The goal of this article is to increase awareness and understanding of third culture kids (TCKs)—children who spend all or part of their child/teen years outside their passport country because of a parent’s employment abroad. They are introduced as one example of Cross Cultural Kid (CCK) and compared with other children who are socialized in an international context—immigrant children and children of cross-national couples. The origin and meaning of the term TCK, now generally applied to all children of expatriate parents, is described. Variations in TCK childhood experiences are discussed along with overarching questions of belonging and home common to all TCKs. Difficulties associated with reentry to the passport country—grief and loss, hidden immigrant, belonging and home—are related to the need to find a meaningful group identity. American TCKs are compared with TCKs from other countries, with special attention to Japanese kikoku shijo.

Key words: third culture kid, cross culture kid, expatriate

As we all know, the world is globalizing, people are increasingly mobile and most societies, especially the highly developed, are increasingly multicultural. This means that large numbers of people are now socialized in culturally complex environments. Because this phenomenon is so common, it is important to understand what being raised in a cross-cultural environment means for these individuals, called Cross-Cultural Kids (CCKs), and to think about the various kinds of cross-cultural socialization.

This paper is about one kind of individual raised in a cross-cultural environment, the third culture kid (TCK). Although I estimate there are several million TCKs of all nationalities, very few people (including most TCKs) have ever heard this term. Japan is one place they are recognized; they are called kaigai shijos when they are living outside Japan and kikoku shijos when they return. In this paper I will explain what a TCK is and how TCKs are similar to and different from other kinds of CCKs. I will explain why they are called “third culture kids,” talk about the experiences and characteristics of TCKs and finally, briefly compare American TCKs with those from other countries, especially Japan.
CROSS-CULTURAL KIDS: VARIATIONS ON A THEME

A CCK is “a person who has lived in—or meaningfully interacted with—two or more cultural environments for a significant period of time during developmental years.” (Van Reken and Bethel, 2006, p. 3) It is important to note that CCKs, whatever the nature of their cross-cultural socialization, share some broad similarities such as an expanded world view and adaptability. They also often question who they are and where they fit in, partly because others see them differently than they see themselves and apply simplistic labels to these complex individuals, labels the CCKs often feel do not fit.

Within the broad category, CCK, different types can be identified according to the primary reason their lives encompass more than one culture. Table 1 distinguishes between socialization which transcends national cultures and socialization which incorporates different sub-cultures within a country. It also distinguishes between children whose lives incorporate more than a single culture because of a decision their parents made or simply because they live in a bi-cultural or multicultural situation (for example 60 different languages are spoken by children in the San Diego school system).

To understand what a TCK is, I begin by placing them in the broader context of CCKs; in this paper I will limit the comparison to children socialized to more than one national culture because of parents’ decisions. The types of international CCKs identified here are “pure” types or archetypes, classified by the primary reason for cross-national socialization. Use of such archetypes facilitates comparison, but clearly oversimplifies reality. While many individuals fit into these patterns, there are many variations and some individuals experience more than one kind of cross-cultural socialization.

Children of Internationally Mobile Compared to Cross-Nationally Married Parents

A child who moves with her parents to a new country starts as a member of a society where she and her family are recognized as members and see themselves in the same light. When they move they are seen, and see themselves, as outsiders. The family is monocultural and adds new cultural elements by virtue of contact with the new cultural environment.

The child of the cross-national couple, in contrast, grows up in a family which is itself bicultural, often a blended culture (assuming they choose to incorporate both cultures). Assuming, for the purposes of conceptual clarity, this archetypical family lives in one parent’s home country and in a homogeneous community, the only cross-cultural element in the child’s life is the foreign parent. The child of such a marriage is a full member of that parent’s country; he just happens to have a foreign parent. He may be seen as somewhat different or exotic because of looks or cultural

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY REASON FOR CROSS-CULTURAL EXPERIENCE</th>
<th>INTERNATIONAL</th>
<th>DOMESTIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PARENT DECISION (FAMILIAL)</td>
<td>Cross-National Marriages</td>
<td>Cross-cultural/racial marriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>International adoptions</td>
<td>Cross-cultural/race adoptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARENT DECISION (MOBILITY)</td>
<td>Expatriates</td>
<td>Move between cultural groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationals associating with_impacted by new foreign population</td>
<td>TCKs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SITUATIONAL</td>
<td>Ethnic/race/religious minorities</td>
<td>Multi-ethnic communities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
practices inherited from the foreign parent, but he is in his home culture.

While many children are raised in families which fit these archetypical patterns, many others do not clearly fit just one of these "pure types." Increasingly, immigrant families move back and forth between countries of origin and immigration rather than making a single move.(1) Many cross-nationally married couples and their children live in culturally heterogeneous communities and/or live in neither parent's home country. In the latter case the family is also an immigrant or expatriate/third culture family and the children have multiple cross-cultural influences.

Children of Internationally Mobile Parents: Expatriate Compared to Immigrant Families

Both immigrant and expatriate families, in this archetypical representation, are monocultural, full members of their home society and culture. When they migrate to a new country they are outsiders who do not belong, but gain a new cultural dimension by virtue of living in a different cultural environment. The difference between immigrant and expatriate families is their future plans. The immigrant family's move is intended to be permanent; they expect and are expected to acculturate to their new home and become full members of that society (if allowed to do so by the dominant group). Children typically acculturate more rapidly than parents and introduce an intergenerational cross-cultural dimension to family life.

Expatriate families likewise move from a place where they are full members of the society to a new country where everyone agrees they are outsiders. In contrast to immigrants, they intend to remain outsiders with the goal of returning to their home country; they expect their children to do likewise, for college if not before. Expatriates maintain their home culture while adapting to the new environment as necessary to work and live.

Third Culture Families: Expatriates with a Difference

For the purposes of this discussion, expatriates are individuals who work for a period outside their home country. TCKs' parents are a subcategory of expatriate, distinguished by the fact that they work abroad in a representational role. They are doing the work of their sponsoring organization, for example, their home country (diplomats, military) a religious organization (missionaries), a home country or international business (IBM, Exxon) or an international organization (UN). In other words, they do not work for host country institutions or independently.

The fact that the family has a sponsor-employer does make a difference.(2) The employee's primary allegiance is to that sponsor, and that applies to his family as well. The children are often told to behave because "you are little ambassadors" or "you represent the church here." The sponsor greatly influences the family's experience including where they work (what country, where in the country), how long they stay, how often they move. Within a host country, sponsor influences whether the family will live in a relatively self-contained sponsor community or as a lone representative "up country."

Until the late 20th century the majority of Western expatriate families were abroad as representatives. Non-Western expatriate families were less concentrated in representational roles; many were abroad as laborers or students, for example. As the numbers of people living and working outside their home countries has exploded, so too has the number and variety of reasons for an expatriate life. The term TCK is generally applied to all expatriate children and it is likely that by now TCKs, as traditionally defined, are a minority of children/teens living abroad with expatriate parents. The following discussion is about TCKs as originally defined, and is based on the experience of American TCKs. With the exception of the sponsor related features of this lifestyle, most of what is said below applies to all expatriate kids. It is also likely that the strong identification with sponsor is decreasing among TCKs.

WHY ARE TCKS CALLED “THIRD CULTURE KIDS”? 

TCKs are so called because their parent/s
live, work and are raising children in a third culture. The term third culture causes much confusion. It does not, as many assume, refer to third world and is not a blending of two other cultures. John and Ruth Hill Useem, who introduced the term, defined it as

... (Useem, Useem and Donoghue, 1963, p. 169)

It is a culture created at the interstices of societies, by people who mediate. It is a bridging culture which obviously reflects the participants' cultures (first and second). It transcends those cultures; it is not a blended culture.

Third culture is a broad term encompassing many different kinds of specific third cultures. They differ on at least three dimensions. Third culture institutions and norms are different in different historical periods; those of colonial third cultures were considerably different from those of contemporary post-cold war third cultures. Specific bi-national and multinational third cultures reflect the nationalities of those involved; the Brazilian-Japanese third culture norms differ from those in the German-Kenyan or British-Pakistani third cultures, for example. And, increasingly, we see examples of multi-national third cultures created by those working for agencies such as the U.N. or a multi-national business. Finally, third cultures differ according to their function; missionary third cultures are quite different from business or diplomatic third cultures.

THE THIRD CULTURE KID EXPERIENCE

Variations

TCKs' experiences vary widely. In addition to the fact that they are raised in different functional and bi-national third cultures, they differ in how long they live outside their passport country, how many places they live, where they live in a country and what kind of schools they attend. To illustrate some of these differences I will use data from my study of 604 American adult third culture Kids (ATCKs) living in the U.S. (Cottrell, 2000, 2002; Useem and Cottrell, 1996). These respondents were abroad from one to 19 years; nearly half (45%) were abroad at least ten years and nearly one-fifth (18%) 15 years or more. They lived in one to nine countries; the majority (60%) lived in three or more and 16% in five or more different countries. They also attended different kinds of schools, including host country schools, home country overseas schools, international schools and some were home schooled. Some TCKs were the only foreign child within hundreds of miles and others lived in highly Americanized sponsor compounds. Yet, in spite of these significant differences, TCKs from all different passport countries find an immediate bond with one another, a bond based on socialization in a third culture.

To illustrate the TCK experience I will use two long-term TCKs who lived abroad as teenagers. One was a settled long-term TCK. This missionary kid (MK) went to India at age one. Her family lived in the same place, though she went to a mission boarding school in India, until she went to the U.S. for university. Several furloughs in the U.S. felt like being in a foreign country. A TCK whose father worked for an oil company illustrates the mobile long-term TCK. He lived in seven different countries with very different cultures—Venezuela, Cuba, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Libya and the U.S. It is important to keep in mind that while there are many whose experiences fit these basic patterns there are also many who were only abroad for a few years.

The most internationally mobile American TCKs are children of diplomats. Here is one example, a TCK who experienced 13 different countries by age 19 (Table 2).

TCK Identity: Where Do I Belong?

Questions always arise, about people with culturally complex histories: where do they belong, where is home and what group/nationality is theirs? When the TCK is abroad there is remarkable consistency about these issues. Everyone—parents, teachers and classmates, host country nationals, and therefore
the TCKs themselves—agrees that they belong to their parent’s home country and all agree that they are foreigners in the place of residence. When abroad their social and personal identities are congruent. There is a little less congruence, however, on the issue of where home is. Everyone BUT the TCK agrees that the parents’ home country is the TCK’s home. For the long-term TCK who has spent little time in that country it most certainly does not feel like home, so they call it “my passport country” rather than home. The settled long-term TCK has no question that home is where she lives; it is all she has known. Visits, or even short stays to the parental home are experienced as a foreign country. The question of home is more complicated for the mobile long-term TCK. Place of residence is called home while there, but on leaving it no longer is home. It lacks the rootedness of a true home. For the mobile long-term TCK home is defined in terms of people, usually family, rather than places.

**RE-ENTRY: A DIFFICULT TRANSITION**

When mobile TCKs move from country to country with the parent’s sponsor they are moving within the sponsor third culture. Relatively little adjustment is required. This is because the diplomatic third culture, for example, is similar all over the world. Life of an embassy dependent in Africa is not that different from the life of an embassy dependent in Asia. There is, of course, some adjustment to a new host culture, but culture shock for the mobile TCK is not a big issue because moves are within a sponsor specific third culture.

To the surprise of most TCKs, the real culture shock occurs on re-entry to the supposed home country. This is, without question, the most difficult part of the TCK experience, espe-
cially for those who have spent a significant part of their child/teen years abroad. Distress during repatriation is ubiquitous (Sussman, 2000). Why is this such a difficult transition for TCKs?

**Loss and Grief**

Most people who move from one place to another are saddened by loss of friends and a familiar environment. In addition to these, however, most TCKs experience loss of sponsor when they return to their passport country. At a basic level the sponsor organization provided orientation and logistic support, often arranging just about everything for the family. More fundamentally loss of sponsor is a loss of identity. In the third culture sponsor can define you as much as nationality. But sponsor identity has little meaning to teens and young adults in the "home" environment. Once TCKs turn 18 they actually loose formal membership in the sponsor community; for example, a military "brat" cannot go on a base alone because he no longer has a military ID. Along with these is a loss of status and uniqueness. Being a foreigner, especially a Westerner, still conveys high status in much of the world. Third culture parents are highly educated and well placed, so there is also a loss of family status, especially if dad or mom is an ambassador or chief of station. Another loss is the feeling of being different. After living abroad it is hard to be indistinguishable from everybody else.

The TCKs’ primary loss, however, (and few understand this) is loss of their culture and a community which understands them and shares that culture. They have left their third culture. One TCK makes clear that classmates at her international school were other TCKs. EVERYONE there spoke dozens of languages not technically ‘native’ to them, everyone had moved around, everyone understood what that was like. You didn’t have to explain any of it. Instead, one just got on with the business of getting on, but in an environment that was never surprised at you or your background.

The experience of entering a "home" country school or even a university where no one understands, let alone shares, your background and culture, or even seems to care is a shock indeed.

**“Hidden Immigrants”**

Long-term TCKs typically experience reverse culture shock on re-entry to their passport country (e.g. Gaw, 2000). To their surprise, they do not fully understand the culture, and furthermore, it is not uncommon to actually dislike the U.S. and disapprove of Americans when they first return. The often find Americans too narrow, ethnocentric, materialistic, unformed, prejudiced etc.

Because of this TCKs often feel that they are foreigners in their passport country. But they get no credit for being foreign because they appear to fit in; no one sees them as “different.” They are “hidden immigrants.” (Pollock and Van Reken, 2002, pp. 51–56, 94–97; Bell, 1997) Their sociocultural adaptation is good, but their psychological adaptation is poor. Sociocultural adaptation refers to ability to function day to day, to “fit in.” ATCKs appear to fit - they look and sound American, they have basic knowledge of American culture, they are defined as American because of passport and family history, and they are very good at figuring out how to fit into any new situation so as not to make mistakes. In addition they are educationally and occupationally successful. On the inside, however they do not feel they fit. Their cultural knowledge is, in fact, superficial. They do not understand the nuances of social interaction and they lack shared cultural experiences with their age cohort. A 33 year old MK illustrates the feeling of being a “hidden immigrant.”

In India if I make a mistake they just say... I am a crazy American. In the U.S. I don’t appear to be different, so if I openly deviate from my friends in attitudes, opinions...they don’t say it is because I am a crazy TCK who grew up in India. They just say I’m nuts.

**The Question of Home: Where Do I Belong?**

Where does someone who has lived most of
his life outside his nominal home country feel at home? Many TCKs, especially the settled long-term TCKs feel a strong emotional connection with their childhood home/s. But they know they are not "of" that country. Furthermore, those whose primary affiliation abroad was with the sponsor community often cannot go home to that community; typically, there has been a turnover of personnel and they would not know anyone. The passport country does not feel like home, but with time those who make a more or less permanent home there do come to see that as home and some even say they finally have established roots, lacking in their childhood.

Answers to questions about home—"where is home" or "where do you feel most at home" provide insight. "Everywhere and Nowhere" resonates with most TCKs. "Where my family is" serves the mobile TCKs, even if they have never been to that country. A particularly revealing answer is "where I am foreign, I don't especially care where; what I know is how to be foreign."

The Question of Belonging: Who/What Am I?

As is the case with "home" TCKs neither feel they "belong" completely to their TCK country nor to their passport country. Eighty-seven percent of our respondents say they feel different from Americans who have not had an overseas experience. This response comes from 80 year olds as well as 25 year olds. Initially feeling extremely marginalized, they become comfortable, but most never feel entirely one with that nationality/culture. A 50 year old MK illustrates this:

I may be a citizen of the U.S. but I'll never be an American at heart. I'll never feel comfortable with normal American lifestyle, goals, assumptions, attitudes. I may never ... be a true Nigerian but my heart is more there than here. We MKs are truly between two worlds.

Note "between two worlds." This MK does not say I am bi-cultural, because in reality most American ATCKs lack the depth of knowledge in two cultures to be truly bi-cultural. Another MK recognized this:

Although I love Korea and call it home, I don't know that much about it. I'm terribly ignorant considering I lived there 18 years.

TCKs incorporate a feeling of connection with all the countries and peoples they have experienced as a TCK, but ownership of none. As one particularly traveled ATCK, one of the 14% in our sample whose parents are a mixed marriage, put it:

My heart feels mostly South American, my intellect European. My drive is from the U.S. and my calm is Asian. With Filipinos I am Filipino, with Latinos I am Venezuelan, with blacks I am non-white, with Asians I am Asian, with whites I am mostly white. Whenever I have to fill out those little ethnicity boxes I am always at a loss. Sometimes depending on my mood, I put Asian, Filipino, or white—after all I'm half and half. But mostly I check other. I try with all my heart not to fit into these boxes. Sometimes being a cultural floater brings great freedom, resources and depth to my life. Other times I feel like my ethnic foundation is so weak that the next breeze will surely blow me down.

ATCKs Seeking & Finding a "Tribe"

The ATCK just quoted reflects a common attitude; ATCKs tend to resist being put into established categories. But the lack of a group, an "ethnic group," with which they can identify is a source of frustration and concern to most, especially the long-term ATCKs. Most just say "I don't fit" "I don't know where I belong" "no one understands me." Some do begin to understand where they belong but do not have a handy name for it.

I feel we are part of a population but no one recognizes that population. If you asked where I feel I belong, I couldn't identify any geographical place. What I identify with is the overseas dependent community. The
people I've stayed in touch with are not from college or law school but are foreign service brats. We can acclimate anywhere, we can have a life here, but it is not our whole life... The only people I can share with are the others who have lived overseas. Even my college friends grew up in Taiwan and Korea. Even though we weren't [TCKs] in the same country we can share because of the similar life style. (government, 35)

Learning of the term "TCK" brings great comfort and self-understanding. Increasingly TCKs are introduced to this term through their sponsor community or an international school, but this is still not the norm. A recent email from another diplomatic daughter expresses a typical response to learning what she is.

Thank you so much for... your research. I actually cried when I read the articles last year because I finally felt validated. There's a NAME for what I am, for what some of my dearest friends, and my brother are. I can't begin to tell you how much it's helped me and on how many levels.

REFLECTING ON BEING A TCK

This discussion of ATCK identity leads many to think that ATCKs are, overall, an unhappy lot who regret their parents' decisions which gave them such a complex and unusual background. Unfortunately, the literature has tended to focus on difficulties TCKs and ATCKs experience. While not denying that there are many challenges and many, many very difficult times, most of the ATCKs in our study feel the experience was beneficial. Asked to reflect on several aspects of their adult lives, the majority considered the impact of their TCK childhood mainly beneficial to: work; higher education; relations with parents, siblings, spouse and children, and in social relations generally. Further discrediting the suggestion that a third culture childhood is primarily detrimental for adults, more than three-quarters concluded that, overall, they are satisfied with the way their life has unfolded. Consider these evaluations from ATCKs abroad under different sponsoring organizations.

As I reread my responses to these questions I am struck by the negative connotations in them. As I reflect on [the] effects of my TCK experiences on my life, I must say the sum total is not at all bad. I wholeheartedly believe that my upbringing overseas has made me a unique, if somewhat off-centered, broadminded person... The most distinct advantage/disadvantage of my transnational experiences is that I disdain anything ordinary! Makes for an interesting lifestyle, though, and keeps me on my toes. (government, 32)

My childhood in India is the seminal aspect of my life. I have spent enormous amounts of time reflecting on it alone and with others... It has complicated my life, and enriched it too. All in all, I wouldn't trade it for anything though. (mission, 42)

It is extremely difficult to summarize my experience as a TCK. Being raised abroad was both the most wonderful and the most terrible thing that ever happened to me. My life is forever enriched and changed—I will also never fit in fully in American society. (business, 38)

COMPARING AMERICAN AND OTHER NATIONS' TCKS

It is easy to assume that American TCKs have it easier than those from other countries. That is not to say it is easy, but they do have a number of advantages in terms of re-entry to their passport country. The main thing that eases the transition for those American TCKs living abroad in the early 21st century is the hegemony of American culture throughout the world. There are few places where one does not have access to American popular culture. TCKs from other countries return home familiar with American, but ignorant of local popular culture. Likewise, for better or worse,
the American political scene is reported more widely than most. TCKs from smaller countries which have less impact on the world scene may hear virtually nothing of life and politics in their passport countries.

School is a very important socializing agent. A large proportion of TCKs now attend international schools, most of which follow either an American or a British curriculum or increasingly the International Baccalaureate program, usually in English. Therefore a Danish TCK, or a Venezuelan, Nigerian or Thai is likely to learn to think and reason in an English or American idiom. They also learn classroom norms of informality that is unacceptable in more formal traditional cultures (Kanno, 2000).

The nature of the home country also makes a difference in ease of adjustment. In the 1950s and earlier, American TCKs returned to a country that was not internationally oriented, making it very difficult to find "soul mates." Now, the U.S., especially urban areas, is very international and multi-cultural. (12) Colleges, where the long-term TCK often has his first real immersion in the American scene, now encourage foreign students and study abroad for American students. This significantly increases the probability of finding others who are CCKs, if not TCKs. Many countries, in contrast, remain relatively homogeneous, and less receptive to those with a "foreign" background.

Gender is not a major issue for American TCKs returning to the U.S. at this time. In contrast, female TCKs from countries where women do not have equal rights or opportunities often find the return to the passport country very traumatic. This is especially the case if they have been permitted to fully participate in the largely egalitarian third culture.

Japan is the only other country with a significant literature about TCK/Expatriate children, thus making some comparisons possible. In general, personal re-entry issues for Japanese and American returnees are similar (Uehara, 1986). The majority of Japanese kaigai shijos (TCKs overseas) maintain their language and cultural skills to varying degrees while abroad; over 60% of them attended a full or part-time Japanese school in 2003 (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003). Thus most, like their American counterparts, have the basic linguistic and cultural knowledge to participate in the passport country institutions. Integration into the top universities has been more difficult for Japanese returnees than for Americans, largely because cultural standards for admission are more demanding and more uniform than at American universities, even the most prestigious.

The major difference between Japanese and American returnees is how they are seen and treated in their passport country. The American public is unaware that such a category exists and TCKs have never been a matter of public concern. American expatriate/TCK returnees are expected to make their own way when they return. Most universities and colleges are quite unaware of TCKs. (13) Japan not only has widely known labels for TCKs—kaigai shijo and kikoku shijo (TCKs after return to Japan)—but also has had formal policies for their admission to Japanese schools and universities. This has involved special schools and/or special admissions exams for these returnees who are seen as insufficiently prepared for the rigorous Japanese curriculum. Alternatively, some kikoku shijo attend English medium schools or universities in Japan.

Kikoku shijo are finding it easier now to integrate into the Japanese mainstream, than several decades ago. This is undoubtedly due, at least in part, to the increasing diversity of people living in Japan. Compared to recent immigrants, the kikoku shijo has a great deal of cultural knowledge, and this is recognized in greater access to Japanese universities. At the same time connotations of the term kikoku shijo and interest in the returnees are changing. Portrayed negatively in the 1970s, then as elite internationalists in the 1980s and 1990s, kikoku shijo are no longer an object of much interest in Japan (Kano Podolsky and Kamoto, 2005).
SUMMARY REMARKS

TCKs have a great deal in common with other cross-cultural kids, all of whom can relate to feelings of being connected to two or more established cultures and groups and feeling that others fail to appreciate their inner complexity. Yet TCKs differ from these in many ways, the most important of which is their socialization in a third culture milieu. The third culture, in contrast to national and ethnic cultures is a culture that draws on, and transcends national cultures but is not a blending of other cultures. It is this that is especially hard for TCKs to conceptualize and nearly impossible for others who have not experienced a third culture to comprehend. TCKs, regardless of parental country share the difficulty of being a hidden immigrant in a country every one else calls their home. The hegemony of American culture world wide and the fact that the most common schooling for TCKs is an international school often with an American curriculum and the fact that the U.S. is a very multi-cultural society may make the difficult re-entry for American TCKs a little less difficult than reentry is for TCKs especially from smaller and more traditional societies.

NOTES

(1) Glick Schiller et al. (1992) were among the first to recognize that, for many, migration is not a single one-way journey, but often involves moving back and forth between countries. Amer (2006), among others, echoes this point.

(2) Bushong (2005), focusing on healthy and unhealthy mission systems, provides an excellent discussion of the impact of sponsor culture on the third culture family experience.

(3) There is a significant literature on the difficulties of re-entry, as represented by Brabant et al. (1990), Schmiel and Schmiel (1998), Smith (1996), Sussman (2000), Uehara (1986) for example.

(4) See the work of Berry for further discussion of sociocultural and psychological adaptation in acculturation, e.g. Berry et al. (2006).

(5) Eighty-one percent of the ATCKs in our study had at least a BA compared to 21% of Americans at the same time in history and 11% had completed doctoral degrees. Seventy percent were executives, administrators, professionals or semi-professionals. This high achievement level is in large part because their parents, who are abroad as representatives of governments, businesses, churches etc. are highly educated and generally in professional and administrative occupations. They provide role models and cultural capital for success.

(6) Only four percent in our sample of ATCKs living in the U.S. disagreed with the statement “America is the best place for me to be living presently.”

(7) A majority of our sample agreed with this statement (55% agreed; 18% both agreed and disagreed). The option of “both agree and disagree” was included in forced choice responses to accommodate the often contradictory views of these complex individuals.

(8) As with re-entry, there is a large literature on TCK and ATCK identity. Often the same article or book addresses both. See for example, Cottrell, 2000: Kanno, 2000: Kanno, 1996; Minoura 1993: Schaetti, 2000: Sussman, 2000.

(9) Seventy-four percent agreed, 13% both agreed and disagreed.

(10) Pollock and Van Reken (2002) use “among worlds” rather than “between worlds” in their title, precisely to point out that TCKs connect to all the places they have lived.

(11) Americans are frequently asked to indicate their race/ethnicity on forms by checking one of several boxes.

(12) Reflecting this diversity, American third culture families are also increasingly diverse. Ethnic and racial differences have very little significance in the third culture abroad; therefore U.S. TCKs who are not from the dominant race / culture have little exposure to their family subculture. African Ameri-
can or Mexican American TCKs, for example, often have an even more difficult time on re-entry than European Americans because they are identified as members of that subculture but have virtually no understanding of it.

(13) A very few universities or colleges, such as the University of the Pacific, formally recognize and have programs for TCKs. Others, where there are a large number of TCKs, are aware of them and often at least have social organizations such as Global Nomads chapters (e.g., George Mason University, Cornell University) or, in the case of schools with strong church affiliation, chapters of Mu Kappa (for Missionary Kids).

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