and flexible, are still clearly tied to immigrant populations or

accepted cultural groups of difference, i.e. ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, or socio-economic status. It is unclear how these concepts could be applied to non-dominant populations whose experiences of culture fall outside of those categories. Especially if members of this group may transect those categories in different ways, that is, if they are from a variety of ethnicities including some whose ethnic backgrounds are those that are conceptualized as dominant but who have experienced non-dominant cultural experiences.

There is, however, an ability within this framework to begin to conceptualize TCKs; although there is no clear place for them within this way of knowing, there is still the ability to begin a conversation about them. The main question that this framework would ask of a person is: What are your non-dominant cultural orientations, with a focus on ethnicity, immigration, socio-economic status, gender, and religion. This question may not create a space for TCKs to express their cultural experiences, but it is a more flexible framework within which to have a conversation.

Ishiyama (1995a and 1995b) proposes a different frame work from which to address cultural complexities within a counseling setting. Instead of list of predetermined categories therapists are encouraged to treat each individual as unique and their journey and areas of value as a personal and individual experience. This is conceived as helping clients create a sense of self-validation. In this situation therapist utilize a tool that Ishiyama conceptualizes as validationgrams to help clients explore what is important to them across different contexts and themes. Self is thought to be multidimensional and “the multidimensional self is conceptualized as having five aspects as follows: (a) physical self, (b) familial self, (c) social-cultural self, (d)

transcultural-existential self, and (e) transpersonal (spiritual or ego-transcending) self.” (Ishiyama 1995a, p. 137) According to this theory each individual has “personally significant sources of self-validation” (1995 a, p. 138). These sources are grouped into four major themes: relationships, activities, things and places. In a counseling setting the clients and the therapist conceptualize the client’s experiences and current worldview by mapping these sources of meaning in a validationgram. This form of conceptualization would be highly effective when both conceptualizing and working with TCKs because the lack of predetermined categories allows freedom for culturally complex individuals to create and share their own experiences and sources of meaning.

Conclusions

In studying cultural interactions, it is important to select a methodology which is based on clear and contemporary understandings of these terms. Methodologies—like those that ask participants to complete questionnaires featuring ranking scales—are by design narrow in the questions they ask, thus making respondents reply to set and non-malleable questions. These non-malleable questions will often miss the depth and complexity of the very topics researchers endeavor to understand. Methodology chosen to study complex questions needs to be open-ended and flexible, to allow for those questions to be answered in complex and non-uniform ways by participants. In addition, creating questions may limit the answers given and may distort the problem being focused on.

TCK research is difficult to sum as a whole. To date there have been little to no ethnographic studies completed on this population. In addition, the majority of the studies completed have been on individuals with a home passport from the United

States of America. Only one study has been completed in Canada. Research on TCKs would benefit from studies on TCKs who live in countries other than the USA and would also benefit from more flexible methodologies to allow for full discussion of the complex and multi-faceted experiences of TCKs. For a methodology to be effective, participants should be allowed to create their own definitions and conceptualizations of their experiences, in essence to give voice to what they hear. In addition, any discussion of culture and identity would be more beneficial if it were placed within a broader context. A different theoretical and methodological framework is necessary to create a more complex and multi-faceted understanding of the TCK experience.

Therapeutically there is almost no theory or technique that appears to be an adequate fit when working with this population. Most multicultural counselling competencies are monolithic and categorical in nature, and culture is often operationalized as race or ethnicity, with some recognition of predetermined “other” categories like gender, sexuality, or religion. Although specific members of the TCK population may fall into one category or another at points in their lives (i.e. a TCK who has a disability), this category will not explain their cultural experience or complex sense of identity. The framework created by multicultural counselling therapists is inadequate and misleading when applied to TCKs; its privileging of “race” means that a TCK struggling with identity or cultural issues who is also white will not be recognized as having cultural issues, since the person is a member of the majority culture, while TCKs of recognized skin colours will be assumed to have the same cultural experience and history as their sessile U.S. peers. A different theoretical framework is needed in order to work effectively with and conceptualize TCKs and their experiences.

Little is understood of the current experience of being an adult TCK, and less is known of the culture of TCKs or even if they have a culture. According to the common conceptualizations of culture as ethnicity or race in multicultural psychology, TCKs would not have a culture. But if they do have a culture, according to Sue and Sue (1999), knowledge of that culture is essential to providing appropriate and sensitive therapy to this population. It is important to understand if TCKs have a culture, the nature of that culture, and the lived experience of being a TCK, in order to understand this culture and to provide effective therapy to this population.

Chapter Three

Methodology

In order for a study design to be effective, it has to be satisfactory not only to the topic being studied and the needs of the population in question but also in its epistemology. The methodology of a study is encapsulated, sustained, and stabilized by the epistemological framework within which the methodology is placed. Without a solid grounding in theory and philosophy, the methodology selected for research is weakened and becomes less effective. Prior to selecting a specific study design, it is essential that the researcher have a clear epistemological viewpoint. In this section, the epistemology of critical realism—the epistemology within which this study was situated—will be explored in detail and placed within a wider philosophical and theoretical framework.

Critical realism is uniquely suited to the study of culture. It has a long history of being utilized in theorizing, philosophizing, and researching culture through the works of authors such as Polanyi (1962, 1964), Bhaskar (1998), Outhwaite (1983), and Davies (1999). This framework allows for the possibility of truth, but notes that complete objectivity in a researcher is not achievable. As a result, the epistemology is situated between positivism and hermeneutics and is able to draw on strengths from both of these epistemological frameworks. In addition, the flexible and reflexive way in which culture is defined is nuanced and fluid enough that the experiences of TCKs can be clearly and easily conceived of within it. Furthermore, the ethnographic methodologies and epistemologies that are most effective for studying complex and nuanced cultural or interpersonal interactions are an ideal fit to this epistemological framework. The first sections of this chapter situate the study within the epistemological framework of critical

realism and ethnographic methodologies. They define Third Culture Kids and situate them within the epistemological discussion.

After situating the study within an epistemological framework, an author must then situate himself or herself. Since no person is capable of full objectivity, it is essential that the life experiences and personal biases of all researchers be fully explored and understood by the researcher and all members of the research team. This allows the researcher to become more reflexive in the process. This step is important in order for the findings of the study to be representative of the experiences of the participants and not a reflection of the biases of the researcher. After situating the study within an epistemological framework, the author has situated herself within her personal history and her history with the topic being researched and has provided a short explanation of her own personal biases and viewpoints. This statement was created prior to commencing the research and was revisited throughout the process.

The last section of this chapter gives a detailed description of the methodological choices and design utilized in the present research. This includes providing the research questions, details on the participants, recruitment information, methodology, recording and transcription, and finally, how the data was analyzed.

Epistemology of Critical Realism

Research and research design is an area of complex and multi-layered debate. Each theory selected to design a study will come with its own set of implications and limitations for research design and the interpretation of findings. Critical Realism, although it has roots in much earlier philosophy, emerged in the 1960s through to the present as an appropriate philosophy for use in research and specifically in social

science. This philosophy arose, in part, in reaction to the two major theories in use at the time: positivism and hermeneutics (Bhaskar, 1998; Outhwaite, 1983). Although not all theorists use the same terms (i.e. critical realism, existential realism, et cetera) the tenets and use of the terms are the same.

In their article on the use of modern and postmodern epistemologies in psychological research, Martin and Sugarman (2000) argue that a middle ground is needed. They want a

scenario for human development and change that makes no 'fixed' foundationalism or essentialist assumptions, yet which might be drawn on in a defense of limited forms of realism, subjectivity, and warranted understanding necessary to preserve some rationale for psychological...inquiry and practice.” (p. 400)

The fixed foundationalism and essentialist assumptions are some of the limitations that Martin and Sugarman identify in modernism, while in the postmodern philosophy, they question the idea that there are no forms of realism. This middle ground that is called for by Martin and Sugarman for use in psychology has been utilized for several decades under the title of critical realism, in other fields like anthropology. In order to understand critical realist epistemology, it is necessary to situate it between the hermeneutic and positivistic epistemologies. Critical realism draws from the strengths of both of these epistemologies while charting a middle path, allowing for a different and more nuanced style of research. This style of research and its philosophical underpinnings will be discussed below. The clearest way to define the theory is to discuss the aspects of positivism (or modernism) and hermeneutics (or postmodernism) that it embraces or rejects. A middle ground is not a place of clear definitions and concise summaries, but a delicate balance between philosophical and practical epistemologies. In this section,

critical realism will first be contrasted with positivism and then with hermeneutics, with a focus on how it can be applied to cultural research.

Although not rejecting every tenet of positivism, critical realists state that positivism is limited due to its focus on objectivity and its need to find empirical and replicable proof in its study of human actions. Polanyi (1962), in *Personal Knowledge*, attacks the theory of objectivism upon which positivist science is supported. He asserts “the hollowness of the assertion that science is simply based on experiments which anybody can repeat at will” (p.13). He further points out that the design of experiments and “any critical verification of a scientific statement requires the same powers for recognizing rationality in nature as does the process of scientific discovery” (p. 13) and that these powers are not objective but a meeting of objective and subjective reasoning. At its core, positivism is misleading. Polanyi (1964) further states that “The popular conception of the scientist patiently collecting observations, unprejudiced by any theory, until finally he succeeds in establishing a great new generalization, is quite false” (p. 28). Bhaskar (1998) asserts that in addition to difficulties with objectivism, positivism is hampered by its need to reduce complex situations to empirical regularities:

The positivist tradition is correct to stress that there are causal laws, generalities, at work in social life. It is also correct to insist (when it does) that these laws *may* be opaque to the agent’s spontaneous understanding. Where it errs is in the reduction of these laws to empirical regularities, and in the account that it is thereby committed to giving of the process of their identification. For in the absence of spontaneously occurring, and given the impossibility of artificially creating, closed systems, the human sciences must confront the problem of the direct scientific study of phenomena that only ever manifest themselves in open systems—for which orthodox philosophy of science, with its tacit presupposition of closure, is literally useless. (p. 23)

While positivism cannot deal with phenomena that occur in open systems, the hermeneutic tradition also has limitations. Hermeneutics focuses on human action and interaction, with a lack of focus on reality or the possibility of an objective truth

(Outhwaite, 1983). According to Outhwaite, this focus creates an environment where interpretations can be offered, but there is no search for empirical data. Outhwaite notes that this creates difficulties for research when:

The hermeneutic tradition leaves us with only a choice between 'interpretations'...we are trapped within the illusion of the epoch without even the hope of making our escape by bumping up against empirical data. (Outhwaite, p. 22)

Faced with these criticisms, Bhaskar (1998) proposes a different way to study human subjects, one that allows for the acknowledgement of reality while still acknowledging and embracing the subjectivity inherent in human beings.

Critical realism. Critical Realism is a concept created by Bhaskar and Outhwaite in the late 1980s, although the aspects of the philosophy underlying it can be traced back to philosophers like Polanyi in the 1960s and even earlier to aspects of the writings of Marx and Kierkegaard. For the purpose of this present study, the explanations of critical realism will centre on the works of Bhaskar, Davies, Outhwaite, and Polanyi. Critical realism is a way of understanding society and the research of social sciences that integrates aspects of the positivistic tradition with aspects of the hermeneutic tradition (Davies, 1999). It is easiest to understand critical realism within a discussion of society and how it is understood and researched.

Davies (1999), in her seminal book on reflexive ethnographic methodology, argues strongly for critical realism, stating that part of what makes it

particularly well suited to ethnographic practice is its recognition of different ontological levels. Both human actors and social structure are accorded ontological reality. Neither is fully determined by or produced by the other, rather they are interrelated in that each level may affect the other. (p. 20)

This strength allows for study of both the transcendent reality of society and the construction of that reality by individuals in that society. Bhaskar (1998) defines society in this way:

People do not create society. For it always pre-exists them and is a necessary condition for their activity. Rather, society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. Society does not exist independently of human activity (the error of reification). But it is not the product of it (the error of voluntarism)...Society is only present in human action, but human action always expresses and utilizes some or other social form. Neither can, however, be identified with, reduced to explained in terms of, or reconstructed from the other. There is an ontological hiatus between society and people, as well as a mode of connection (viz. Transformation that the other models typically ignore). (p.39)

This more complex understanding of society allows for it to be studied as a real entity, but with a wider lens that allows for the complex multi-layered reality of humans interacting with a transcendental social reality—a reality that precedes their birth and that will continue after their death. This view is especially helpful when studying complex cultural situations.

Critical realism and the study of psychiatry. This discussion of the need for a new and more varied paradigm that argues for a more holistic approach that allows for the meeting of more than one discipline is not unique to philosophers. Even the most biologically based field of the study of humanity, the field of psychiatry, has been discussing the possibility of using this new paradigm in research of psychiatric disorders for over 20 years.

An eminent psychiatrist, Kleinman in his book, *Rethinking Psychiatry* (1988b), clearly illustrates the limited nature of a purely positivist and biological approach to understanding the human phenomenon of mental illness. Through reanalysis of studies

of psychotic disorders globally, it becomes apparent that the statistical data oversimplifies and obscures the complexities of what is occurring. Using ethnographic skills melded with positivistic skills, Kleinman clearly illustrates that “psychiatric diagnostic categories are constrained by history and culture as much as by biology. Indeed, in the concepts of anthropology, biology, history, and culture are deeply interwoven” (p. 3–4). He then goes on to illustrate how culture, language, and context are all essential factors to consider when researching mental illness, in particular psychiatric conditions such as schizophrenia, one of the mental health conditions most strongly associated with biology. Through the use of ethnographic methods, Kleinman illustrates the fact that these disorders present differently in different places around the world. Not only do the disorders present differently in different cultures, but their responsiveness to treatment also varies across cultures. Through these illustrations, it becomes clear that understanding human conditions, even biologically driven ones, without considering culture and the social world in all its complexities limits the ability to understand the phenomena. Not only that, but the conditions themselves contain not just a biological component but a social and interactional component.

The limitation of working with individuals without first understanding their complex cultural world is further explored by Kleinman in *The Illness Narratives* (1988a). Through extensive case examples, Kleinman illustrates how each interaction with a client should be treated as a mini-ethnography if treatment is to be most effective. Here he contrasts the difference between illness and disease. Disease is a biologically based understanding of a condition that focuses merely on the diagnosis and its biological treatment. Illness, on the other hand, accounts for the complex interplay of biology, psychology, historical context, and social worlds. Through these situations, Kleinman

clearly illustrates that human beings cannot be understood or assisted without taking their larger social situation into account. The purely biological study of humanity is misleading and, for the patients themselves, a hindrance to proper treatment and help. Statistics alone do not convey the full extent of an individual's situation; to understand an individual's situation, a wider lens that encompasses the social world needs to be utilized in treatment situations. Although Kleinman does not use the term "critical realism" explicitly, the tenets of critical realism are present in his research and his writing, in the move away from objectivity and from studying conditions as simplified biological processes and toward a more interactive realm where both the social and the biological are interrelated.

Similarly, when using ethnographic models to study human interactions in multicultural situations, neither positivism nor hermeneutics will allow for a complex, multi-layered approach to the situation without denying the underlying social reality which constrains the participants. Consequently, this study will position itself within the critical realist perspective.

Defining Third Culture Kids

Initially, the definition of TCKs seems simple. The U.S. Department of State, when discussing transition issues and the Foreign Service child defines it this way:

Third-culture kids are those who have spent some of their growing up years in a foreign country and experience a sense of not belonging to their passport country when they return to it. In adapting to life in a 'foreign' country they have also missed learning ways of their homeland and feel most at home in the 'third-culture' which they have created. Little understood by American schools, where they are often considered an oddity, what third culture kids want most is to be accepted as the individuals they are. ("Third Culture Kids," n.d.)

The definition created 40 years ago that is still in use defines the TCK as "a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents'

culture” (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001, p. 19). In context, the Pollock and Van Reken definition also implies that the family may return to their passport country (i.e., the parents’ home country), and they go on to discuss the role of the organizations that sent the families abroad and the high mobility in the lifestyle. In Japan, TCKs are called Kikokushijo, and are defined by Goodman (1990) in this way:

Kikokushijo are those who have had the experience of (a) being born in Japan and (b) brought up in the mainstream of Japanese culture. When they reached a (c) certain age, they (d) went overseas with their parents. While they were being brought up overseas, they (e) received some influence from the local culture. After (f) a few years, they (g) returned home and were brought up in the mainstream Japanese culture again. (p. 10)

These definitions, which come from different locations and cultures in the world, are discussing an international phenomenon where families temporarily leave their passport country or home country and live abroad, with the intention of returning to their passport country. This time abroad is thought to impact the children in a cultural manner and to change the way they fit into the mainstream culture in their passport country upon their return. How this time abroad affects the TCKs culturally is unclear and is a matter of debate; some theorists claim that TCKs form their own separate and unique culture (Pollock & Van Reken). This study hopes to explore the TCK experience and culture (if it exists) and to learn if that culture is relevant to today’s society.

Epistemology of Ethnography

“Rather than *studying people*, ethnography means *learning from people*”

(Spradley, 1979 p. 3)

A strength of ethnographic methodologies is that they are flexible in response to the topic, group, or situation they are studying (Davies, 1999). Instead of encouraging

close-ended simplistic questions, ethnographic studies encourage the researcher to create a question which they will hold loosely and will change as they are informed by the participants. Indeed, the entire methodology is to be considered flexible and malleable throughout the course of the study, in order to change to gain better data or a more complete understanding.

These ethnographic methodologies can fall under three historical realms of thought: positivistic attribution theory of culture, culture viewed as written text, and the postmodern understanding of culture (Yon, 2000). This study will be following the more postmodern and critical realist approach, where culture is seen to be both created by and constraining those who are in it.

In reflexive ethnographic practices, it is essential that the study be designed not only with the philosophical outlook of the researcher in mind but more importantly with the participants of the research and their outlooks, philosophies, and orientations in mind (Davies, 1999). Davies notes the importance of changing and mixing methodologies in order to best serve the research question and to maximize sensitivity to the population being studied. This flexibility is to continue throughout the study, where if it is discovered that a different approach would be more appropriate, methodologies should be changed.

Initial research in the TCK population was conducted by a comprehensive literature review and through reading publically available websites where TCKs gather. Since much of the research on Third Culture Kids indicates the importance of relationship and being in connection with other TCKs, this needs to be taken into account in the research design (Bell, 1997; Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004; Finn Jordan, 2002; Pollock & Van Reken, 2001; Williams & Mariglia, 2002). The importance

of this interpersonal identity is highlighted by the official definition offered at the beginning of a seminal book on TCKs:

A Third Culture Kid (TCK) is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to other of similar background. (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001, p. 19)

Denizen, an online webzine designed by TCKs for TCKs explains its purpose in the following statement:

TCKs are rarely citizens of the places they live. Instead, they are denizens, people who are "admitted rights to residence," people who become inhabitants after "regularly frequenting a place." We're hoping that *Denizen* will become your online home, one that you'll regularly frequent to share your unique TCK experience with others who simply "get it." (About Denizen)

The stress on having a place to share experiences with others who simply "get it" in the defining statement of an organization for TCKs highlights the importance for this group of being with and discussing with other TCKs. It is interesting that although many studies of TCKs indicate the importance of their being with other TCKs, most studies on TCKs are done within a one-to-one context. For this reason, this present study will work to analyze the experiences of TCKs within a communal group setting.

Although many ethnographic methodologies are based on individual observation or individual interviews, this study is designed to create a space for TCKs to dialogue with each other about their experiences and identities, in deference to this preference listed in both the literature and in TCK websites.

Focus Groups

Kitzinger (1995) states that focus groups are beneficial because "group process can help people to explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less easily

accessible in a one to one interview” p. 299. Through group discussion members are more likely to use their own cultural mannerisms and communication styles that may not be as present in a formal one-to-one interview. This makes focus groups especially appropriate when working with non-dominant cultural groups. In addition group members telling their own experiences can help other members recall similar experiences of their own. The challenging, disagreements and questions of group members to each other are also significant in gaining a thicker description of the cultural phenomenon. In addition focus groups can assist in helping individuals discuss topics that may be taboo or not generally discussed in the mainstream cultural context.

Similar to Kitziner (1995) Halcomb et al (2007) also states that a strength of focus groups is their ability to engage individuals from culturally diverse or marginalized groups. Halcomb goes on to state that in order for this to be effective the group setting, facilitation, and analysis must be rigorous and well thought out. Of particular importance is the ability of the group facilitator to ask open-ended questions, elicit input from all participants, and create a standardized environment in which participants will feel comfortable sharing. Both Kitziner and Halcomb agree that positive group dynamics are essential to gain high quality data. A weakness of focus groups is their dependence on the group process and dynamics. A strong and well trained facilitator can help to reduce the likelihood of contamination by negative group dynamics.

The research on TCKs stressed the importance of relationships with other TCKs in their understanding of themselves (

Researcher's Subjectivity

It is essential for any critical realist ethnographic researcher to be reflexive in the research practice. Davies (1999) notes that a researcher must become aware of his or

her own history, beliefs, biases, and subjectivity in order to create research of quality. This process of self-awareness and reflexivity is essential for all researchers, but especially for those studying cultures and cultural experiences. To that end, this section will explore my own subjectivity and the reflexivity practices that were utilized throughout the study.

As a TCK who is studying TCKs, it was important for me to be aware of how my own experiences as a TCK had impacted me as well as being aware of my own personal biases and opinions on the topic. If I did not become aware of these biases, the research would be compromised and may have reflected my views instead of those expressed by the participants in the focus group. In order to ensure that this did not happen, I took the following actions to become more fully aware of my own opinions, biases, and viewpoints as a TCK and of how these may impact my analysis of the research.

The first was that my research supervisor interviewed me about my views and experiences of being a TCK and about its culture and its relevance to today's society, following the same format used in the focus groups. This interview took place prior to the focus group occurring, and it was videotaped. It then served as a point of analysis and reference for the research team, to ensure that the final analysis of the focus groups reflects the opinions of those interviewed and is not unduly influenced by my own personal experiences as a TCK. Throughout the duration of the study, I continued to review and assess my reactions and responses to the material, and when I had especially strong reactions, I would discuss those with members of the research team in order to remain accountable. I also used a journal to help increase reflexivity and self-awareness. The final step taken was having the members of the focus group review the

themes from the analysis, which allowed them to hear the results and to ensure that it was their voices that were represented in the final product.

As a TCK myself, I was strongly invested in this research. I was born in Toronto, Canada, but was raised in a hillside (mountainside) village in Nepal, in a northern city in Ontario, in a small town in southern Ontario, and in a large city in Nepal. My family moved frequently, and I had moved between 16 and 20 times and had lived in over 15 different homes across Nepal and Canada at the time of this study. My friendship net spanned many of the continents. Identifying myself culturally as one thing or another often felt inaccurate for me, as well as any answer when asked to say where I am “from.” I was interested in knowing what this experience is like for others and what the themes that fill the lives of fellow individuals with transnational childhoods are like. I am Caucasian, although I sometimes felt ambivalent about that label, since I did not feel as Caucasian as I looked. My parents were both well-educated, as were my siblings and myself. At the time, I lived on the west coast of Canada, where I was completing my PhD in Counselling Psychology.

Prior to conducting this study I had a firm belief that the experiences I had in my travelling childhood impacted me now as an adult. It was my belief that the experiences I had created a tapestry of knowledge in my similar to my unique and complex accent. I also believed that this was probably the case for my fellow TCKs. An interesting experience for me was my ambivalence as to whether TCKs had a unique culture. On some days I was convinced that TCKs had a culture and would list evidence for this. On other days I was not convinced that TCKs had a culture and instead just had a shared experience. This ambivalence was uncomfortable at points since it effected my view of self in subtle ways. In particular it was difficult for me to know how to describe myself in

discussions on cultural sensitivity where participants were expected to fully explain their culture. Often in these discussions I was simply asked to define my genetic heritage (British Isles) which never seemed to fully encapsulate my experience. On other occasions friends would spontaneously refer to me as 'Asian' and I was lead to believe this was a cultural connotation. I found myself often very comfortable around people from areas in the world where I had had cultural connects. On other days I would feel very 'Canadian' in my cultural orientation.

Since writing is not how I process my thoughts and reactions my journaling and self analysis usually took place within a relational context through recorded video discussions, one-on-one discussion with the members of my dissertation team, some written work, and some audio recorded thoughts. The following are some excerpts from a discussion about my beliefs with my research supervisor (S) and myself (T). They are presented as an example of the reflexive process I engaged in.

S: How do you experience being a TCK in the present?

T: I mean I think in some ways I'm more flexible with how I interact with people culturally or how I dress the meanings I put on things can be different or varied. Um compared to a lot of my friends I have a much wider range of friends culturally and experientially and I I have comfort I'm really comfortable being rooms with people who are speaking languages I don't know...It can be negative I can be misunderstood. I think you get misunderstood because now I've worked long enough living in North America that I come across as I guess a typical North American

S: right

T: um until I don't and I'm usually pretty good at being a chameleon and sort of being the culture around me more or less but um there's parts of me that aren't

S: sure

T: and sometimes that's a good thing and sometimes it can really upset or confuse people because when you don't follow the cultural norms and you-your white and you have the right accent most of the time um people assume you've done it on purpose to upset them and sometimes I just I don't know um that particular norm

S: Do you think there is such a thing as a TCK culture?

T: I go back and forth on this I feel like as a researcher researching TCKs I should have a clear definitive answer.

S: what is TCK Culture

T: ... It's a shared sense of being it's a a way of interacting with each other it's an ease knowing someone's story. Um it's a way of getting to know each and you know it's the stories and the search for identity and a different a different definition of things and not having to work as hard when you are around them.

The research has been a rewarding and interesting experience for me. I found that the discussions brought back many memories from my childhood and that there were many points of resonance for me. There were also opinions and views that I had not considered or thought of or that I disagreed with. It has been an honour and a privilege to learn from this group of people.

Methodology

Research question. This study explores the experience of being an adult TCK, if there is such a thing as a TCK culture, and what that culture is, along with its relevance in today's society. To prevent the study becoming a series of retrospective accounts participants were instructed to focus their discussion and answers to question on their present experiences and not on what they felt or experiences at different points in their lives. Participants could discuss past experiences but were encouraged to do so within the context of how that experience impacts them in the present. The three research questions are:

1. What is your present day experience of being a TCK?

2. Is there such a thing as TCK culture?
3. What is that culture and its relevancy, if any, to today's society?

Participants. In order to protect the confidentiality of participants, their history was described as a group, since their individual stories are too identifiable due to their uniqueness. Participants were four TCKs, two male and two female between the ages of 27 and 53. The time they spent outside of their parents' home country prior to the age of 19 ranged from 12 months in their late teens to having lived abroad their entire life with annual two-month visits to the parents' passport country until the age of 17 or 18, when they moved to the passport country for school.

Cumulatively, the participants have lived in Pakistan, The United Kingdom, Bangladesh, Canada, Tanzania, Kenya, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the United States of America, the Congo, and Malaysia. The international roles of the participants' parents were workers for an oil company, missionaries, professor teaching at a foreign university, and workers for an international development agency.

The passport countries of the parents are complicated, because they were fluid and changed. One participant's parents immigrated to Canada from Hungary before the participant's birth, becoming Canadian citizens. But the family would often visit Hungary and spoke Hungarian in the home. Another's parents immigrated to Canada from the UK, but held the UK passport for part of this person's childhood, and then received their Canadian passports. Another participant had a mother from the UK who got permanent resident status in Hong Kong and a father with a permanent resident status in Hong Kong who then received a British passport. The last participant's parents have joint citizenship due to their marriage and holding passports from the UK and Canada. This

same participant's father was raised in Kenya when it was a British colony, before moving to the UK; the participant's mother was born in Germany and immigrated to Canada as a child.

One participant was divorced with adult children. Another was living with their current partner. The third participant was engaged to be married. The final participant was in a dating relationship. Three of the four participants did not have any children.

One participant was in university completing a degree, two were working full time. A final participant was at home caring for their aging parents.

Recruitment. Participants were recruited through a variety of sources. The first were advertisements placed in ten different locations, including messaging boards for four different theological colleges; the international students' association library and the business school at the University of British Columbia; an online forum for local TCKs; and a list serve for local alumni of an international school. Advertisements were also given to people at a local military base. In addition to these measures, snowball sampling was used, where each participant interviewed was asked to volunteer to give information about the study to other TCKs they knew in the area. When a participant replied to the advertisement, an e-mail was sent to the person containing the consent form and details about the study. The participants then met with the researcher at a location of their choice for a 15- to 20-minute discussion about the study, where consent was gained and the three topics of the study were explained. At this time, times of availability were also given. A total of nine interviews were conducted. One participant did not qualify for the study because of age (20 years of age), one chose not to participate because this person lived too far away, another person chose not to participate and did not provide a reason for this decision, a fourth could not participate

because of a sudden trip out of the country, and another participant forgot to show up for the initial focus group. Three of the four participants participated in both focus groups, and one participant was unable to attend the second focus group at the last minute, due to a personal concern.

Methodology. A research design similar to that utilized by Hamid, Johansson, and Rubenson (2011) was used. In the study by Hamid, Johansson, and Rubenson, the focus was on the cultural views and perceptions of Pakistani parents on raising daughters and preparing them for marriage. The data was collected through four separate focus groups, two comprised of mothers of daughters who were about to marry and two comprised of fathers of daughters who were about to marry. Due to taboos regarding mixed-gender meetings, all groups were segregated by gender. In the groups, parents were asked to discuss the topic of marriage preparedness, including their own opinions and stories and those of people they knew. One of the researchers was Pakistani and provided an insider perspective, since the person knew the local culture and customs but was also able to speak the local dialect. The focus group discussions were transcribed and then analyzed using content analysis, where the researchers immersed themselves in the data and then created meaning units which were grouped into codes and then into subthemes and themes. This design of study was a good fit for this group, since it utilized the ethnographic methodology of content analysis to discuss a cultural experience in group settings. This study design was a good fit for this present study due to its nuanced attention to cultural issues, its use of group discussions to explore that information, and the utilization of the content analysis to create themes from the data. The ethnographic cultural research style fitted with the

epistemological and theoretical underpinnings of this present study. The flexibility in the study design was ideal for working with groups as mobile and complex as TCKs.

In this present study, the researcher was also an insider and was able to understand the customs and experiences of the participants. The focus group of five TCKs gathered to discuss and listen to others share their experiences of being a TCK. The group began with being asked the first research question: "What is your present day experience of being a TCK?" After this topic was thoroughly discussed, the group was then asked the second research question: "Is there such a thing as a TCK 'culture'?" The final research question was "What is a TCK culture? and What is its relevancy in society today?" The discussion group met twice for three hours each. The original study design was for the group to meet four times for two hours each over a month; however, once meeting the participants, the highly mobile nature of their lives became apparent. As a result, the number of meetings and the space between meetings had to be reduced to allow for as many participants as possible to be present for the two focus groups. Even with the accommodations, several potential participants could not participate in the study, due to travel.

Recording and transcription. The meetings of the discussion group were video recorded. The video was transcribed using the recommendations outlined by Lapadat (2000). In this form of transcription, language is recorded using not only the words said, but also the pauses, emotionality, and other key features of communication. The features that are privileged in the analysis should reflect the research question and research epistemology utilized. Lapadat does not recommend that the transcriber record all actions that take place within the transcription time, but to have a focus that

will create a more useable final transcription. In this present study, the transcription presented pauses, large gestures or clarifying gestures of the body, emotional reactions, and to whom in the group the person was speaking, along with other key features of communication inside of ellipses embedded within the text where they occurred. These ellipses contained the details of the relevant information stated in point form. Attention was paid to length of pauses (which was given in seconds), large or clarifying gestures of the body (i.e. clarifying a point in discussion by gesturing to head or heart), emotional reactions (i.e. laughter), and who the person was speaking to. (This was only added if it helped clarify the meaning of the statement. I.e., when a participant was asking another participant a question without saying the other person's name, the ellipses would contain to whom they were speaking as demonstrated by gestures or gaze.)

Lapadat (2000) discusses in detail that the act of transcription is an analytic and interpretive event that does not produce a rarified picture of what occurred. For this reason, all transcription was created by the researcher to prevent a lack of clarity in the decision making regarding analytical and interpretive decisions.

Analysis of data. An inductive content analysis utilizing the system laid out by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to analyze the data. This is a six-phase process, and the phases are familiarizing yourself with your data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report.

During phase one—familiarizing yourself with your data—the researcher is immersed in the data. One suggested way to do this is to have the researcher do his or

her own transcription; the time spent doing the detailed work of transcription will serve to immerse and familiarize the researcher with the data. In this present study, the primary researcher did all of the transcription, in order to become fully immersed in the data.

Phase two—generating initial codes—is where an initial set of codes is created from the transcribed data. In this phase, as many potential themes should be identified as possible, and as many extracts of data as possible should be coded. It is reasonable for one extract to be coded as several different codes.

In phase three—searching for themes—the codes created in phase two are collected into themes and subthemes (in this present study they were referred to as themes and categories). This is done through creating maps of the codes in relation to the themes and categories.

During phase four—reviewing themes—the themes are further refined. Here themes may be broken into separate themes or subsumed into other themes. Their names may be adjusted or refined. Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend that the categories and themes should be judged on their “internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity” (p. 20).

During phase five—defining and naming themes—the themes from the thematic map created in phases three and four is defined and refined. The “essences” of each theme are identified, and the theme is then given a name. In addition, subthemes (or in this study, categories) are created for each theme. During this phase, themes need to be clearly defined, and the researcher needs to investigate the relation, if any, between the themes.

In the final phase—producing the report—the themes are presented in a clear and appropriate manner, directed at a specific audience.

In their discussion of thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006) stress that this process is “not a *linear* process where you simply move from one phase to the next. Instead, it is more *recursive* process, where you move back and forth as needed, throughout the phases” (p.16, emphasis in original paper). The recursive nature of thematic analysis was a significant part of the analysis of this present study. In this present study, phases four and five occurred prior to member checking and expert review and were revisited during and after those checks, as the opinions and suggestions of the members and of the expert peer reviewer were received. The choice to do this was made to create a more participant-focused and interactive process that would allow the participants to share their views at all points in the study and to support the participants’ voices in the final results.

For a clear example of coding see Table 1. In which the final categories are included with the quotations that accompany them. Since the coding process is recursive and in constant change the coding was done primarily through a card sort. They were collected into the themes and categories now seen in Table 1. Each theme and category has several quotations accompany it which provide an illustration of the themes within the date. Some quotations are utilized several times for different codes depending on the density of the statement.

Criteria for evaluating the worth of the study. The trustworthiness of the analysis was established in three ways. After the data was analyzed, all participants were contacted for an interview where they could review the themes, categories, and

subcategories that the researcher had created from the discussion groups. These interviews took place either in person, over the phone, or via Skype, depending on the participants' preference and location in the world at the time of the follow-up interview. The participants were asked to say if the findings resonated with their experiences or if they could see them resonating with the experiences of other TCKs. Participants responded to all two hundred subcategories and thirty categories in the four themes that were present at that point in the analysis. All participants agreed with all themes and categories. Many subcategories were points of discussion with participants, but after clarification, the participants stated that they were resonant with either their experiences or those of other TCKs they know. There were three subcategories that participants found difficulties with (view themselves as lesser, experience trauma as a child/it makes you more mature, and like magnets). Two of those subcategories (view themselves as lesser and like magnets) were removed or amalgamated into another category, and one remained, since two of the three participants agreed that it resonated for them. Several subcategories had slight changes in their names as a result of these conversations.

The second form of reviewing trustworthiness was that representative sections of the data were analyzed by a second person, a PhD student in Clinical Psychology, to see if the themes established could be seen consistently by a second party. A total of 36 statements were analyzed; of these, there was initial agreement on 24. On three, the peer reviewer changed their answers to the author's after discussion, and on the remaining nine, both the author and the second reader agreed that both themes were present in the statement.

The final form of establishing trustworthiness was to ask an expert peer to review the findings. The expert who reviewed the findings was a professor of psychology who

was a TCK and who was not involved in the study. They were asked to respond if the themes and categories were resonant with their experiences as a TCK or with experiences that other TCKs might have. All themes and categories were found to be resonant, but several changes were suggested to help make the findings both more resonant and more precise. Through conversations with this expert, one of the themes—relationally focused depth of analysis—was split into three themes: relationship with self, relationship with other, and relationship with society. A category—TCK Celebrities/quintessential TCKs—was renamed and redefined to absence of TCK cultural icons, as this helped to clarify its meaning. Another category—negative aspects of TCKs—was removed, and all the points within it were redistributed throughout the other themes (no data was removed; the points made more sense reorganized this way). Another category—effects of a mobile childhood—was altered and some of its subcategories placed with other categories, to make it more cohesive and make its meaning clearer.

In the next chapter I turn to a discussion of these results which will integrate them into the existing literature.

Chapter Four

Results

The content analysis of the focus group data led to 29 categories which were grouped into 5 clear themes. The themes present are: The Problematics of Being Asked Where You are From, Relationship with Self, Relationship with Other, Relationship with Society, TCK Culture and Global Awareness. For a complete list of the themes and their corresponding categories, please refer to Figure 1. Themes, categories, and a more comprehensive list supporting quotes are contained in Table 1. Throughout the focus group, there was a depth of analysis and reflexivity present in participants' conversations. Some topics were discussed at length by participants while other themes or categories were present but in a less comprehensive way. The themes with more discussion are discussed in more detail while those that were covered in a brief manner are discussed in a more succinct manner.

The Problematics of Being Asked Where You are From

Being asked where you are from and the less popular question, "What are you?" is a challenging question for TCKs to answer. Three categories within this theme were identified: Reactions of Others, Ways to Answer, and Personal Reactions to the Question. Although distinct from each other, the three categories interact with each other. The reactions participants receive when they give the longer answers to the question of where are they from led to responses from others that the TCK finds difficult to handle. These responses in turn made the TCKs feel uncomfortable, which resulted in their avoiding giving a long answer and instead choosing shorter, less accurate answers.

When answering the question “Where are you from?” reactions of sessile others ranged widely. Some people responded with intense interest:

When you meet somebody they ask you, you’re asking them, where are you from? Whatever, and then they ask you and you kind of feel this, if you do mention the places you’ve lived as a child, then instantly the conversation becomes about that.

This interest was a mixed blessing. Although it could increase the energy in the conversation, it could also make the TCK uncomfortable or it could prevent him or her from learning about the person being spoken to, as the conversation could become one-sided.

An alternative response was for the sessile person to avoid talking about the TCK's life experiences altogether, as one participant explained: “...Some people, it’s really weird, it’s almost like they don’t want, it’s, it’s almost like it’s a cancer or something. They kind of look and then they go on to, oh yah, and then start talking about this.” An alternative response was for the individual talking to the TCK to say they found their life boring in comparison. These responses to the question led participants to become uncomfortable with answering the question. Many spoke of a “hesitancy” to answer. Some felt “feeling selfish” for answering it, since they did not want to make others feel uncomfortable.

As a result, participants spoke of creating strategies to handle the question. All participants had what they called a short answer to the question, or a teaser. This answer was one in which the participant just listed a single location, perhaps where he or she was currently living, or another significant location, and said that that is where the person was from. Participants viewed this practice as a “white lie,” since it was not the whole truth of their travel history. A teaser may indicate that they have lived in more areas, without providing details. As participants matured they were able to develop

more strategies to handle the question. One participant spoke of using her answer to help steer a conversation:

...so it's kinda interesting, the way people can see it as, like, it's like a very, like, its sort of like an exciting thing. Like, if I want to generate excitement, then I'll sort of throw that in, but otherwise if you don't want to draw attention to yourself, it's sort of, like, just try to stick with what's happening now

The question "Where are you from?", although it can occasionally cause identity questions for the TCKs in this group, appeared to be more of an issue due to the social implications of answering it and the responses it garnered from the sessile individuals they were talking with. The difficulties created by the responses of others led to a need to gauge the person in front of them and guess how much or how little information should be shared, to make the conversation progress smoothly for all parties involved.

Relationship with Self

Participants showed a depth of reflexivity and analysis when reviewing their relationship to themselves and their identity. Within this theme, there are three categories: Complex Sense of Self, Mobility, and Itchy Feelings.

Complex sense of self. Relationship with self is complex for TCKs. Participants spoke of having a complicated sense of self. One participant spoke of the importance of their relationship to God, an unchanging other, in their sense of self, explaining that:

it has allowed me to accept that maybe I will not understand. I do not understand, um, and that who I am is actually part of a context, it's part of who I relate to, it's part of who my family is, it's part of, um, who I will marry and live with, a part of who my children will be, and part of who my parents are and who their parents were, you know, it's sort, like, this network, such a large network that actually, um, if you just feel like, yes I know who I am you, may have a simplistic view of yourself and the world around you, whereas if we've had an experience where we've become more accepting of how diverse that network has become, because of our moving and backwards and forwarding, how different our cultures

originating and arriving, you know, we don't have this, ah, sort of, hey, look around, this is the culture that is me, this is all mine, so you personify yourself through your culture, you know that is you and the culture is me and I am the culture. But actually we realize that maybe it is more sort of like we recognize a more human level, there's like people, and they have similar needs and so on, but it's cause the world around us is so diverse that, um, um, yah, to me it's constant, is outside of myself, and maybe, yah, I am still changing, and I'm maybe never know what's constant about myself.

Being aware of the diversity of the network of relationships in which the self is situated created a complex and interrelated sense of self for the participants. This sense of self did not develop quickly or become a simple unchanging whole. Due to their mobility and adaptability, participants would raise questions like, "When you're experiencing all these different things and different environments, different countries, different cultures, and stuff what's the constant in you and is there a constant? I think there is. I haven't figured it out yet." They did, through discussion with other group members, acknowledge that there are inborn traits or stable aspects of people that are less likely to change in transitions.

Mobility. The many transitions made throughout their lives created an internal relationship to mobility. The participants spoke of thinking about all the moves in their childhood and sometimes imagining what it would have been like to grow up sessile and of only one culture and place. One participant explained that he has grown out of and grown past wanting to move as often as had been normal during his late teens and early twenties, when moving was a habit for him. Moving also occurred as part of a process of self-discovery:

came back to Hong Kong when I was 25 for 2 years prior to coming here to ken—to Canada, and it was in those two years that I realized that I was Chinese so I'd already been sort flip flopping and living in Hong Kong for 10 years, almost 10 years before I actually really took on board.

Another participant returned to Scotland to live to fulfill a childhood dream of settling there. She stated that she “went back and lived there for a summer and, ah, and it was really good for me because I, it, I realized that I, I don’t want to live there.” Ambiguous feelings toward global mobility were expressed by participants, from wanting to embrace it, to wanting the world to stop travelling. As adults, some of the TCKs continued to move, while others had settled in one location for extended periods of time. Their decisions to relocate or stay in one location were often discussed in terms of how it impacted other relationships in their lives, from family members to friends to romantic partners.

Participants shared stories of being triggered by sites or smells and suddenly being reminded of aspects from previous cultures they had forgotten about or had ceased to think about. One participant loves the smell of diesel fuel because of the frequency of that smell in one of the countries he lived in, growing up. One member shared his experience with losing a language:

...my first words were in Mandarin Chinese, which is strange because I don’t really speak Chinese anymore, um, I still occasionally dream in Chinese, can I not remember my Chinese? Maybe, but it’s somewhere in there waiting to be triggered by the environment around me, it’s sort of, ah, um, yah, does that makes some sense?

The experience of being removed from a prior culture or experience and not having those aspects readily available to recall until they are triggered by an environmental factor can be one of excitement or joy, as a participant remembers an ability they have or an activity or food they loved again.

...you can still very much be surprised in yourself, 'cause I find sometimes if I go for a very long period of time, for example, not having eaten Asian food or not hanging out with, um, people who are, you know, TCK or who are, you know, just completely Asian, then when I do, I experience a sort of great welling up of excitement that I’m like, ahhh great, you know, I’m like, eat this food and hang out with these people and it feels normal.

This sense of being removed from reminders of who you are adds to the complexity of the self-knowledge of a TCK.

Itchy feeling. An experience that resonated with all participants in the group was labelled by them as “itchy feelings.” One participant experienced it as a need to travel, and explained it as:

the kind of the itchy feeling that you get when you’ve been in a place for about two, three years or something, you know, you, you feel like you need to start moving again or just start, I, I don’t know, you just, I don’t know, get tired of places.

Not all participants expressed this need for change the same way:

getting itchy every three years or whatever it was, to move, I though, yah, no, that’s not really me, but I did it here, I didn’t go outside and do it, I did it here, I could never stay in a job for longer than three years, I’d get itchy, I could never stay in a relationship longer than three years, I’d get itchy.

Another participant likes to not close their options, and in employment, this leads to complex portfolios; the person was currently working two full-time jobs at once for a firm. Another participant could not live in the UK even though it feels like home to him, because he would get the aforementioned “itchy feeling.” This experience of itchiness was summed up as: “You can’t change who you are and, like, how you were raised and, and that itchy feeling that comes and the, the feeling that your interests are maybe over there.” Participants all agreed that they had a low tolerance for boredom.

Relationship with Others

A significant source of discussion and analysis for the group was their relationships with others. Within this heading are the following seven categories: The Centrality of Family, The Limitations of Talking with Sessile People, Romantic

Relationships, Perspective Taking, Thoughts on Raising Future Children, Curiosity about TCKs, and Contact with Friends.

The centrality of family. A significant portion of the discussion was dedicated to discussing their families and family history. Participants shared their familial history, sometimes going back two generations. Two of the participants spoke of their families, saying:

my dad is born in Wales and raised in mostly Wales, although his family is in the army and he, um, in the, actually was military, so they did end up doing a little bit of, I think he lived somewhere else when he was younger, um, but mostly he was in Wales

and, “after university, sort of time and, ah, and then when they got married they moved quite quickly to Taiwan and they both learned Mandarin Chinese, so my dad grew up speaking Cantonese and English.” They also asked each other for details about their families. One participant noted that as a child, he experienced his family as “a core unit” when they were travelling around. Another participant used the differences between herself and her sister to better understand who she was as a person.

Two of the families represented had a family house that their parents had bought in their passport country and had been in the house for most of the participants’ lives. One participant's parents “did end up buying this house in Winnipeg and it’s funny because that house has now been home to, like, all my siblings, ‘cause we’ve all gone through Winnipeg for university.” The other participant spoke of how it was “so weird being linked back to this house.” These houses seemed to serve as both a physical and a mental place to return to. One participant's parents envisaged themselves retiring in that house, despite having only lived there for six months.

Romantic relationships. This relational focus extended to their discussions of their own romantic relationships. Participants shared information about their current partners and what they valued in them. They also shared experiences with past partners and how those were problematic or difficult. There was a diversity of opinions and experiences in dating. Participants stated that they were often drawn to date partners who had experiences that they had not had but had wanted to experience themselves. Those experiences appeared to be part of what attracted them to those partners. One individual noted that when he dated sessile individuals, he was drawn to “this sense of identity, this sense of rootedness, a sense of place of belonging and, um, and I didn’t have it, and it’s hugely attractive.” Another noted that he tried dating fully ethnically Chinese people because he was half Chinese. It is interesting to note that at the time of the interview, the first individual who was attracted to sessile people was dating a TCK, and the second individual was engaged to a Canadian Caucasian.

The group discussed the difficulties of dating sessile people, with one person believing that those relationships were problematic while others in the group were not as negative in their views about dating sessile people. He shared a story about his partner who, upon seeing him interacting with his international friends and family for the first time, was surprised to find new aspects in him. In relating their conversation after the encounter, he said, “She’s, like, I realized that I have nothing to say about all of that stuff in your past that, like, she realized, she said that there was this whole other part to me that she had never, like, engaged with at all and had never really understood or, kind of like, seen kinda come out, you know.” He was concerned that a sessile person would have difficulty understanding a TCK, that a TCKs global knowledge might make the relationship unequal, and that the sessile person might not be open to a more

globally mobile lifestyle. Another member of the group believed that being a TCK or not being a TCK was not as important as the characteristics of the person you are dating, and whether that person is open-minded and has an understanding of his or her own family's history.

Thoughts on raising future children. The group also discussed how they plan to raise their future hypothetical children (one member discussed both how she had raised hers and how she had envisioned raising them before she had them). One group member noted that “I’ve wanted for my kids, for them to have the experience that I didn’t, of growing up in one place and not moving.” She then worried that this might prevent them from understanding her. Another group member wanted to raise his children in a nonpatriotic, culturally mixed family: “I will bring up my children in this sort of cross-cultural-mixed and I’ll also try—try not to make them patriotic as well.” Only one participant had children, and she spoke of how she had wanted to raise them in a globally mobile manner, but how they ended up being sessile through their childhoods.

Curiosity about TCKs. The participants showed an interest in understanding TCKs better. This was evidenced not only in their interest in each other through asking questions and remembering the statements of others from week to week. It was also reflected in sharing resources on TCKs (“R: ‘kay TCK book? I: It’s a good, it’s a good read; R: I didn’t know about it, so thank you; I: I can, I can give you the, the author’s name, the title, and everything”), quoting from a book on TCKs (“I’m reminded of that, uh, that story’s, that’s in the TCK book”), or suggesting additional research topics for the author to undertake:

Yah, interesting, trying to make this distinction into a second culture kid or a third culture kid, um, third, um, maybe the third is that it's an amalgam of the originating and the arriving cultures, um, but, ah, I mean that maybe, sort of, you know, that's, really will come out of further study and discussion, like, are there distinctions between.

In addition, the participants would ask about what current research had to say about TCKs.

Contact with friends. Maintaining relationships over distance was a source of conversation, analysis, and introspection for the members of the group. There appeared to be two major strategies for this. Several group members would work really hard to maintain relationships via phone, e-mail, Facebook, and even through flying to visit people. A pitfall to this is that they would sometimes feel that they were putting more effort into the relationships than their sessile friends were, and this was a source of frustration and pain.

It was something that I found frustrating, like, there were two situations, one was a friend of mine who's from Ottawa, who has always lived in Ottawa and, um, it, it made me so upset that she wouldn't put the same kind of effort into our friendship that I did, so when I moved out here, we met when I was in undergrad in Ontario and, ah, I moved out here, and I would try to call her and, you know, e-mail and that kind of thing, and she would never call me, like, just never, and, ah, why am I always the one to pick up the phone?

Another group member spoke of how he used to cut people off when he moved and stated that he would "call them dead when we moved, they were dead they were gone." The strategies for handling the cycles of separation seemed to change and evolve over the course of participants' lives. The participant who used to think of people as dead now connects with old friends through Facebook and enjoys knowing what is going on in their lives. Another participant who felt she was putting more effort into maintaining

relationships than her friends cut back on the effort she put into the relationships, resulting in her friends then increasing the effort they put into contacting her.

Limitations of talking with sessile people. A final category in this grouping is the limitations of talking with sessile people. Sessile is a term used by one of the participants to describe people who had lived most of their lives in one location. It means “fixed to one spot,” according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

In this category, participants shared how when they speak with sessile people, they often have to limit what they talk about and what parts of their history they share.

One noted that:

it's like, there's this whole, there's this whole part of you that you have to essentially forget about, right, like you, you. I went to undergrad in Winnipeg, and so when I got to Winnipeg, I go to Winnipeg, I have to just talk about Winnipeg, things, you know, I can't, I can't, I can't talk about the other things, because they just don't seem to be interested or they don't know how to talk about them, and so we just end up talking about this one small part of my life.

One participant handled this by practising being in the present moment and only talking about things that were immediately relevant to what was going on:

I guess, for me, I've sort of learnt to, um, well, not learnt to, but I try to practice being present in sort of everyday activities with people, um, maybe trying to deflect away from, um (two second pause), referencing parts of my life that are not currently sort of active.

While talking about this, participants acknowledged that understanding the TCKs' experiences may be difficult for sessile people “because, um, maybe the strangeness of your childhood experience or your ongoing sort of experience of, people sort of, they can't find a place to relate to you, um, in their minds, they can't.” Overall, the limitations in talking with sessile people was a source of frustration for TCKs.

Perspective taking. The perspective taking shown in the last category, to understand why sessile people may find it difficult to relate to the mobile aspect of TCKs' lives, was not unique to this category. Throughout the focus groups, the participants would seek to take the perspective of other group members, their family members, and other people in their lives. After speaking about the effects of mobility on themselves, one participant went on to reflect on what the mobility must have been like for her parents:

I was thinking, I never even thought about it. Well, we're talking about our experiences, but how it affected us—where, you know, why did our parents do it, and how did it affect them. And were they perfectly willing, or they having some trouble.

Another member reflected on why people in the UK might not be interested in global events or issues:

You know, the UK's got a lot, you know, sort of, sixty plus million people living it. It's the size of BC, a lot of stuff going on there. Re—it's like, So they don't need to, If they don't want to, they don't need to look outside, you know, and Europe, they're a part of it, sort of, and so it's close enough. If they don't want to talk about stuff outside it, I can understand, sort of, someway.

This process of reflectively taking another's perspective appeared to be an important part of the group member's process.

Relationship with Society

Participants analyzed and discussed their relationships with society and culture. Within this theme are the following categories: Analyzing Culture, Analyzing (of many topics), Relationship with Passport Country, Patriotism, and Thoughts on Mobility and Interacting with Cultures.

Analysis of culture. The group spent a significant amount of time analyzing culture. On two occasions, group process was halted until the group members could make sure they had a working understanding of what they meant when they used the term culture. These discussions were participant driven and not in response to a question from the researcher. One such discussion began with this statement by a participant:

I think we sort of started touching on it a little last week, when (I's name) was saying, you know, what is culture? And it was sort of like, you know, we, shall we need to define what we mean by culture first, and so I think we talked about the differences. It being sort of more surface in terms of food and, um, some maybe practices or routines, and then you know, maybe there's a deeper meaning to culture. Um, so I'm not sure where I fall on that, I feel like, I feel like it definitely, if you're, if you take a very extreme definition of culture, then it can kind of encompass everything. But in some ways that's less useful so, so for example, it's like if I'm thinking about how, so I'm thinking about how, like, if you think about, so my culture as I'm a woman living in Canada and, um, I'm white and, you, know European ancestry and, um, you know, my socio economic status and blah blah blah, so you can think about it really M-you can kind of get it. So it's so fine grained that it really only applies to me and that's, in some ways, you know. not very useful as a concept, so I think taking culture to be something that's a bit more broad that people can all fall into, so that would be something like TCKs. To describe that sort of the commonality of experience. Um, I think is a useful definition of, of culture potentially, so I, I do see that there, that, um, that there is a culture, it's a little difficult to put your finger on exactly what it means, um, but I do think there is one.

The group repeatedly discussed the difference between shallow and deep culture.

Shallow culture was defined as the surface things you can change to fit into a culture, things like food, language, and vocal intonation, whereas changing in a deep cultural way would change "your belief systems, it changed the way you thought about the world."

Participants also noted that culture was something that could serve to connect you with early generations and with those around you. They also discussed the focus of culture: "People maybe think that culture should be something that is celebratory happy

all the time, but I actually think that inbuilt in culture are things which are, involve great loss, sadness.” Another said that “the commonality of experience, um, I think is a useful definition of, of culture potentially.” Overall, participants saw culture as a complex thing with many potential definitions, but they agreed on the need for a common understanding for the purpose of group discussions. It is possible that thinking about and needing to define culture is important to TCKs.

Analyzing. In this section, participants analyzed the relationships between themselves and others to the larger world. They also analyzed a wide range of topics and social interactions. One participant analyzed the nature of connections formed through online mediums: “The question is we’re, we’re becoming more connected, but what is the nature of that connection?” Another analyzed the role of maturity in embracing or accepting an “other:”

A mature person, doesn’t matter if they’re TCK or not, that if they’re happy with themselves and well-grounded and like that, you know, know who they are that they are that. I think that that causes, that gives them the security to welcome the other to engage with and, and embrace, embrace, to embrace the other.

Throughout, the group analysis was present in most discussions, where participants seemed to want to understand each other and the world around them as clearly as possible.

Relationship with passport country. The relationship between TCKs in this group and their passport countries were complex ones, often beginning with an imagined sense of the place their parents called home and often accompanied with surprise or disappointment at what they found. This was not the case for one of the members, who grew up in the passport country until her late teens and then returned to it after a year abroad.

Several of the members learned about their passport country from stories their parents told them: “My parents had always talked about, you know, how fabulous Canadians are and Canadians are, like, on a pedestal and idolized.” Not all stories about passport countries were so positive; one participant's mother left her original passport country and never wanted to return, and in fact, that family immigrated to Canada. Some families did not talk about their passport country; one participant taught himself about his passport country in order to help form a sense of identity he felt he needed:

There was never this kind of, like, building it up in my head not, not in the way it sounds like your parents did, um, and so in many ways, I think I kind of created it myself because I needed, I needed an identity. I needed something to kinda give myself, give myself, like, I'm Canadian.

After years of thinking and hearing about the passport country, the reality of it was often a surprise: “Then when you come back here and realize what Canadians actually are like and what they think about and care about, you're like why did, ah, I've never been Canadian, like what do I, what was I thinking?” They shared stories of reverse culture shock and how they received less support in this transition because of the perception that the passport country was home:

I had the experience of, like reverse culture shock, where you, where you, actually move here for university, then when you're walking down the street and you're a white guy walking down the street in Winnipeg, no one knows anything other, no-no-one knows any different. They're like, you're just a Canadian, like, there's nothing to, there's nothing to say that, oh they'll you know, they see you on the street, oh, that's person different, that person's not from here, like, maybe I should talk to them or something, you know, like, they just see you walking down the street, they're like, and he grew up in Richmond, it's no problem.

Group members also shared stories of personal rituals of re-entry when arriving back in the passport country.

The participants spoke of a camaraderie between Canadians overseas and how differences would diminish, and there would be a closeness felt with people that you may not have interacted with had you met in Canada:

E: It's like when you're away, the differences are then reduced and you highlight the likes. So I'm acceptable to you, you know, we're both Canadian but actually, you know, maybe that person grew up in Nova Scotia, you know, and you in BC, but it's,, like it's so different, it's totally different

I: If you actually met that person in Canada, you wouldn't have a lot of similarities and you'd be, like, ok.

E: But in Malaysia, wow.

The Canadian group members also noted that when abroad, Canadians often feel the need to fight for their identity in the face of much larger and American expatriate communities.

Patriotism. Patriotism was a source of discussion for the participants. Three of the participants were staunchly against patriotism, while one participant found it to be a source of connection. The participants against patriotism believed that it was divisive and led to aggression and wars, while the participant who enjoyed patriotism liked feeling connected to others. One participant stated:

Yah, and I don't like it when it feeds into people's, ah, it's like an excuse not to be open-minded or not to learn about elsewhere, it's sort of like, well, I, um, it, it's like, sort of, sometimes it can sort of be an easy way out to sort of say I'm from here, it's the best, end of story.

Another was even stronger in opposition to patriotism, as seen in this discussion between E and R:

E: People who are proud of waving flags, they shouldn't have them, that's because if you're that sort of, like, this is my flag, you guys can suck it, then, like, you don't deserve to have that flag. It's not like, you know, if it's a them or us sort of thing, I'm going to cut you if you're, ah, got the flag, it's like mine's red, mine's blue, you know, I'm going to punch you. It's like, that's, like ok, the whole flag thing has gone too far, everyone should put their flags in the middle and set fire to them, it's the only, it's the only logical, hopeful solution.

R: (laughs) It's the only peaceful thing to do.

E: That's the thing to do. I don't mind, I don't mind people being from somewhere, that's ok, be from somewhere, I'm from somewhere. But if it's like, I'm from somewhere and it's clear that my place is definitely better than your place. You're like, well, that's probably not true.

The one participant who appreciated patriotism shared this story:

I think I might be the only person in the room who actually doesn't, I mean, I, I, I understand why you may not like it, I understand, I have the same kind of criticisms, on the other hand, like, because of this whole tension in me, like, wanting to be a part of a place, I can't help but get teary eyed at, ah, get like, really like, really, I mean, I went to, I went to a, a hockey game in the US and it was the US versus Canada, and it was world juniors, and we sang the, oh Canada, and I was, I was just like, going, oh boy, like going, oh my gosh, fifteen thousand at the last, fifteen thousand Canadians just belting it out at the, the top of their lungs, that was powerful, but I can understand why you're not, ah, why you don't like it.

All participants expressed distaste for American style patriotism as summed up in this comment:

When they say America number one, I think, number one in what? Not healthcare, not, um, like racial equality, not a bunch of things that I can think of, so like, what are you being patriotic for? Um, Stars and stripes? A guy in a tall hat and a beard? a big white shiny building? Washington DC? Or, I don't know, the death of, ah hundreds of thousands of first nations people?

Thoughts on mobility and interaction with cultures. Participants spoke about how moving between cultures as a child changes you, making it harder for you to fit in with rigid cultures. They did note that these changes are not necessarily negative ones:

Now still, along those lines, I don't think that if you, if you're taking your kids all over the world or living here and there and then come back, will they fit in? Well no, they're never going to fit in as if they were born here or were raised here, I think that's pretty, um, a common belief, I don't know, um, but is that a bad thing? I don't know, but I do believe that no, they would never fit into the no-whatever the normal thing is. But yah, is that a bad thing or is that a cool thing because they can just kind of flit around and adapt and do all this other stuff and, you know, and then you gotta weigh out what's good and what's not good or what's someone is pleased with or not pleased with.

They also noted that part of their experience of moving was having parents in positions of high authority. With this authority, people treated the family members differently, and this changed the child's experiences and self-perception. One participant noted that, overall, he believed that TCKs had a unique interaction with the cultures they were raised in:

For whatever reason we're able to say that we don't miss our childhood cultures in the same way, um, you know, that we're, we are able just to say that was, wasn't necessarily what made us, it is just a part that made us and then we are able to walk away, and it's not animosity or hatred, it's just, like, I choose not to.

TCK Culture

In discussions of TCK culture, all group members agreed that there was such a thing as a TCK culture, but the discussions of what that culture entailed were detailed and often contained divergent opinions. It was important to the members that all opinions be heard and respected in the final data presentation. The nine categories in TCK Culture are: Skills and Ways of Being for TCKs; Loss, Grief, and Sadness; Lack of Cultural Icons; Aspects and Existence of TCK Culture; Maturation Process; Thoughts on the Term "TCK" and its Definition; Social Emotional Intelligence; Routes; and Need to Contextualize TCKs in Studies.

Aspects and existence of TCK culture. All group members agreed that there was a TCK culture, after analyzing the meaning of the word "culture" and the best way to utilize the term within the group. They supported their belief in the existence of that culture through sharing commonalities gained through their experiences. They shared that there is a sense of camaraderie and understanding present with TCKs that they do not experience with other people, and this makes it easier to tell their full stories and be

understood. Members explained that in person, they can sense if another person is a TCK. One participant explained:

It's when you meet someone, it's that kind of thing, you can, you can get the sense from what we were talking about, about being more comfortable or perceptive or, um, and then as you're talking with someone and then it, then it comes out. But when you're just, you know, observing someone in the public eye, then it's, I think be much harder, also relating to our sometimes our re-like you know, how we've talked about, we don't necessarily flaunt it.

One member shared how they could not explain the connection felt between TCKs, saying: "It's interesting to try and explain to others so I guess what I'm getting at is, another reason I fell like, there is one, is that other people, people outside of it don't get it". Another member shared how they felt that TCK culture serves an important and helpful role in the world. Not all members agreed on the nature of TCK culture; one member felt it was a nonvocal, quiet culture that did not evangelize, while others felt that they would like to see more people become multicultural or third culture. All group members believed that the skills TCKs have play a large role in the culture, and it is through them that TCK culture can be understood.

Skills and ways of being for TCKs. There was a common belief that being a TCK teaches a person a skill set. One participant said there are "skills that we've learned and it sets us aside." One skill gained is a high level of adaptability or chameleonism:

Guess you're, you're talking about, kind of, you know, kind of being like a chameleon, right, change your skin, you just kind of change, your change, your like, I notice when I go different places, when I go to Kenya my, my accent changes.

This sense of flexibility and openness to influence by others created an ability to fit in with a wide range of people across a wide range of situations. This comfort in diverse

situations gave the group members confidence to do different things or take on challenging tasks that they perceived most people would not want to do. One participant spoke of this and of how they would be interested in doing difficult or challenging tasks:

You find yourself continually attracted to, um, new situations or challenging opportunities or by nature because you're able to feel, able to accomplish something within a very diverse situation, and you are therefore drawn into that or driven into to those scenarios. Um, whereas someone else might just go, no way I'm not, I'm not touching, I'm not touching, it's too hard for me.

Group members also spoke of having a sense of their own resiliency and ability to handle diversity: "It's a knowledge of your own resiliency and, you know, that's just what you're, that is, I just know in, for myself, that I am able to move." They saw themselves as able to function, as translator of behaviour both to themselves and to others around them. Group members discussed how the transitions in childhood taught them how to let go and move on. The use of humour and laughter were also listed as important parts of TCKs:

I can see that they are, it's humorous, enjoy, they, um, are able to gravitate towards a cause in conversation, in relationships, joyfulness and, and laughter, um (clears throat), maybe in a way that, that I can't quite visualize people who are not.

Through these experiences and life changes, group members believed that their ability to empathize with others also increased as a skill. Participants discussed the skills they had gained as useful components of themselves but also as core aspects of TCK culture, things that set them apart and tied them together with other TCKs.

Not all ways of being, for a TCK, are positive. In the discussion of TCK traits and skills, some negative ways of behaving were discussed. These were not discussed in as much detail as the strengths were, but included amongst these were: being critical, having unrealistic standards, and overanalyzing. One participant explained, "I mean, I am myself at times hugely intolerant, totally disgusted by whatever." Another shared

that “one of the realities of being a TCK is that we maybe are overcritical at times—we over analyze, able to over analyze, able to or find ourselves setting standards which are unrealistic and based on almost, like, a mythical existence.” The discussion of ways of being and skills was woven throughout the discussions in the group, flowing into and out of conversations, consistently being relevant to the topic at hand.

Loss, grief, and sadness. One participant noted that “feelings of loss are, ah, maybe a commonality.” The participants shared how TCKs are often bonded in the culture by their shared sense of loss. Group members shared stories with each other of their personal experiences of losing a culture, friends, homes, and pivotal experiences or moments. One shared about their sorrow at watching award shows, after missing going to graduation with their class:

Kind of, just, choke up immediately, any kind of awards ceremony of any kind, or graduation, or anything like that, so she was saying, she was saying, that was probably a sense of loss, a sense of something, you could have done that, you didn't.

Another group member spoke of experiencing leaving a culture as a death: “I would put in the category with the analogy of death culture. Culture has died for me, you know.”

Living with and experiencing loss has taught participants to value loss and to embrace loss as a part of life and a part of what makes life good. In sharing with the group a discussion that had been had the previous week at a friend's memorial service, one group member noted that he would not want to live in a world without loss, because it would not be real. He concluded that:

In death there's, um, in loss we realize what is important, what we should hold onto. We let go of things which are, um, invaluable. You know, which are not valuable, which are not worthwhile holding onto. We say to ourselves strive, continue, because you have not reached, you know, go forward, um, ah, what

has hurt us before hasn't killed us, we're still clearly living, let's continue living even though the loss is there.

That was not to say that experiencing loss as a child does not have negative effects on the participants. The possibility of depression and the difficulties that experiencing loss can bring were also discussed: "I would say I still so identify, well, with the sort of, like, loss, grief, possibility of depression, I don't know."

Absence of TCK cultural icons. Although the group tried to think of TCK icons or celebrities, they had great difficulty doing so. In the absence of cultural icons, people need to refer to friends or acquaintances as exemplars. There is not a group of people for them to look up to, and this lack of icons or celebrities is interesting because it makes TCK unique to other cultures. The only well-known figure they could think of was Obama, and they lacked certainty as to whether he even was a TCK:

We would probably be hard-pressed to see a third culture person being the personification of third culture culturedness. I don't know, can you think of anybody famous who you would say is, I mean, is Barak Obama, is he slightly in terms of, I mean only because I know from his history not so much from, I mean, he does seem to be quite personal, flexible, sociable, his level of communication built, he's, I don't know, I don't know, that's, I mean, that's another way of looking at, you know, who are the cultural icons for a culture, I'm just trying to think, I don't know.

Another participant stated "you know I mean I can only think of really other people who are I knew". Through the discussion it became apparent that the group believed that the reason why it was difficult to think of celebrities offhand was because of the chameleon-like quality of TCKs and their ability to easily blend in or fit in with the cultural or social context around them. Members were able to think of friends in their lives who they thought personified TCKs. Members then shared some stories of specific

friends of theirs whom they felt personified TCKs. Each story was a personal non-public figure who is a friend in the TCKs life.

Maturing process for TCKs. Participants believed that in their teens and well into their twenties, they experienced a period of heightened angst about identity development that they consequently grew out of. Participants believed that this period of maturation takes longer for TCKs, although members noted that this could reflect the complexity of TCKs' sense of self. They noted that if they had been asked about their experiences or identity during this period, they would have been dissatisfied with themselves, their identity, and their experiences. All participants noted that as they got older, these concerns became less upsetting and more a part of daily life. One participant explained it as:

I mean, I pushed through that angst until I was twenty five, you know, really fundamentally very dissatisfied with what, who I saw myself as in my mind with who I really was. But I would suggest that for a TCK, maybe that's, uh, because you're so much more practiced in perceiving other parts of life, other parts of cultures, other parts of things, and also because you, this, like, wider broader acceptance of other people, um, you're just taking longer to choose.

Participants stressed that if they had been asked about their sense of self or identity or the effects of a mobile childhood while they were in this period of identity development, their answers would have been negative, and that the way they feel about themselves and their experiences changed dramatically toward the end of this period of maturation. One member also noted that TCKs are just more aware of identity formation than their sessile peers: "I think definitely that TCKs are more aware of identity formation and spend more time thinking about it." It was posited by a group member that their process may not be that different than others; it is just that they are more aware of it and consequently speak of it more.

Social and emotional intelligence. The members of the group believed that TCKs had increased social and emotional intelligence when compared to their sessile peers. One participant stated: “Also into emotional IQ, because I think it might be the case that they might have higher emotional IQ.” Another participant had been given an emotional intelligence assessment and done very well on it. These abilities were evident in the group. Group members would use humour throughout the group, both to present their ideas and in response to others’ ideas. They would ask clarifying questions, give supportive statements, and reflect the emotions of others in the group. When one member cut another off, he went back and apologized for doing it and asked the other member to finish his thought. Members also would check in with the researcher on breaks, to make sure that the researcher was getting the information needed for the study.

Thoughts on the term “TCK” and its definition. The group members shared an ambivalence to the term "Third Culture Kid." Most agreed that it was the best term they could come up with, but they stated that they did not like the term, and it seemed to be missing something. One member summed it up, saying:

Coming from as well but, but, yah, it is the terminology for third culture kid, it, it is, it is interesting that, um, I feel like, I feel like it's a reasonable, I don't love it, but it's, ah, I'm, I'm sort of thought of it as well, and it's like, I'll use it because it's the best.

One member felt that you did not need to live abroad as a child to be a TCK, while the other three members strongly disagreed with that statement, saying that living abroad as a child and it not being your choice was central to their understanding of being a TCK. The members also discussed the ambiguity of the term, giving examples of others

in similar situations, like the children of Diaspora communities, and discussing what they should be called, suggesting the term "second culture." One member stated that "Yah interesting trying to make this distinction into a second culture kid or a third culture kid um third um maybe the third is that it's an amalgam of the originating and the arriving cultures". While another pondered "I mean I wonder if you did a third culture study on um non um non um non Israeli Jews or non-Chinese ethnically Chinese outside of China if you'd have a sort of a different a different kind of third culture kid in there who both has this sort of huge feeling of being of actually feels like they are something". Overall there was agreement that the definition of TCK was not an easy one to define succinctly.

Need to contextualize TCKs in studies. This topic was one of the shorter discussions in the focus group. Several participants made point form statements. They stressed that when studying TCKs, you need to take their context into account. In regard to research about TCKs being more likely to get a university education or having good jobs, one participant replied, "But is that a socio-economic effect of their travelling internationally, their parents are going to be middle-class, educated, skilful backgrounds, so fortunate following of their life." They also discussed how the families' culture of origin and parental experiences are important to know when researching TCKs.

Routes. At the end of the final discussion group, the researcher presented Yon's (2000) idea of routes versus roots for understanding cultures and cultural interactions.

This idea was well received by the study participants:

E: That's interesting, very interesting, 'cause, so, no matter what your roots, ROO, ROOTS.

R: You have a route.

E: It's almost immaterial because maybe you share more with someone who has a similar route, R O U T E S, than to you that would seem like a very, um, smart way to, to, reclassify yah.

Another participant stated that "I feel like, I feel like that could almost be, like, a new, instead of third culture kid, something more," and another participant suggested a new name for TCKs, "TRK, third route kid," while another one noted that "There's something good in that word, that really resonates."

Global Awareness

Group members showed increased awareness of the world throughout the focus groups. Within this theme, there are two categories: World Knowledge and Being Drawn to a More Globally Aware Community.

World knowledge. Throughout group conversations, group members consistently knew cultural references, global place names, or current global events. When one member mentioned her boss being surprised that she had live in the Congo, another group member replied, "You don't just start talking about Mobutu on a random occasion?" At other times, jokes about cultures on the other side of the world were also utilized: "So you want to know the line from, from, ah, The Flight of the Concorde? He maybe did. It's a play on the sort of the, like, New Zealander's way of saying dead." The

group members were knowledgeable about global events, locations, and cultural references. One member illustrated a point by saying:

Right now I was reading in the—you know, 'cause sort of—you keep an eye on where people move to and so on. So reading in the paper about how people in Australia—ex-pats in Australia, who are British, are leaving in droves because they found this wonderful place to live, Australia. It's warm, it's less rainy, great, so they live there, but they miss British culture, so they move back, what they miss is this sort of, we are British together.

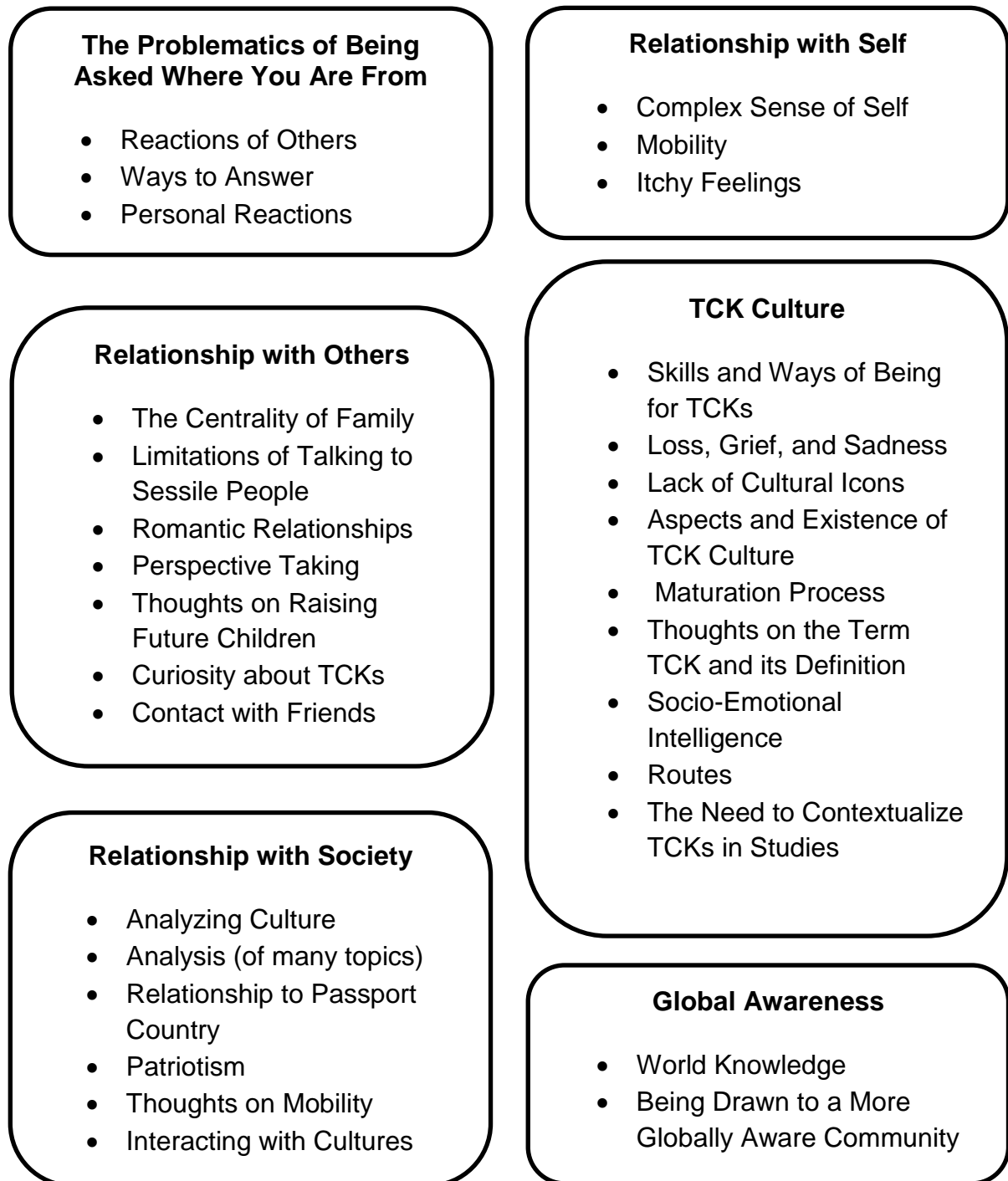
Overall the members of the group demonstrated a greater knowledge of the world at large.

Being drawn to a more globally aware community. Group members shared how they are drawn to being friends with others who are more globally aware. One member was illustrating his choice to live in the now and to only speak of things currently relevant. When speaking about how he chooses not to talk about his travels while gardening, as an example, he then corrected himself:

Although having said, that my neighbour who I garden with is from Ethiopia, so she does have a sort of understanding of travel, and there are other places in the world. So I've cer—you know, obviously like, I've gravitated towards, you know, a community that is more diverse in that way.

The TCKs in the group were drawn to spending time with others who were more globally aware.

Figure 1: Themes and Categories



Chapter Five

Discussion

Purpose of Study and Research Question

This present study investigated three main questions:

1. What is your present day experience of being a TCK?
2. Is there such a thing as TCK culture?
3. What is that culture, and what is its relevancy, if any, to today's society?

In group discussions, the participants covered all the questions in detail. All participants agreed that there was such a thing as a TCK culture and that it was unique from other cultures. The nature of being a TCK and the TCK culture were detailed in the themes and categories that emerged from the content analysis of the focus group meetings (as detailed in Figure 1). In this section, the themes and categories identified from the data will be situated with current research on TCKs, with an eye to how they support, challenge, or expand the literature. The overall findings will then be placed within the larger epistemological framework of multicultural psychology and anthropology, with suggestions for clinicians and psychologists working with this population. Finally, the limitations of the current study will be explored along with suggestions for future research of TCKs.

Situating Themes and Categories in Current Literature

In order to situate the research, all the themes created through content analysis will be integrated with prior research on TCKs. The themes of Problematics of Being Asked Where You Are From, Relationship with Self, Relationship with Others, Relationship with Society, and TCK Culture and Global Awareness will be situated

individually within current theory and research. Novel contributions from each theme will be explored along with findings that support or differ from current research findings.

Discussion of the Problematics of Being Asked Where You are From

Although the difficulties that TCKs have with answering the question “Where are you from?” are well known among TCKs themselves and are some of the most popular discussion topics on websites like Denizen (where TCKs gather to discuss their experiences and culture), this has not been an area documented by researchers or of focus for practitioners. As a result, the reasons why TCKs dislike being asked this question and their responses to it have not been documented. This study adds to the understanding of TCKs by documenting not only the discomfort with the question but also some of the details around why TCKs feel uncomfortable with answering it.

Interestingly, participants rarely associate their dislike of the question with identity concerns, despite the focus on these by authors like Bell (1997) and Walters and Auton-Cuff (2009). Rather, participants focused on the social interaction between themselves and the sessile person who asked them the question. The TCKs in this study demonstrated a clear understanding of where they were from and what their route through the journey was. They were aware that their route was different from that of others; the difficulty came in how to discuss this with people who viewed the term “from” as needing to be a single geographical location. The complexity of the full answer is unexpected for a sessile person, and his or her range of responses can create socially awkward situations, from fascination with the TCK to complete avoidance of the topic. For TCKs who are highly socially intelligent, like those in the study, the social awkwardness of the reactions of others becomes a motivator to not tell their story or to

truncate the story to make it more palatable and easy to understand for the sessile person. The TCKs would adapt their answers to meet the audience in front of them. If they sensed that the other person was more globally aware or that a conversation starter was needed, the longer answer would be provided; if they sensed that the other person would be uncomfortable, a shorter answer was provided.

This is very different from the concept of the pervasiveness of different, described by Walters and Auton-Cuff (2009) in their discussion of TCKs. Walters and Auton-Cuff stressed the internal reactions of TCKs and how they felt internally different to others, experienced different cultures, and did not know how to fit in with the local sessile population. The TCKs in this study were aware of their difference, but knew ways to accommodate and meet the expectations of sessile individuals. Often the discussions surrounding the answering of this question elicited humour and laughter in the members of this current study, while the members of the Walters and Auton-Cuff study appeared to express more feelings of grief and isolation. This difference in focus may, in part, be due to the ages of the participants in the Walters and Auton-Cuff study, who were younger and in a period of transition when compared to the older age of this current study. The effects of age and maturation will be discussed later in this chapter, but it is important to remember that TCKs experience developmental periods of maturation that are filled with the stress and angst typical of adolescence and that this state of angst is not a permanent feature of the culture but a phase of growing up.

If the idea of where someone is from can be equated with asking for the person's roots, then several studies have noted that roots for TCKs are not in geographical locations but in relationships either to other TCKs (Williams & Mariglia, 2002) or to other people (Bell, 1997; Walters & Auton-Cuff). This idea of the importance of relationships

with others will be explored in detail later in the chapter, but it is important to note that “from” need not be conceptualized as a solitary geographical point on a map.

It is important for practitioners to know that when they ask a client, “Where are you from?” a TCK will most likely respond with the short or truncated version of his or her story. If a practitioner wants to know the full experience of the TCK's life, he or she needs to create an environment in which the full answer will be welcomed.

Experimenting with different ways of finding out about people's histories will help a practitioner to cultivate more flexibility and openness to different experiences of “from.” Practitioners need to remember that “from” is not always a location but can be a person, a context, a culture, or many locations at once. Learning to value these different answers and to recognize them as equally as meaningful as single geographical locations is essential to effective therapy with a range of populations.

Discussion of Relationship with Self

The participants in the focus groups spoke of having a complex sense of self. Many of the participants discussed how they viewed themselves as a part of a complex relational network of people and cultures. Walters and Auton-Cuff (2009) noted that a sense of belonging for TCKs is found in relation to others. This concept of viewing self as complex and part of a network of relationships is similar but distinct from the Walters and Auton-Cuff finding. This is more than saying where they belong, but who they are and how they define themselves is in relationship to significant others in their lives. Williams and Mariglia (2002) also noted the importance of connection with others, but their study highlighted the importance of connection with other TCKs in order to form roots. In this study, the TCKs were simply highlighting the importance of relationships

with others for self-definition, but the others did not have to be TCKs. Bell (1997) also noted that roots were linked to people and not to locations.

Similar to the findings of Walters and Auton-Cuff (2009), one participant found stability in spirituality as a constant in their life, speaking of God as a source of identity for them. A significant difference from the Walters and Auton-Cuff findings was that the level of pain and discomfort found in the complexity of self and the sense of belonging was mostly absent from my participant group. When asked directly about it, they shared that when they were younger, between 15 and 25 to 30 years of age, they went through a period of maturation that was filled with angst and pain. During this time period, they felt concern over their identity and a strong sense of isolation from others. All participants agreed that as they transitioned out of this period, they began to feel a sense of comfort in who they were and where their identity lies. It is possible that the heightened level of negative emotion found in the Walters and Auton-Cuff sample is a product of the ages of their sample being between 19 and 23. This transitional period highlights the necessity of utilizing a developmental perspective when studying any population including TCKs.

It is interesting that the sense of self that TCKs experienced was not a cohesive and unchanging thing but a fluid, adaptable, and transitional thing, viewed as too complex to fully understand. This flexibility and complexity was always tied to their childhood mobility and the flexibility it created in them. Through moving, TCKs experienced cycles of growth and loss and the bringing to mind and suppressing of memories. TCKs spoke of how, once removed from a culture, it was often difficult to bring to mind all the details of the other places they had left, but that those memories could be brought to mind suddenly by triggers like smells, sights, or sounds in the

environment. They spoke of the ability to be surprised in themselves and of the joy that accompanied the rediscovery of a cultural ability or the taste of a favourite dish. One participant spoke of dreaming in a language he could no longer speak, and others spoke of loving sounds or smells that reminded them of other times. These experiences appeared to be important to their sense of self, but have never been fully explored in the literature, at least not without a strong focus on unresolved and debilitating grief like that discussed in the Gilbert (2008) article. The participants spoke of these experiences with interest, humour, and nostalgia. They admitted that they had experienced loss as TCKs, but they also noted that that experience was helpful in making them who they were.

The final aspect of self discussed by the participants in this present study both adds to and challenges the existing literature on TCKs, similar to Bell's (1997) discussion of the migratory urge felt in the TCKs she interviewed. In her sample, participants would feel an urge to move and feel a restlessness, despite being settled. Similarly, the participants in my study also spoke of experiencing an "itchy feeling" for change. In this group, the participants did not all react to this feeling by actually feeling a need to move or even by moving. Some changed relationships, lived in a different country, or sought challenging work situations to handle the itchy feelings. Three of the participants had been living locally for an extended period of time and had no current plans to move. Several spoke of moving more frequently early in their lives, especially in their late teens and early to mid-twenties, and how the moves helped with their self-discovery, helping them discover where they belonged or discover aspects of their cultural selves. It is important to note that the migratory urge experienced by TCKs is not necessarily tied to physical mobility, as has been documented thus far in the literature; it may be expressed in a myriad of unique and complicated ways.

Discussion of Relationship with Other

This present study found a strong connection between the TCKs in the sample and their families. It was coupled with a heightened relational focus both on the relationships with their families but also with friends and romantic partners, and plans for relationships with future children. This is very similar to Bell's (2008) discussion of TCKs finding identity in their relationships and fighting, yet failing, to keep relationships strong over long distance, which is echoed by the finding of Fail, Thompson, and Walker (2004). This was especially true for the participants in the present time of their lives. The participants spoke about how they coped with being separated from friends and loved ones and how the way they dealt with these separations changed as they matured. One participant noted that during their adolescence and early adulthood they would cut off relationships with those not physically present, telling themselves that these people were dead to them. They then shared that at this point in their life, they are working hard to maintain their connections to people from different periods in their life and were inviting them to special events like their wedding and finding ways for them to participate if they could not make it (like sending messages that would be present at the reception). Participants shared stories of connecting with friends and remembering parts of themselves or going to great lengths to connect with people separated from them by distance. One participant shared how they used to work much harder than their sessile friends to stay in contact and how this had become a source of frustration for them, but after decreasing the effort they put into the friendship, they found that their friend had increased the effort they put into the relationship. Overall, the members of the focus groups believed that relationships were very important to them, and the loss of close

friendships was a source of grief or redoubled effort. The discussions by Williams and Mariglia (2002) support the idea that staying connected is important to TCKs, while the participants of Bell's study also identified this as an important aspect of their lives.

It is difficult to interpret the heightened curiosity about TCKs that was evidenced in these participants, due to the self-selected nature of the sample. Those who chose to participate in the research were very eager to participate and self-identified as TCKs. It is possible that other TCKs who would not be interested in participating in a study such as this one would also be less curious about other TCKs.

A final strong theme in the discussions of interacting with others was the limitations of talking with sessile people. Here, participants spoke of how sessile individuals are often only interested in discussing local matters. Participants spoke of having to only talk about aspects of their lives that directly related to the local situation. This limits the TCK from being able to talk about most of his or her life's experiences. It also makes it difficult for TCKs to find local people with whom they can speak about global issues that are of interest to them. This limiting of what they talk about was also a point of discussion in the Walters and Auton-Cuff study (2009), where they discussed the silencing of voice of the TCKs and how the TCKs would often give up their ways of being, to fit in with the local people and to be accepted. The members of this study spoke of this as a point of frustration, but were also able to look at it from the perspective of the sessile person, who may find it difficult to understand a history that is so foreign from what he or she is familiar with in his or her own life. This sense of difference is also similar to the finding of difference in the Walters and Auton-Cuff study. Bell (1997) documented the need of TCKs to be given a voice and how that was important to their adjustment.

In a therapeutic setting, it may be of help to recognize your role as a therapist in restoring the voice to the TCKs in the room and to encourage them in finding places where their stories and their voices will be accepted as valuable. Being able to share their stories, even in a focus group setting, appeared to be a positive and encouraging experience for the participants, and their stories were often punctuated with laughter and recognition of a shared experience. Remembering that TCKs are often a hidden minority/non-dominant/immigrant population is important, since they may often be able to fit into the social expectations in the world around them and will often avoid talking about stories or experiences that may make others uncomfortable or that sessile individuals have difficulty relating to. As a therapist, it is important not to place people into predetermined categories based on assumptions of their culture or past. Many TCKs are able to appear to fit into a dominant group, due to the silencing they have experienced; if not given a voice in therapy, their experience may go unexplored. It is hoped that therapy will serve as a place where TCKs' voices are heard and not another experience where TCKs are silenced.

Discussion of Relationship with Society

In the literature, a common term used to refer to the culture shock experienced by expatriates when they return to their culture of origin is "reverse culture shock." This term is often applied to TCKs when they arrive in their passport country, and it has been used in several studies about TCKs (Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004, and Huff, 2001). Bell (1997) chooses to refer to the experience of culture shock experienced by TCKs upon entry to their passport country as simply culture shock, which in many cases may make more sense, since many TCKs may have little to no first-hand knowledge of their

passport country. In this present study, that point was made very clear: two of the TCKs learned about the passport country through stories told to them by others, either peers or family members. Both spoke of surprise when the passport country was not the way they had imagined it to be. This surprise was intensified since this was the place where they were supposed to belong and fit in. This surprise also highlighted their hidden minority status. One participant spoke of how, as a white person in Canada, they were often perceived as belonging, so people were less likely to offer them help in adjusting or in figuring the culture out.

There are no studies in the literature that discuss patriotism and TCKs' responses to it. This study documents the complex and varied reactions of the participants to patriotism. One TCK said they really enjoyed patriotism and how wonderful it was for a large group of people to join together for a purpose. The other three participants expressed strong negative reactions to patriotism. The three participants linked patriotism to violence and narrow-mindedness while another participant believed that it would create narrow-mindedness in people. The group members appeared to value acceptance and openness to others, and when patriotism prevented these attitudes in others, they rejected patriotism. All four participants disliked when patriotism prevented openness to and acceptance of others.

Similar to the discussions in the literature, mobility as children had a significant impact on the TCKs in this study. They spoke of how they were different from people who had been raised in one location and how these differences were both positive and negative, depending on the viewpoint a person chose to have. Overall, this group embraced the differences as primarily positive ones. Unlike participants in the Walters and Auton-Cuff study (2009), the older participants in this study did not seem to

approach the difference with as strong a sense of grief. One participant spoke of her loss of friends with a strong sense of grief, but when summarizing the mobility, she viewed it as primarily positive in nature. The participants also noted that they seemed to have a unique interaction with cultures, when compared to their sessile friends. They believed that they were more able to walk away from cultures they had experienced. The exact nature of the unique interaction with cultures is unclear from this data set, but it is one that is worth pursuing and would therefore benefit from further study.

Discussion of Global Awareness

Study participants maintained connections to the larger global community and to their knowledge of the world around them. They would speak of visiting friends and family from different countries and enjoying food from around the world. During conversations, they demonstrated knowledge of customs, current affairs, and geography of places both near to and far from the study's location. This knowledge was not just limited to the places the TCKs had lived. In addition, TCKs appeared to be drawn to being friends with at least a few people who were globally aware, whether they were global nomads themselves, immigrants, or just individuals with a more global dimension to their thinking. This was viewed as an important part of their lives. This interest in having an international dimension to their lives supports the research of Gerner and Perry (2002), Ender (2002), and Bell (1997). Bell speaks of her participants stating that their world is more than just one country, while Gerner and Perry and Ender note that TCKs have a larger ability to accept other cultures than their sessile counterparts do.

Discussion of TCK Culture

The second and third research questions were: “Is there such a thing as TCK culture?” and “What is that culture and its relevancy, if any, to today’s society?” Overall, the participants agreed that there was such a thing as a TCK culture, and they discussed this culture as a shared experience, a sense of comfort with others, and a shared understanding of loss. The participants identified nine themes in regard to the TCK culture: skills and ways of being for TCKs; loss, grief, and sadness; lack of cultural icons; aspects and existence of TCK culture; maturation process; thoughts on the term “third culture kid” and its definition; soci-emotional intelligence; routes; and the need to contextualize TCKs in studies.

All participants in this present study agreed in the existence of a TCK culture. They noted a special connection they felt to TCKs. Participants also believed that they had an ability to spot another TCK when meeting in person, although if they were only observing someone from afar, this was difficult to do since, according to participants, TCKs are adept at blending into different cultural contexts. Several participants commented on the belief that TCKs play an important role in society, this good purpose was further explained as serving as translators of culture along with increased empathy and social-emotional intelligence, along with a quality that participants seemed to be unable to fully translate from other languages into English. The sense of it was that by being who they had become through their experiences, they would positively impact those around them—but this translation does not fully grasp the concept as it was used in other languages and cultural contexts. This feeling of connectedness to other TCKs is well documented in the literature (Bell, 1997; Walters & Auton-Cuff, 2010; and Williams & Mariglia, 2002), but the exact nature of the connection has not been as fully explored

along cultural lines. In this present study, the connection as a form of cultural recognition of another who has shared similar experiences to you adds to the understanding of TCKs.

For clinicians, it is important to recognize that a TCK, regardless of skin colour, ethnic background, or other visible markers, may be part of an invisible minority similar to that documented by Bell. They need to be treated with the same sensitivity and respect that other cultural groups receive. The first step to this happening within the psychological field is an awareness that cultures can exist without visible physical markers to set them aside as separate. Hidden minority groups are still minority groups, despite their invisibility.

Another aspect of TCK culture was the skills and ways of being that TCKs developed from the international mobility of their childhoods. One of the skills most stressed by participants was one of being highly adaptable, with an ability to influence and be influenced by others around them. This ability allowed them to fit into almost any setting seamlessly, especially cultural settings; the participants referred to this skill as “chameleonism.” The idea that TCKs are highly socially flexible and can adapt to a wide range of settings is similar to the findings of Bell (2008) and Fail, Thompson, and Walker (2004). Both studies found the same level of adaptability and ability to fit in different situations. These findings are also in contrast to those of Williams and Mariglia (2002), who conceptualized TCKs as being disconnected adults with adjustment issues. Members of this study believed that they were more able to connect than their sessile peers were and noted that often, the only difficulty was that sessile peers had difficulties understanding their life experiences due to how different they were from those of their sessile peers. Participants believed that they had a greater capacity for empathy as a

result of their experiences, along with increased resiliency. They believed that the changes in their childhood helped them to become translators of behaviour, with an ability to see more than one side to a story.

Participants discussed how they viewed other TCKs as having an increased sense of humour, joyfulness, and laughter—a quality that was demonstrated in the focus groups, since they were often filled with laughter, gentle teasing, and humour. They also believed that TCKs had stronger skills in social-emotional intelligence. These specific skills are not ones that have been directly discussed in the literature, but the research to date has all occurred in one-to-one or survey-based settings with participants. Having multiple TCKs interacting in a room together provides a different quality of data, allowing for more nuanced discussions as they remind each other of things they may not have thought of individually. A single study is not enough to determine if TCKs do have stronger social-emotional skills or capacity for empathy, but it is a question that would benefit from additional research.

Members of this study believed that their developmental process as TCKs was longer than that of their sessile peers. Walter and Auton-Cuff also believed that the transitions and moving experienced by TCKs throughout their childhood disrupted their development and delayed identity formation. Gilbert (2008) postulated that TCK development could be delayed through the disenfranchised and unresolved grief it was postulated that many TCKs experience. It is hard to determine from this current study whether development is delayed, and if it is, for what reasons. One factor that makes this difficult is some of the current literature on sessile identity development and its progression into emerging adulthood. In their research into identity development through adolescence and into emerging adulthood, Crocetti, Scrignarò, Sica, and

Magrin (2012) detailed identity development continuing through the teenage years and well into the mid- to late-twenties. That study utilized youths and emerging adults living in Italy. Through the research of Crocetti et al. on three different samples of Italian youths and emerging adults, the progression of identity formation appeared to continue well into the late twenties for a significant percentage of their sample. Due to the complexity of identity formation and the research showing it continuing into emerging adulthood in sessile populations, the findings of this study are not sufficient to extrapolate if identity formation for TCKs is the same as that of their sessile peers or if the delayed or prolonged adolescence postulated by Gilbert (2008) and Walters and Auton-Cuff (2010) is the case for TCKs. It is possible that the identity development phase for TCKs is of similar duration as that of their sessile peers. It is also possible that identity development for TCKs is different from that of their sessile peers. Additional research focused specifically on the identity development of TCKs, especially when compared to the identity development of their sessile peers, is necessary before any such definitive claims can be made, but it is an area that warrants additional investigation.

Participants also noted that they all experienced a bounded period of time in their development where they felt increased angst, dissatisfaction with themselves, and identity confusion. As members matured, they grew out of that phase of angst and identity confusion. They stressed that during that time, they felt dissatisfaction with their sense of self, heightened anxiety, sadness, and worry over whether they would ever fit in. They noted that during this time period, they had periods of feeling grief, anger, and sadness over their childhood experiences, similar to the grief documented by Gilbert (2008), but noted that as they matured and grew out of that developmental phase, they

began to feel at peace and happy with their experiences. Members noted that if this present study had occurred during their teens and early twenties, they would have presented a much more negative view of their experiences as TCKs and a much more negative and emotional explanation of their stories. Participants laughed about the angst-filled period they experienced and pointed out that all adolescents appear to go through it and that they also grow out of it.

Grief, sadness, and loss was a point of resonance for the participants in the study. They spoke of loss of friends, loss of culture, loss of experiences, and loss of a language, among other losses. One participant spoke of a time when her family moved every year, and she would make friends and lose them, feeling like she was putting effort into friendships for nothing. Another participant spoke of still missing the closeness she lost in her friendships in her passport country and of the efforts she still put into trying to maintain those friendships. Participants noted that this shared sense of loss and the resonance that accompanies it is an essential part of the TCK culture. This sense of grief is also noted in studies by Bell (1997) and Gilbert (2008). Gilbert's participants provided the following categories of loss: Disenfranchised Grief; Losses: Person; Losses: Places; Loss: Pets; Loss: Possessions; Existential Losses; Loss: A Safe and Trustworthy World; Loss: Who I Thought I Was; and Loss: A Place They Can Call Home. While Bell's participants spoke of costing out the pain of the experience, the categories Bell documented were: Yeah, there were times I was really angry and upset; marooned, minority status—the realities of them and us; and maybe I should have stayed home. The discussions of grief and loss among the participants in this present study held more in common with the Bell findings than with those of Gilbert. Participants spoke of a specific time in their life when they experienced intense negative feelings

toward the experiences and spoke of the pain of being TCKs, but noted that these negative feelings were something they had grown beyond. Participants felt that the experiences of pain and loss had made them into more resilient and stable adults who were better equipped to handle loss and death than many of their sessile peers. They appeared to take a more philosophical view of pain, viewing it as a valuable part of life. Participants also spoke of not being well understood by people who were not TCKs and of how sessile people would often view the losses they had been through and then respond with pity or concern. The TCKs in the group did not treat each other's losses with pity or grief; they responded with humour and a sense of support and camaraderie. The participants did speak of imagining what it would have been like to be raised as a sessile person, and they discussed the benefits to that experience, but would often return to the benefits of their more mobile life experiences. Some participants wanted their children to experience a lifestyle similar to their own, while others wanted to provide their children with a more sessile childhood.

When asked specifically about their view of studies and discussions in the literature suggesting TCKs were damaged by the experience of growing up globally mobile, the members strongly disagreed with the idea. They noted that in their teens they may have agreed that the experience was painful and expressed anger at being in the situation, but as adults, they viewed the experience as one that gave them many benefits. These statements were similar to the ones Bell (1997) received from the adults she interviewed. The participants in this current study acknowledged the pain and loss, but also noted that it had given them skills. Overall, the participants viewed the experience of being TCKs as a positive one. This is a significant difference from the findings of Gilbert's (2008) study, since the participants of this current study did not

seem to feel that the losses and grief they experienced in their childhood had created a lifelong unresolved source of grief and sorrow. The participants shared stories of loss, but in the sadness they found humour, skills, and a point of resonance with other TCKs, and they found loss to be a valuable and essential part of life. The participants stated that they did not think that they had any unresolved grief from their childhood losses, but instead believed that the adversity had helped them deal with difficulties in life as adults.

It is hard to explain why such a diversity of findings is present, but it is possible that when people with high levels of emotional intelligence are interviewed, they are likely to be highly influenced by the tone set by the questions in the study. If the questions focus on grief and loss, participants are likely to reflect more grief and loss. When questions are stated in a neutral manner, it is possible that the answers will show greater diversity. In addition, the Gilbert study did not differentiate between the different ages and developmental stages of those they were interviewing, and the sample ranged from 19 to 60 years of age.

It is important for therapists working with TCKs not to assume that loss, grief, and sadness are traumatic or unresolved in the TCKs they encounter. To assume that someone is broken or delayed in their development due to a loss or a unique experience is not always an accurate assumption. It is possible that TCKs will develop a sense of themselves as damaged, if enough therapists insist they are, but that does not need to be the case. TCKs in this sample did have periods of grief, both in the past and in the present, but this grief was not preventing them from having positive relationships (one was getting married at the end of the research month), satisfying careers (one participant spoke with satisfaction about their current employment situation), or family relationships (another participant had returned home to care full-time for their aging

parents). The participants in this study stated that they were not suffering from unresolved grief, and they appeared a little confused at the question. Their current life activities and accomplishments do not appear to be those of the walking wounded, described by Gilbert, but instead of thriving and vibrant individuals actively engaging with the world around them.

Another category relating to culture was the lack of cultural icons in the TCK culture. Participants brainstormed to try to think of cultural icons and, with the exception of Barak Obama, could not think of any. Indeed, with Barak Obama, they were not certain that he was a TCK. This lack of cultural icons is not something that has been documented in the literature before. In this case, the participants spoke of how there must be famous TCKs but how the chameleon skills of TCKs would make them difficult to spot unless they had been met in person. The lack of cultural icons for TCKs led to group members using friends whom they felt personified TCKness, and they shared the stories of these people they knew. It is unusual for a culture to lack cultural icons, but part of what makes TCK culture TCK culture is its ability to blend into its surroundings and appear to be normal, or at least appear to be an expected part of the society around it. This skill that is so essential to TCK culture is the very skill that makes having icons particularly difficult, since they themselves will often appear to blend into the dominant culture of their surroundings.

The participants resonated with the idea of routes instead of roots as a better way to conceptualize their experience and the corresponding TCK culture. This is similar to the idea proposed by Yon (2000). The participants supported the idea of a paradigm shift in the way they were viewed, suggesting a title change to Third Route Kids (TRKs) as opposed to the traditional title of TCK; indeed, the Third Route title was

created by a participant, to the enthusiastic assent of the other participants. Participants stated that "TCK" as an identifier did not quite capture their experiences. A significant amount of discussion went into trying to figure out why "TCK" did not fit their experiences and what alternative identifiers might better capture their experiences. When Yon's concept of routes was introduced, it appeared to resonate with participants in a way that "TCK" did not. The strength in the idea of a third route is that it allows for the similarity of experience rather than genetics to be the guide to understanding individuals and groups of people. Unlike the Sue and Sue (2008) or Henderson Metzger, Nadkarni, and Erickson Cornish (2010) construction of boxes of cultural competency, this less constraining and fluid manner of viewing people is one that may help increase understanding not only of TCKs but of many clients with backgrounds different than those of the therapist. The use of the "third route" in counselling psychology and clinical practice will be discussed in the next section.

Relevancy to Counselling Psychology and Suggestions for Clinical Practice

Yon (2000) explains that the understanding of culture in the field of anthropology has moved beyond the simplistic commodification model that was utilized in that field decades ago and that is still in use in counselling psychology. Instead he advocates for a more nuanced and complex view of culture. In his book, *Elusive Culture* (2000), he forwards the concept of "routes" as opposed to the more simplistic view of "roots." Using a highly diverse inner city school, Yon shows how "culture" is more complicated than the genetic endowment from your family. He documents the intricate social dance and discussions that compose part of culture, showing youths changing, mixing, and interacting with culture in a complex and not easily defined manner. The stories of the

youth of this inner city school become more comprehensible when the routes that they and their family have taken are used as the primary lens for the discussion of their identity and cultural sense of self. It appears that these routes are often the primary factors in the individual's conceptualization of culture. Similar to the ideas forwarded by Kleinman (1988a, 1988b), Yon proposes that understanding an individual involves not a formula based on historical definitions of race or genetic inheritance. Rather, it is through the sharing of a complicated story about the routes this individual and their relational network have taken to get to the place where they currently are that understanding is achieved. Through these stories, the important, salient, and relevant aspects of the personhood and cultural self of the individual in front of you will become apparent. Under this more flexible and nuanced understanding of culture, TCKs can be clearly understood, not as troubled anomalies, but as individuals along a route with some unexpected stops on it. When the idea of routes was discussed with the TCKs in the focus group, it resonated strongly with them. They advocated for a change in the identifier used for them, from "Third Culture Kid" to "Third Route Kid" or "TRK," allowing for a reflection of the fluidity of their experience of culture. Indeed, for TRKS, they note that their cultural identifiers change as they move from one location to another. Their clothing, language, intonation, accent, choices in food, and way of being can change drastically from one location or group to another. This cultural flexibility is not something that is currently conceptualized in the traditional psychological cultural framework. It is hoped that this research will help to create a more open and accepting stance of cultural complexity within counselling psychology.

Throughout this section, the different theories of cultural sensitivity and the main questions they ask of clients, along with those questions' effectiveness in working with

TRK populations, will be contrasted to each other. These questions and their theorists are presented in Figure 1 at the end of this chapter.

Within counselling psychology, the current gold standard for cultural sensitivity forwarded by Sue and Sue (1999, 2008) and by Sue, Bernier, Durran, Feinberg, Pedersen, Smith et al. (1982) is strongly based on the commodification of culture along genetic and political lines. They argue that cultural competence is based on understanding culture along predominantly racial lines, and all the theories and practice-based suggestions on cultural sensitivity are encapsulated solely within a U.S. perspective. This theory has little room for children of so called “biracial” families and has no conceptual room for the experience of TCKs. The majority of the focus of this theory is on the skin colour and genetic history of a person (e.g., black skin or aboriginal heritage). This concept is misleading and even dangerous when applied to those who are culturally complex, since they will not fit easily into preconceived boxes. Also, the choosing of which race you are can be a complicated discussion, as one participant who has a mother from England and a father from China explained:

People say, oh, um, you’re half Chinese right, and I say, well, in some sort of sense I feel like I am a whole Chinese person, I am also a whole white person, an Englishman. And you know, you do the math but I, you know, it’s sort of strange, but I am a whole each and because it’s sort of stupid to say I am half of one. Which half? My friend sort of jokes, he says, yah, he’s Chinese from the waist down. Well no kidding, that’s stupid.

So how should we conceptualize this young man? According to Sue and Sue, perhaps he is half-and-half or perhaps just Chinese. However, this does not even begin to take into account the many other cultures he and his family have lived in and learned from and been changed by. This is because, for TCKs, their cultural landscape contains nuances and complexities that defy the traditional boxes of competency proposed by authors like Sue and Sue (2008). The main question these cultural theorists encourage

therapists to ask their clients is, “What is your ethnicity/race or ‘other’ minority status?” This question is unlikely to engage a TCK in a discussion of his or her cultural orientation, identity, experiences, and unique route through the world. It is likely to obscure the TCK’s history and even mislead the therapist into a false sense of knowing the TCK’s experiences and cultural identity.

Another group of American theorists, Henderson Metzger, Nadkarni, and Erikson Cornish (2010), also create a series of monolithic, discrete, and often politically driven categories that therapists should adhere to in order to be culturally sensitive. They agree with Sue and Sue’s (2008) use of race and ethnicity as categories, but choose to expand from their theory and add the following areas of focus for therapists: age and diverse older adults, disability, ethnicity, immigration, language, men, multiracial identities, race, sexual orientation, size, social class, spirituality and religion, transsexual/intersex/transgender, white identity and privilege, and women. There is no area of specific focus on cultural sensitivity. The question these theorists are most likely to encourage therapists to ask is: “Are you one of a predetermined list of minority groups?” This question may engage TRKs in discussing the specific category they may or may not fit into, but it is unlikely to open a conversational space for the discussion of the TRKs’ route, experiences, identity, and cultural orientation. This gives this theory limited utility when working with TRKs. Although this new conceptualization by Henderson Metzger, Nadkarni, and Erikson Cornish expands the literature’s focus on cultural sensitivity to include additional monolithic categories, this focus is not nuanced enough to include space for conceptualizing the TRK experience.

From the Canadian perspective, Arthur and Collins (2010) and Justin (2010) argue for a more nuanced understanding of non-dominant populations. They argue

against monolithic, discrete categories and support the idea of hybrid or third spaces. The difficulty is that the conceptualization of these spaces is tied entirely to immigrant populations. This makes it difficult to conceptualize TRKs within this framework. Some authors of TRK research have referred to TRKs as hidden immigrants or strangers in their homelands (Bell, 1997; Fail, Thomson, & Walker, 2004) and, perhaps, if they are conceptualized as that, they may be better understood through the Arthur and Collins and Justin framework. The difficulty is that the TRK experience, although similar to that of immigrants, is also distinct from it. It is important that immigrant populations be allowed to tell their full story in therapeutic settings, and it is also important that TRKs be able to tell their full story in therapeutic settings. Although the understanding of one experience may assist in understanding another's experience, it is also important to respect differences when they occur. Although these theories are more likely to allow space for TRKs to discuss their experiences, the tendency of the Arthur and Collins theory to tie multicultural sensitivity to specific groups of non-dominant difference like ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, or socio-economic status creates a blind spot for therapists working with invisible immigrants or with TRKs, who are unlikely to be discovered by therapists asking the question of focus from the Arthur and Collins perspective: "What non-dominant category do you fit into?" Although this question is more likely to create a space where TRKs can discuss their experiences, it does not specifically create a space for this, especially if the therapist is mentally focused on the predetermined categories of non-dominance.

The psychiatrist and ethnographer Arthur Kleinman (1988a & 1988b) outlined a multiculturally sensitive form of therapy that does not include monolithic categories, or indeed categories, to function. This theory of cultural sensitivity, outlined in *Rethinking*

Psychiatry, comes from a global perspective, with Dr. Kleinman working as a psychiatrist not only in the United States of America but also in China and India and also being familiar with the therapeutic and research traditions favored in countries across the globe. In his work, Kleinman advocates that a therapist treat each interaction with each client as an ethnographic encounter. In these encounters, the therapist seeks to explore the client's culture and identity with an open ethnographic ear, looking for points where the therapist may misunderstand or where his or her view is occluding the ability to understand the client's unique experiences. Dr. Kleinman challenges many of the Western preconceptions about therapy and shows how those preconceptions shape how therapy is done and also prevent effective therapy from occurring with populations that are different from the Western perspective. In ethnographic analysis, all aspects relevant to the client's experiences and view of the world are important to take into account. This often covers many of the categories listed by the multiculturally sensitive theorists, but they are not treated as categories but as part of the fluid and complex nature of the individual in front of you. Coming from a place of knowing and not knowing, Dr. Kleinman would advise therapists to get to know the story of the client: his or her history, the economy he or she is ensconced in, and the many nuanced variations of culture and identity that the person finds relevant. This question, "Tell me your story," if pursued through an ethnographic lens, is very likely to result in a discussion of the TRK's experiences and routes through the world. It will allow the therapist to privilege and value what the client privileges and values, and it will open a space where the TRK is safe to discuss all aspects of themselves and not just the ones that fit into the categories of cultural sensitivity. It will also allow the therapist to actually engage with culture in his or her therapy.

The last cultural theorist to be discussed here is Yon (2000), who utilizes the ethnographic lens to challenge the ideas that cultures are commodities that can be separated into clear, contained, predetermined categories that can then be analyzed, documented, and sold as products to be competent in. Through his research in a multicultural Toronto school, Yon documented the complex and changing definitions of ethnicity, race, and culture among the youth in school. The answers of the youth to questions about race and culture clearly challenged the idea that cultures are distinct and definable, especially in mobile populations or individuals with a history of mobility. Yon challenged the idea of roots as an appropriate cultural identifier or question for researchers or (by extension) therapists to use in their interactions with people. Instead he proposed the idea of routes or journeys that brought a person or group to a specific time or place in this moment. The routes of the individuals he interviewed were much more evocative and revealing of their cultural orientations and identities than gaining information about the individuals' roots, which often proved misleading and inaccurate in providing a picture of the individual's cultural orientations and identities. When this is applied to a therapeutic setting with TRKs, the question Yon would be most likely to ask is, "Tell me your route," and this question would clearly open the door for a TRK to discuss his or her global mobility, cultural experiences, and complex sense of self. When working with TRKs, following their routes and the routes of the significant others in their lives will prove more fruitful than focusing solely on visible markers of difference. Figure 1 contrasts and demonstrates the quality and nature of responses likely to occur when questions based on the various theories of culture are asked of TRKs. It is suggested that therapists take an ethnographic route when working not only with TRKs but with any client who may be culturally different from the therapists. Questions based

on Kleinman's (1988a, 1988b) or Yon's (2010) conceptualizations of culture will provide more nuanced and complex understanding of culture within the therapist which will, in turn, assist him or her in creating a space where nuance and complexity are embraced, explored, and supported.

When discussing working with culturally dislocated clients, a category into which TCKs could easily fit Ishiyama (1995b) proposes an open stance. Instead of placing culturally dislocated individuals into monolithic categories he proposes that counsellors work with clients to create an understanding of the sources of validation and meaning within their lives. This allows for an open discussion of their story similar to what is proposed by Kleinman (1988a, 1988b) and Yon (2010). The validationgram proposed by Ishiyama (1995a) allows for a holistic discussion of the experiences of an individual. It also helps to focus both the therapist and the clients' attention on the individuals' own personal experiences of culture and meaning. This theory looks at the ways in which individuals are validated in their identity the categories include: relationships, things, places, and activities. Validationgrams are flexible and can be adapted to meet the needs of a specific client. This flexible open ended discussion allows for the TCK to self-conceptualize in a safe and open way free of assumptions of where they gain their main sources of meaning or what their personal history has been.

Instead of focusing on discrete predetermined categories or genetic roots as vehicles to create sensitivity, therapists should adopt a more open stance, focused on the route or stories of clients. This stance allows the client to determine what aspects of experience, identity, value system, or history are important and relevant, thus allowing the therapist to privilege what the client privileges instead of privileging what the current political agenda dictates as relevant or important. This stance will create a more

nuanced and open attitude toward the nuanced, complicated world our clients inhabit. Clients, and indeed people, are not monolithic categories; to behave as if they are is to infer that certain complex nuanced experiences, like those of TCKs, have no place in a therapist's office. Indeed, it is often these nuanced and unrecognized experiences that can benefit most from a compassionate, supportive other. Therapists must combat discrimination and oppression in all its forms; this role must not occlude or supersede our role as therapists. While privileging points on a political agenda, we send a message that only certain experiences are of value to us. We must learn to travel the routes of clients with an ethnographer's ear in a similar way to that outlined by Kleinman in his many works on therapy. This ethnographic ear must be attuned to hear the stories and experiences that create the individual, culture, and reference group in front of us. We must stop equating culture with genetics and must honour the choices and experiences of our clients. We must learn to recognize hybrid identities, alternative ways of interacting with cultures, third spaces, and yes, third routes. In an increasingly complex and interactive world, we must become more open and flexible. We must learn to be the chameleons and slip into and out of others' experiences. The flexibility will come with self-knowledge, like that which Sue and Sue repeatedly call for, but the call must go beyond that, into an open flexibility taught by the field of ethnography.

The first step to being culturally sensitive and supportive to culturally complex clients is to create an environment in which you will recognize one when you meet them. Often culturally complex populations like TRKs learn to blend in and not stand out especially if they feel that aspects of their experience are not valued by the main stream population. This is clearly evident in this study where participants spoke of restricting the topic they would discuss and the stories they would tell if speaking to sessile

individuals. An easy way to create an environment where clients can and will be able to speak of the complexities of their experience is to utilize open-ended tools like that validationgram (Ishiyama, 1995a, 1995b). This tool allows culturally complex individuals to identify features of their experience that are important or relevant to them within the counselling context. In his 1995 (b) paper Ishiyama discusses how to engage in discussions with individuals who feel culturally dislocated. By utilizing a more open approach that is free from the predetermined labels terminology a therapist opens the door for a frank and open discussion about the many aspects of life that create meaning for complex individuals. This allows clients to fully explore what is important in their own life experiences. It can also be beneficial in helping TRKs explore what areas of their life they may wish to focus on to increase their understanding of themselves, create more meaning in their lives, or increase their mood.

It is also important for a therapist to be comfortable discussing topics outside of their own cultural and geographic context. The TRKs in this study spoke of the comfort and importance of being able to speak about experiences that they cannot usually discuss because of the contexts they find themselves in. If a therapist wishes to specialize in working with TRKs, or other members of the culturally mobile, it would be beneficial for that therapist to remain current with international news and issues as well as have a working knowledge of geography. This will help facilitate conversations about topics that TRKs and other globally mobile populations may be considering or worrying about.

Finally it is important for therapists to realize that the experience of being internationally mobile as a child is not necessarily a negative one. It is a complex experience with both positive and negative impacts. It is not helpful to assume that all

TRKs will have experienced the mobility as detrimental. Some TRKs do experience difficulties with grief (Gilbert, 2008) there are many for whom the experience is positive. It is therefore important to approach each culturally complex person without predetermined assumptions about what the experience and its impacts were like for the individual.

Limitations of Current Study and Suggestions for Future Research

The paucity of current research on TCKs or TRKs makes it difficult to summarize what areas of the TRK experience would most benefit from further scholarly attention. The most glaring issue with the research to date is that all of the studies have focused exclusively on the U.S. population, with the exception of this present study and the research done by Walters and Auton-Cuff (2010), which were focused on Canadian TRKs. Even studies that included TRKs from other countries, like the work of Huff (2001) and Gerner and Perry (2002), use the U.S. sessile population as the control group, and the majority of their samples are TRKs with U.S. passports who are then compared to TRKs from other passport countries. These studies have found significant differences between U.S. TRKs and TRKs from other passport countries. This present study had three TRKs whose families held Canadian passports and one with a passport from the United Kingdom and the permanent residence status of their parents in Hong Kong. This focus on U.S. TRKs and occasionally on Canadian TRKs is a significant issue. The lack of research on TRKs from other passport countries is something that TRKs on blogs like Denizen express frustration over. First of all, most TRKs from G8 countries like Canada and the United States have a certain amount of privilege that TRKs from non-G8 countries may not have. This privilege comes from both the political

and economic power of their passport countries and from the wealth that these expatriate families often have when they are away from their passport country. While it is true that missionary families do not often have the wealth that the big business, military, academic, or diplomat families possess, even if they are from North America, the truth remains that the majority of studies have been on families travelling with positions of privilege. It is possible that the experiences of TRKs from non-western countries may be different. Future studies are needed to focus on the experiences of TRKs from countries other than Canada and the USA, to gain a more complete picture of the TRK experience. Studying TRKs from Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and South America will help to create a more balanced understanding of the TRK experience. In particular, studies on TRKs from non-G8 or G20 countries are needed to provide a more balanced view of the TRK experience. This will hopefully aid in creating a more complete understanding of the TRK experience.

All findings of research must be understood within the limitations of the studies within which they take place. Also, although this sample included a good cross-section of TRK experiences, with families coming from business, aid organizations, missionaries, and one professorial family, no military or diplomat families were part of the study. It is possible that the experiences of children of military or diplomat families may have a slightly different route and therefore experience of the mobility. More research into all the different kinds of mobility will be helpful, to gain a more nuanced understanding of TRKs. The sending organizations may or may not be a significant factor in the TRK experience, but further research into this area would be beneficial.

This current study did not investigate the effects, if any, on the TRK cultural experience based on gender. The current group did not discuss gender as a significant

difference in their views of TRK culture, and no interactions in the group appeared to be strongly influenced by gender. Disagreements and agreements in the group did not appear to be split along gender lines. However, the study by Gerner and Perry (2002) proposed to have found differences between male and female TCKs in their responses to language and cultural acceptance. Further research to see if gender is a mitigating factor in the experiences of being a TRK would be beneficial.

Finally, overgeneralizing conclusions drawn from a small, self-selected, highly motivated sample, such as the participants in this study were, should be done with caution. The motivation of the participants was clear; for example, one participant cancelled a trip to a foreign country in order to participate in the second focus group. Some findings or categories may be affected by the participants' motivation to be a part of a research project on TCKs. This leads to participants being a group of people who highly identify with their experiences of mobility as children. It is possible that another sample with less motivated participants might provide a different picture of their route. It is also possible that the curiosity about the TCK category might be less pronounced in a group of participants who were less motivated than those in this study were.

It is important that future research come from a clearly understood and defined place in regard to the use of terms like culture or identity, since the lack of definition of these terms is one of the weaknesses of studies to date. Prior to designing research studies, it is important that a research team fully situate themselves within the field in regard to their use of all terms within the study, and that the use of these terms becomes a point of clarity. At present, it is difficult to analyze findings across studies, because how the terms are operationalized is unclear and indiscernible from the studies themselves.

The effects of being a TRK on identity formation are unclear. Some researchers like Walter and Auton-Cuff (2010) and Gilbert (2008) believe that adolescence is delayed and identity development prolonged in TRKs. The participants in the current study also believed that TRKs had a different, potentially longer identity formation process. In light of research by Crocetti, Scignaro, Sica, and Magrin (2012), which demonstrates sessile individuals forming their identity well into their mid- to late-twenties, it is not possible to draw a definitive conclusion on whether development, and in particular identity development, is affected by the TRK experience. A longitudinal study of the identity formation and emerging adulthood years of a TRK cohort, ideally following TRKs from their early teens to their early thirties, is necessary to make the developmental and identity development of this population more clear and easy to understand. This will allow for a more concise understanding of the developmental process for TRKs, which will be of benefit in therapeutic settings.

Finally, it is important that research be conducted in a fashion that allows for an open and nuanced understanding of the experience of third-rootedness. Answers given to questionnaires or Likert scales are simplistic in nature, and the interpretation of the results may be misleading. As demonstrated in the differences between the Yoon, Langrehr, and Ong (2011) findings from their use of Berry's (2006) theory, and the findings from Yon (2000), the way that the questions are understood and read by participants may be drastically different from the way they are read and understood by researchers. For questions that involve nuanced multi-level issues or cultural complexities, the methodologies need to be equally nuanced, multi-leveled, and complex. Therefore, the use of questionnaires with this population is highly discouraged, due to the nuanced and complicated nature of the cultural interactions

involved in studying TRKs. Questionnaires will not allow a TRK to tell the researcher of their route and its impact on their identity and culture, because questionnaires have their topics of interest predetermined and worded by the researcher; this, along with the forced choice responses, can often obscure or even mislead a researcher dealing with a complex population. Instead, using ethnographic methodologies or qualitative methodologies is suggested, since they are more likely to accurately reflect the experiences of the participants.

Table 1 Themes Categories and Quotations

Theme	Category	Quotations
The Problematics of Being Asked Where you are From	Reactions of Others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • some people it's really weird it's almost like they don't want it's it's almost like it's a cancer or something. They kind of look and then they go on to oh yah and then start talking about this • when you meet somebody they ask you you're asking them where are you from? Whatever and then they ask you and you kind of feel this if you do mention the places you've lived as a child then instantly the conversation becomes about that. • Yah that's interesting that you said that about it does become the centre of conversation or the center of attention. • She's like "I didn't know that" • you don't need to put me on a pedestal through something I have no control over • people will how they see you changes like in that instant • um because um maybe the strangeness of your childhood experience or your ongoing sort of experience of people sort of they can't find a place to relate to you um in their minds they can't um so sort of like oh ok and that sort of is like a conversation kill
The Problematics of Being Asked Where you are From	Ways to Answer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • So I've found often like you you give them the kinda of the the teaser • "And I've notice that throughout the years. Where I I guess I could say I use it to whichever advantage I want." "Like you sharing or not sharing?" "yah it kinda took me awhile to figure that out" • so its kinda interesting the way people can see it as like its like a very like its sort of like an exciting thing. Like if I want to generate excitement then I'll sort of throw that in but otherwise if you don't want to draw attention to yourself its sort of like just try to stick with what's happening now. • it was ease for me when I was in Malaysia cause I said I'm from Canadian

Theme	Category	Quotations
The Problematics of Being Asked Where you are From	Personal Reactions to the Question	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Well it's weird how you start to look at that experience as some I I don't know as as though somehow your being selfish if you say it • (In response to giving the short answer) it's a white lie I suppose • I don't know I guess I don't really know what it means like what are you? • I a bit of an identity crisis going with that part of it for me
Relationship with self	Mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • but you do have sort of like a fantasy part where you're like what if I just never moved to Hong Kong lived in England for forever and ever and then you're like oh wow that would be so great but like it's weird because you're like why would it be so great? You're imagining it being so great but what you're fantasising about something that would be so great • yah I think probably you know felt the urge to fly more often in my early twenties. but I think it's from a period of time where I was where I was at the end of my childhood and then went to university it was sort of a period when I was still in the um habit of travelling often so wouldn't so I'd quite excited by by um my travelling like I said in the previous one never did enjoy flying so it's not I mean I'm fine with flying it's not you know sort of the excitement has worn of somewhat so • had lived there for my whole life and um and ah I it was it was when I went back to Scotland when I was in my Master's degree um it was partly because I'd wanted to see like when I was in high school in Scotland I'd sort of thought about settling down and you know staying there and then I left and I always kind of at first I really missed it and then I was like oh I wonder what it'd be like to go maybe I'll go back and so finally I went back and lived there for a summer and ah and it was really good for me because I it I realized that I I don't want to live there • moving around doing new things excitement all the time. But then other times I think gee you know I feel kind of like a failure and look at they're all retiring

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Self	Mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • your protective mechanisms and all that when you do have to leave and things are over
Relationship with Self	Complex Sense of Self	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it has allowed me to accept that maybe I will not understand I do not understand um and that who I am is actually part of a context it's part of who I relate to it's part of who my family is it's part of um who I will marry and live with a part of who my children will be and part of who my parents are and who their parents were you know it's sort like this network such a large network that actually um if you just feel like yes I know who I am you may have a simplistic view of yourself and the world around you whereas if we've had an experience where we've become more accepting of how diverse that network has become because of our moving and backwards and forwarding how different our cultures originating and arriving you know we don't have this ah sort of hey look around this is the culture that is me this is all mine so you personify yourself through your culture you know that is you and the culture is me and I am the culture. but actually we realize that maybe it is more sort of like we recognize a more human level there's like people and they have similar needs and so on but it's cause the world around us is so diverse that um um yah to me it's constant is outside of myself and maybe yah I am still changing and I'm maybe never know what's constant about myself • you can still very much be surprised in yourself cause I find sometimes if I go for a very long period of time for example not having eaten Asian food or not hanging out with um people who are you know TCK or who are you know just completely Asian then when I do I experience a sort of great welling up of excitement that I'm like ahhh great you know I'm like eat this food and hang out with these people and it feels normal

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Self	Complex Sense of Self	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When you're experiencing all these different things and different environments, different countries, different cultures, and stuff what's the constant in you and is there a constant I think there is I haven't figured it out yet (giggle) really I mean I think about it like driving home from work all the time you know the old big question "who am I?" that thing I mean that would have happened anyway but when you throw in living in different cultures and all that kind of stuff it uh I think it it helps it kind of helps make it more concrete in I don't know in if it's in feeling what what the constant is within in me what was the word he use the the real me or the... • I think that that really informed who I became it has to it has to form you know be really foundational in who I am now but can I remember precisely what it means to be you know that that what implication that is I'm not sure I mean I can remember I can remember lots of things images smells memories of and so on you know maybe even my first words were in Mandarin Chinese which is strange because I don't really speak Chinese anymore um I still occasionally dream in Chinese can I not remember my Chinese? Maybe but it's somewhere in there waiting to be triggered by the environment around me it's sort of ah um yah does that makes some sense?
Relationship with Self	Itchy Feeling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it was (I's name) that said about getting itchy every three years or whatever it was to move I though yah no that's not really me but I did it here I didn't go outside and do it I did it here I could never stay in a job for longer than three years I'd get itchy I could never stay in a relationship longer than three years I'd get itchy • the kind of the itchy feeling that you get when you've been in a place for about two three years or something you know you you feel like you need to start moving again or just start I I don't know you just I don't know get tired of places

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Self	Itchy Feeling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • you can't change who you are and like how you were raised and and that itchy feeling that comes and the the feeling that your interests are maybe over there
Relationship with Others	The Centrality of Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • so they didn't but they did end up buying this house in Winnipeg and it's funny because that house has now been home to like all my siblings cause we've all gone through Winnipeg for university • you know as a family you travel abroad protected environment we are a family we are a core unit • we didn't go back so almost all my family is in the UK extended family is in the UK and um we never we back to visit them maybe once when I was growing up. • my dad is born in Wales and raised in mostly Wales although his family is in the army and he um in the actually was military so they did end up doing a little bit of I think he lived somewhere else when he was younger um but mostly he was in Wales • I I don't necessarily feel that I have a very good sense of of of really the kind of commitment that it takes to love and care for somebody in a long term sense. Like I think for example my parents are getting older and I think to myself what if at some point they need to me to move back and and just take care of them you know like cause I I I don't know what you guys thing about like you know um homes for the elderly and things like that but I think that's a travesty that that people should be put in you know to these homes where you know it's just it's just sad right and I I tell myself that I would be the kind of son who would sacrifice and say no I'm going to move to wherever my parents are and I'm going to take care of them you know um and then I think to myself do I actually have that in in me or am I am I when when push comes to shove am I going to want oh I've got a job offer in Malaysia oh I've got a job offer in Singapore oh idiot like I'm gonna go

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Others	The Centrality of Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • you know like parenting is like thinking back and thinking what happened to me in my childhood what went wrong what was good you know then thinking about how does this translate to the opportunities now in the timeframe you know things have totally changed from when my parents were kids so what they can offer us or what they can give us can be different. But then also doing it outside of their their culture becomes another level of complexity • after University sort of time and ah and then when they got married they moved quite quickly to Taiwan and they both learned Mandarin Chinese so my dad grew up speaking Cantonese and English • you know and I'm taking care of my aging parents • so weird being linked back to this house I mean it's not weird because we have like family friends and stuff there
Relationship with Others	The Limitations of Talking with Sessile People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • yah yah and it's like there's this whole there's this whole part of you that you have to essentially forget about right like you you. I went to undergrad in Winnipeg and so when I got to Winnipeg I go to Winnipeg I have to just talk about Winnipeg things you know I can't I can't I can't talk about the other things because they just don't seem to be interested or they don't know how to talk about them and so we just end up talking about this one small part of my life • They really seemed to only care about things within Scotland like in terms of not even just me but like global issues weren't of interest • I guess for me I've sort of learnt to um well not learnt to but I try to practice being present in sort of everyday activities with people um maybe trying to deflect away from um (2 second pause) referencing parts of my life that are not currently sort of active

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Others	The Limitations of Talking with Sessile People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> um because um maybe the strangeness of your childhood experience or your ongoing sort of experience of people sort of they can't find a place to relate to you um in their minds they can't um so sort of like oh ok and that sort of is like a conversation kill
Relationship with Others	Romantic Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I: and and I I also found that like in romantic relationships I just I ended up like dating all these girls they are just like all from the same place. You know or not the same place but they're from one place. R: Oh OK I: yah R: so you go towards that one piece that's kind of maybe I: yah yah R: not missing but I: well I mean it think it's I: I think it's one of my friends explained it as you know it's opposites attract you look at somebody you you see something in someone else that you want because you don't have it and so I saw in all these people that I was interacting with this sense of identity this sense of rootedness a sense of place of belonging and um and I didn't have it and it's hugely attractive she's like I realized that I have nothing to say about all of that stuff in your past that like she realized she said that there was this whole other part to me that she had never like engaged with at all and had never really understood or kind of like seen kinda come out you know going back to talk about other past relationships I think that um it isn't necessarily the experience but it's whether your mind is open or closed to new experiences I think I've actually dated in a sort of a pathway of like it's interesting some people who have stably placed in one place and I thinks it's opportunity the situation feels so experiential and tried to experience the other but for me like um dating people who were ah who were ethnic Chinese like um I'm half Chinese so sort of makes sense to choose you know well say be in that place and choose but ah but then you know for whatever reason it didn't work out

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Others	Romantic Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> when I was dating the girls that were not TCKs and I would say something about my childhood or you know my experiences abroad or something like that it would be something that I would then have to then kind of in a sense give a like back story kind of kind of give them the you know explain a lot more of kind of why the particular incident why it meant a certain thing and and how it was perceived and I'd have to explain the whole thing to because they didn't have the kind of the the rubric the frame work to understand that like what was actually happening whereas with D the girl now like she a just because the fact that she had that experience she's had experiences abroad she's had her own experiences abroad it's not you know like not with me like she's had her own thing you know um
Relationship with Others	Perspective Taking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (this is said by a person who is ethnically half Chinese with dark hair and eyes) I mean I know in like Hong Kong if you're Caucasian and you have a child who has blond like ultra-white blond hair and blue eyes you know it's like this amazing thing for Chinese people they're like this child is amazing so it gets a lot of attention it's treated very differently it's fascinating for the people of um for for Chinese people who are very who may find themselves as very different what they see as this um Caucasian child and I think that really effects ah that might really I can see that possibly effecting people how they develop and mature You know The UK's got a lot you know sort of 60 plus million people living it. it's the size of BC a lot of stuff going on there Re it's like So they don't need to If they don't want to they don't need to look outside you know and Europe they're a part of it sort of and so it's close enough. If they don't want to talk about stuff outside it I can understand sort of someway

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Others	Perspective Taking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • which is probably different from how people are who are like from sessile um like home based um childhoods I think probably the decision is much is probably a slightly different procedure works its way up differently • I think that's fascinating what you said cause I was thinking I never even thought about it well we're talking about our experiences but how it effected us were you know why did our parents do it and how did it effect them. And were they perfectly willing or they having some trouble with the fact that they were ripping their kids from here to there well not ripping but um
Relationship with Others	Thoughts on Raising Their Future Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I've wanted for my kids for them to have the experience that I didn't of growing up in one place and not moving • But I will bring up my children in this sort of cross-cultural mixed and I'll also trying try not to make them patriotic as well • (speaking of raising kids in a sessile manner) the other thing that I hadn't really thought of was that how then in that case that my kids couldn't relate to that part of me and you know whether that whether I would feel like that's sort of sad.
Relationship with Others	Curiosity about TCKs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I mean I wonder if you did a third culture study on um non um non um non Israeli Jews or non-Chinese ethnically Chinese outside of China if you'd have a sort of a different a different kind of third culture kid in there who both has this sort of huge feeling of being of actually feels like they are something • um I'm reminded of that uh that story's that's in the TCK book • Yah interesting trying to make this distinction into a second culture kid or a third culture kid um third um maybe the third is that it's an amalgam of the originating and the arriving cultures um but ah I mean that maybe sort of you know that's really will come out of further study and discussion like are there distinctions between

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Others	Curiosity about TCKs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • R: kay TCK book? I: it's a good it's a good read R: I didn't know about it so thank you I: I can I can give you the the author's name the title and everything it's t's it's just like a it's it's I read it late on like I was 22/23 when I finally read it I don't know you have?
Relationship with Others	Contact with Friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I call them dead when we moved they were dead they were gone • I'm like well yah so there's a plane ride so you can get back so it's not like the same yes there is there is that but you can still get there • I felt like with e-mails it's like not only did it take more time but you it it almost had to be more of substance like it was like updated on significant events and like you know that kind of thing and you missed out on the that just the day to day oh you know I saw an interesting building today or you know some whatever but now it's like you take a picture of the building and put it on facebook and someone else commented on it and so you get that more just informal connection • but I mean then you know with with the people who are in the previous place that you used to lived I I don't have those substantive conversations ever whereas people that you are around physically there is a chance that you might actually have those conversations I don't know • when I was moving around back then but even e-mail I mean e-mailing was around when I was doing but still you know and so you try you really make an effort so you try you really make an effort and then ah then when you know you start to ah make friends with the people in your new place oh I can't I'm not going to spend you know Friday night writing an e-mail to my friend back in Pakistan because well I've been invited over here you know I'm just going to go over you there • I felt I I certainly made an huge effort to um develop skills at maintaining you know relationships over distance and that kind of thing and um that served me well

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Others	Contact with Friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> it was something that I found frustrating like there were two situations one was a friend of mine who's from Ottawa who has always lived in Ottawa and um it it made me so upset that she wouldn't put the same kind of effort into our friendship that I did so when I moved out here we met when I was in undergrad in Ontario and ah I moved out here and I would try to call her and you know e-mail and that kind of thing and she would never call me like just never and ah why am I always the one to pick up the phone and ah she her thing is that she doesn't remembers birthdays it's like why am I always sending her a card on her birthday? and like you know her husband has said like you know it's going to get you in trouble like not making this kind of effort but she would always be like oh whatever and so it was actually just within the last year I decided I wasn't going to make the effort anymore and I just stopped calling and was like you know if this isn't important to you than it's that's fine I'm just going to let it go. And ah she actually did start making the effort which was nice which was nice um but the other thing was that it realized it it is still important to me to see people and one thing I've also had difficulty with is when people when I've always made the effort to travel back and see people and make that face time connection and it's rare for someone to come to see me
Relationship with Society	Analyzing "Culture"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> um because it's not just ah um uh people maybe think that culture should be something that is celebratory happy all the time but I actually think that inbuilt in culture are things which are involve great loss sadness I think that's also the attitude of a mature culture and a mature person doesn't matter if they're TCK or not that if they're happy with themselves and well grounded and like that you know know who they are that they are that I think that that causes that gives them the security to welcome the other to engage with and and embrace embrace to embrace the other

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Society	Analyzing "Culture"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I think we sort of started touching on it a little last week when (I's name) was saying you know what is culture? And it was sort of like you know we shall we need to define what we mean by culture first and so I think we talked about the differences it being sort of more surface in terms of food and um some maybe practices or routines and then you know maybe there's a deeper meaning to culture um so I'm not sure where I fall on that I feel like I feel like it definitely if you're if you take a very extreme definition of culture then it can kind of encompass everything. But in some ways that's less useful so so for example it's like if I'm thinking about how so I'm thinking about how like if you think about so my culture as I'm a woman living in Canada and um I'm white and you know European ancestry and um you know my socio economic status and blah blah blah so you can think about it really M-you can kind of get it so it's so fine grained that it really only applies to me and that's in some ways you know not very useful as a concept so I think taking culture to be something that's a bit more broad that people can all fall into so that would be something like TCKs to describe that sort of the commonality of experience. um I think is a useful definition of of culture potentially so I I do see that there that um that there is a culture it's a little difficult to put your finger on exactly what it means um but I do think there is one

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Society	Analyzing "Culture"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I think um whilst the the practices of culture like you know food and um observances, festivals, holidays, ways of behaving um I think there's different parts of culture I think those parts of culture are the things which serve to inter-generationally link people together. So you celebrate Christmas because your parents celebrated Christmas because their parents celebrated Christmas and there's sort of an observance which is passed down and then it causes you as a family to come together or you for whatever whatever it is like ancestor worship in Asia you do it together it's what links your generation with past generation to the past generation but then within those practices there are the feelings I think that they engender and that people recognize with one another so by for example ancestor worship people are recognizing I am from this family this past ancestor was from this family and we feel this together we are the P family. you know from generation to generation and there's a there's sort of ah togetherness that is felt we are from the same culture we come from the same place and I think that although the practices for Third Culture Kid culture are far more varied what we still remain what we still have is the feeling I can recognize you as someone who has shared
Relationship with Society	Analyzing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> but you see the question is the question is we're we're becoming more connected but what is the nature of that connection? a mature person doesn't matter if they're TCK or not that if they're happy with themselves and well grounded and like that you know know who they are that they are that I think that that causes that gives them the security to welcome the other to engage with and and embrace embrace to embrace the other

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Society	Relationship with passport country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • learning ok so this is what Canadians are like cause my parents had always talked about you know how fabulous Canadians are and Canadians are like on a pedestal and idolized and like I mean they immigrated here and like made the effort to become Canadian like they're very invested in you know they chose it. And ah and so I came and was sort of like really? I mean Ok I don't really see it but fine • but my parents either neither my mom or my dad ever talked about their home place as their home country as like being a ss-superlative ways like my dad doesn't rave about the UK he doesn't have many connections to the UK himself my grandmother's passed away he has a sister my aunt is there even though she was actually not there either she was in Africa as well she was Zimbabwe and then South Africa my other uncle on my dad's side is in Australia so like we have no real connections to the UK as a home country um and then and then Canada I mean my mom fine all my extended relatives are in Winnipeg or in Canada in general but there was never this kind of like building it up in my head not not in the way it sounds like your parents did um and so in many ways I think I kind of created it myself because I needed I needed an identity I needed something to kinda give myself give myself like I'm Canadian • then when you and then when you come back here and realize what Canadians actually are like and what they think about and care about you're like why did ah I've never been Canadian like what do I what was I thinking? • coming back was the weirdest

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Society	Relationship with passport country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • and and I mean I remember in our high school in Pakistan like all the Canadians in the in the school we um intramurals one of the intramurals was floor hockey and so we just thought that being Canadian we we had to win this we just had to and sure enough we made we made ah we made a Canadian team and sure enough we won it and we were like the world is is right again you know like we have proven that this is our sport New Zealanders have rugby we have hockey Americans have all the other stuff • but then it's funny right because when you come like I I had the experience of like reverse culture shock where you where you actually move here for university then when you're walking down the street and you're a white guy walking down the street in Winnipeg no one knows anything other no no one knows any different they're like you're just a Canadian like there's nothing to there's nothing to say that oh they'll you know they see you on the street oh that's person different that person's not from here like maybe I should talk to them or something you know like they just see you walking down the street they're like and he grew up in Richmond it's no problem • E: it's like when you're away the differences are then reduced and you highlight the likes so I'm acceptable to you you know we're both Canadian but actually you know maybe that person grew up in Nova Scotia you know and you in BC but it's like it's so different it's totally different I: if you actually met that person in Canada you wouldn't have a lot of similarities and you'd be like ok E: but in Malaysia wow • you know In Canada here like we see each other driving and whatever oh hi whatever and over there it's like oh! My people!

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Society	Patriotism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I've always hated patriotism • yah and I don't like it when it feeds into people's ah it's like an excuse not to be open minded or not to learn about elsewhere it's sort of like well I um it's like sort of sometimes it can sort of be an easy way out to sort of say I'm from here it's the best end of story • E: people who are proud of waving flags they shouldn't have them that's because if you're that sort of like this is my flag you guys can suck it then like you don't deserve to have that flag it's not like you know if it's a them or us sort of thing I'm going to cut you if you're ah got the flag it's like mine's red mine's blue you know I'm going to punch you it's like that's like ok the whole flag thing has gone to far everyone should put their flags in the middle and set fire to them it's the only it's the only logical hopeful solution R: (laughs) it's the only peaceful thing to do E: that's the thing to do. I don't mind I don't mind people being from somewhere that's ok be from somewhere I'm from somewhere. but if it's like I'm from somewhere and it's clear that my place is definitely better than your place. you're like well that's probably not true • you see I think I might be the only person in the room who actually doesn't I mean I I I understand why you may not like it I understand I have the same kind of criticisms on the other hand like because of this whole tension in me like wanting to be a part of a place I can't help but get teary eyed at ah get like really like really I mean I went to I went to a a hockey game in the US and It was the US versus Canada and it was world juniors and we sang the oh Canada and I was I was just like going oh boy like going oh my gosh 15 thousand at the last 15 thousand Canadian's just belting it out at the the top of their lungs that was powerful but I can understand why you're not ah why you don't like it

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Society	Thoughts on Mobility and Interacting with Cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the reason why parents move to foreign countries is often they perform sort of a high position in businesses or companies or you know they're in the military or they're teachers or cler-clergy man or woman they're you know um they're positions of responsibility and that's the reason our families move abroad um and then with that the the sort of that that um the child senses the responsibility the parents have and then also in the receiving country um people respecting your parents in a way that maybe you know it's sort of a little bit similar when I you know go back to the UK or some or somewhere where maybe my parents have been known for a longer period of time or you know it's just like they're not particularly special people but then when they go to this foreign country then there's suddenly some sort of celebrity and or you know status involved with them and I think that rubs rubs off on the kids naturally cause the kids observe the parents they're like well our family is this responsible family that's here to teach people English or here to run this church or here to be part of this military base ah protecting whatever it is they protect or do in this country Now still along those lines I don't think that if you if you're taking your kids all over the world or living here and there and then come back will they fit in? well no they're never going to fit in as if they were born here or were raised here I think that's pretty um a common belief I don't know um but is that a bad thing I don't know but I do believe that no they would never fit into the no-whatever the normal thing is. but yah is that a bad thing or is that a cool thing because they can just kind of flit around and adapt and do all this other stuff and you know and then you gotta weigh out what's good and what's not good or what's someone is pleased with or not pleased with

Theme	Category	Quotations
Relationship with Society	Thoughts on Mobility and Interacting with Cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • for whatever reason we're able to say that we don't miss our childhood cultures in the same way um you know that we're we are able just to say that was wasn't necessarily what made us it is just a part that made us and then we are able to walk away and it's not animosity or hatred it's just like I choose not to
TCK Culture	Skills and Ways of Being For TCKs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • that's to do with skills that we've learned and it sets us aside. • a third culture adult trait is that people are insistent on choice they want to chose where they end up they want to chose to therefore continue living in this one place or chose to keep moving or • I guess you're you're talking about kind of you know kind of being like a chameleon right change your skin you just kind of change your change your like I notice when I go different places when I go to Kenya my my accent changes • I can see that they are it's humorous enjoy they um are able to gravitate towards a cause in conversation in relationships joyfulness and and laughter um (clears throat) maybe in a way that that I can't quite visualize people who are not • I mean I am myself at times hugely intolerant totally disgusted by whatever so to say that you know that TCK I am a TCK and that I am an example of how super tolerant and embracing • the passion for for embracing other cultures the passion for learning about and and just embracing all that you can. you know and just being that kind of a person • you find yourself continually attracted to um new situations or challenging opportunities or by nature because you're able to feel able to accomplish something within a very diverse situation and you are therefore drawn into that or driven into to those scenarios um whereas someone else might just go no way I'm not I'm not touching I'm not touching it's too hard for me

Theme	Category	Quotations
TCK Culture	Skills and Ways of Being For TCKs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I was thinking you know in terms of your story it's I think maybe to you it's sort of ah it's a knowledge of your own resiliency and you know that's just what you're that is I just know in for myself that I am able to move • one of the realities of being a TCK is that we maybe are over critical at times we over analyze able to over analyze able to or find ourselves setting standards which are unrealistic and based on almost like a mythical existence
TCK Culture	Loss, Grief and Sadness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • finite you know and actually we lose by not realizing there is loss in life strangely we lose in in death there's um in loss we realize what is important what we should hold onto we let go of things which are um invaluable you know which are not valuable which are not worth while holding onto we say to ourselves strive continue because you have not reached you know go forward um ah what has hurt us before hasn't killed us we're still clearly living let's continue living even though the loss is there • I you know what I said was that I wouldn't want to live in a world where there wasn't loss it wouldn't be real there's just not it to live behind that white picket fence and to have this sense of like everything is always fine would actually I would have to have you know I would be um Truman from the Truman show • feelings of loss are ah maybe a commonality • I would put in the category with the analogy of death culture. Culture has died for me you know • kind of just choke up immediately any kind of awards ceremony of any kind or graduation or anything like that so she was saying she was saying that was probably a sense of loss a sense of something you could have done that you didn't • I would say I still so identify well with the sort of like loss grief possibility of depression I don't know

Theme	Category	Quotations
TCK Culture	Loss, Grief and Sadness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I've learnt to enjoy the loss to enjoy just as much as any part of life I think that life in all those varied components it's like my life isn't this good life until the loss occurs my life is actually a good life because loss is within it not because loss is within it but it is a part of the whole view of life.
TCK Culture	Lack of TCK Cultural Icons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • we would probably be hard pressed to see a third culture person being the personification of third culture culturedness. I don't know can you think of anybody famous who you would say is I mean is Barak Obama is he slightly in terms of I mean only because I know from his history not so much from I mean he does seem to be quite personal, flexible sociable hi level of communication built he's I don't know I don't know that's I mean that's another way of looking at you know who are the cultural icons for a culture I'm just trying to think I don't know • (in response to question of if they could think of another cultural icon for TCKs) that's an interesting question he's the only one that can come to mind my mind • you know I mean I can only think of really other people who are I knew
TCK Culture	Aspects of and Existence of TCK Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it's interesting to try and explain to others so I guess what I'm getting at is another reason I feel like there is one is that other people people outside of it don't get it. • if we've grown up somewhere else we have what is nostalgia for something that and maybe that's why this sort of like um um ah joyful tears comes about because nostalgia is often for something that was in the past that we can't change now that we are emotionally very connected to but that we know we've moved on from now but when we still look back we are very much both joyful and sad that we can't have it again cause it's gone but joyful because we experienced it it sort of maybe that's something feature of TCK culture

Theme	Category	Quotations
TCK Culture	Aspects of and Existence of TCK Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I don't know exactly what it is but I think it's covert and I think we're spread all over the world and we serve a good purpose the end and I really mean that • it's when you meet someone it's that kind of thing you can you can get the sense from what we were talking about about being more comfortable or perceptive or um and then as you're talking with someone and then it then it comes out but when you're just you know observing someone in the public eye then it's I think be much harder also relating to our sometimes our re-like you know how we've talked about we don't necessarily flaunt it like • I want people to be multicultural I them to be third culture I don't know I think I recognize that it's incredibly difficult to encourage that with people to be whatever evangelical about it • it's interesting that it's yah it does seem to be something that's definable but actually is used to be define something that has no sort of set grouping or set recognized you know it's not recognized in sort of ah because it's to do with nationality and identity and personhood and it's not em hasn't got like a specific ethnicity behind it or physical yah like geographical location to to even to go back to the roots from it. Then it's almost a what because of that it's difficult to define or even put a group name to it. • we come from the same place and I think that although the practices for Third Culture Kid culture are far more varied what we still remain what we still have is the feeling I can recognize you as someone who has shared

Theme	Category	Quotations
TCK Culture	Maturation Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • you leave those decisions to a later period than maybe if you had just lived for 18 years in one place yah I can see that that's or I can share you know I believe that you know like I yah for whatever reason you know um people generally recognize that there's sort of a maturing time when you become an adult you know in your late teens early 20s but I don't see why it has to you know what's the reason for having arrived at that point um I think maybe you know maybe sort there's sort of the commonality you know sometimes I see maybe a TCK blog or something that people are saying you know I feel like a failure because mid or late whatever twenties and I haven't settled on a job and I feel so you know up or down or flexible but I think maybe it's an extended period of as an adult deciding you know what your identity will be or has become or recognizing what it has become rather than maybe there's this sort of like an innate feeling that you might be able have if you'd stayed in one place for 18 years and as you all accumulate to that point with your high school class or within those or within a tolerance of a few year you all recognize that you've moved from childhood to adulthood you all within one another you recognize and I think it's in a way it you know it will occur in different ways you know for different cultures of course am kay this sort of maturing age but maybe third culture is you know has a just has like a far far far wider tolerance of coming into identity of self maybe it's a ten or 15 year window whereas for a lot of cultures it's a you know within a 5 year window depending on which culture it is it's either 18 to 23 or 20 to 25 but for third culture it's like anywhere in a 20 year gap between 15 and 15 and 15 and thirty five

Theme	Category	Quotations
TCK Culture	Maturation Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I think for for when I was 16 I was heavily into the angst and ah and in fact when I was 16 I wrote an English essay on how the ways in which moving so many times had damaged me not in so many words that was kind of traumatizing for my parents actually which I didn't realized at the time My mom read it and was oh my god we've we've scared you for life they were kind of horrified and then I felt kind of bad cause I hadn't meant to be as dramatic as that and then I realized maybe my writing made that sound anyway, um tangential but I I was having a bit of that identity crisis of like um and I think at that time I would probably would have said more on the um dam-developmentally damaging side of things but by the time I was I would say 20, 20-21 it I I it would be about about where I'm at now • I mean I pushed through that angst until I was 25 you know really fundamentally very dissatisfied with what who I saw myself as in my mind with who I really was but I would suggest that for a TCK maybe that's uh because you're so much more practiced in perceiving other parts of life other parts of cultures other parts of things and also because you this like wider broader acceptance of other people um you're just taking longer to choose
TCK Culture	Thoughts on the Term TCK and it's Definition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • coming from as well but but yah it is the terminology for third culture kid it is it is interesting that um I feel like I feel like it's a reasonable I don't love it but it's ah I'm I'm sort of thought of it as well and it's like I'll use it because it's the best • I mean I wonder if you did a third culture study on um non um non Israeli Jews or non-Chinese ethnically Chinese outside of China if you'd have a sort of a different a different kind of third culture kid in there who both has this sort of huge feeling of being of actually feels like they are something • Yah interesting trying to make this distinction into a second culture kid or a third culture kid um third um maybe the third is that it's an amalgam of the originating and the arriving cultures

Theme	Category	Quotations
TCK Culture	Social Emotional Intelligence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • also into emotional IQ because I think it might be the case that they might have higher emotional IQ • K: an emotional intelligence assessment that I've had done ... T: and how did you score? K: Oh I would have to go back to my thing but it was generally it was defiantly like things were good and it was like I think there was one suggestion that I had or whatever but mostly ah you're doing this well you're doing this well you're doing this well which is nice • K: then it can kind of encompass everything. But in some ways that's less useful so E: (laughs) K: so for example it's like if I'm thinking about how E: have you got enough paper (said to researcher) could be a lot could be a lot missed everything (word spoken so all syllables are stressed) T: I'm ready I'm ready E: starting from A (giggles) K: (giggles throughout E's last statement)
TCK Culture	Routes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • E: that's interesting very interesting cause so no matter what your roots ROO ROOTS R: you have a route E: it's almost immaterial because maybe you share more with someone who has a similar route R O U T E S than to you that would seem like a very um smart way to to reclassify yah • I like that too like what route did you take • I feel like I feel like that could almost be like a new instead of third culture kid something more • yah that there's something good in that word that really resonates • TRK third route kid
TCK Culture	Need to Contextualize TCKs in Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In response to a statement that research shows that TCKs get higher paying jobs and are more likely to go to university E: but is that a socio economic effect of their travelling internationally their parents are going to be middle class, educated, skilful backgrounds so fortunate following of their life

Theme	Category	Quotations
Global Awareness	World Knowledge (knowing names or cultural references)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You don't just start talking about Mobutu on a random occasion? • right now I was reading in the you know cause sort of you keep an eye on where people move to and so on so reading in the paper about how people in Australia ex-pats in Australia who are British are leaving in droves because they found this wonderful place to live Australia it's warm it's less rainy great so they live there but they miss British culture so they move back what they miss is this sort of we are British together • so you want to know the line from from ah The Flight of the Concorde? he maybe did. It's a play on the sort of the like New Zealander's way of saying dead. • if we go to Africa our infant mortality rates are super super high then we say well for them loss is a a daily occurrence it's a family occurrence we will lose a child. You know out of our five one of them will pass away
Global Awareness	Drawn to a More Globally Aware Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although having said that my neighbour who I garden with is from Ethiopia so she does have a sort of understanding of travel and there are other places in the world. So I've cer you know obviously like I've gravitated towards you know a community that is more diverse in that way.

Table 2: Cultural Theorists and Counselling TCKs

Theorist	Primary Question of Interest	Information Gained and not Gained About TCK
Sue and Sue	What is your Ethnicity/Race or 'other' minority status?	The ethnicity and race and 'other' minority status of the TCK is gained. Little to no information is gained regarding TCK identity, experience, or culture. If the TCK does not fit into one of the minority groups they recognize, then no attempts to be culturally sensitive will be seen as necessary.
Henderson Metzger, Nadkarni, and Erickson Cornish	Are you one of a predetermined list of minority groups?	If the TCK is a part of one of the minority groups in question, no information is gained about TCK identity, experience, or culture. If the TCK does not fit into one of the minority groups they recognize, then no attempts to be culturally sensitive will be seen as necessary.
Arthur Collins and Justin	What non-dominant category do you fit into? (includes: age, gender, ethnicity, class, socioeconomic status, religion, and immigration)	Of the multicultural counselling theories, this is the one with the highest likelihood of eliciting a discussion of the TCK experience, since it is more nuanced and concepts like hybrid space and intersecting identities are recognized. However, since the focus of non-dominant populations is still tied to groups of political interest and hybrid space is usually conceptualized as an immigrant's experience, it is more likely that the TCK will not share his or her experiences, especially since TCKs are not officially conceptualized as a non-dominant population.
Kleinman	What is your story and context?	Although the question does not directly ask for the TCK's experience, in this situation the TCK is given an opportunity to share their history and context, and it is likely that there will be space for a discussion of TCK identity, experiences, and culture to be explored. Although this question may not directly lead to a discussion of these topics, it is open enough to allow for them to be discussed. Kleinman's theory also is fluid and flexible enough for a conceptualization of TCKs to fit within it.
Yon	What is your and your family's route?	A detailed discussion of the TCK's experiences, culture, and identity is likely to happen here. In addition, there is room to discuss the many cultural influences on the TCK and on their family members, including many that will not be included in the monolithic categories favored by multicultural theorists. Yon's conceptualization of culture fits extremely well with the TCK lived experience.

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