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Resilience in Relation to Consistency in Self-Concept in Adult Third Culture Kids

(ATCKs)

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of Antioch University Seattle

Seattle, WA

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements of the Degree

Doctor of Psychology

By

Crystal LaBass

May 2015

Resilience in Relation to Consistency in Self-Concept in Adult Third Culture Kids

(ATCKs)

This dissertation, by Crystal LaBass, has been approved by the Committee Members signed below who recommend that it be accepted by the faculty of the Antioch University Seattle at Seattle, WA in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

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Date

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Abstract

Resilience in Relation to Consistency in Self-Concept in Adult Third Culture Kids

(ATCKs)

Crystal LaBass

Antioch University Seattle

Seattle, WA

The number of children raised in internationally mobile families (Third Culture Kids, or TCKs) is on the rise due to a growing trend towards globalization (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). These individuals share numerous characteristics and a distinct cultural perspective (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). A stepwise multiple regression analysis was conducted to examine the relationship between resilience (as measured by the Conner-Davidson Resilience Scale), self-concept consistency (as measured by the Self Concept Clarity Scale), and the degree to which one has lived the TCK experience (as measured by the number of relocations experienced) in a sample of 144 adult TCKs. Results revealed a significant negative correlation between self-concept consistency and resilience. This correlation is uncommon in previously conducted research of non-TCKs. Possible explanations for this correlation are explored, as well as the clinical implications of these findings. The electronic version of this dissertation is at OhioLink ETD Center, www.ohiolink.edu/etd

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the Adult Third Culture Kid (ATCK) online community. These individuals have paved the way in spreading awareness and knowledge of ATCKs through their willingness to share their stories, participate in research, educate, and conduct research. This study was made possible due to these individuals' willingness to volunteer their time and openly share. I am exceedingly grateful for their contributions.

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I would like to express my appreciation to my committee chair, Suzanne Engelberg, Ph.D., for her invaluable guidance on this project, as well as her skill in assisting her students to become well-versed psychologists. I would also like to thank another committee member, Alex Suarez, Ph.D. Dr. Suarez's mentorship demonstrates her passion for promoting understanding for under-researched populations and has been a source of inspiration for me. Finally, I would like to extend a special thank you to my outside committee member, Dr. Vander Pol for generously sharing her expertise and unique understanding of the dissertation topic.

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Chapter I: Background Information

Children raised in internationally mobile families are referred to as Third Culture Kids or TCKs in sociological and international education research. Qualitative literature on TCKs, as well as Adult Third Culture Kids, or ATCKs, suggests that TCK/ATCKs tend to have a more fluid or inconsistent self-concept and that they are often highly adaptive in response to life transitions and changing cultural contexts (see Pollock & Van Reken, 2009, and Weaver, 2000). These observations of TCK/ATCKs are intriguing, given the hypothesis that has been popularized in Western culture suggesting that fluid or inconsistent self-concept is indicative of poor psychological functioning and mental health (see Gergen, 1991; Maslow, 1954, 1968; Rogers, 1951). Some research has supported this hypothesized relationship (Campbell, Assanand, & DiPaula, 2003; Diehl, Hastings, & Stanton, 2001; Donahue, Robins, Roberts, & John, 1993; McReynolds, Altrocchi, & House, 2000; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997; Suh, 2002) while other research has not (Baird, Le, & Lucas 2006; Bem, 1974; Paulhus & Martin, 1988; Snyder, 1974).

The seemingly contradictory nature of TCK/ATCK observations and the hypothesized relationship between consistency in self-concept and psychological functioning raises questions to be explored in psychology research. For example, can these two qualitative TCK/ATCK observations (inconsistent/fluid self-concept and highly adaptive) be found in a quantitative study? If not, what might this say about these qualitative observations or about the quantitative assessments used to measure these traits? Another question raised is whether the hypothesized relationship between consistency in self-concept and psychological functioning hold true for the TCK/ATCK

population. If so, how does this relate to the observations suggesting TCK/ATCKs often possess low levels of consistency in self-concept and high levels of adaptability in the face of life transitions and cultural change (i.e., resilience)? If this hypothesized relationship does not hold true for the TCK/ATCK population, what factors (such as culture) influenced these findings? The current study utilized a quantitative multiple stepwise regression research design to explore each of these questions.

Chapter II: Literature Review

The Trend Toward International Mobility

Statistics indicate that there is a growing trend towards globalization and internationally mobile families. Some contributors to this trend that can be felt globally include increasingly accessible air travel, increased availability of international schools, and advances in technology that serve to connect and inform people globally, such as the Internet (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009).

Within the U.S, there have been a number of additional specific contributing factors to this trend. As Carolyn Smith notes in her 1994 book *The Absentee American*, The Foreign Service Reform Act of 1946 expanded the recruitment of personnel beyond diplomats to include economists and other professionals, as well. There have also been increases in overseas military personnel and growing numbers of representatives sent from the U.S. Information Agency, Peace Corps, Central Intelligence Agency, Department of Treasury, Commerce, Interior, and Agriculture, private U.S. businesses, and religious organizations to create a powerful trend toward internationally mobile families originating in the U.S. As Smith (1994) notes:

Since 1946, therefore, when it was unusual for Americans to live overseas unless they were missionaries or diplomats, it has become commonplace for American military and civilian employees and businesspeople to be stationed abroad. (p. 2)

The number of Americans living abroad was estimated at 3 million in 1990 by the U.S. State Department (Smith, 1994), over 3.5 million in 1999 by the U.S. Bureau of Consular (1999), and over 4 million by 2007 (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009).

This trend towards international mobility has been documented in other nations as well. In 2002, The Japan Times Online reported that Foreign Ministry officials released

data indicating that 839,138 Japanese citizens were living overseas and that this number was up 3.4% from the previous year (Japanese living overseas, 2002). The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) estimated there were approximately 1 million Australians living abroad as of 2001 (Hugo, 2006). The DFAT (2011) also reports that the estimated number of Italians living abroad was approximately 2.7 million people as of 2006. In an article published by Worldpress (Joshi, 2006), it was reported that as of 2006, there were over 20 million N.R.I.'s (non-resident Indians, or Indians living outside of India). These statistics suggest a sizable population of internationally mobile individuals, highlighting the importance of TCK/ATCK research.

Third Culture Kids and Adult Third Culture Kids

Children raised in internationally mobile families are referred to as Third Culture Kids or TCKs in sociological and international education research. This term was coined by Ruth Hill Useem, Ph.D. and John Useem, Ph.D. two sociologists who studied U.S. families stationed in India in the 1950's (Useem, 1993). These children were considered to have a "third culture" in that their cultural identities appeared to be an integration of each culture these children had resided in, yet these children did not fully identify with any one culture and tended to think outside the confines of a given cultural perspective. Upon noting numerous characteristics and viewpoints that were common across internationally mobile children, regardless of the particular cultural influences involved, these sociologists saw a need for a term that reflected this distinct cultural perspective (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). Although some of the characteristics of third culture identity could be seen in the parents of these children, researchers (e.g., Kebshull & Pozo-Humphries, 2009; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009) believed this term to be particularly relevant to the children of internationally mobile families due to the fact that their diverse cultural experiences occurred during their formative years, when identity, personality, and values are rapidly forming.

Many of these TCK characteristics typically persist into adulthood (Cottrell & Useem, 1994). Once adults, this population is referred to as Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs). Third culture kids are exposed to a wide variety of cultures, values, customs, and social systems throughout their formative years. Qualitative literature on TCK/ATCKs (see Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Weaver, 2000) suggests that one of the defining features of many TCKs is the ability to be highly adaptive in their perspectives, self-presentation, and even self-concept based upon their cultural context. TCKs are often reported to make adaptations without discounting the worldviews held in their former places of residence. In this sense, TCKs adapt to multiple cultures, while lacking a sense of belonging or ownership to any one culture (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). As a result, TCKs often mentally process a great deal of complexity and contradictions as they come to forage their own unique hybrid cultural and personal identities (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). One of many decisions ATCKs face in their identity development is the choice between establishing roots in one location or continuing a life of continual mobility. Many ATCKs choose to pursue international careers that allow for high mobility (Downie, 1976, as cited in Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009).

There are potential strengths and challenges that come from this form of adaptability. Pollock and Van Reken (2009) suggest that the third culture experience can create an enriched and complex understanding of the world and of the self. These authors suggest this understanding of the world and of the self often results in a greater sense of global responsibility and the ability to connect with a diverse range of people. Additionally, some researchers (e.g., Schaetti & Ramsey, 1999) have suggested that TCKs' adaptability is a social survival skill, given their mobile lifestyle. This is due to the fact that the formative years of development involve many rapidly progressing social developmental milestones during key windows of development (DeHart, Sroufe, & Cooper, 2004). A TCKs likelihood of gaining interactions that lead to such social development may be contingent on his/her ability to integrate with his/her peers once in a new environment. One way in which this integration may take place is by acculturating (i.e., adapting) to the new social environment.

Pollock and Van Reken (2009) point to three common TCK responses to the challenge of adapting to new cultural/social environments:

Chameleons—those who try to find a "same as" identity. They hide their time lived in other places and try to conform externally through clothes, language, or attitudes to whatever environment they are in. Screamers – those who try to find a "different from" identity. They will let other people around them know that they are not like them and don't plan to be. Wallflowers—those who try to find a "nonidentity." Rather than risk being exposed as someone who doesn't know the local cultural rules, they prefer to sit on the sidelines and watch, at least for an extended period, rather than to engage in the activities at hand. (p. 57)

In addition to this cultural adaptiveness, TCKs must learn to develop and

(potentially) thrive during the continuous transition, upheaval, and uncertainty that come from a life of high mobility. All the while, TCKs face key developmental milestones that are often experienced as stressful for many children and youth (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Weaver, 2000). Resilience, as commonly defined in psychology research, is the ability to adapt in such a way that allows one to thrive under stressful circumstances (Connor & Davidson, 2003). Therefore, it is not just adaptiveness that many TCKs demonstrate, but resilience.

Meanwhile, other researchers have suggested that the unique developmental trajectory for TCKs is likely to result in a confused and problematic self-concept. For example, Gergen (1991) used the term "saturated self" to refer to the effects of being exposed to many cultures (although he was speaking theoretically and not in regards to TCKs specifically). He suggested this creates a "multiplicity of incoherent and unrelated languages of the self' (p. 6) that undermine any existing sense of self. Based solely upon Gergen's concept of the saturated self, it would seem the TCK sense of self may best be described as confused, if not non-existent, rather than complex and fluid. Although Gergen's description of those with a saturated self (i.e., those exposed to multiple cultures) would suggest that TCKs serve as the ultimate example of this type of individual, Gergen suggested that all people are increasingly developing a saturated self due to technological advances (e.g., exposure to other cultures through media/entertainment). Gergen and like-minded theorists and philosophers may see TCKs as prototypes of the emerging world-citizen. As such, exploration of the TCK/ATCK experience and issues faced by those with this experience may greatly contribute to this philosophical discussion.

Hoersting and Jenkins (2011) conducted a study of cultural homelessness (a similar construct to self-concept) in ATCKs. Cultural homelessness was defined as the combined characteristics of lacking cultural membership, emotional detachment for all cultural groups, and a perceived need for a cultural home. A total of 475 ATCK participants completed an online survey comprised of demographic questions, the

Cultural Homelessness Criteria (Navarrete & Jenkins, 2010), the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1989), and items examining participants' strength of affirmation, belonging, and commitment to a self-labeled cross-cultural identity based on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992). The Cultural Homelessness Criteria is a measure that examines the cultural dimensions of self-concept (i.e., sense of cultural belonging to a given group) and does not measure fluidity in self-concept. Inclusion criteria required that participants must have spent at least two years in a country different from their parents' home culture and then returned to their parents' home country before the age of 18. Recruitment was conducted by means of email contact with known ATCKs, word of mouth from ATCK to ATCK, and ads on TCK-related websites and in newsletters. It was found that those scoring higher on cultural homelessness scored lower on self-esteem measures. Also, participants with higher affirmation, belonging, and commitment scored higher for self esteem and lower for cultural homelessness. Hoersting and Jenkins found that the emotional component (i.e., strength of affirmation, belonging, and commitment) of group membership (rather than cognitive or social components) correlated most strongly with self-esteem and cultural homelessness to a statistically significant degree.

In another topically related study, Grimshaw and Sears (2008) reviewed literature from four areas: TCK/ATCKs, symbolic interactionist perspectives (i.e., social interactions and the interpretations individuals make of them) on the formation of self, the negotiation of identity within a multilingual context, and postmodern (e.g., Bhabha, 1994; Jameson, 1991) perspectives of identity. The central research question of this international education study was, "How do globally mobile young people negotiate and maintain their sense of identity in the face of continuous movement and relocation?" (p. 261). The authors found there was a considerable gap in the literature that made answering this question difficult. They also found that answering this question involves taking into account not just the interweaving international cultural influences, but also the multiplicity of cultural influences within a single nation, and the strategies for identity management utilized by TCK/ATCKs as they are exposed to these various influences.

Fail et al. (2004) conducted a study in which review of the literature and in-depth interviews provided the basis of this qualitative multiple case study following 11 former students from schools designed for international students. Potential links between theory and personal accounts of the students were explored by the authors for the dimensions of relationships, sense of belonging, and views on identity. Themes that remained consistent across literature and interviews included ATCKs' sense of being marginal to mainstream, or outsiders, feelings of (partial) belonging in multiple places, positive views and accounts of their TCK experiences, a strong ability to relate to others with the TCK experience, and an experience of *reverse culture shock* (in which the TCK realizes that they are different from those in their home country upon returning). These themes were explored in light of their hypothesized contributions to identity formation.

With regards to ATCKs' sense of being marginal to mainstream, it is theorized that this can prove to be either adaptive (constructive marginality) or problematic (encapsulated marginality) (Bennett, 1993). Constructive marginality involves an ability to have a sense of belonging in multiple cultures, despite also having a sense of being different. Such individuals are believed to be better able to connect with not only other ATCKs, but members of the cultures in which ATCKs live as well (Downie, 1976).

Encapsulated marginality involves a continual sense of being marginal to the mainstream in each culture. These individuals have a greater sense of being outsiders wherever they go and may experience a greater sense of isolation (Bennett, 1993).

With regards to reverse culture shock, this is a phenomenon that has been very well documented in TCK/ATCK research and literature (see Bell, 1997; Downie, 1976; Firestone, 1992; Fray, 1988; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Schulz, 1985; Stelling, 1992). It involves the development of an awareness of being different from those in ones original country/location, once the TCK returns. Many TCKs expect to feel at home upon returning to their original culture, thus they are surprised by this reverse culture shock phenomenon (Fail et al., 2004). This reverse culture shock may represent and important and unique phase of development for TCKs. All together, these qualitative findings suggest unique features of TCK/ATCKs' development and sense of identity as compared to those without this lived experience and warrant further exploration.

In another TCK/ATCK related study, six professionals specializing in intercultural issues were interviewed on the state of TCK research and needs for future research (Cottrell, 2005). Eight research needs were identified in this study:

"1.) How is technology impacting the TCK experience? 2.) What happens to TCKs during cultural adjustment? 3.) How do TCKs apply their experience overseas to their future lives? 4.) What about TCKs who choose to make their lives overseas as adults? 5.) What about Non-American Third Culture Kids? 6.) What kinds of similarities and differences would we see in TCKs from different countries? 7.) How can we test the theories that make up the TCK profile? 8.) How can new approaches to intercultural research be developed?" (pp. 3–9)

With regards to TCK/ATCK research in general, there are still many important gaps in the research literature. For example in a search of Ohiolink (an electronic journal center with an extensive network of over 100 online research databases and nearly 10,000

journal titles from approximately 50 publishers across a wide range of research fields) conducted on December 10, 2013, the number of research articles found to contain the phrase "third culture kids" were as follows: 11 empirical studies, 9 quantitative, 3 qualitative, and 1 literature review. There were no TCK studies examining the relationship between consistency in self-concept and resilience.

This lack of research represents an important deficit in the resources needed for psychologists to provide culturally informed therapy and assessment services to this population. Furthermore, we can expect an increasingly urgent demand for culturally competent understanding of the TCK experience, considering that the number of TCK/ATCKs worldwide is rapidly on the rise (Hugo, 2006; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Smith, 1994).

Intra-Individual Personality Variability

There is also a body of psychology research on fluidity of identity, or what is often referred to as *intra-individual personality variability* that relates to the current proposed study (see Baird et al., 2006; Suh, 2002). This body of research debates two differing hypothesis regarding the psychological impact of intra-individual personality variability.

As Suh (2002) pointed out, there are numerous psychologists such as Maslow (1954, 1968) and Rogers (1951) who point to the importance of consistency of the self and related behaviors to mental health. In his text, *Toward a Psychology of Being*, Maslow (1968) promoted the idea of "health as transcendence of environment" (p. 197) and defined the fully matured person as one that is "authentic, self-actualizing, individuated, productive, and healthy" (p. 200). According to Maslow, failure to

transcend cultural/contextual variables threatens overall mental health and well-being, and results in repression of the true, inner self. As Suh (2002) pointed out, this view of mental health and maturation is very much in keeping with the individualistic cultural ideals held in the U.S. These ideals suggest that the self should be the central determinant of behavior, rather than the context. Numerous empirical investigations (e.g., Campbell et al., 2003; Diehl et al., 2001; Donahue et al., 1993; McReynolds et al., 2000; Sheldon et al., 1997; Suh, 2002) have supported Maslow's view, using a method for measuring intraindividual personality variability established by Block in 1961. This method involves asking participants to report their likely interpersonal behavior across multiple differing types of relationships.

On the other side, there are researchers (Bem, 1975, as cited in Baird et al., 2006; Paulhus & Martin, 1988; Snyder, 1974) that have suggested high levels of intraindividual personality variability can prove to be a healthy and adaptive trait. These researchers believe this trait reflects the ability to take note of changing circumstances and appropriately adapt to those circumstances. Furthermore, many theorists (including Bowlby, 1988 and Tracey, 2005; see Erickson, Newman, & Pincus, 2009) have suggested that maladjusted individuals are more likely to have overly rigid ways of perceiving themselves in relation to others (i.e., rigid social cognitions) and a limited repertoire of interpersonal behaviors. This suggests that it may actually be low levels (rather than high levels) of intra-individual personality variability that are related to challenges to mental health and well-being.

Baird et al. (2006) conducted a study that lends support to the argument that high levels of intra-individual personality variability can prove to be a healthy and adaptive trait. A total of 270 undergraduate college students from Michigan State University participated in this study. Participants were given the International Personality Item Pool Big Five Questionnaire (IPIP) (Goldberg, 1999), the Intensity and Time Affect Survey (ITAS) (Diener, Smith, & Fujita, 1995), the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffen, 1985), and a self-concept differentiation (SCD) scale based on Donahue et al.'s (1993) scale. This measure involved a process in which participants were first asked to report on their personalities in general. Next, participants were asked to select from a list of 20 adjectives to describe themselves across six different roles (friend, romantic partner, family member, student, worker, or stranger).

Data analysis involved searching out correlations between trait variance (as assessed by the author's SCD measure) and well being (as assessed by the remaining measures). Baird et al. (2006) initially found a negative correlation between personality variability and well-being, but discovered this correlation was largely due to mean levels of personality traits. Once mean-level information was removed and only crosssituational trait variability was measured, the correlation between intra-individual personality variability and well-being shifted from significantly negative to significantly positive.

Baird et al.'s (2006) study suggested that there may be additional important variables that influence whether intra-individual personality variability has a positive or negative impact on well-being. Suh (2002) conducted a study that may point to one such variable. In Suh's study, a total of 84 college students from the U.S and 123 college students from Korea were given a likert scale identity consistency (IC) measure designed by Block (1961). The IC measure asked participants to what degree 25 personality traits described them in a general sense and then asked again in the context of different social roles (e.g., employee versus family member). Participants were also given the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener et al., 1985). Results revealed a positive correlation between identity consistency (as measured by the IC) and satisfaction with life (as measured by the SWLS) among the U.S. participants (r = .31, p < .01) and among the Korean participants (r = .22, p < .05). There was a statistically significant difference in the size of the correlation between the U.S participants and the Korean participants, with a weaker correlation found for Korean participants (p < .05). This suggested that culture may serve as a variable that can influence whether intra-individual personality variability has a positive or negative impact on well-being.

Constructs similar to intra-individual personality variability are being used in assessments commonly used in comprehensive standardized assessments of psychological functioning. One such assessment is the Inventory of Altered Self-Capacities Scales (IACS) (Briere, 2000). The IASC measures disturbed functioning on both an internal and an interpersonal level. It is comprised of seven scales: Interpersonal Conflict, Idealization-Disillusionment, Abandonment Concerns, Identity Impairment, Susceptibility to Influence, Affect Dysregulation, and Tension Reduction Activities. This assessment was found to have sound psychometic properties with general population, clinical, and university samples (reliability coefficients for IASC scales ranged from .78 to .93). The Identity Impairment scale of the IASC assesses difficulty in maintaining a coherent sense of identity and self-awareness across context, as well as difficulties in confusing one's feelings or perspectives with those of others. To date, no psychological research has been published on the relationship between intra-individual personality variability and measures of psychological health in an ATCK sample. This gap in the research is closely related to a key goal of the current study. The current study aimed to examine the relationship between consistency in selfconcept (a construct similar to intra-individual personality variability) and resilience (a construct similar to psychological well-being) in an ATCK sample.

Relevant Assessment Measures

Self-Concept Clarity Scale research. Campbell et al. (1996) created this brief 12-item measure. It examines the extent to which the aspects of an individual's selfconcept are clearly, confidently defined, internally consistent, and stable over time on a 5-point Likert scale. Campbell et al. (1996) found this measure to indicate internal consistency reliability coefficients to range from .85 to .86 (with an average of .86). Testretest correlations of .79 and .70 were found for 4- and 5-month intervals. Participants consisted of 1,544 undergraduate students from the University of British Columbia and 80 Japanese exchange students at the University of British Columbia from Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Japan, 112 Japanese introductory psychology students at Nagasaki University in Nagasaki, and 84 Japanese research methods students at Ritsumeikan University. When compared with 9 related well-established measures, numerous expected convergent and divergent relations provide some preliminary evidence of this measures validity (Campbell et al., 1996). Two of these measures examined self esteem. These measures were the Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale and Helmreich, Stapp, and Ervin's (1974) Texas Social Behavior Inventory (TSBI). The NEO-FFI (Costa & McCrae, 1989) was used to examine the relationship between the SCCS and five major

personality factors (neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness). The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) provided a measure of dispositional mood. Neuroticism was measured using three different measures: the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (TMAS) (Taylor, 1953), the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) (Beck, 1967), and the short version Repression-Sensitization Scale (R-S) (Byrne, 1961). The tendency to engage in and enjoy thinking was measured using the Need for Cognition Scale (NCOG) (Cacioppo, Petty, & Kao, 1984). Self-consciousness was measured using the Self-Consciousness Scale (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975). Finally, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MC) (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) was used as a measure of socially desirable response tendencies. See Appendix IV for tables providing information regarding convergent and divergent validity for the SCCS. This scale is readily available online at http://www.sjdm.org/dmidi/Self-Concept Clarity.html. To date, the published study using the SCCS that comes closest to exploring the research question of the current proposed study is Usborne and Taylor's (2010) study of cultural identity clarity, selfconcept clarity, self-esteem, and subjective well-being. Although the authors examined these factors for five different cultural groups, individuals having lived the TCK experience were not among these groups. The closest equivalent was a bi-racial group without the lived TCK experience of high mobility and repeated cultural adaptation. All though certain culture-based groups of participants were given different questionnaire packets, all participants (n = 552) were given the Rosenberg (1965) Self-Esteem Scale, the Self-Concept Clarity Scale (Campbell et al., 1996), and an eight-item Cultural Identity Clarity Scale that the authors adapted from the SCCS. Result for all five groups

found a statistically significant positive correlation between cultural identity clarity, selfconcept clarity, self esteem, and various assessments of well-being.

Though this study offered many important insights, like all research, it also had its limitations. A limitation of this study is the fact that there was very little information explaining the reasons for variance in questionnaire packets across cultural groups. This made it difficult for the reader to determine if these choices were influenced by and perhaps leading toward the authors' hypothesis or if the choices were based on translation considerations. Another limitation of this study relates to TCK/ATCKs directly. By the nature of the 8-item culture identity clarity scale, a low culture identity clarity score may mean something different in a monocultural individual as opposed to a TCK/ATCK. This potential misunderstanding is particularly important in light of the author's conclusion that low culture identity clarity is indicative of low self-esteem and low levels of psychological well-being. This highlights why the gap in research literature regarding TCK/ATCK's and assessments is clinically important.

Campbell et al.'s (1996) comparative analysis of the SCCS with Eastern and Western participants also stands out as a particularly relevant study. This study was comprised of three subsections: (1) the development of the scale and assessment of its psychometric properties, (2) further exploration of the scales external validity, and (3) exploration of the cultural boundaries of the SCCS correlation with self esteem measures when comparing a Canadian and a Japanese sample. Due to the cultural heterogeneity within the Canadian sample, only the most monocultural and western Canadian participants were included. Because the psychometric properties of this scale have already been discussed, it is the third subsection that is highlighted here. Data from a total of 376 Japanese and 284 Canadian participants was used for this section of the study. Each participant completed a questionnaire packet that included the SCCS and Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale. Results were congruent with research suggesting cultural variation in construal of self and its relationship to other psychological variables. Japanese participants had significantly lower SCCS scores than Canadian participants (p < .01). Also, the positive correlation between low self-concept clarity (as measured by the SCCS) and low self-esteem (as measured by the SES) was more pronounced for the Canadian participants to a statistically significant degree (p < .05).

As mentioned previously, Hoersting and Jenkins (2011) examined cultural homelessness (a construct with certain similarities to self-concept clarity as explored by the SCCS) in ATCKs. However, several important differences exist between the Cultural Homelessness Critera used in Hoersting and Jenkin's study and the SCCS. Cultural homelessness is specific to only cultural dimensions of self-concept (i.e., sense of cultural belonging to a given group). Another important difference is that the Cultural Homelessness Criteria does not examine fluidity in self-concept. Fluidity in self-concept, and its relationship to resilience is central to the research question of the current proposed study, and offers insight beyond the contributions of Hoersting and Jenkins and their exploration of cultural homelessness in ATCKs.

Conner-Davidson Resilience Scale research. This scale was designed to measure the qualities that enable an individual to thrive in the face of adversity. It is 25 item measure on a 5-point Likert scale. It is based on Richardson, Neiger, Jensen, and Kumpfer's (1990) model that suggests disruptions to homeostasis lead to one of four outcomes: (1) an opportunity for growth and increased resilience, (2) a return to baseline

homeostasis, (3) recovery but with a loss in homeostasis functioning, (4) use of maladaptive strategies to cope with stressors. In this sense, resilience is construed as being on a continuum, with learning/growth on the high end and deterioration/dysfunction on the low end.

Participants were recruited in North Carolina by random-digit dial based general population sample (n = 577), primary care outpatients (n = 139), psychiatric outpatients in private practice (n = 43), subjects in a study of generalized anxiety disorder (n = 25), and subjects in two clinical trials of PTSD (n = 22; n = 22). It is a more internally consistent measure of resilience than Kohn and O'Brien's (1997) previous measure, the Situational Response Inventory. Internal consistency (Cronbach's a) ranged from .86 to .92 in adult and college student samples. Test-retest reliability over three-week interval was as follows, r(105) = .90, p < .01. Expected significant positive correlations with self-ratings of adaptiveness and significant negative correlations with prolonged states of anxiety were found. Much like the SCCS, the CD-RISC has not been used with an ATCK population.

With regards to existing research utilizing this measure, the authors have published a bibliography on their website (http://www.connordavidsonresiliencescale.com/cd-risc/bibliography.shtml) that directs readers to literally hundreds of studies/articles by a wide range of authors that have used this measure. These studies have provided a wealth of information regarding appropriate use of the measure with various populations and mean scores for those populations. The populations explored include diagnostic characteristics, such as trauma symptoms (e.g., Anderson & Bang, 2012; Morey et al., 2009) and a variety of medical conditions (e.g., O'Hanlon, Camic, & Shearer, 2012; Shin et al., 2012). Mean scores have also been established for the general population in various countries (e.g., Ha, Kang, An, & Cho, 2009; Lamond et al., 2009; Peng et al., 2012; Ziaian, Anstiss, Antoniou, Baghurst, & Sawyer, 2012). This measure has been used in studies with populations from approximately 25 different countries, all across the world. These studies will be explored in greater detail in the final document.

Conducting Online Research

Kraut et al. (2003) outlined the many advantages and challenges to conducting online research. In addition to allowing special populations across the globe to be reached, online research lowers participants' experience of perceived social pressure from researchers as compared to face-to-face study designs. This enhances participants' freedom to withdraw from the study at any point. Online research methods also reduce the expense and time required, allowing for larger scale and more ambitious research designs among graduate students and those with fewer resources. With use of cautious data collection methods, online research has the potential to remain particularly confidential and anonymous for participants as compared to face-to-face or even mail survey methods.

One of the central challenges to conducting online research is verifying the legitimacy of data collected. With high levels of anonymity comes the risk of falsified data or participation by individuals that do not fit the inclusion criteria for the study. Kraut et al. (2003) suggest that targeted recruitment procedures can increase the likelihood of obtaining representative, valid data. The authors point out that targeted online recruitment "democratizes data collection" (p. 3) in that it provides another alternative to the common practice of recruiting from undergraduate psychology students and attempting to make generalizations to populations outside of such samples. Kraut et al. also point out that targeted online recruitment enables researchers to examine highly specific or difficult to obtain data that would not normally accessible in the researcher's community alone.

Another important consideration in conducting online research is that the sample used is naturally limited to those with a certain level of socio-economic status and technological competency. Nonetheless, research suggests that the percentage of individuals that are excluded due to use of the online medium has dropped considerably as computer usage and internet activity have become more common place (Kraut et al., 2003). Evidence of this in the United States can be found in a report issued by The U.S. Department of Commerce (2005), which estimated that the number of households with computers has gone from 8.2% as of 1984 to 61.8% as of 2003.

Many online researchers elect to produce designs of minimal risk (i.e., relatively innocuous questions and experiences) (Kraut et al., 2003). However, for studies that involve greater risk to participants or require greater amounts of personal information, there are a number of ethical considerations that need to be closely attended to. For example, online studies that have the potential to reveal sensitive information about participants or contain questions that are likely to be upsetting need to compensate for the inability to monitor participants' reactions, debrief in person, answer any questions that may arise, and provide relevant referrals where necessary. Kraut et al. (2003) suggest that one of the ways that these issues can be addressed is to strengthen the quality of the informed consent procedures. Nosek, Banaji and Greenwald (2002) suggest a number of techniques for strengthening an online study in this manner. For example, providing brief quizzes to ensure participants have read and understand aspects of informed consent (e.g., that which they are consenting to and instructions in the event that they are upset by any aspect of that which they are exposed to). Another method of increasing the likelihood that participants understand the consent material is to include a "Click to Accept" button. They also suggest that a "leave the study" button that links to a debriefing and assistance page can be made available at all points in the study. Although anonymity is sacrificed in the process, researchers can also gather participant email addresses in order to open a line of communication with participants and provide debriefing materials in a more personalized manner.

Although Kraut et al. (2003) acknowledge that these methods can strengthen the quality of informed consent procedures, they suggested using such methods sparingly. These authors explained that it is in the participants' best interest to preserve anonymity and confidentiality in instances in which risks to the participant is minimal. Additionally, these researchers suggest that creating over-elaborate task demands imbedded in informed consent procedures may increase drop-out rate or alter participant responses to the materials used in the study.

Another key issue in conducting online studies relates to interacting with online communities. It is important to determine the level of risk that the presence of researchers may negatively impacted the community. King (1996) presents a situation in which an individual's perception of their online support group changed from supportive community to an experimental and exploitive environment, due to the presence of researchers on the website. In particular, online studies conducting naturalistic observation of group dynamics may give online community members the feeling of being intrusively analyzed and distract from the purpose of the online community. Researchers that recruit from online communities but do not directly obtain data from the sites themselves may be perceived as having less invasive presences (Kraut et al., 2003).

Purpose of the Study

As mentioned previously, Cottrell (2005) found that the question of how researchers can assess the theories that make up the TCK profile was one of the eight most pressing TCK/ATCK research questions at this time. The current study begins to explore congruence and divergence between TCK/ATCK theory and assessment findings (using formal assessments found to be psychometrically sound in published psychology research) for the dimensions of self-concept and resilience.

Qualitative research and anecdotal evidence (Grimshaw & Sears, 2008; Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Schaetti & Ramsey, 1999; Weaver, 2000) suggests the TCK experience often leads to a particular set of characteristics commonly shared by these individuals, including comparatively low levels of consistency in self-concept and high levels of resilience. The current study utilized quantitative measures of consistency in self-concept and resilience and compared them to previous TCK/ATCK qualitative findings. This allowed for one of the three main aims of the study: to examine the implications of similarities and differences between these qualitative and quantitative findings.

Another aim of the study was to compare the relationship between consistency in self-concept and resilience in an ATCK sample. The author predicted that the positive correlation between consistency in self-concept and resilience would be weaker than previous research has found for those from Western cultures (when examining the similar

constructs of intra-individual personality variability and well-being) and similar to that of those from Eastern cultures.

As a final aim, the study design allowed for the nature of the relationship between resilience, consistency in self-concept, and the number of relocations (a measure of the degree of TCK experience) to be explored. It was predicted that the number of relocations experienced during formative years would emerge as a stronger predictor of resilience than consistency in self-concept. This prediction was based on TCK literature that suggests the experience and skills gained through adapting to new environments contributes to TCKs/ATCKs strengths and resiliencies.

Chapter III: Methods

Participants

In order to meet the selection criteria for this study, participants must have spent at least one year abroad and then returned to the country they were born in before the age of 19. This sample of 144 ATCKs was recruited online through ATCK online communities/circles.

Data Collection

An online questionnaire format was chosen as the preferred method of data collection in the current study. This format was selected due to the fact that recruitment of ATCKs can be difficult for a number of reasons. One of many decisions ATCKs face in their identity development is the choice between establishing roots in one location or continuing a life of international mobility. Many ATCKs choose to pursue international careers that allow for high mobility (Downie, 1976, as cited in Fail et al., 2004; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). As a result, much of this population is spread across the world, which has historically made it difficult to gather research data on this population. The emergence of online communities and internet-based studies has broadened researchers' abilities to build new understandings of this population. Unlike any other time in history, we are now able to reach special populations spread clear across the globe.

Recruitment was conducted through ATCK/TCK-specific online social communities such as Denizen and TCKID. Membership in TCKID requires email communication with the moderators of the site, during which applicants make it clear what their relationship to the TCK community is and why they are interested in creating a profile on the site. If the applicant is granted permission to join, their relationship to the TCK community is then posted on the individual's profile page. Recruitment through this online community or communities with similar procedures for verifying membership or relations to this population can strengthen the likelihood of obtaining legitimate and valid results.

The online questionnaire was made available through SurveyMonkey. SurveyMonkey's security features include SSL/TLS encryption, user authentication, and minimum complexity required passwords. This study was anonymous and did not collect protected health information. See the published Security Statement at https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/security/ for further detail.

Measures

Two quantitative scales were used in the current study: Campbell et al.'s (1996) Self-Concept Clarity Scale (SCCS) and Connor and Davidson's (2003) Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC). The SCCS was used to measure consistency in selfconcept. Resilience was measured using the CD-RISC.

Self-Concept Clarity Scale (SCCS). Campbell et al.'s (1996) 12-item measure examines the extent to which the contents of an individual's self-concept are clearly, confidently defined, internally consistent, and stable over time on a 5-point Likert scale. Campbell et al. (1996) found this measure to indicate internal consistency reliability coefficients that average .86. Test-retest correlations of .79 and .70 were found for 4 and 5-month intervals. When compared with 9 related well-established measures, numerous expected convergent and divergent relations provided some preliminary evidence of this measures validity (Campbell et al., 1996). Although the SCCS has not been used with an ATCK population previously, it has been used cross-culturally and in correlative studies examining psychological functioning (e.g., Campbell et al., 1996; Matto & Realo, 2001; Steffgen, Da Silva, & Recchia, 2007; Usborne & Taylor, 2010), making it a particularly relevant measure to the current study.

Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC). This 25-item scale was designed to measure the qualities that enable an individual to thrive in the face of adversity on a 5-point Likert scale. It is based on Richardson and colleagues (Richardson, 2002; Richardson et al., 1990) model that suggests disruptions to homeostasis lead to one of four outcomes: (1) an opportunity for growth and increased resilience, (2) a return to baseline homeostasis, (3) recovery but with a loss in homeostasis functioning, (4) use of maladaptive strategies to cope with stressors. In this sense, resilience is can be construed as one's response to challenging or adverse events that can be found on a continuum, with learning/growth on one end and deterioration/dysfunction on the other.

Internal consistency (Cronbach's a) ranged from .86 to .92 in adult and college student samples. Test-retest reliability over three-week interval was as follows, r(105) = .90, p < .01. Expected positive correlations with self-ratings of adaptiveness and negative correlations with prolonged states of anxiety were found. Much like the SCCS, the CD-RISC has not been used with an ATCK population. It has been used extensively with a wide range of cultures and populations (e.g., Connor & Davidson, 2003; Ha et al., 2009; Yu et al., 2009), which allows for ATCK comparisons. The authors of this scale have granted permission to the author of the current study to use their measure for the purposes of this study.

Data Analysis

This study utilized quantitative measures to test a number of qualitative observations found in research and other literature regarding ATCKs. Additionally, descriptive statistics were used to compare ATCKs (from the current study) and non-ATCKs (from previous research) on the variables of resilience (as measured by the CD-RISC) and self-concept clarity (as measured by the SCCS). See http://www.connordavidson-resiliencescale.com/cd-risc/userguide.shtml for extensive listing of studies that have discovered mean CD-RISC scores for Western and Eastern cultures, and Suh, 2002 for cross cultural SCCS comparisons.

Resilience in ATCKs was further explored by utilizing a stepwise multiple regression analysis in which resilience was the dependent variable (DV) and the two independent variables (IVs) were consistency in self-concept as measured by the SCCS and the number of reported relocations before 19 years of age. In doing so, this regression analysis not only explored the relationship between the variables of resilience and self-concept clarity in ATCKs, but it also explored the relationship between resilience and the total number of relocations, which served as a measure of the degree to which one has lived the TCK experience. The number of relocations were divided into five groupings, and served as a single item 5-point rating scale, as has been done in previous research (see Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011).

This analysis required a total of 67 participants for sufficient statistical power. This number was estimated using Cohen's (1992) guide for researchers calculating sample/effect size necessary for statistical significance. Cohen indicated that for a stepwise multiple regression analysis, the effect size can be determined through use of this equation: "For k independent variables, the significance test is the standard F test for df = k, N - k - 1. The ES index, f^2 , is defined for either squared multiple or squared multiple partial correlations (R^2)" (p. 157). Table 1 summarizes the dependent and independent variables for this stepwise multiple regression analysis.

Table 1

Study Variables

Variable Type	Description of Variable
Dependent	Resilience (CD-RISC)
Independent (Predictor Variable)	Consistency in self-concept (SCCS)
Independent (Predictor Variable)	Indication of the degree of the TCK experience (number of relocations)

Chapter IV: Results

Descriptive Statistics for Variables

Of the 244 respondents who showed interest in the study by going to the website, 144 respondents consented to and completed the study. Participants who did not complete the study were excluded from the analysis. See Table 2 below for further information regarding missing data. Table 2 shows that a sizable number of participants excluded for missing data clicked the consent box without answering any questions.

Table 2

Number of Participants Excluded for Missing Data per Inventory/Variable

	All Data Missing	Number of Relocations	SCCS	CD-RISC
Number of participants excluded for missing data (drop off rate)	30	1	23	46

Of the 144 respondents who completed the study, one hundred and one participants were female (70.14%) and 43 were male (29.86%). Participants' ages ranged from 22 to 72 years old, with the average age being 45. The number of relocations experienced ranged from 2 to 20, with 6 or more relocations (40.97% of respondents) being the most common answer. An open-ended question was asked regarding participants cultural and racial background. There were a multitude of unique responses to this question, making it difficult to statistically summarize. The majority of respondents indicated they were Caucasian/White (109 participants; 75.69%). The next most common response indicated some form of a multicultural background (17 participants; 11.81%). The third most common response was Chinese (4 participants; 2.78%). Of the remaining 14 participants (9.72%) responses included: Arab, Asian, Filipino, Hispanic, Indian, Latin American, and Benshengren. See Table 3 for descriptive statistics on participant age, number of relocations, self-concept consistency (SCCS) and resilience (CD-RISC).

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Mode	Standard Deviation	Range	Minimum	Maximum
Age	45.9 45.8*	45	9.86 9.84*	50	22	72
Number of relocations	3.39 (4) 341 (4)*	5 (6 or more)	1.57 1.57*	4	1 (2)	5 (6 or more)
SCCS	29.34 29.43*	29	11.38 11.37*	50	7	57
CD-RISC	72.27 72.62*	82	13.81 13.19*	76 69*	22 29*	98

* indicates values after the removal of the outlier case (see Statistical Pre-screening Procedures for further detail).

() indicates the actual number of relocations that the score represents

Statistical Pre-Screening Procedures

The data were analyzed using the Statistical Program for the Social Science (SPSS). Pre-analysis data screening was carried out before conducting the stepwise multiple regression in order to ensure the appropriateness of the methodology, given the nature of the data. Data was screened for missing data, outliers, linearity, normality, and homoscedasticity. One statistically significant outlier was found. Mahalanobis distance (a statistical procedure that calculates the distance of a score from the centroid of the remaining cases, wherein the centroid is a point created by the means of all variables) was used to identify outliers (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007 for review of this statistical procedure). As stated by Mertler and Vannatta (2009), "The accepted criterion for outliers is a value for Mahalanobis distance that is significant beyond p < .001, determined by comparing the obtained value for Mahalanobis distance to the chi-square

critical value". The chi-square critical value for statistically significant outliers for this study was 13.82. Mahalanobis distance for the outlier in this study was 15.8 (p < .001). For the resilience scale (CD-RISC), the outlier score was very low (22, as opposed to the CD-RISC mean score of approximately 72). This outlier was removed from the analysis. Once the outlier was removed, the new minimum score for the CD-RISC was 29.

Comparison of standardized residuals to the predicted values of the dependent variable (CD-RISC scores) revealed a clustering of residuals toward the top of the plot, which is an indication of non-normality and a clustering of residuals to the left of the reference line, which is an indication of violation of the assumption of homoscedasticity (see Figure 1). This was addressed through a square root data transformation, which corrected the non-normality and heteroscadasticity (or lack of constant variance) clustering (see Figure 2). Following the suggestions outlined by Mertler and Vannatta (2009) the square root data transformation was conducted in SPSS using the equation: NewVar = SQRT(K-OldVar), in which K is the highest score of the OldVar plus one. Although data transformations result in a re-expression of the data in different units, the order and relative position of observations are not altered (Mertler & Vannatta, 2009).

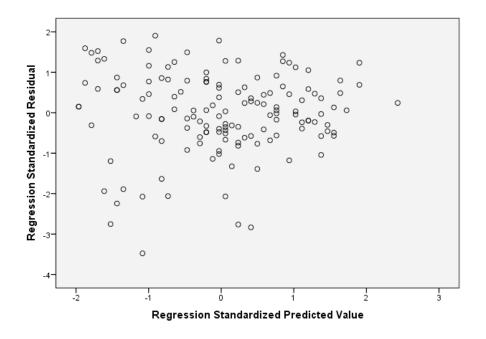


Figure 1. Comparison of residuals to the predicted values of the CD-RISC (untransformed).

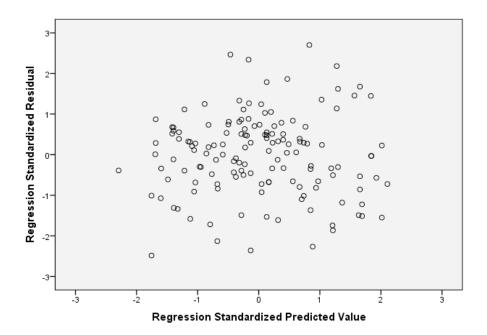


Figure 2. Comparison of residuals to the predicted values of the CD-RISC (transformed).

Inferential Statistics

Once the outlier had been removed from the analysis and the data transformation performed to better meet the assumptions of the statistical model being used, the stepwise multiple regression was conducted. This analysis was conducted to determine the extent to which the independent variables (number of relocations as a measure of the TCK experience; Self-concept Clarity Scale as a measure of consistency in self-concept) predicted resiliency, as measured by the Connor Davidson Resiliency Scale. See Table 3 for descriptive statistics of these variables. Data screening led to the elimination of one outlier and a square root data transformation to address non-normality and heteroscedasticity. Regression results indicate that the overall model significantly predicts resilience, as assessed by the CD-RISC, $R^2 = .147$, R^2 adj = .141, F(1, 142) = 24.451, p < .001. This model accounts for 14.7% of variance in resiliency. See Table 4 for full model summary. This model summary does not specify which variables contribute to these significant findings. A summary of regression coefficients is presented in Table 5 and indicates that only consistency in self-concept significantly contributed to the model. Table 6 presents a summary of the excluded variable (number of relocations). Bivariate and partial correlation coefficients between each predictor and the dependent variable are presented in Table 7. Table 7 shows that the most significant partial correlation coefficient was r = -.383, indicating a negative correlation between

resiliency and consistency in self-concept.

Lastly, the ANOVA summary table presents the F test value (24.451) and

corresponding level of significance (p<.001), which indicates the strong degree to which

the overall model predicts the DV. See Table 8 for the ANOVA Summary Table.

Table 4

Model Summary

	R	R	Adjusted	Std.	R	F	df1	df2	Sig. F
Model		Square	R	Error of	Square	Change			Change
			Square	Estimate	Change				
1	.383	.147	.141	1.23921	.147	24.451	1	142	.000

Table 5

Summary	of Regres.	sion Coefficients

Model	Unstan	dardiz	Standardiz	t	Sig	Correlations		Collinear	-	
	ed		ed						Statistics	
	Coeffic	cients	Coefficien							
			ts							
	В	Std.	Beta			Zer	Parti	Par	Toleran	VIF
		Error				0-	al	t	ce	
						orde				
						r				
(Consta	6.317	.286		22.05	.00					
nt)				1	0					
SCCS	045	.009	383	-	.00	-	383	-	1.000	1.00
				4.945	0	.383		.38		0
								3		

Table 6

Excluded Variables

Model	Beta	t	Sig.	Partial	Collinearity	v Statistics	
	In			Correlation	Tolerance	VIF	Minimum
							Tolerance
1-	.072*	.909	.365	.076	.958	1.044	.958
Relocations							

* Predictors in the Model: (Constant), SCCS

Table 7

Bivariate and Partial Correlation Coefficients

		CD-RISC	SCCS	Relocations
Pearson Correlation	CD-RISC	1.000	383	010
	SCCS	383	1.000	.206
	Relocations	010	.206	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	CD-RISC		.000	.452
	SCCS	.000	•	.007
	Relocations	.452	.007	
Ν	CD-RISC	144	144	144
	SCCS	144	144	144
	Relocations	144	144	144

Table 8

ANOVA Summary Table

Model	Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.	
	Squares		Square			
1 -Regression	37.548	1	37.548	24.451	.000*	
Residual	218.061	142	1.536			
Total	255.609	143				

* Predictors: (Constant), SCCS

Chapter V: Discussion

Stepwise multiple regression was conducted to determine the degree to which the independent variables (number of relocations as a measure of the TCK experience; SCCS as a measure of consistency in self-concept) predict resiliency, as measured by the CD-RISC. The number of relocations experienced did not significantly contribute to findings and was therefore excluded from the model. Regression results indicate consistency in self-concept (as assessed by the SCCS) significantly predicts resilience (as assessed by the CD-RISC). The most significant partial correlation coefficient was r = -.383(p < .000), indicating a negative correlation between resiliency and consistency in selfconcept. As such, the strongest finding of this study was also the most surprising. As discussed in the introduction, previous research examining consistency in self-concept in relation to measures of mental health have found positive correlations, although the strength of the correlation varied by culture. The negative correlation revealed in this study challenges the hypothesis that fluid or inconsistent self-concept is indicative of poor psychological functioning and mental health (see Gergen, 1991; Maslow, 1954, 1968; Rogers, 1951, for review of this hypothesis), as well as the research that has supported it (Campbell et al., 2003; Diehl et al., 2001; Donahue et al., 1993; McReynolds et al., 2000; Sheldon et al., 1997; Suh, 2002). Furthermore, the significant correlation between self-concept and resilience found in the current study supports ATCK observations and research that suggests this population is characterized by fluid selfconcept and resilience (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Weaver, 2000), as well as the research that supports the hypothesis that fluid self-concept can prove to be a healthy and

adaptive trait (see Bem, 1975; Baird et al., 2006; Paulhus & Martin, 1988; Snyder, 1974). This finding has clinical significance in that there has been a long held assumption in Western psychology that fluid self-concept is indicative of poor psychological functioning (Gergen, 1991; Maslow, 1954, 1968; Rogers, 1951).

The second most significant correlation was the positive correlation between the number of relocations and self-concept consistency (r = .206, p < .007). This is a counterintuitive finding that is not congruent with past ATCK research literature suggesting that fluid self-concept is a result of frequent relocations (e.g., Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Weaver, 2000). One possible and previously unexplored explanation for this finding could be that relocations that are highly frequent do not provide sufficient time for the individual's self-concept to be influenced by the environment. As a result, the self-concept may become largely based on the state of being continually between places and is therefore more consistent. This finding is discussed further in Directions for Future Research.

Samples from both Western and Eastern cultures indicate a positive correlation between resilience and self-concept consistency (Campbell et al., 1996). One possible explanation as to why ATCKs demonstrate a negative correlation between these variables is the influence of being raised with a single world view versus multiple. It may be that individuals who are exposed to one cultural perspective during their formative years find perspective, personality, and cultural shifts within themselves to be foreign and threatening. ATCKs gain experience in trying to understand themselves and the world around them, despite a lack of a single perceived correct way to be or think in the world (Fail et al., 2004). They gain this experience during critical phases of development in identity and reasoning skills. It may be that for ATCKs who successfully navigate this developmental challenge, a fluid self-concept is less likely to be psychologically problematic as compared to non-ATCKs. Although this study does not directly examine the relationship between fluidity of self-concept and pathology, it suggests that future research is needed and that it cannot be assumed that fluid self-concept is always pathological across all populations.

Another possible explanation for the negative correlation between resilience and self-concept consistency can be found in Pollock and Van Reken's (2009) observation of the three common TCK responses to the challenges of adapting to new social/cultural environments. As discussed in the literature review, the three responses are to become a *chameleon* (an individual that attempts to blend in with the new culture as much as possible), a *screamer* (an individual who makes his or her differences known and develops an identity based on being different from others), or a *wallflower* (someone who observes others and initially avoids becoming actively involved so as to not risk being exposed as ignorant of the norms and rules). A possible social challenge inherent to the screamer adaptation is that connection with others may be limited to those who can easily embrace the opportunity to befriend an outsider and are not threatened or made uncomfortable by cultural differences. A hypothesized limitation of the wallflower adaptation is the degree to which social experiences and growth opportunities may be missed while the TCK is in the observer role. By the time the TCK is willing to become more actively involved, he or she may already be known as avoidant and/or overly introverted. If done effectively, and without negative self-appraisal of one's differences (i.e., Bennett's, 1993, notion of constructive marginality versus encapsulated

marginality), the *chameleon* adaptation, may allow for the greatest degree of social integration and opportunity for key experiences that lead to social growth.

Of these three types of adaptation, one might hypothesize that the *chameleon* adaptation is the most likely to involve a fluid self-concept. Should the hypothesis that the *chameleon* adaptation results in greater growth opportunities hold true, then it is not surprising that a negative correlation between resilience and self-concept consistency was found. As mentioned previously, studies of non-ATCK populations have found a negative correlation between measures of psychological health and self-concept consistency (e.g., Campbell et al., 2003; Diehl et al., 2001; Donahue et al., 1993; McReynolds et al., 2000; Sheldon et al., 1997; Suh, 2002). Given that this study revealed a negative correlation between resilience and self-concept consistency in ATCKs, this study suggests there is need for mental health therapists/evaluators to consider the cultural context of their clients before making assumptions based on research of non-ATCK populations.

Another interesting finding was the fact that the positive correlation between the number of relocations experienced and resilience was insignificant to the point that it was removed from the regression model for resilience. It was hypothesized that the number of relocations would contribute unique variance to the prediction of resilience due to the experience with and adaptation to the continual changes due to relocating. One possible explanation for this finding is the fact that these relocations can be psychologically experienced in many different ways. Key differences may lie in areas such as perceived agency (did it feel as if moving was something done to them or was it experienced as an adventure they were actively taking part in and learning from), psychological processing

of the transitions (was there open discussion and processing of grief or other emotional experiences that occurred with moving or were they encouraged to push these difficulties out of their awareness and/or struggle to find their own way to cope), and the degree to which the TCKs and their families were able and prepared to embrace and engage with the new culture after each move. It may be that the degree to which one has lived the TCK experience is too diverse a construct to be quantified by a single number, and that more specific measures are required.

Patterns in missing data suggest a number of possible factors in study completion. Table 2 shows that a sizable number of participants excluded for missing data clicked the consent box without answering any questions (n = 30). This may suggest that a large number of participants were interested to see the content of the study, but were unable or unwilling to make the time commitment to participants eliminated due to missing data was resilience (as measured by the CD-RISC). This finding is not surprising, considering that it is both the longest inventory of the study and the last inventory of the study. Future studies with similar design may want to consider using the 10-item version of the CD-RISC 10 has been found to have sound psychometric properties, with a high correlation with the original CD-RISC (r=.92) (Campbell-Sills & Stein, 2007).

Comparative Review of Descriptive Statistics

With regards to descriptive statistics, mean comparisons found in previous research (see Tables 9, 10 for referenced studies) found that ATCKs' scores on both the CD-RISC and the SCCS fell between the means for Western and Eastern samples. This middle ground in scores is in keeping with the notion that ATCKs display characteristics that evidence a complex blending of traits from multiple cultural influences. Due to the fact that this study did not examine the impact of varying cultural influences, further research is needed to test this hypothesis. See Table 9 for cross-cultural CD-RISC comparisons and Table 10 for SCCS comparisons, as published in previous studies.

Table 9

Study	Culture/Location	Population	Ν	Mean*
Current study	ATCKs	Online sample	144	72.27
Connor et al.	USA	National random	458	80.4
(2003)		sample		
Lamond et al.	USA	Community sample	1,395	75.7
(2008)		over age 60		
Yu et al. (2009)	China	Community sample	560	65.4
Ha et al. (2009)	Korea	Community sample	143	66.8
* All studios utilizi	$\mathbf{n} \mathbf{a} \mathbf{a} 0$ to 1 coole			

Cross-Cultural Comparisons for CD-RISC

* All studies utilizing a 0 to 4 scale.

Table 10

Cross-Cultural Comparisons for SCCS

Study	Culture/Location	Population	Ν	Mean*
Current Study	ATCK	Online Sample	144	37.72
Campbell et al (1996)	Canadian	Undergraduate Students	90	39.30
Campbell et al (1996)	Japanese	Undergraduate Students	188	35.01

* For the purposes of this comparison, all studies utilizing a 1–5 scale

As discussed in the literature review, Suh (2002) examined the relationship

between self-concept consistency and mental health, however different measures were used. Suh (2002) used an identity consistency (IC) measure created by Block (1961) and the Satisfaction With Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985) was used as a measure of mental health. Although direct comparisons cannot be made between findings of the current study and Suh (2002), examination of correlations between similar variables (see Table

11) may lead to questions for future research.

Table 11

Cross-Cultural Comparison for Studies With Similar Variables

Study	Culture/Location	Population	Ν	Correlation
Current Study	ATCK	Online Sample	144	383
Suh (2002)*	USA	College Students	84	.31
Suh (2002)*	Korea	College Students	123	.22
* 0 1 1 1	IC (D1 1 10)	(1) $1 \text{ OUT } \text{G}$	1 1005	

* Correlation between IC (Block, 1961) and SWLS (Diener et al., 1985)

Limitations of the Study

Each research methodology comes with it inherent strengths and weaknesses. One of the limitations inherent to conducting a broad-based, quantitative study is the lack of in-depth targeted analysis that can be provided through other methodologies. That being said, it is important to know where to look before conducting such in-depth research. The current study highlighted some key areas for future research, which will be discussed in the following section.

Additionally, identity fluidity/variability and its many dimensions are variables that lack consensus in operational definitions and measurement in psychological research. As such, it is more challenging to make direct comparisons to previous research. Some researchers have focused on variability across different social roles, i.e., intra-individual personality variability (Block, 1961); for example, personality as employee versus romantic partner. Other researchers have emphasized temporal stability of self-beliefs (Rosenberg, 1965). Some theorists have focused on the ability to demonstrate a wide variety of behaviors and traits in response to the demands of a given situation or context (Paulhus & Martin, 1987). The measure selected to represent identity fluidity/variability in the current study focuses specifically on consistency of self-concept as defined by Campbell et al. (1996): "the extent to which the contents of an individual's self-concept (e.g., perceived personal attributes) are clearly and confidently defined, internally consistent, and temporally stable" (p. 141).

There has yet to be a measure that provides evaluation of each of these dimensions to identity fluidity/variability. While results of this study provide insight into the relationship between resilience and one aspect of identity fluidity/variability within the TCK/ATCK population, future research will be needed to fully explore this construct and its relationships to other variables.

There are also some limitations related to conducting research online. As discussed in the literature review, the sample used in online research is naturally limited to those with a certain level of socio-economic status and technological competency, although this technologically based socio-economic disparity is steadily shrinking over time (Kraut et al., 2003). This potential exclusion of participants was weighted against the benefits of using this medium with the TCK population. Due to the fact that this population is spread across the globe, the Internet appears to be a particularly well-suited means of collecting data.

Another limitation of this study is largely a reflection of where psychology research is on TCK/ATCK issues in general at this time. Due to that fact that there are so many variables that have not been explored as of yet, this single study is not likely to answer all of the many questions that would need to be addressed in order to make more definitive statements about findings in this area. Rather, this study examined some areas of high clinical value regarding this population and provided a foundation for further research.

Directions for Future Research

Although this study revealed information regarding the relationship between selfconcept consistency and resiliency in ATCKs, it was not able to prove a basis of comparison in a well-matched non-ATCK sample. Future studies may want to replicate this study on a larger scale and with a comparison group. Another recommended comparison between ATCKs and those with a single cultural influence is differences in scores for standardized assessments with an identity scale, such as the Inventory of Altered Self-Capacities (Briere, 2000). Such measures could be given to both groups, along with measures with convergent and discriminate validity. Irregularities in results, unexpected findings, and significant differences between groups could be explored in order to speak to the cultural appropriateness of the identity-related measure.

This study revealed a positive correlation between the number of relocations and self-concept consistency. In addition to determining if this finding can be replicated, it may be helpful for future studies to explore this correlation for a possible non-linear relationship in which there may be a negative correlation between number of relocations and self-concept consistency until one variable (number of relocations) reaches a certain magnitude, at which point the relationship becomes a positive correlation. Should this finding prove replicable, qualitative exploration of this correlation could also provide further insight into this relationship.

Another important area for future research is to examine whether there are significant differences in findings based on ATCK subtypes (e.g., military, international

business, missionary, etc). Additionally, in order to further explore the hypothesis that the chameleon adaptation results in greater social growth opportunities and resilience, it would also be beneficial to look for differences in ATCKs based on the three common adaptation styles (chameleon, screamer, or wallflower) presented by Pollock and Van Reken (2009). It is also important to note that although the number of relocations was not found to be a strong predictor of resilience in the current study, it is unknown if the degree of cultural change is a predictor. Likewise it would be beneficial to examine if the degree of cultural change between relocations influences scores on the SCCS and CD-RISC in such a way as to explain ATCK scores being between those of Western and Eastern populations.

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Appendix A: Consent Form

Research Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a brief online survey study of Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs). The objective of this study is to gain insight into the perspectives of ATCKs. As a benefit to participating in this study, you will be directly contributing to a growing body of research regarding ATCKs and their experiences that can be used to assist mental health professionals in providing culturally competent psychological assessment and therapy services to ATCKs. Should you choose to participate, you will first be asked to provide a small amount of demographic information. This will be followed by two brief rating scale questionnaires. At the end of the questionnaires, you will have the option of responding to a few open-ended questions. Participation in this study is estimated to take a total of 10 - 15 minutes. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are not required to answer any questions you are not comfortable with and you may leave the study at any time during your participation.

As with all research studies, it is important that you be informed of any possible risks or discomforts that may occur as a result of your participation. The risks of this study are minimal. However, you will be asked a few questions that may cause discomfort for some people. If, at any point in the study, you are uncomfortable with continuing to participate, you may leave the study without consequence. If you feel upset by any of the study materials and would like to speak with a mental health professional, you may contact Suzanne Engelberg, Ph.D., a licensed clinical psychologist (email: sengelberg@antioch.edu, phone: 206-268-4839)

If you have any questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact the principle investigator (clabass@antioch.edu). If you have any concerns regarding the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Antioch University Chair of the Research Ethics Committee, Alejandra Suarez, PhD, at asuarez@antioch.edu.

By clicking the "yes" box below, you are agreeing that you have read and understood the terms of this study and that you are choosing to participate in this study. Please feel free to copy and/or print this consent form for your records. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Yes, I have read and understood the terms of this study and would like to participate.

Appendix B: Demographic Survey

Adult Third Culture Kid Survey

All responses are completely voluntary. Your information will be kept confidential, as discussed in the consent form. Items marked with an asterisk (*) must be filled out in order for your responses to be included as part of this study.

*1. What is your age?

[Essay Box]

2. What is your gender?

[Essay Box]

3. Please describe your race/ethnicity.

[Essay Box]

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

I do not have a high school diploma or the equivalency of one
High school diploma/GED
Associates degree
Bachelor degree
Master degree
Doctorate degree

*5. Were you raised with a cultural influence outside that of the geographic locations you moved to?

No
Yes. Military
Yes. Missionary
Yes. Business

Yes. Other (please specify below)
[Essay Box]

*6. Approximately how many times did your family relocate from the time you were born through 18 years of age?

Two relocations
Three relocations
Four relocations
Five relocations
Six relocations
If over six relocations, how many?
[Essay Box]

7. As an adult, do you prefer a stationary or mobile lifestyle?

Stationary (meaning no more than a few relocations in adulthood years)
Mobile (frequent relocations and/or continual occupational traveling)