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„Third Culture Kids –

Development of a Current Phenomenon"

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1   Introduction

In this global world, not being able to answer the simple question "Where are you from?" does not seem so unusual anymore. Many people relocate to different cities, countries and continents during their lifetime due to job postings, family circumstances or sheer sense of adventure. The decision to relocate, one can assume in these cases, was made by adults (Pearce 2002, 160). The focus of this paper is on the children of those families who join them on their extended journey overseas, willingly or not, and who thus become exposed not only to the culture (or sometimes cultures) of their family and passport country, but also to a new culture, a second culture. Through the combination of these two cultures, the child, along with the expatriate community, forms its own parallel culture and thus becomes a Third Culture Kid (TCK).

The literature on TCKs tends to highlight many of the negative aspects of growing up among different cultures. Books give advice to parents and teachers of TCKs on how to handle transitions, articles are written on the difficulties to maintain friendships across oceans, and research is done on how global nomads never quite fit in. However, the wealth of experiences these young adults have accumulated in their short lives can also be of great worth, if it is acknowledged as such. This review is, among other things, an attempt to not only draw attention to the benefits TCKs themselves have, but to also highlight what they have to offer to society in general and the German-speaking world in particular.

1.1 Origination and Definition of the Term 'Third Culture Kid'

The dominant paradigm for these mobile children is that of the Third Culture Kid, a term originally defined by Ruth Useem in the 1950's (Pollock & Van Reken 2001, 20). It has come to identify children of diplomats, staff members of international organizations, military personnel, missionaries and teachers, among others, who have spent a significant amount of time in a country outside of their own during their developing years. A common definition first presented at a seminar of Interaction Inc. in 1989 is as follows:

> "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 others of similar background" (Pollock and Van Reken 2001, 19).

These children more often than not are affected by their stay abroad and carry issues from this experience, including problems with identity, marginality, lack of attachment, and loss, into adulthood. The growing number of such adolescents through globalization and the internationalization of organizations and businesses accentuate the need for a more profound understanding of TCK issues. A useful starting point for doing so is a review of the existing literature in this field.

The term 'third culture' was identified by Dr. Useem during her studies of expatriates in India in the 1950's, where she noted that expatriates preferred to socialize among themselves, even with expatriates of other countries. Dr. Useem discovered that, upon the return to their home countries, expatriates adjusted eventually, while their children, on the other hand, had a much more difficult time. This led her to believe that each of these children embodied three cultures, their home or passport culture, the culture of the places they have lived in and their expatriate community with which they have shared experiences (Pollock & Van Reken 2001, Quick 2010, Krömer 2004). According to Dr. Useem, even children who do not grow up in a specific expatriate community or a military base and therefore have no one sharing their experience to build a culture with, are part of this definition (Pollock & Van Reken 2001, 21).

In addition to TCK, there have been a number of terms created to describe these children and adolescents. The term "Global Nomad" (GN) was coined by Norma McCaig in 1984 and can be used interchangeably with the term TCK (Schaetti n.d.). ATCKs or "Adult Third Culture Kids" are TCKs who have grown up and still exhibit characteristics of TCKs. In the revised version of their book, Pollock and Van Reken added the term "Cross-Cultural Kids (CCK)" as "A person who has lived in or meaningfully interacted with two or more cultural environments for a significant period of time during their first 18 years" (Quick 2010, 21). This term would also include children of immigrants and refugees or those of bi-cultural parents.

1.2 Problem Statement and Purpose of the Research Question

TCKs are raised in a cross-cultural world because they not only know about different cultures, but also live in them. Some have only experienced two cultures, others start out with two 'first' cultures and add even more. All TCKs are also confronted with high mobility. Either the TCKs themselves move around or the people in their lives come and go. Other commonalities include being physically different from those around them, eventual repatriation, a privileged lifestyle with frequent travel and other perks, and often also a system identity with the military or a company (Pollock & Van Reken 2001, Quick 2010, 21 ff.).

The U.S. Department of State has helped to establish an understanding of the issues of TCKs. The Family Liaison Office provides information and guidance to families of U.S. government employees, also specifically on youth and education, targeting transition issues of internationally mobile children. Eakin (1998) addresses these issues in an article published for the Family Liaison Office, giving not only insights into the tumultuous lives of young children and teenagers abroad, but also doling out advice to parents and their children. Pearce (2002) proposes that the TCK and GN phenomenological approach to the mobile child started in the United States due to the general consensus that identity can be acquired and is not, as might be a more popular view in Europe, unalterable. This suggests that the phenomenon is not only rooted in 'American' thinking, but is also set to thrive there. Langford also appoints the US Foreign Service as "pioneers in the field of moving families overseas by virtue of their extensive experience of relocation long before the business sector launched itself into the international market-place after World War II" (Langford 1998, 31).

Reflecting the different approach to identity prevailing in Europe, official institutions, such as the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, do not explicitly address the TCK problem, even though the topic would also be relevant in Austria. There are no statistics on how many children of Austrian parents grow up outside of the country, making it very difficult to judge the size of the Austrian TCK population. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and 'Statistik Austria' there are approximately 400.000 to 470.000 Austrians living outside of the country as of 2010. Unfortunately, there are no numbers available as to how many children this includes, but their

number must be significant. The Statistical Yearbook 2010 of the Federal Republic of Germany claims that about 24.000 German children under the age of 18 moved back to Germany in 2010, whereas 35.000 Germans of the same age group moved away that year. These numbers are not exhaustive but they go to show that internationally mobile children do exist in Germany. Thus, the TCK issues are also relevant for the German-speaking world.

It is important not to equate TCKs with children of immigrants. Even though there are similarities in the issues that both groups face, the different circumstances under which they leave their countries are paramount. Most immigrants leave their home country in hopes of a better life and more opportunities, while some families are even forced to leave. By contrast, TCKs often move from country to country, never having the opportunity to become rooted in any culture additional to their own, unlike most children of immigrants. Generally, either the TCKs themselves or the people around them are constantly moving, never allowing them to really settle down. Global Nomads follow their mostly privileged parents, who have chosen to spend either a set or an indefinite amount of time in a foreign country due to their employment (Pollock and Van Reken 2001, 22). Additionally, in contrast to most immigrant children, TCKs are expected to be able to repatriate and return to their passport country at any time. The issues of TCKs that will be addressed, namely identity formation, grief and loss, marginality, attachment and relationships, are also relevant for children of immigrants. Even though the two groups can learn from each other's experiences, it is important not to gloss over the differences, and to keep the groups separate. Schaetti (n.d.) also emphasizes that the TCK-population is a very specific group of people not to be confused with adults who chose a global lifestyle or children of immigrants and refugees. While they share many characteristics with children with migration background, the differences outweigh the similarities.

The literature on TCKs is diverse and ranges from newspaper articles and biographies to research studies. Most literature, especially self-help and advice books and anecdotal texts, were written by TCKs or ATCKs reflecting on their childhood and attempting to find commonalities with others in similar situations. Even researchers interested in this field of study usually have a personal connection through their own experience or that of their children. Public interest has increased due to newspaper

articles and biographies in popular media. Many TCKs have now recognized their own situation and have become not only avid readers of such texts, but also active participants in the creation of new sources.

More recent sources are online communities, such as Facebook groups or websites like 'Global Nomads International', 'TCKWorld', 'Interaction International', 'Families in Global Transition', or 'MK-Care' for German children of missionaries. These groups were established by and for TCKs to aid them with transitions and to serve as a platform for TCKs to exchange information. Overall, these online communities give a sense of home and community and connect the TCK or the ATCK to people with similar backgrounds. As the area of research is relatively new, even seemingly unscientific sources should be taken into account. The additional sources of online communities and social media add to the diversity of the literature review and underline the need for a comprehensive look at all categories of resources. As the review will show most sources are in English and originate from American studies.

The few German-language sources that are available are mainly advice books on how to prepare children for an extended stay abroad or how to ease them into a transition. As helpful and as relevant as they can be to gain more public awareness of the TCK issues, there is a significant dearth of studies outside of the American TCK community. Even though Langford (1998) has claimed that the American bias on TCK research seems to be receding, Ann Baker Cottrell (2005), a leading researcher on TCKs and ATCKs, who highlights the top 8 research needs on this topic, notes the lack of internationally focused research. Thus, among Cottrell's top research gaps is the lack of studies on non-American TCKs. Cottrell advocates an investigation of the problems of non-American TCKs, how they differ from US TCKs, and what one can learn from the other. Due to the fact that only a small amount of literature exists in German, this would be difficult to accomplish through a literature review. Cottrell emphasizes the extent of the community that has not been fully researched and suggests translations of existing texts and studies into diverse languages and connecting through modern technology to bridge the gaps.

The research on the phenomenon of the Third Culture Kid is fairly new. There are few scientific studies, but the advice books, biographies and Internet platforms suggest growing public interest, hopefully resulting in more research especially from a non-American point of view. As will be evident in the literature review, the issues TCKs can face have been well documented, but there are facets that have not been sufficiently researched. These include how can TCKs benefit employers, given the internationalization of the job market? How can modern media influence their lives? In addition, how different is the situation of non-US TCKs? In particular, the question of why awareness of the issues for German-speaking TCKs, particularly in Austria, should be heightened will be answered.

1.3 Methods

The method to be used falls under the category of a review. The role of a literature review is to advance one's knowledge in a field of research in order to locate deficits and areas in need of more study. Usually, this would mean a direct comparison of many similar studies completed on the topic and an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of existing research (Boote & Beile 2005, 4). Through this newly gained perspective, deficits can be analyzed in order to know how to supplement the growing pool of research.

Boote and Beile discuss the importance of a good literature review in order to achieve advancement in the field of study.

> "First, it clarifies and perhaps resolves the problems within a field of study rather than glossing over those problems. Second, it results in a "progressive problem shift" that yields a new perspective on the literature with more explanatory and predictive power than is offered by existing perspectives. Finally, it satisfies the formal criteria of a good theory. Standards such as consistency, parsimony, elegance, and fruitfulness characterize a good synthesis" (Boote & Beile 2005, 7)

This paper meets these criteria, but because of the diversity of the sources, a modified approach to the literature review is needed. The few studies that do exist on the topic of TCKs are too diverse to juxtapose. In addition, many of the sources found are either biographical, anecdotal or advice books, touch on the topic only marginally, or

are of the public interest variety (news articles). These circumstances by no means devaluate the need for a literature review. Rather, the lack of substantial scientific research, especially in German, only accentuates the necessity of a review in order to highlight the results achieved by the research community so far and then to offer insights on where to build on existing research.

Hermeneutics will be used as an analytical tool in order to interpret the diverse literature. The application of hermeneutics is used to fully comprehend the written texts by uncovering and explaining hidden content and meanings. To accomplish this, the hermeneutic circle starts with a pre-understanding of the text and moves on to a more complete understanding before returning to the preliminary understanding to adjust for any changes and corrections. "We cannot arrive at a picture of the whole without scrutinizing the parts and pieces, but we cannot tell what the individual pieces mean until we have some sense of the wider picture as a whole" (Thiselton 2009, 14).

An example of the use of the hermeneutic circle in this paper is the definition of Third Culture Kids itself. Armed with a preliminary understanding of the definition of TCKs, after much research, it was evident that the first definition has been refined from its original meaning to better reflect current society (Schnelle 2008). Originally, the term Third Culture Kids was coined to describe children who grew up between a western and a non-western society. Over the years, the term was expanded to include children who grew up in any two different societies (Krömer 2004). Another example of the use of the hermeneutic circle is the attempt to define the many different similar terms that describe TCKs, such as Cross-Cultural Kids, Global Nomads, Internationally Mobile Children and Adult Third Culture Kids.

The first step of the review will be to define culture and identity and to survey the existing literature on international childhood as a culture, and look at the recent literature on global nomads. Second, the characteristics of TCKs, their challenges and benefits will be examined. These have been well documented in many sources and it is possible to provide a good overview of the topic. Then, against this background, the literature on what TCKs have to offer in today's world, a new research trend, will be reviewed. The next section provides a look at the research gaps, including an

international perspective of the TCK issue and the impact of modern technology on the TCK experience. This is followed by some thoughts on the relevance for Austria.

2   Types of Literature

The topic of the Third Culture Kid is of great interest, especially in the English-speaking world. Even though it was not difficult to locate news articles and online groups focusing on this topic, finding serious empirical studies was proven to be more of a challenge. A number of dissertations and studies were completed, mostly under Ruth Useem at Michigan State University, in the 1970s and 1980s with an emphasis on American youths (Gerner et al. 1992). It should be noted, however, that these dissertations and small-scale studies were not available or are deemed outdated and not relevant to exploring future trends. They are thus not part of the review. It is known, though, that they were small in scale and focused on American TCKs and therefore only underscore the American focus in existing research. The following is an overview of the diverse literature on the TCK phenomenon, which will then lead into the chapters on the results of the studies and the general content of these sources.

   2.1   Studies

According to Langford, most of the literature is not based on quantitative research. "Quantitative research on the topic is minimal; most of the literature is based on anecdotal evidence and the personal and professional experiences of the authors" (1998, 31). Even though a number of studies have been published since 1998, most target only specific groups, such as missionary or military TCKs. Their experience can be very different because many of them live very isolated in compounds and on military bases abroad, in comparison with most other TCKs. Nevertheless, some studies are briefly mentioned here for sake of completeness and to show that many studies were conducted by the military and missionary organizations. This adds to the already existing American bias on overall TCK data. Hervey (2009), for example, surveyed 109 U.S. college-age military kids (MKs), questioning them on their experience transitioning to college in the U.S. from overseas. Her hypothesis was that previous negative experiences influenced the transition to college in a negative way were confirmed, leading her to believe that unresolved grief from previous transitions

could be a factor. Williams and Mariglia (2002) surveyed a "small group" of military kids by asking open-ended questions on their thoughts on staying in touch with fellow children of military families. Ender (2002) conducted a study with the largest sample of adult children of military families.

Few large-scale studies were conducted. The largest known study is by Gerner et al. (1992), involving over 1000 TCKs. A 1993 study conducted by Cottrell, Useem, Useem and Jordan was not found, yet there are numerous articles, such as those cited from TCKWorld and Jordan (2002), and follow-up studies using data from the original study. An article by Cottrell (2002) using data from the study of the 604 participants was available. In the follow-up study, Cottrell focused on the occupational choices of ATCKs. Smith (1994) compiled the answers of 300 US ATCKs from a questionnaire, exploring how returnees experience their transition back to the US.

Examples of anecdotal, qualitative studies include Fail, Thompson and Walker (2004), who interviewed 11 former international school students reflecting on their life. Similarly, Meneses (2007) surveyed 8 international and bilingual TCKs on their experience on identity and language. These studies are very small and target a specific audience, questioning them either on their experience in general or on one specific aspect of their experience. As Fail, Thompson and Walker note, they hope that other TCKs will be able to identify with their case studies.

International studies featured include the German studies from Schnelle (2008), who provided a questionnaire to 51 TCKs returning to Germany, and a study from the 'Institut für Interkulturelles Management', surveying 587 international employees and their families about their experience abroad. McLachlan (2007), in a qualitative research approach, interviewed 45 families at an internal school in Southern England on the role of parents in relocating with children. Lam and Selmer (2003) surveyed 63 British TCKs in Hong Kong, and 88 local British and 103 local Chinese adolescents on their perceptions of being international and the characteristics they exhibit in comparison with their home and host country peers.

The following figures provide an overview of the studies cited. Rather than by method, the studies are separated into American and international studies and not by method, highlighting the dearth of international studies.

American Studies			
Study	**Research Question**	**Methods and Participants**	**Results**
COTTRELL, A. B. 2002	What are the educational and occupational choices of American ATCKs? Based on a study by COTTRELL, A. B., USEEM J., USEEM, R., JORDAN K. A. F. 1993	• 604 US ATCKs (previous study) with 92 additional ATCKs • Questionnaire	Most ATCKs seek international involvement in their education and careers
ENDER, M. G. 2002	Beyond Adolescence: The Experiences of Adult Children of Military Parents.	• 607 US MK ATCKs • Open-ended and forced response questionnaire	ATCKs have a shared sense of "otherness".
FAIL, H., THOMPSON, J., WALKER, G. (2004):	How do TCKs feel about belonging and identity?	• 11 ATCKs • Questionnaires and interviews on life histories • Qualitative interpretive research	TCKs have a strong sense of belonging and identity.
GERNER, M. E., PERRY, F., MOSELLE, M. A., ARCHBOLD, M. 1992	What are the characteristics of Internationally Mobile Adolescents?	• 222 US non-TCK students, 489 US TCKs in Thailand, 265 US TCKs in Egypt = 1076 participants • "The internationally Mobile Adolescent Questionnaire" • Quantitative analysis	TCKs rate themselves as more culturally accepting and more oriented towards an international lifestyle
GERNER, M. E, Perry Jr., F.L. (2002)	Are there gender differences in cultural acceptance and career orientation among internationally mobile and noninternationally mobile adolescents?	• 1011 of 1076 TCKs and non-TCKs • Reanalysis of data of Gerner et al (1992) • "The internationally Mobile Adolescent Questionnaire" • Quantitative analysis	US Females overall are open to other cultures, languages, international careers, as are males who have lived abroad. There are no differences between non-US male and female TCKs
HERVEY, E. 2009	Is there a correlation between the pattern of transitions during childhood and the success in adjustment into college for Missionary Kids (MKs)?	• 109 US college age MKs • Internet based survey • Quantitative analysis	Negative experiences influence college transitions negatively
MENESES, L. 2007	What is the essential structure of the third culture identity as described by the participants' autobiographical memories? What is the role of language in identity as described by the participants?	• 8 bilingual ATCKs • Unstructured interviews • Phenomenological study • Qualitative research approach	Traditional identity development theories are not sufficient to describe the third culture identity and language plays a large role in social identity.
SMITH, C.D. 1994	Exploring experiences, feelings, attitudes and opinions of returnee Americans.	• 300 US ATCKs • Open-ended questionnaire with 10 questions	The opinions and attitudes of ATCKs were influenced by their stay abroad.
WILLIAMS, K. C., MARIGLIA, L. L. 2002	"Why do Adults who were children in military families seek each other out?"	• "Small group" of US MKs • Open-ended questions • Phenomenology – interpretive qualitative approach	MB ATCKs seek out others like them

Figure 1

International Studies			
Study	**Research Question**	**Methods and Participants**	**Results**
Institut für Interkulutrelles Management (n.d)	How do families experience transition and integration in a new culture?	• 587 international employees and their families • Questionnaire • Quantitatively analyzed	Transitions are difficult, but eventually are a positive experience.
LAM, H., SELMER, J. (2003):	Do TCKs have different perceptions of being international and exhibit different characteristics in comparison to peers in their host and home cultures?	• 63 British TCKs in Hong Kong, 88 local British, 103 local Chinese • Questionnaire • Quantitatively analyzed	Findings were consistent with the literature, stating that TCKs do have a different perception of being international.
MCLACHLAN, D.A. (2007):	Global nomads in an international school: Families in transition.	• 45 British families • Interviews • Qualitative research method	Highlights challenges and positive aspects of transitions faced by the entire family.
SCHNELLE, J. 2008	The return of German TCKs	• 51 German TCKs • Questionnaire • Quantitatively analyzed	TCKs exhibit great cultural skills and flexibility.

Figure 2

2.2 Biographies, Anecdotes and Advice Books

Much of the popular literature found on TCKs is autobiographical or at least incorporates anecdotes of the author or their children in their work. The author generally has a personal tie to the expatriate community and in most cases is a TCK himself or herself. Biographies and anecdotal literature offer great insights by individuals that large studies might either overlook entirely or clump together as needed. The first researchers to coin the term 'third culture', Pollock and Van Reken, as well as Cottrell and Useem, all have personal connection to TCKs. Either they themselves grew up as mobile children or their own children did. This personal interest is what not only inspired their research, but also keeps it going.

Some of the personal stories mentioned above are worked into advice books. McCluskey (1994), for example, edited personal writings into chapters of advice to TCKs, their parents, educators and researchers. In addition, she added an anthology of anecdotes to further touch on important topics and to convey a sense of personal connection between the reader and the writer. Most of these books are parenting manuals specifically aimed at families moving abroad. In particular, they target issues such as transitions and learning about other cultures for young children and guide

their reader into future change. Additionally, many advice books mentor their reader after their stay abroad and aid them in coming to terms with their experiences.

Furthermore, the German literature available on mobile children consisted almost exclusively of advice books for parents facing cross-cultural transitions with their young children. Most mention the TCK phenomenon and reference published studies and English literature on that topic. These books offer strategies on how to prepare for relocating with children, how to find the right schools and how to integrate into the new community.

2.3 Online forums, Research Conferences and News Articles

Online communities and services devoted to TCKs and their issues, such as Facebook groups or websites like 'Global Nomads International', 'Foreign Service Youth Foundation', 'TCKWorld', 'Families in Global Transition', 'Interaction International', or 'MK-Care' for children of German missionaries have become more prominent. These sites are run by and for TCKs and serve as a community base and a platform for information exchange. Because they are so easily accessible by everyone around the world, information not only travels quickly, but also can be updated and revised by many. This allows TCKs to build a virtual community, possibly providing more closeness and contact with each other across borders then they might be able to achieve in the real world. In addition, individual TCKs have valuable insights into the topic that large studies might not be able to give. Even though the shared phenomenon of the third culture connects GNs on a deep level, this is still, as is frequently noted in other chapters, an individual experience and cannot always be seen as a collective occurrence. Consequently, the individual voices that can be heard through online forums play an important role in the TCK community.

Furthermore, some of these online communities have been organizing conferences and newsletters on TCK issues. 'Families in Global Transition', for example, feature new research at their conferences and in their newsletters to help support the expatriate and repatriate families. These forums not only heighten awareness and help other TCKs, but also allow young researchers and students to publish their work.

The surge of news articles in recent years has helped raise public interest in TCKs. Similarly to online forums, these articles also reach a large number of people not directly in the research community, but possibly resulting in further research opportunities on facets of TCK life that have not been examined before. These media outlets allow for new ideas to unfold and flourish.

Moreover, online forums do not only have an impact on research and the exchange of information between TCKs, but they also influence how TCKs experience their stay abroad. Through new social media, globally mobile children and adults can remain more connected than ever before. This affects mainly how they handle transitions. According to Pascoe (2006), modern technology might even slow down the transition process through a false sense of connection with friends and family back home. The virtual community can hinder the TCK from exploring the new culture and settling in.

3   Theoretical Background

This chapter will provide a working definition of culture and identity, the sources of most of the difficulties TCKs face. In addition, the phenomenon of an international childhood as a culture will be discussed, as well as globalization and what it means to be globally competent.

3.1   Definition of Terms

While the term 'culture' is difficult to define, the following is an attempt to define it in a way that is relevant for the present purpose. One of the definitions of culture from the Webster English Dictionary is as follows: "The integrated patterns of human behavior that includes thought, speech, action, and artifacts, and depends on man's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations."

John W. Berry uses the definition of culture as "the shared way of life of a group of people" in his studies on cross-cultural psychology (in Pearce 2002, 150). This definition used by Pearce, one of the leading researchers on TCKs, while quite general, provides enough flexibility to straddle the complexity of the topic of TCKs.

In her study on third culture identity, Meneses uses Erickson's definition of identity: "The partly conscious, largely unconscious sense of who one is, both as a person and as part of society" (in Meneses 2007, 20). Erickson (1980) proposes that the formation of identity takes place mostly during adolescence.

"Identity is seen as the perception that subjects have of their own properties, applying to themselves the value system that they have constructed by interactions with their social group" (Pearce 2002, 150). These definitions of identity show how identity is formed through one's own personal perception of the self and consequent interactions and comparisons with society.

3.2 International Childhood as a Culture

In order to address the issues many TCKs face, it is important to understand the two main factors that qualify a child as a TCK: growing up among different cultures and high mobility. If we add to this the assumption that cultural identity is built through successive new experiences in childhood (Pearce 2002), the result is that TCKs have difficulties in forming an identity, face transition issues, feel marginalized and have a confused sense of attachment, which are all manifestations of a confused sense of cultural belonging. By contrast, non-TCKs benefit from a firm sense of cultural belonging, based on a more stable personal history, and would not generally have these issues. TCKs never have the chance to identify completely with just one culture in order to have a framework consisting of a strong sense of cultural identity and a secure value system to fall back on.

In addition, most parents of TCKs are part of a sponsorship, meaning that they are representatives of their country in one form or another. This can range from official military and diplomatic representation to a more subtle form of representation. The influence of the sponsor cannot be underestimated in the formation of the TCK identity.

> "In examining identity in the third culture context, the realities of sponsorship, mobility, and distance from relations and extended family necessitate a reshaping of our understanding of the elements that form the dynamics of identity formation" (Jordan 2002, 216).

The most commonly used model of culture in the TCK literature is that of L. Robert Kohl. Pollock and Van Reken use Kohl's iceberg model to explain the relevance of culture to form a sense of belonging to a society. The iceberg model shows part of a culture, the 'surface culture', to be above the water, and thus visible. This includes behavior, words, customs and traditions. Below the water, the 'deep culture', is where beliefs, values and assumptions are hidden (Pollock & Van Reken 2001). This model shows that culture cannot be seen completely at a glance and therefore cannot be easily mimicked. It takes full immersion into a culture to be able to get below the surface, fully understand it, and feel integrated. Being able to feel confident in a culture conveys the benefit of cultural balance. "Being 'in the know' gives us a sense of stability, deep security, and belonging" (Pollock & Van Reken 2001, 42). In the same way that cultural balance gives freedom and security, being out of touch with a culture causes one to struggle and not to be able to completely take part in it.

Adding to the difficulties of attempting to belong to a culture, Pollock and Van Reken have described four possible ways for a TCK to associate with a home or host culture. These four patterns are 'foreigner', 'adopted', 'hidden immigrant' and 'mirror'. The 'foreigner' looks and thinks differently than the other people in the surrounding culture, the 'adopted' looks different but thinks alike, the 'hidden immigrant' looks alike but thinks differently and the 'mirror' looks and thinks alike. These different ways of relating to people close to them can put stress on a TCK due to expectations of other people. Many would expect a TCK to think like the people in the culture that they are currently in, especially if he or she looks like them. Others are surprised if a TCK thinks like them even though he looks like he does not fit in. In addition, the position of TCKs can change quickly as soon as they travel from one culture to the next, constantly keeping them on their toes, making it even more difficult for them to form a cultural identity.

Hylmö (2002) analyzes three different approaches to the study of international childhood as a culture based on a concept of Joanne Martin (1992). Martin proposes an integrated, differentiated or a fragmented approach to examining cultures in order to gain a profound understanding of the intricacies that make up a cultural experience. Through this approach, Hylmö argues, "the need for a postmodernist and postcolonial perspective on the expatriate family" (194) is being met. The integrated perspective to

cultures tries to connect all people of a culture by emphasizing their similarities and shared convictions. Studies conducted through this perspective show culture through consensus and try to make sense of ambiguities by putting them into order retrospectively. "From an integrationist perspective, research on expatriate adolescents is fairly straightforward: a unified group that is brought together through shared characteristics developed through similar experiences" (Hylmö 2002, 196). It can be argued, that this approach glosses over some differences that TCKs have and focuses solely on the shared characteristics through shared experiences.

The differentiated approach also sees culture as something that is shared by a group of people, but allows for subgroups within the culture. This perspective realizes that there are inconsistencies within the larger group, and that consensus can only exist within a subgroup. While clarity prevails within sub-cultural boundaries, ambiguities are allowed for outside of these boundaries. Through these differentiations of subgroups and through the acceptance of ambiguities within the larger group this approach can offer deeper insights into culture and its nuances. In terms of cultural belonging in the differentiated approach, an individual can belong to many subcultures, each of which providing a target of identification for the individual. This would mean that TCKs have many subcultures available with which they can identify.

The fragmented approach to the study of international childhood as a culture sees the boundaries between subcultures as ever changing. There is no clear definition of culture in the fragmented approach and all cultural life is filled with confusion and ambiguity. Studies using this approach assume that especially the culture of expatriate youth will be multifaceted, with a feeder culture, or first cultural influence, affecting further cultures the youth is exposed to. The fragmented approach understands that there are not only many different viewpoints on similar experiences but also that they are constantly changing. A shared frame of reference does not necessarily mean a shared viewpoint, allowing for different interpretations of the third culture. This approach also highlights the viewpoints of those groups who are not in the majority, meaning "non-American" TCKs who are usually all grouped together.

> "Most important, a postmodern, postcolonial fragmentation perspective will begin to examine and appreciate the complexity of international mobility as a

part of a larger diasporic context where mobility and migration is part of a continued discourse" (Hylmö 2002, 208).

The third culture that all TCKs experience has commonalities across all interpretations of culture, but also, even more importantly, differs among varying experiences.

> "Returnees thus do not have a single cultural identity; they are cultural blends or 'cultural chameleons.' This trait is quickly recognized by other repatriates; when returnees meet, they tend to 'click' immediately. This is one of the characteristics that have led social scientists to view repatriates as having a culture of their own, a 'third culture'" (Smith 1994, 63).

With this theoretical basis, the issues that all TCKs face can be examined, keeping in mind that all experiences have common roots in the third culture, but may be experienced differently.

3.3   Globalization – Global Competence and Global Citizens

In the course of researching the new trends in TCK literature, one particular topic seemed to be recurring: New research showed a tendency towards focusing on how TCKs are beneficial for a globalized world and how they themselves can benefit from it. Thus it seems necessary to add a chapter on this aspect of globalization and what it means to be globally competent and a global citizen.

Van Reken, in a foreword for Heidi Sand-Hart's biography, highlights the changes in society that have not only helped to expand the number of TCKs around the world, but also benefit TCKs by accommodating their strengths.

> "Rather than living in the world most children of past generations knew – a world where most folks interacted or operated with the same shared basic set of cultural rules, traditions, and lenses, through which they saw the world-many young people in today's world grow up daily interacting in significant ways with people of widely divergent cultural norms, traditions, and world views" (Van Reken in Sand-Hart 2010, 11).

These cross-cultural interactions are the future, according to Dr. Ted Ward, and TCKs the "protoype citizen of the future" (Ward, as cited in Van Reken in Sand-Hart 2010, 11).

Furthermore, Matthewman (2010) researches the effect of globalization on the economy and the working world, focusing on Global Nomads and what they have to offer. He defines globalization as "the widening, deepening and pace of global connections " (79). Among the characteristics of the GNs, Matthewman cites that they are well travelled, multilingual, energetic with a can-do mentality, and have strong social priorities.

Jackson examines the relationship of globalization and the internationalization of higher education and the changes institutions are making to accommodate new situations. Jackson emphasizes that globalization, as in the "exchange of ideas, goods and people has been a feature of human history" (Jackson 2010, 1). However, in recent years, the advances of information and communication technologies have greatly sped up the exchange of information and the speed and volume of this contact. She summarizes different definitions of globalization by stressing the "'interconnectedness' and the compression of time and space" (Jackson 2010, 2). Kathleen Daniel offers a similar definition of globalization as "the movement of goods, services and people across national boundaries" (n.d.) and as a form of integration of peoples and cultures. This integration brings about new challenges for international organizations, governments, managers and individuals who dare to cross boarders and cultural differences. "(…) these corporations recognize that their greatest challenge for future growth is finding people with the global skills to build teams that inspire cooperation, information sharing and innovation across cultures" (Daniel n.d.).

The people with these useful global skills, according to TCK researchers, are global nomads, who grow up nurturing these competences. Pascoe, leaning on a definition by Oxfam teaching resources, lists what could be considered the main traits of global citizens:

• "They are aware of the wider world and have a sense of their role as world citizens, they respect and value diversity.
• They have an understanding of how the world works economically, socially, politically, culturally, technologically, and environmentally.

- They are outraged by social injustice
- They participate in and contribute to the community at a range of levels, from local to global.
- They take responsibility for their actions" (Pascoe 2006, 197)

According to Schaetti (Pascoe 2006), these traits cannot only be seen in TCKs but are also needed in the working world. Schaetti's research shows TCKs exhibiting skills to bridge differences in cross-cultural experiences and between global and local employees and clients.

On this question of global citizen, in a compilation of questionnaires given to American TCKs, Smith (1994) claims that most repatriates acknowledge being American, but are somewhat ambivalent about their nationality. Smith hypothesizes that the formation of national identity was not completed for most TCKs and that they ended up forming an international identity as global citizens during their childhood abroad. US TCKs often identify themselves as Americans because they lack another form of identification others can understand. Many also feel that they incorporate many nationalities in one. Especially, TCKs who have spent a considerable amount of time in one country overseas feel a significant bond to the adopted country and people and consider themselves dual citizens, often without the actual passport. Smith stresses that most repatriates see themselves as global citizens or international citizens and could be living almost anywhere in the world. Nationality does not have a great importance and many repatriate Americans seem to switch nationalities depending on their mood or with whom they are conversing with. Pride and patriotism are seen as almost problematic because both can provoke feelings of supremacy of one country over another, going against what most global citizens believe in. "Most Absentee Americans believe that all the people on earth are one family – the human tribe. But they recognize that from a practical standpoint nationality, or at least citizenship, is unavoidable" (Smith 1994, 82). Smith continues, that the key to combining nationality and global citizenship is to make nationality less divisive. Even though most TCKs associate themselves with a feeling of international identity, nationality cannot be avoided altogether.

4   Characteristics of a TCK as Defined by the Literature

As the literature has already analyzed many of the issues and advantages of being a TCK, the following should provide a comprehensive profile of such an individual, as well as highlight challenges and benefits.

4.1   Challenges of Being a TCK

The struggle to be part of a culture and the ever-changing positions they can be in makes it difficult for TCKs to form an identity. As Smith (1994) points out, it seems as if the formation of identity was not completed. "Fundamentally, the core [social identity] theory argues that all people derive a sense of self-worth and social belongingness from memberships in groups" (Tajfel & Turner 1986 in Hudley 2008, 177). People compare themselves and their beliefs and actions to the norms of the groups to which they might belong, taking information from these comparisons and adjusting accordingly. Identity formation takes place during adolescence (Erikson 1980). Cultural identity formation more often than not is passed on through generations (Pearce 1998). In the case of TCKs, this can only be done to a certain degree because different worldviews and value systems have to be sorted through in order to allow the TCK to define his or her own identity.

Furthermore, high mobility, as mentioned in the beginning of the chapter as one of the two main criteria of TCKs, adds constant instability to the difficulty of incorporating different cultures into ones identity. For many TCKs, moving frequently has become the norm and might be the only form of stability that they know. Not moving to a new country every few years might even cause restlessness. The only thing stable in the life of a TCK is the fact that they, or the people around them, will move away.

Exactly this instability leads to loss and grief of the familiar and can cause disorientation in a time of identity formation. "Just like adults, children who move feel a sense of loss. […] The losses brought about by moving can result in various forms of grieving" (McKillop-Ostrom 2000, 76). These losses can range from friends and community to material things and familiar surroundings and are generally not acknowledged as a loss and even more infrequently addressed and handled as such.

This lack of acknowledgement of the relationship lost, the actual loss and the griever as such, stop TCKs from grieving because they often cannot pinpoint where their grief is coming from. Especially if these losses are not expressed, they can have a lasting effect on the TCK and may also deter him or her from forming new, and especially close relationships (Smith 1994).

Moreover, loss and grief, as well as high mobility can also lead to attachment problems. Attachment is usually the bond between an infant and his or her primary caregiver, which is a relationship that should reduce anxiety and ensure an affectionate bond. The type of attachment formed in that early relationship often influences the way an individual shapes further relationships. In most cultures, a secure attachment pattern is the norm, though some cultures also exhibit avoidant or ambivalent attachment style. TCK experience not only mobility, which would be characterized by discontinuity, but they might also be exposed to different attachment styles that are prevalent in different cultures. Paradoxically, TCKs with a secure attachment are not as negatively influenced by discontinuity as those with insecure attachment, but the same discontinuity often hinders a secure attachment (Schaetti 2002, 105 ff.). Therefore, many TCKs avoid forming new relationship, which Meneses (2007) explains as a defense mechanism. Many TCKs decide not to form attachments with people or places in order not to feel the loss and grief when they move away. This applies not only to families who move frequently, but also to those left behind in a surrounding culture of high mobility. This fear to form an attachment can make long-term relationships difficult to sustain.

Bridges, in McKillop-Ostrom (2000), defines 'transition' as an internal process, one that each individual goes through when confronted with a new situation. Various transition models identify the emotional stages the individual can go through. These stages are not meant to have exact boundaries but are phases that each individual can experience. Pollock, in Quick (2010) and McKillop-Ostrom (2000), describes his five-phase transition model. The first stage, 'involvement', is considered the current place the individual is at and where they feel integrated and at home. As soon as they are aware of the impending move, they shift to the next stage, 'leaving'. This stage can begin months before leaving and is characterized by an attempt by the individual to create emotional distance as well as stepping back from responsibilities. The

'transition' stage begins when the individual actually leaves and can last until they are settled in their new place. The fourth stage, 'entering', is when the chaos of the transition stage dies down and a desire to settle in and make new friends starts to override a feeling of marginality and uncertainty. 'Re-involvement' is the last phase and is characterized by participating and feeling settled in the new environment. In all stages, individuals can exhibit feelings of uncertainty and varying emotional responses.

Through this transition period, TCKs can experience culture shock. Adults, who move to a different culture, can also experience culture shock but their situation differs from adolescents because, as opposed to them, they usually have their identity and value system to fall back on. Culture shock is a term coined in the 1950's by the anthropologist Kalvero Oberg and indicates a period of trauma experienced through a process of losing the familiar and adapting to new surroundings (McKillop-Ostrom 2000, 76). This trauma can be felt to varying degrees, depending on the investment the individual TCK has made in the familiar surroundings left behind and how eager they are to adapt and learn about the new culture and environment. Pascoe (2006) describes three phases of culture shock starting with the 'honeymoon period'. In this stage, the individual still feels more like a tourist and finds everything new interesting and focuses on similarities between the known and the new culture. The 'crisis stage' is characterized by frustration and anger and is when culture shock actually begins. The third stage is the 'flight stage', in which the individual tries to run and hide from all things new. Pascoe predicts that everyone goes through culture shock in one form or another, lasting one year on average. Pascoe notes that new technologies impact the way culture shock plays out. Digital connections can make the integration in the new surroundings easier through easy information gathering through blogs and chats. At the same time, technology can also hold the individual back by providing a false sense of connection to old friends and hindering them from making new ones and settling in their new environment. Pascoe, in giving advice to parents relocating with their children, warns not to let TCKs be enveloped in their digital connection to old friends, but to allow them to work through all the stages of culture shock. Fowler and Silberstein (2003) also emphasize the importance of a strong family bond to ensure that the issues of culture shock, such as an inability to concentrate, physical illness,

depression, frustration, disappointment and identity problems, can be dealt with or, at best, do not even occur.

Another common theme, similar to culture shock, is reverse culture shock, felt when the TCK moves back to their passport country, also known as reentry. Reentry is a kind of transition, exhibiting similar problems but has the added factor that most family and friends that welcome the TCK back to what they consider the home country of the TCK do not realize the difficulty that the TCK goes through. The stage of reverse culture shock usually sets in after the novelty of being back home has died down for friends and family but not yet for the TCK (Storti 2003).

In addition, through all these difficulties in forming an identity, many TCKs experience a delayed adolescence or a general sense of delay (Jordan 2002). Pollock and Van Reken claim that many TCKs feel out of sync with their peers because they may go through some developmental stages at different times than them. Everyone has to go through a process to form an identity, but with constant transitions and high mobility, these steps can be delayed. "Children who have to learn to juggle many sets of cultural rules at the same time have a different developmental experience from children growing up in one basically permanent, dominant culture that they regard as their own" (Pollock & Van Reken 2001, 152).

4.2   Benefits of Being a TCK

Along with these difficulties, most TCKs have many advantages compared to other young adults. The TCK profile would not be complete without highlighting these. TCKs have the obvious benefit of learning new languages, meeting new people, being immersed in different cultures, having experience in travel and new beginnings, having friends all over the world and understanding different viewpoints (Quick, 2010). These advantages can be useful in everyday life and, in the best of circumstances, give the global nomad confidence and assurance in the handling of difficult situations.

Norma McCaig, as President of Global Nomad Resources, identified many positive aspects in her 2002 presentation at a World Bank Volunteer Services meeting on the

potential challenges faced by TCKs. She sees both positive and negative aspects in regards to intercultural interaction and international mobility. In particular, she highlights a sense of adventure, independence, enhanced social interaction skills, appreciation of diversity, an expanded worldview and a tendency to suspend judgment as abilities young adults learn through their early exposure to different situations and cultures.

In addition, the difficulties presented earlier in forming an identity can also be seen as an advantage. On the one hand, TCKs do not identify completely with only one culture and could be seen as being without a culture. On the other hand, the same situation can be seen as an asset, as if the TCK belonged to many different cultures, granting them a more tangible worldview. Many TCKs see themselves as "cultural chameleons" (Smith 1994, 45) and are proud of their adaptability. These skills can be used in personal context, and can also be a great quality in a work environment as well. Not having one cultural identity, for example, might make it easier to connect with people from different backgrounds and with those also struggling with their own identity. This adaptability exposes the TCK to a myriad of new opportunities, personally and professionally. "Because of the constant change of location, friends, schools and cultural experiences in their lives, TCKs learn to rely on change and develop special skills to adapt and be most flexible to new conditions" (Barringer 2000, 7).

The cross-cultural skills TCKs exhibit can help them on a personal and professional level.

> "They come to appreciate diversity and understand that if someone believes or acts differently from them, there is a reason for it. This is why they make natural bridge builders – because they are comfortable with diversity they are able to bridge the gap between cultures" (Quick 2010, 14f.).

This bridge building can allow TCKs to make and keep friendships as well as work contacts. Along with this acquired aptitude, global nomads often have good observational skills because they are used to observing a situation before they know how to respond to it. TCKs learn to take in the situation first in order to determine which social or cultural scenario is taking place before they react. In a variety of

conditions this delay in reaction can be perceived as either a lack of social skills or arrogance. Both would be mistaken interpretations in most cases and can cause problems for the TCK. GNs can also be perceived as arrogant in situations when they share everyday stories from their privileged or different life with others.

Pascoe (2006), as mentioned in a previous chapter, describes the global citizen and their advantages in detail. Among the traits she described are an awareness of a wider world, respect for diversity, a good understanding of the functioning of the world (economically, politically, socially, culturally, technologically and environmentally), outrage at social injustice, local and global participation in the community, and responsibility for their actions. A global citizen embodies most of these attributes and knows how to use them to their advantage and to the benefit of the people around them.

According to Smith (1994), in a compilation of a questionnaire distributed to American returnees, TCKs shy away from absolutes. This can be an asset, as they have been taught to question things that others may accept as fact. Through this approach, they may be more likely to see more than one possible solution to a problem or more than one right answer to a question. TCKs can then search for multiple points of view and may be able to bring them together.

While appearing to lack roots and constancy, many TCKs take personal friendships very seriously and see them as a substitute for, or a form of, stability. TCKs are not only close to their families because they often spend more time with them than others (Jordan 2002), they also feel a profound connection to other global nomads. These interpersonal relationships give TCKs the needed strength and stability they might otherwise be lacking through cultural or personal identity. Generally living in closed or isolated communities, TCKs form strong ties to their families, families with similar situations and their children.

5   What TCKs Have to Offer

As mentioned in a previous chapter, the literature shows varying and vague interpretations of what constitutes global competence. What has become clear,

though, is that whatever the definitions of global competence or of a global citizen, TCKs usually embody it. Research has increasingly focused on what TCKs have to offer, but this aspect is still in need of more research. Because it is an important aspect, the topic deserves a separate chapter and is not featured in the chapter on new research trends.

Global nomads have many advantages in comparison to their peers. Many of these benefits are important in the working world and for their employers. If channeled efficiently, they can exhibit global sensitivity, a broad worldview and cross-cultural experience as employees. Lam and Selmer (2003) claim a dearth of suitable employees in today's global job market, considering that managerial practices and skills differ between countries, making it challenging to find suitable employees to send abroad. Lam and Selmer, in their study on 63 British expatriates, hypothesized that TCKs have different perceptions of being international compared to peers in their host and home countries and were able to support this theory in their research. The subjects examined in this study indicated that international experience, parental and institutional education and knowledge of a second language influenced their perception of being international. In addition, they see flexibility, tolerance, an open attitude toward other cultures and respect for others as a vital part of being international. These are key skills sought by employers hiring internationally.

In their study of 696 ATCKs living in the US in the early 1990s, Cottrell and Useem (1999b) found that the impact of their stay abroad on the young adults lasted well into their adulthood, making it clear that the advantages they accumulate are also long-term. Schnelle (2010) also supports the hypothesis in her research that the multi-cultural influences TCKs experience in their youth extended into adulthood.

Cottrell and Useem found that TCKs are high achievers, not only in higher education but also in their occupations. A total of 81% of American ATCKs have at least a Bachelors degree as opposed to 21% of the average US population. Of this sample, some 11 % had also finished a doctoral degree, not including many more still in Ph.D. programs at the time of the survey. This high level of achievement reflects the community they grew up in. Most parents of TCKs are highly educated professionals and raise their children in educational elite communities, send them to good schools

and expose them to a wealth of experiences. In addition, 63% of GNs indicated that their upbringing influenced what they chose to study, with 29% actively seeking out an international focus. Furthermore, in accordance with their high educational achievement and focus on leadership and independence, TCKs are likely to have leading positions in a human service setting, as doctors, social workers, teachers or in a religious setting. Most TCKs expressed the desire for an international dimension in their work life. Missionary and military dependents were least likely to report a need for international connections (Cottrell 2002). This might be due to their differing experiences from other TCKs. Military TCKs spend a short amount of time abroad usually on a military base. Missionary TCKs, on average, spend the longest time abroad, but mostly lack the thriving international communities many others experience, spending much of their time at boarding school or in isolated areas. In general, though, these profitable circumstances give TCKs the opportunities in education and work experience to be prepared for challenges in their professional lives.

> "Being raised internationally, often in multiple cultures, exposed these children during critical developmental years to similar challenges faced by global managers, i.e., navigating culture shock, managing transition, and developing the awareness, knowledge, process skills, and personal and behavioral flexibility to shift cultural frames of reference in order to engage successfully in intercultural encounters" (Daniel n.d.).

Another source expresses a similar view, also emphasizing the importance of speaking multiple languages:

> „Multi-lingual TCKs naturally slip into international assignments, including professional positions in multinational organisations or skilled jobs in government and the military, are familiar with the process of moving and adjusting to different places, and are more likely to reach out and bridge the gap with colleagues from different backgrounds. The unique world-view and experiences that many TCKs possess present a strong advantage to many globally-minded companies and organizations" (Royer 2009).

Saffarini (2008), in a study on competitive advantage of TCK in the working world, mentions similar global characteristics as have already been reviewed: 'world mindedness', 'adaptability', 'international lifestyle' and 'multilingualism'. Gleason

(1970, 5) is quoted in Saffarini, as defining 'world mindedness' as "a manifestation of attitudes and assumptions which reflect certain qualities of open-mindedness concerning national identities and cultural values." As also seen in the study by Cottrell (2002) and Useem, many TCKs keep up an international lifestyle upon their return to their home country, highlighting their adaptability and their need for change. Anecdotal evidence suggests, according to Saffarini, that even native English speakers, who might not be fluent in another language, show more interest in foreign language acquisition than their mono-cultural peers. These findings underscore the advantages of GNs in a competitive world. Royer (2009) makes a similar point:

> „All in all, TCKs are a tremendous asset to today's globalized workforce. Many organizations can benefit from TCKs' abilities to build relationships with strangers from different cultures and to present unique solutions to projects in the workplace. As globalisation becomes more and more a fact of life, TCKs are a model for tomorrow's professionals" (Royer 2009).

Absentee Americans claim to have a better understanding of people who are different, most likely because they can feel different themselves in certain situations. Their stay abroad, according to Smith (1994), might have enhanced their capacity for empathy. Schnelle, as one of the few German researchers who identified the demand for TCKs in the work place and other areas in society, makes similar findings on non-US TCKs. The conclusions she draws from her study of 51 German TCKs upon their return to their home country include the enrichment they could provide for today's global society.

> "Third Culture Kids könnten eine besondere und große Bereicherung sein, wenn man sich mit dieser Personengruppe intensive auseinandersetzten und sie dort gezielt einsetzen würde, wo es erforderlich und nötig ist. Ich sehe diese Chancen in den Bereichen Migration und Integration, Globalisierung, Verständnisvermittlung, u.a. von Kulturen in Deutschland, sowie in vielen weiteren Feldern. Ich sehe sie als Bindeglied zwischen unterschiedlichen Gruppen in Deutschland" (Schnelle 2008, 38)

At an increasing rate, Sixel (2008) suggests that companies looking to hire for overseas posts not only train their employees in protocol and cultural awareness, but also value inherent flexibility and adaptability. As research shows, these are traits that many TCK embody.

6   Future Research and New Trends

Cottrell (2005) identifies some of the additional new trends and existing gaps in research on TCKs. These gaps are due, in part, to a lack of communication between researchers of different fields and cultures. Among the new themes are: how technology impacts the way TCKs stay connected with others and how they manage transitions; transition issues; and the involvement of international schools. Career choices of ATCKs and TCKs who chose to stay abroad and not return to their passport country have also not been sufficiently examined. Furthermore, there is a need in researching the perspective of non-American TCKs, as well as the differences and similarities they might face through comparative studies across cultures. In addition, it would be important to test the theories that researchers have proposed by assessing if TCKs really do embody the characteristics that they have been labeled with and, lastly, there is a need to focus on new approaches to intercultural research.

6.1   The International Perspective

One of the largest research gaps is with respect to the international perspective. The vast number of TCKs seems to be American, due to the fact that there is such a large American expatriate community and the US has many military bases and embassies abroad. The Family Liaison Office, as part of the U.S. Department of State, one of the forerunners of TCK issues, provides information and guidance to families of U.S. government employees specifically on internationally mobile children and their education and transition issues. Pearce (2002) suggests that the TCK phenomenological approach to the mobile child is rooted in 'American' thinking due to the general consensus that identity can be acquired and is not, as might be a more popular view in Europe, unalterable. The TCK paradigm thrives in American thinking, where identities are seen as something that can change over time. This approach to GNs accurately describes the majority of American expatriates and has been used as the base for research and interventions.

Pearce (2002) claims that the various works written and studies conducted on TCKs are always influenced by the home traditions of the author. Most TCK research then would be approached through an American perspective, giving rise to questions of

whether GNs of other nationalities and cultures are being adequately represented. Gerner & Perry (2002) and Gerner et a. (1992) in their study on TCKs, show that US adolescents, who have lived abroad, show a greater interest in learning other languages, see themselves as more culturally accepting and have a greater interest in international careers than other US adolescents. Because this study was conducted with US youths, it would be interesting to see if the results would also be supported by a study on non-US youths. Even though Langford, as early as 1998, claims that the American bias on publications on TCKs is receding, there has been little evidence supporting that statement.

As mentioned in a previous chapter, fragmentation studies, in which the third culture is seen with ever changing boundaries of subcultures, help detect viewpoints of those international TCKs grouped together in studies as 'non-American'. Hylmö (2002) sees this as an opportunity to examine those groups of TCKs who have been statistically insignificant in previous studies. Many TCKs across different nationalities may share a similar idea of culture, identity and globalization, but the fragmented viewpoint endorsed by Hylmö allows for the multitude of interpretations and meanings to be questioned.

Schnelle, in her study on repatriated German TCKs associated with the German Foreign Service and Volkswagen AG in Wolfsburg, sees some improvement in the handling of expatriate issues in these institutions over the years. However, this improvement does not compare to the over 30 years of experience gathered from research on American TCKs.

> "Die Forderung, die ich an dieser Stelle formuliere ist, die Gesellschaft muss realisieren, dass jeder TCK, welches mehr oder weniger in Deutschland untergeht, eine Möglichkeit der Weiterentwicklung in der globalisierten Welt für Deutschland gewesen wäre" (Schnelle 2008, 37)

Through her research, Schnelle is a pioneer in the literature on German TCKs and also argues for the voices of expatriates of other countries to be heard.

The Japanese government has researched the TCK phenomenon, but due to a lack of translation, these findings were not available until 2004. TCKs were called

'Overseas/Returnee Children' or KKS in Japanese. The number of KKS quickly expanded in the 1970's and reached 50.000 in 1991. The Japanese Ministry of Education together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs started acknowledging the problems KKS faced in the school system in 1966. Tangible transformations were not implemented until the 1980's, but a clear focus on the positive aspects of an international childhood helped fuel the changes (Saffarini 2008).

6.2 Technology and Globalization

Modern technology and globalization has not only greatly impacted TCK research by providing a platform for information exchange, but it has also changed the GNs experience in general. Social media allows globally mobile children and adults to remain more connected than ever before, mainly influencing the transition experience. As Pascoe (2006) states, modern technology might even slow down this transition process through a false sense of connection with friends and family by stopping the TCK from exploring the new culture and settling in.

Furthermore, Cottrell (2005) asks about the advantages and disadvantages of modern technology, such as cell-phones and the Internet. Because there is only anecdotal evidence on the influence of technology on TCKs, it is difficult to say if it provides more stability and continuity in their lives or if it stands in the way of the traditional GN experience. It is possible, that by being able to be in touch with friends and family back home or from a previous stay abroad, that TCKs have a greater sense of constancy, providing them with more strength and permanence through long-lasting relationships. Through the Internet, globally mobile children can also be better informed on the pop-culture of their next destination, affording them a better sense of the culture in advance. On the other hand, though, this superficial view of culture can give TCKs false impressions and lead them to think they have a deeper understanding of the new culture than they actually do. This could either hinder them from feeling the need to immerse themselves in the new culture or lead to surprises when things are not how them seem (Neigh in Cottrell 2005).

7 Relevance for Austria

All of what TCKs have to offer in general, and is discussed in a previous chapter, is relevant for Austria. In the following chapter an attempt is made to specifically clarify how these benefits can be applied to Austria and to highlight the need for literature in the German language.

7.1 Work Force, Economics, Culture and Education

There is next to nothing available in terms of literature on the issue of TCKs in the Austrian work force, economy or culture. The following represents therefore my own thinking and my own ideas on this question.

As a small country with open borders, an internationally mobile labor force, and being surrounded by different cultures, Austria must have a significant TCK population, both Austrians who have lived abroad and foreigners who reside in Austria. What is their relevance or importance for Austria? First, there is the fact that Austria's economy is heavily dependent on trade of goods and services with its neighbors and countries farther away. Surely, it is easier to establish and maintain economic links and to trade with someone on the other side who knows or understands you, and not only your language but also your culture. The traits that TCKs have can be particularly helpful in this regard. Thus, it would be important to draw on the skills of the TCK population to foster economic ties with partners all over the world. With the rise of new economic powers, China, India, and Brazil, to name but a few, TCKs with links to these emerging market countries would be particularly relevant.

Within the sphere of economics, Eastern Europe has become of particular importance for Austria with the lifting of the iron curtain. Although they were dormant for a while, the centuries-old ties with Eastern Europe plus its geographic location, enabled Austria to benefit from the opening up of eastern Europe. TCKs who embody both Austrian and one or more eastern European cultures can play important roles in the deepening and strengthening of the links with our eastern neighbors.

Second, with its very rich cultural history, Vienna is no doubt one of the cultural capitals of the world. Visitors from all over the world come here in large numbers to enjoy this great cultural heritage. It was created in part by TCKs of the Habsburg Empire, who embodied both the dominant German culture as well as other cultures of the vast multinational state. The role of today's TCKs would be the transmittal of the wealth of Austrian culture which goes beyond the experience of a tourist visit, guidebook in hand, to Vienna and Salzburg. Someone who understands the culture of both the host country and the visitor should be able to do better in this regard than a mono-cultural person.

With regard to education, the presence of a significant number of TCKs also calls for meeting their needs and interests. This relates to the creation of multilingual schools and the adaptation of academic programs and curricula. In recent years, the number of smaller private schools with English as a first language has grown. In addition, many bilingual programs, promoting English or another language, have been introduced in public schools. Furthermore, fostering educational exchange and cultural events that cater to the interests of TCKs is paramount.

7.2   Relevance for the Immigrant Population

Austria is a country with a large immigrant population. Van Reken, in a foreword to a biography of a TCK, emphasizes the use of the lessons learned from studying TCKs. Not only are they applicable for younger TCKs and their environments, such as schools, churches and international organizations, but also for immigrants who face similar issues in assimilation and possibly frequent trips to their home country (Van Reken in Sand-Hart 2010, 13).

> "Returnees often comment that living abroad has enhanced their ability to understand the differences in issues and values between the first and third worlds, as well as between majority and minority (especially immigrants) groups in the United States" (Smith 1994, 61).

Even though Smith can only speak for American TCKs, this finding suggests that all TCKs have an acute awareness of different groups of people, which can positively influence their interactions with fringe groups such as immigrants. Also identifying

their abilities to connect with other cultures, Schnelle (2008) notes migration and integration as possible fields of work for TCKs.

A positive multicultural worldview, which is generally shared by TCKs, is the liberal acceptance of others and other cultures (Harrell & Gallardo 2008 and Hudley 2008). Hudley defines a multicultural worldview as "a positive valuing of members of other racial, ethnic, and cultural groups as well as one's own group and a positive attitude toward interpersonal experiences with people from cultural, racial and ethnic groups different from one's own" (2008, 176). This set of beliefs builds the foundation of her discussion of peer influence in the development and maintenance of a multicultural worldview. Belonging to a group allows people to develop a sense of self-worth and a sense of fitting in socially. If the group norm adheres to a multicultural worldview, as most TCK groups seem to do, then the individual will follow. The main point Hudley makes is that friendships and the positive emotions garnered from them are particularly valuable in connecting people across racial, ethnic and cultural lines. It would seem that TCKs are in the best position to make such positive connections, including to immigrants.

8   Summary

This paper reviews the literature on a growing phenomenon in our globalized world, namely, the issue of Third Culture Kids. These are children who can no longer give a clear answer to the question "where are you from," because they have lived in different cities, countries and continents. Not only have they lived in different cultures, but they have assimilated at least part of another culture and added it to, or mixed it in with, their native culture. They have developed their own, third culture, which they share with children in similar situations and which draws them to persons with similar experience, in most cases presumably for the rest of their lives.

Starting with Ruth Useem's term "Third Culture Kids (TCKs)," first introduced by her in the 1950s, other similar terms have also entered the literature. Originally, the term TCK referred to children of parents from industrial countries who lived in developing countries. Subsequently, with spreading globalization, it came to encompass children with a broader set of cross-cultural experiences, covering not

only two or more different cultures. It is, however, important to distinguish TCKs from children of immigrants. Although some of the issues are the same, for example those relating to the formation of identity, the feeling of loss and marginality, and the building of attachment and relationships, the TCK never becomes fully rooted anywhere, while the immigrant child has to develop roots in another culture.

The literature on TCKs is very diverse: it ranges from newspaper articles, biographies, self-help and advice books, to research studies of varying depth and breadth. Most of these sources are American and very little is available in German. More recently, this body of literature has been supplemented by social media, Facebook and websites, often operated by TCKs themselves to exchange information and provide help with transition. This paper presents the results of the various studies, distills the substance of the less formal sources, and does all this within a formal framework. It also identifies gaps in the literature and presents some ideas for future research. However, the diversity of this material and its dissimilarity, both in terms of substance and coverage, makes it next to impossible to formally compare studies, which would also be an aim of a literature review.

Against the background of a definition of culture and identity, the paper discusses in depth the literature on international childhood as a culture, which is the setting for the issues arising for TCKs. Growing up in different cultures can result in difficulties in forming an identity and transition problems, lead to feeling of marginalization and confusion in one's sense of attachment and, more generally, a confused sense of belonging. But it can also endow a TCK with abilities and competences, which make her or him a highly valuable and much sought-after asset in a globalized world.

A section of the paper discusses the new research on globalization and TCKs as global citizens with global competence. Some of the literature highlights the changes in societies around the world that, on the one hand, have greatly increased the number of TCKs, but have also accommodated the strengths of TCKs on the other. TCK research identifies some of the key traits of global citizens as having a broader perspective, respecting diversity, being particularly sensitive to social justice, and contributing to society at all levels from the local to the global. Research on American

TCKs with global experience has shown that they still see themselves as Americans, but have become more ambivalent about their nationality.

Having thus set the stage, a key chapter of the paper discusses the characteristics of TCKs, as portrayed in the literature. With regard to the challenges, there is considerable literature on the difficulty TCKs have to form an identity, which normally takes place in adolescence. Social identity theory argues that all people derive a sense of self-worth and belonging by membership in a group or groups. Being different and/or highly mobile makes this more difficult and can result in incomplete belonging and confused identity. Out of a situation of high mobility can arise a feeling of loss and grief, the loss of friends and relationships and of familiar places. To avoid grief and the feeling of loss in the future, TCKs may develop difficulties in forming attachments and ultimately long-term relationships. Here, the conundrum is that a secure attachment helps cope with discontinuity, but discontinuity in turn creates obstacles to attachment. High mobility gives also rise to the problem of transition. During transition, TCKs can experience culture shock, which can have a honeymoon stage, a crisis stage, and a flight stage before the person settles into the new culture. With all these issues and difficulties, TCKs can experience delayed adolescence.

While faced with these problems, TCKs have also many benefits as described in the literature. They learn different languages, meet different people, know different cultures, have traveled widely, have friends in many places, and perhaps, most importantly, understand different viewpoints. They have a sense of adventure, independence, enhanced social skills, appreciation of diversity, an expanded worldview, and a tendency to suspend judgment. As "cultural chameleon" they are proud of their adaptability, which they can use in a personal or professional setting. They can build bridges and learn to take in a situation first and assess the social and cultural environment before reacting. Research on American TCKs has shown that they shy away from absolutes, and as a result can find more than one solution to a given problem. Lacking roots and stability they attach great importance to personal friendships, including with other TCKs.

With these advantages and disadvantages in mind, the paper next reviews the literature on what TCKs have to offer. While there are only vague interpretations on what constitutes global competence, TCKs usually embody it, whatever the definition. One study shows that TCKs are relatively high achievers in higher education as well as in their occupations. Another study concludes that TCKs are, all in all, a tremendous asset to today's globalized workforce, and one of the few German studies advocates better use of the TCKs' many special skills in German society.

In addition, the gaps and directions of future research are explored. Among these gaps are how TCKs make career choices as adults, especially if they do not return to their passport country, and how to foster an interaction between researchers of different disciplines and cultures. The main gaps sited are the lack of international studies, particularly how non-American TCKs are represented. A new phenomenon worth researching is the influence of modern technology, social media and the Internet, on the TCK experience.

Moving from the general to the specific, the paper also explores what TCKs can offer to Austria. Here, three areas come to mind: playing a key role in Austria's highly foreign-trade-dependent economy, facilitating the necessary links to other cultures and countries; supporting the transmittal of the extraordinary wealth of Austrian culture to foreigners beyond merely tourist experience; and using their experience and knowledge to help immigrants, who face similar issues and constitute a significant part of Austria's population.

In response to a reader question, Ruth Van Reken (2011) made the following statement:

> „It gives me joy that because of what we have learned from those who grew up this way and are now adults, you and many others I meet are doing a great, great job of making sure today's TCKs/CCKs are no longer wondering, 'what's wrong with me?' but, instead, are learning, 'Wow! In today's world, what's right with me?'"

I think that this is a good closing statement on an ultimately highly personal issue. It concludes this research on a positive note, even if the answer to the question "where are you from" may still remain elusive.

9   Bibliography

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10 Appendix

10.1 Abstract

This thesis is about 'Third Culture Kids', children of diplomats, staff members of international organizations, military personnel, missionaries and teachers, among others, who have spent a significant amount of time in a country outside of their own during their developing years and who thus become exposed not only to the culture (or sometimes cultures) of their family and passport country, but also to a new culture, a second culture. Through the combination of these two cultures, the child, along with the expatriate community, forms its own parallel culture and thus becomes a Third Culture Kid (TCK).

The dominant paradigm for these mobile children is that of the Third Culture Kid, a term originally defined by Ruth Useem in the 1950's (Pollock and van Reken 2001, 20). Dr. Useem discovered that, upon the return to their home countries, expatriates adjusted eventually, while their children, on the other hand, had a much more difficult time. These children more often than not are affected by their stay abroad and carry issues from this experience, including problems with identity, marginality, lack of attachment, and loss, into adulthood. The growing number of such adolescents through globalization and the internationalization of organizations and businesses accentuate the need for a more profound understanding of TCK issues.

The diverse literature on TCKs tends to highlight many of the difficulties and issues of growing up among different cultures, which can present a skewed view of the TCK experience. Therefore, this review aims to present a balanced picture and also discusses the positive aspects of being a TCK and the contribution TCKs's special skills and competencies can make in a globalized world. As will be evident from the literature review, the issues TCKs face have been well documented, but there are facets that have not been sufficiently researched. These include further work on the multi-cultural experience and skills which TCKs have and which are needed in today's global working world. Another topic for future research is the influence of modern media (e.g., social media) on the traditional TCK experience. There is also less awareness of the TCK phenomenon in Austria and Germany than, say, the United States and this is reflected in a dearth of German language work and studies on TCKs.

10.2 Zusammenfassung

„Third Culture Kids" (TCKs) sind Kinder von DiplomatInnen, LehrerInnen, MissionarInnen und MitarbeiterInnen internationaler Organisationen und dem Militär, die einige Jahre im Ausland aufwachsen. Diese Kinder, sind nicht nur der Kultur (oder Kulturen) ihrer Eltern und ihres Herkunftslandes ausgesetzt, sondern auch der Kultur des Gastlandes. In der Kombination dieser Kulturen bilden diese Kinder eine eigene „dritte" Kultur und teilen diese mit anderen Mitgliedern der im Gastland ansässigen Ausländergemeinschaft.

In den 1950iger Jahren entwickelte die Soziologin Ruth Useem den Begriff „Third Culture Kids". Dr. Useem beobachtete, dass Erwachsene sich nach der Rückkehr in ihr Heimatland wieder integrieren konnten, ihre Kinder hingegen größere Schwierigkeiten hatten. Diese Drittkulturkinder haben oft Probleme eine Identität zu formen, leiden unter Ausgrenzung und Verlust von vertrauten Orten und Freunden, und haben Schwierigkeiten Beziehungen aufzubauen und zu pflegen. Diese Probleme können ihnen ihr ganzes Leben erhalten bleiben. Die Anzahl von TCKs wird durch die Globalisierung und Internationalisierung von Organisationen und Firmen immer größer, wodurch auch ein tieferes Verständnis für ihre Situation benötigt wird.

Die diversen Quellen heben oft die negativen Aspekte des Aufwachsens als Drittkulturkind hervor und schenken den positiven Seiten weniger Aufmerksamkeit. Diese Arbeit versucht daher ein ausgewogeneres Bild des TCK Phänomens zu zeigen und arbeitet auch die Vorteile heraus, die TCKs haben und die in einer globalisierten Welt gefragt sind. Der Literaturreview wird zeigen, dass viele der Gesichtspunkte zum Thema Drittkulturkinder schon eingehend diskutiert und festgehalten wurden, besonders aus U.S. amerikanischer Sicht. Dennoch gibt es genügend Aspekte die noch nicht oder nicht genügend untersucht wurden. Dazu gehört zusätzliche Forschung über die Beiträge der multikulturellen Erfahrung der TCKs zu einer sich ständig verändernden Arbeitswelt oder zur Lösung von gesellschaftlichen Problemen wie Immigration. Ein anderes Thema ist der Einfluss moderner Medien („social media") auf die Erfahrung von Drittkulturkindern. Die Frage der Drittkulturkinder hat in Österreich und im deutschprachigen Raum weniger Aufmerksamkeit erhalten als z.B. in den USA. Dies zeigt sich in einem Mangel an deutschsprachiger Literatur auf

diesem Gebiet. Hier erhebt sich auch die Frage ob die Situation deutschsprachiger Drittkulturkinder sich von der in der hauptsächlich englischsprachigen Literatur beschriebenen unterscheidet.

10.3 Curriculum Vitae

Personal Data

Name: Antonia Baumgartner
Date of Birth: 05.02.1984
Citizenship: Austria and USA

Education

2008 – 2011   University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria
               Master of Arts
               Education, Counseling and Human Development

2003 – 2007   New York University, New York, NY
               Bachelor of Arts (hons.)
               Major: Psychology, Minors: Anthropology and French

1990 – 2003   The German School Washington, D.C., Potomac, MD
               German Abitur and American High-School Diploma

Work Experience

2010   Austrian Commission for UNESCO, Vienna, Austria
               Intern

2007 – 2009   Vienna Elementary School, Vienna, Austria
               School Administrator and Assistant Teacher

2008 – 2009   Ferienhort am Wolfgangsee, Salzburg, Austria
               Camp Counselor

2006 – 2007   Lab in Infancy Research, New York University, New York, NY
               Research Assistant