Introduction
Unpacking "Third Culture Kids"

"Let me get this straight," said the immigration official at Raleigh-Durham airport in North Carolina, reviewing the documents that would allow me onto U.S. soil for the first time. "You have a French passport, which was issued in Indonesia, you were born in Australia, and your J-11 visa for entry into the United States of America was delivered in Venezuela. Is that right?"

Indeed, it was. What made the official even more wary was the fact that I sounded distinctly American, without a trace of a foreign accent. "Your English is amazing, how much time have you spent in the United States?" he asked. "Approximately 18 minutes," I said. "This is my first time."

He was incredulous when I explained that I had acquired an American accent while studying in international schools overseas, but eventually issued me a verbal "Welcome to America." It was to be my fifth country of residence in 17 years, only two years of which were spent in France, my "passport country."

According to a fairly new area of study, I am a "Third Culture Kid"— a TCK—or an Adult Third Culture Kid, to be exact.
—Anne-Sophie Bolon, *New York Times,* 2002

"This is my country, so the *bules* [white folks] shouldn't mess in our country," said Dae Sik while perched precariously on the back of a bench near the school fountain. Dae Sik was an international school student who spoke Indonesian, English, and Korean. He was talking about Indonesia, the place where he grew up. Yet, Dae Sik was technically South Korean: his passport said so; his name said so; and ethnically speaking he was. I decided to press him on this point: "But, aren't you Korean?" I asked. "Of course," he responded, "it's in the blood." As far as Dae Sik was concerned, there was nothing inconsistent about seeing Indonesia as his country, while at the same time identifying himself as Korean.
—From a conversation with an international school student in Indonesia, 2009

When I first went back to high school at thirty-something, I wanted to write a book about people who live in multiple countries as children and grow up into adults addicted to migrating. I wanted to write about people like Anne-Sophie Bolon who are popularly referred to as "Third Culture Kids" or "global nomads." There was growing hype about the richness of their globetrotting lifestyle and open-mindedness on the one hand, and the psychological costs of being repeatedly uprooted during childhood on the other hand. On a theoretical level, I was interested in the role of socioeconomic factors in shaping cosmopolitan identities among young people with internationally mobile childhoods. I wanted to probe the contradiction between the celebrated image of "global citizens" and the economic privilege that makes their mobile lifestyle possible. From a personal angle, I was interested in exploring the voices among this population that had yet to be heard (particularly the voices of those of Asian descent) by documenting the persistence of culture, race, and language in defining social relations even among self-proclaimed cosmopolitan youth.[1]

In carrying out the research, I wanted to immerse myself in the lives of these young people in the manner of classical anthropologists, and the international school was the closest that I could find to a "village" of Third Culture Kids. So in 2009, I went back to high school as an adult. I went to classes and hung out with teenagers for a full year, along with their teachers, parents, and alumni. I observed them, interviewed them, and took notes.

Eight years later, as this book goes to print, a parent of an international school student, upon reading some extracts, exclaimed: "I know which groups of kids you're describing, exactly! It's spot on. Those groups still exist."[2] More importantly, despite the mainstreaming of the term Third Culture Kids among the global elite and the proliferation of international schools in major world cities, there is still a dearth of critical analysis of this phenomenon.

The focus of this ethnographic study is an archetypical international school located in Jakarta, Indonesia, which I dub the "The International School," or TIS. It is a school that caters to both the children of foreign expatriate families, as well as wealthy, upper-class Indonesian families. Inside its imposing gates, there were over sixty nationalities represented in the overall student body and over twenty nationalities in the teaching staff. The typical scene at TIS seemed to defy national imaginaries. As students flood out of the classrooms at the buzz of the recess bells, one can hear a Russian teenager speaking fluent, colloquial Indonesian to a classmate; Indian teenagers speaking English with an American accent, then switching to an Indian accent and back

again within a matter of seconds, depending on who they were talking to; and a Taiwanese teenager speaking English, Mandarin, and Indonesian in one sentence. Children of international marriages were part of the norm. It was no wonder that TIS proudly presented itself as an ideal setting for raising "global citizens." But an intimate look at the social lives of its students reveals that crossing cultural boundaries—even among internationally mobile young people—is not a straightforward process.

This book analyzes the processes through which young people learn to engage across difference in social environments that are transitory. The book is as much about young people who experience a high level of international mobility while they are growing up, as it is about the international schools that many of them attend across the globe. It explores the lives of transnational youth who experience mobility by moving across national borders repeatedly before they finish high school or by attending an international school with a transient student body within their birth nation. Unlike the traditional picture of a migrant—even the temporary, serial adult migrant—many transnational youth do not have a life before migration that is then punctuated by a life-changing move to a destination country.[3] They are often born in a foreign country where they have no citizenship or leave their country of citizenship when they are too young to remember and spend most of their lives in a country where they live in transit, where they do not have the legal right to remain permanently, all the while carrying an expectation to eventually repatriate to their country of citizenship.

They live in a host country and, over time, multiple host countries. But for those who attend international schools, they are not expected to integrate into the country where they live as temporary migrants. Instead, they are expected to integrate into, or assume as normal, the transnationality of the so-called third culture of the international school where they socialize with friends who are similarly in transit. Being in transit defines their childhood, life, and identity. When they do "repatriate" to their country of citizenship, they are in fact migrating out of a transnational social setting and into a new country that they may or may not have visited during their summer vacations. Even so, their lives and the choices they make are in many ways shaped by the nationalities inscribed on their passports, which symbolize the transnational reach of national (social and economic) structures.

These young people grow up transnationally, are expected to be international by default, and learn to make meaning out of the national and transnational structures that influence their lives. But they are not homogeneous. Although the cohort I studied shared a degree of eco-

nomic privilege, they experienced and interpreted their transnational upbringing in different ways depending on their linguistic, cultural, and national backgrounds, as well as their "race" and gender. Transnational youth practice cosmopolitan engagement across difference in a diversity of ways that reflect their ambivalent identities as they manage, internalize, and contend with a web of national and transnational sociocultural hierarchies. At school, some are seen as "international" while others are seen as "ethnocentric" not because the latter is not engaging across difference, but because the way they engage across difference takes a different form. The form of cosmopolitan engagement the youth practice varies according to their backgrounds.

International Schooling

This book is not about international education per se, but the context of the international school and its ideology of being "international" had a strong influence on the social lives of the transnational youth who I met and often befriended. The school celebrated the idea of being international, parents sought it for their children, and the children internalized it.

Being international is an ideology with a global reach that is shaping transnational and national class structures, and the educational landscape that acts as its reproductive engine. If national education had been established to turn colonial and feudal subjects into national citizens (Parker 2003; see also Rizvi 2009), then international education purposes to produce and reproduce "global citizens" in the face of an increasingly transnational economic system. Over the past four to five decades, the international school market has, according to Nicholas Brummitt and Anne Keeling (2013), "changed beyond recognition," especially since 2000. During this period, the estimated number of international schools across the globe burgeoned from over 300 in the late 1960s (Bunnell 2013; 2014; see also Leach 1969) to 2,584 in 2000 and then to 8,257 schools by July 2016, which cater to over 4.3 million students, with Asia being the main region driving this growth (Keeling 2016; Brummitt and Keeling 2013).[4]

However, these figures do not reflect an immutable reality due to the contested definition of international schools. One thing that is clear is that much of the growth is fueled by the insatiable desire for English-medium and Western-style education among the growing middle and upper classes, particularly in developing countries. In Indonesia, the impetus for the growth also came from a change in government policy

in 2003 that lifted the restrictions placed on Indonesian nationals from attending international schools and encouraged English-language education. Given the dramatic growth, there has been sustained interest among researchers to map the "changing landscape" of international schools (Bunnell 2014: 16).

One of the most prominent debates in the literature has revolved around the definition of international schools (see ibid.). Much of this discussion is characterized by attempts to analyze international schools based on a dichotomy between those that are market driven (to satisfy clientele demand for schooling) and ideology driven (designed specifically to further "international understanding and cooperation"), even while recognizing that many schools may fall along a spectrum between the two (Hayden and Thompson 2008: 22; see also Hayden 2006; Matthews 1988; Cambridge and Thompson 2004).

The discussion has been mainly generated by the changing clientele of international schools. As international schools became more popular among the local middle and upper classes, often referred to as host-country nationals, growing numbers of international schools were established as for-profit private schools in contrast to forty years ago when they were established mainly as not-for-profit or embassy schools for expatriate children (Brummitt and Keeling 2013). While international schools catered mainly to the children of expatriates, who made up 80 percent of the student body more than thirty years ago, rather than to local children, the trend has been reversed in recent years with local students making up 80 percent of the student demography (ibid.: 40).

Students of host countries are often contrasted with this traditional clientele drawn from children of expatriate families, often referred to as "global nomads" (McCaig 2002) or "Third Culture Kids" (Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]). When researchers of international schools and expatriate children as well as practitioners at international schools refer to these two seemingly distinct categories of students, they often imply that the former is (parochially) "national" while the latter is more "international" in their outlook (e.g., Tamatea 2008).

In fact, it did not take long before I realized that it was difficult to fit the young people I met at TIS into separate boxes set up through a binary framework of "expatriate" and "host nationals" or "international" and "not international" or "Third Culture Kid" and "non–Third Culture Kid." For one thing, peer groups at the international school appeared to be formed irrespective of the length of time that members spent in Indonesia, whether or not they were expatriates or host nationals, or how many times they had migrated.

Similarly, whether or not a student clique was considered diverse did not depend on the actual composition of the groups. For example, teachers and administrators, as well as other students, liked to point out that the "Indonesians" tended not to mix, something that had a bearing on their standing in the eyes of staff, for whom the ideal student is the global citizen. Indonesians added to the school's overall sense of diversity by their presence, but fell short on being international. By contrast, English-speaking groups were generally perceived by staff to be the most "international" because of the perceived mix of nationalities and physical differences represented in those groups. Meanwhile, other students spoke of these groups as westernized and "white." Both the "Indonesian" and "international" groups were heterogeneous. But the labels they attracted—"white," "Indonesian," or "international"—depended on who was calling the shots. The fact that the English-speaking groups shared a sense of familiarity with Western culture became invisible when internationalism was at stake. Whether or not someone was cosmopolitan lay in the eyes of the beholder.

Becoming "international" is not merely about learning to engage across difference, though that is part of it. It is also about reproducing and expanding an economic and political order that goes beyond national boundaries, in which being international defines the cosmopolitan cultural capital that gives transnational elites an edge in the globalizing economy (Igarashi and Saito 2014; Weenink 2008). In addition to being able to engage across difference, being international involves speaking English, preferably like a native speaker, and being westernized, among others (Igarashi and Saito 2014; Peterson 2011). It is about being able to operate in the so-called third culture of a transnational world left behind by a colonial past and modernized by contemporary capitalism. TIS's administrators and teachers propagated the ideology of being international in their marketing material, classrooms, and events, such as United Nations Day, and often spoke privately to me about which of their students they think are or are not "international." Many parents consumed this ideology and went to great lengths to provide educational opportunities that would ensure that their children became international. The children, in turn, shaped their identities around being international.

Narrating an Imagined Community with "Third Culture Kids"

But growing up in the third culture, especially as a serial migrant, has its emotional and social costs. This has spawned both popular and ac-

ademic literature on "Third Culture Kids" (Useem and Downie 1976) and the related term "global nomads" (McCaig 2002) over the past decade. When I first began the preliminary research for this book in 2008, a Google search for the term "Third Culture Kids" only yielded a handful of entries. Almost a decade on, the term has taken on a life of its own with the internet seemingly churning out new publications on Third Culture Kids everyday, from blog entries to articles on major English-language media outlets such as *CNN, The Guardian,* and *Aljazeera.* The term has become increasingly popular as one of identification among those who grow up with a high degree of international mobility in their childhood and teenage years. The academic literature is also growing, albeit with one caveat: most writers have been unable to integrate the concept of Third Culture Kids into their research in an analytically satisfactory manner. This shortfall is a result of their failure to grasp the idea that despite the academic origins of the term, it works best as an emic or insider concept rather than an analytical concept.

"Third Culture Kids" was coined in the 1970s by the anthropologist/sociologist Ruth Hill Useem (1973; Useem and Downie 1976) to describe American children, including her own, raised in the recently decolonized India of the 1950s and 60s (see Useem 1993). It later became the subject of a seminal book, often dubbed the "TCK bible," entitled *Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among Worlds* and published initially in 2001 (Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]). The findings are based on a prolific number of surveys and informal interviews, as well as David Pollock's extensive experience of working with internationally mobile children, who found the concept helpful for understanding their own experiences.[5] Pollock's coauthor, Ruth E. Van Reken, is a white American missionary child who grew up in Nigeria in the 1950s and struggled with the same issues outlined in the book well into her adulthood after her repatriation to the United States at age thirteen. Neither Pollock nor Van Reken were academic researchers; instead, they were motivated to research and write about Third Culture Kids due to the psychological issues that they commonly observed among children with an internationally mobile upbringing, regardless of their parents' occupation.

It was not until 2007 that "Third Culture Kids" entered the internet lexicon when a young man of mixed descent set up the first online community for those who, like himself, grew up internationally (see Tanu 2015). Brice Royer, who at the time was in his twenties, is a Canadian citizen and had lived in seven countries by the time he was eighteen years old due to his father's career as a UN peacekeeper.

His mother is Ethiopian and his father is of mixed French-Vietnamese descent. Royer started the online community because he had become physically ill from the stress of repeated moves and not having a sense of belonging. He suffered from chronic pain in his hands and arms such that he was unable to even shower by himself for a few years. But the medical doctors were unable to diagnose his illness, stating that there was nothing physically wrong with him. Instead, Royer's recovery was prompted by his encounter with the concept of Third Culture Kids, through which he came to terms with his mixed identity. Having seen the profound impact that a mere three-word phrase could have on himself, Royer set up the online community TCKid.com in 2007 to reach out to others facing similar issues of belonging that result from serial temporary migration in childhood. Although he is no longer involved in the project, his work brought the concept of Third Culture Kids to the online medium and triggered the exponential growth of its usage.

Others who have had internationally mobile childhoods testify of similarly life-changing experiences. As I mentioned in the preface, I personally benefited deeply from the work of Pollock, Van Reken, and Royer. To take another example, Ellen Mahoney (2014), an American who grew up in Japan, the United States, and Singapore, claims that she suffered from a seven-year depression due to the sense of displacement she experienced upon repatriation until she was introduced to the concept of Third Culture Kids. Two of her childhood friends also struggled after repatriation, one of whom committed suicide and another attempted suicide. These experiences prompted her to design mentoring programs for internationally mobile youth to cushion their experiences of repatriation. I met Mahoney in 2014 at the conference held by Families in Global Transition, an organization founded by Van Reken to further the knowledge of practitioners and researchers of expatriate communities. One of the keynotes delivered at the conference was a one-woman play performed by Elizabeth Liang called "Alien Citizen." Van Reken told me that I should not miss the play, but I was skeptical of what one person on a big stage could achieve. By the end of the play, however, I and about a third of the two hundred or so attendees were left in a sobbing mess. The play recounts Liang's (2017) childhood moves between "Central America, North Africa, the Middle East and New England," and the impact that her mixed white American and Chinese Jamaican heritage had on her. Despite its focus on the theme of migration, Liang says that some of her most loyal fans are white Americans who have never left their birth towns because the themes of isolation, rejection, loss of relationships, and sexism that the play touches upon are universal.

No doubt there are also many who may find no use in the term "Third Culture Kids." Nevertheless, it does not detract from the fact that the concept has played a significant role in the lives of many others. "Third Culture Kids" is better understood as an emotionally powerful insider construct that narrates identity and belonging for people with a transnational upbringing in the same way that "Italy" or "Indonesia" can represent geographical and emotional homelands, though they may be insufficient as analytical concepts.

The basic "profile" of a TCK as defined in the literature is that they grow up outside their "parents' culture," are interculturally competent, feel they are a part of many cultural traditions and yet do not fully belong to a single one, and instead their "sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background."[6] Most literature on Third Culture Kids uses approaches in psychology, sociology, and education, which emphasize developmental and socialization processes (e.g., Schaetti 2000; Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]; Hayden and Thompson 1995; Kanan and Baker 2006). The literature that draws on psychological approaches focuses on individual identity development and the trauma of multiple separations caused by the international moves that TCKs make, not out of their own choice, but as a result of their parents' choices. Like studies on minority youth (e.g., Jensen 2008; Phinney 1990; 2008), the concept of Third Culture Kids is used as an alternative model to the dominant developmental model of white males in industrialized Western countries. The research is often conducted by those who self-identify as TCKs or have previously worked with TCKs.

The strength of the TCK literature is its ability to address the impact of mobility and cultural exposure on the psychological development of young people as individuals. The term "Third Culture Kid" can act as a powerful narrative tool to help those with a transnational upbringing locate an emotional homeland—in the absence of a geographic homeland—where they find the language to express their experience of multiple geographic and cultural displacement.

As an insider construct, TCK narrates transnational belonging in three distinct ways. Firstly, it provides a sense of continuity over time amid repeated international moves, weaving together fragmented experiences that occur in distant places with different people. Secondly, it provides a sense of coherence for the fragmented identities of internationally mobile children by articulating a sense of hybridity (Hall 1996; Bhabha 1994). Thirdly, it alludes to a sense of mutual intelligibility shared by those who are affected by the experience of repeated geographical and cultural displacement in childhood. The concept narrates a shared memory of repeated loss of place and relationships

with each move and a sense of familiarity with cultural in-between-ness. Abbas El-Zein (2002: 230) writes, "The migrant loses the concise language of familiarity and shared memory, the ability to evoke worlds of associations with a few hints and words." It is this lack of language that the Third Culture Kid narrative fills by naming the mutual intelligibility shared among those who have an internationally mobile childhood, albeit a relatively privileged one.

Continuity Over Time Despite Displacement

The psychologist Erik Erikson (1959; 1968; 2008) claims that adolescence marks a crucial phase in a person's development as they go through a process of establishing who they are within and who they are in relation to others. They begin to internally address the question, "Who am I?" to find a sense of self that remains more or less coherent in the face of change (Schwartz 2001: 7; Schachter 2005: 141). Michael Berzonsky (2005: 129) explains that, "personal identity implies that a specific person continues to be the same person across varying conditions and over time." One way a young person explores this sense of self is through intimacy with another person. According to Erikson (1968: 42), "to a considerable extent adolescent love is an attempt to arrive at a definition of one's identity by projecting one's diffused self-image on another and by seeing it thus reflected and gradually clarified. This is why so much of young love is conversation." It is through interaction with others that a person learns how they are similar and yet different to others. While "intimacy" may be defined differently across contexts, the "feeling of knowing ourselves and being known by others" is a basic human need (Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]: 146). Erikson (1959: 102) states that in adolescence "the young individual must learn to be most himself [*sic,* universal male] where he means most to others—those others, to be sure, who have come to mean most to him."

According to Pollock and Van Reken (2009 [2001]), those with a transnational upbringing may find this process challenging because their transient lifestyle means that their sociocultural context—and with that the people who know them—change frequently. As children, most cannot choose to move or stay. Some move internationally multiple times before they finish high school. Without agency, even economically privileged international mobility is experienced as a form of displacement (Coleman 2011; Schwartz, Côté, and Arnett 2005). Pollock and Van Reken (2009 [2001]) explain, "With one plane ride a TCK's whole world can die." They have to trade in their social network of relationships, crucial to adolescent development, for new ones each

time they move. Others may stay in their birth country or only sojourn to one country before repatriating, but they experience mobility indirectly if, for example, they attend an international school that caters for expatriate families and therefore has a high student turnover rate. Even though they stay in one place, those who know them change with each new academic year as their old friends move away and new ones come. Some have reported losing their entire social circle at the turn of a single academic year. In this way, the people who mean the most to them are often geographically scattered. A therapist is noted to have said of her clients who have a transnational upbringing that "few of them had any idea what it meant to be a person" (Pollock and Van Reken 2001: 146). Each time their social circle changes, they need to start their relationships over. While reinventing oneself can be constructive, it can also interfere with the process of coming to know and being known by others. High mobility interrupts the development of a shared history with others.

A highly mobile childhood produces a collection of life experiences that are fragmented by the geographical and social displacement brought about by each move, which affects identity development. Pollock and Van Reken's (2009 [2001]) conceptualization of Third Culture Kids recognizes the significant impact that mobility has on relationships and identity development. They use the concept to identify a set of characteristics that are often, though not always, shared by those who experience a high level of mobility during childhood such as rootlessness, restlessness, and unresolved grief due to loss of relationships. By identifying a set of common characteristics, the concept of Third Culture Kids weaves together the fragmented experiences that occur with different sets of people in disparate places into one continuous life story. It narrates a sense of continuity for individuals in spite of the multiple moves that they or their friends make. The concept of Third Culture Kids narrates an imagined history among people who may not personally know each other (Anderson 1983).

Coherence Despite Cultural Hybridity

The TCK concept also enables a sense of coherence for the fragmented identities of those who grow up in multiple cultural milieus by narrating and thus normalizing cultural mixing. Internationally mobile children frequently negotiate socially constructed boundaries that vary with context as they are growing up, making it challenging for them to develop a singular, static, bounded sense of belonging that can pro-

duce a one word answer to the question, "Where are you from?" (Fail, Thompson, and Walker 2004).

Anne-Sophie Bolon, who I quoted at the beginning of this introduction, is a case in point. The immigration officer that she met with was confounded that none of Bolon's answers relating to the multiple categories used to imagine communities matched the other—nationality (French), place of previous residence (Indonesia), place of birth (Australia), current place of residence (Venezuela), language (English), and accent (American). The nation-state remains the dominant point of reference in constructing difference and imagining communities (Anderson 1983). Languages and accents are not merely practical tools of communication for they signify membership to specific sociocultural groups (Bourdieu and Thompson 1991). Bolon's account highlights the disjuncture between the communities imagined by oneself and those imagined by sometimes powerful others. "One man's imagined community," writes Arjun Appadurai (1996: 32), "is another man's political prison." Bolon's imagined community is that of a third culture, which stands in contrast to the imagined national community that the immigration officer had in mind, as symbolized by Bolon's French passport.

Dae Sik's story also defies the notion of singular identities, while highlighting other categories of difference that remain pertinent to cultural imaginings. Dae Sik used the expression "it's in the blood" to refer to a sense of primordial belonging to Korea based on descent and ethnicity. He homogenized and racially constructed the Western students at his school as *bule* or white "Other," and thereby positioned himself with the Indonesian "Us" by declaiming a sense of (borrowed) nationalism. Conflicting uses of categories of difference—ethnic, national, and racial—coexist with ease in Dae Sik's expression of his identity as he seamlessly shifted between them, depending on what was being asked of him. It is as Stuart Hall (1993: 362) states, "identity is always an open, complex, unfinished game—always under construction." Identity positions are held temporarily and situationally.

One of the most researched issues on Third Culture Kids is their experience of cultural marginalization upon repatriation to their country of citizenship. Richard Downie (1976) found that American citizens raised overseas who repatriated for college had to set aside their transnational experience in order to fit in because mainstream America would only validate or could only relate to one aspect of their identity—the American part. It is challenging to establish who one is in relation to others when only a fragment of one's self is being validated, while the rest of the self that does not align with the dominant culture is dismissed or ignored.

Nathan's experience of repatriation provides a striking picture of the power of the dominant culture to define another.[7] I interviewed Nathan as part of my research while he was working as an educator at an international school. Both of Nathan's parents are American. His mother is a "blonde-hair, blue-eyed hippie" and his father is a Native American from the "high plains Sappony tribe in North Carolina." But Nathan grew up mostly in France until his family returned for a year to the United States in the early 1980s when he was fourteen. He was fluent in French, but not in English. Nathan said of that particular move:

> So we went back to the States. I went to the public school in Philadelphia and … the school didn't know what to do with me. I could not read, write, speak English. So they were very confused. Here's this little American kid who has very low levels of comprehension. So they gave me an IQ test. I did *extremely* poorly on it, as you can imagine, because it was in English. And so I was labeled as "educably mentally retarded" [*sic*] and placed in a Special Education classroom for my eighth-grade year. … So as a TCK … as a kid who *really* … I mean as an educator, I look back and I go, "Oh my goodness, was I ever mislabeled?" I mean I was ESOL [English for Speakers of Other Languages], yes, but I certainly wasn't "educably mentally retarded." (Interview, March 2009)

At the time, Nathan's inability to speak English was interpreted as an intellectual disability that marked him as deviating from the norm. His transnational experiences did not fit in with the mainstream narrative of an imagined, singular "American" community, rendering him mute in the American context.

The need to negotiate various cultural contexts causes some with transnational upbringings to act like "cultural chameleon[s]" (Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]: 99). They learn to pick up the cultural cues, languages, accents, and mannerisms of their surroundings so as to blend in with the dominant culture. By the time I met Nathan, he was fluent in English and sounded distinctly American. He admitted that his accent changes depending on with whom he is speaking to because he will naturally pick up the other person's accent. Those with a transnational upbringing can acquire a diversity of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1986: 243). Yet, knowing how to play the game of acting out certain parts of their identity at different times in order to fit in does not necessarily mean that they like playing the game. Some struggle to accept that their identity is multiple, fragmented, and negotiable (Ang 2001; Hall 1996). They feel as though they are putting on different personas. They may also appear to those around them as inauthentic (Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]). Some who feel unable to weave a coherent narrative of their culturally fragmented lives express

a sense of loss by taking on what Erikson (2008: 236) calls a "negative identity," where being different *is* their identity.

Pollock and Van Reken's work embeds the notion of hybridity in their description of Third Culture Kids: "The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any." Nathan was able to make sense of his experiences of cultural displacement only after he encountered the term "Third Culture Kids" through Pollock (Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]), who later became a family friend. Nathan recounted,

> My parents, after one year, moved to Germany. We moved to an international school, where, for the first time in my life, I was actually with other international kids, TCKs. Everything else, I had been with French kids … and … not really understanding who I was as an American. Pretty negative experience when I went back to eighth grade in America.… Then for the first time in an international school at ninth grade, I realize "Oh, this is who I am."
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> And Dave Pollock actually came to speak at our school, and it was the first time that I had … heard this term, "TCK." And that identity switched something in me. Understanding that … actually helped me. This helped settle some things in me. Was I retarded, was I less than intelligent? Was I going to wrestle with this whole—was I French, was I American, was I German? But all of a sudden being given an identity, and surrounded with kids who had a similar identity, even though all of them had a different story, which is a part of the beauty of being a TCK is that our differences are actually the thing that unites us. (Interview, March 2009)

Nathan was "given an identity" through spending time with others who had shared his transnational experiences and discovering a language through the concept of Third Culture Kids with which to narrate those experiences that did not fit into the French, American, or German narratives of singular, bounded national identities.

According to Kate Walters (2006: 52), the TCK narrative normalizes a person's transnational upbringing, which they may have hitherto considered pathological because their experiences seemed different from and incomprehensible to others. Upon hearing about my own experience of coming across the literature on Third Culture Kids, a man described to me the profound impact that the literature had had on him:

> There was an instant release and lots of things started to make sense … to hear that I wasn't the only person to be moved on a much deeper level by this understanding helps tremendously.… Boy, it's fantastic not to have to fit into some other culture-box—it's hard not being Black, Trin-

> idian, English, Scottish, American, Chinese, or Ghanaian but instead a strange mixture of the above. That's a little hard to deal with.
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> The weirdest thing is when I find the roles within my above-mentioned mix clashing, which means that depending on my surroundings I am more or less masculine/black, etc., but *never* the norm (emphasis originally in boldface). [I] don't know how much sense that makes, but understanding that I don't fit anywhere is a big relief. (Email correspondence, 19 December 2008)

Due to his mixed background, he felt that in some contexts he was too masculine and too black for those around him, while in other contexts he was not masculine or black enough. He felt a "big relief" in knowing that it is okay or normal, so to speak, to be mixed.

As previous research has shown, coming across the term "Third Culture Kid" is, for many, a life-changing experience (Walters 2006; Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]; Schaetti 2000; Fail 2002). Sherry Ortner (2006: 125), borrowing from Richard Sennett (1998), writes that narratives fulfill the "need for conceptual, cognitive, symbolic tools for reorienting and reconstituting the self" within a postmodern world. Narratives hold together seemingly disjointed events and fragmented pieces of a person's life to give it meaning through a sense of continuity and coherence. Identifying as a TCK provides a sense of coherence amid fragmentation by normalizing experiences of repeated geographic, cultural, and social displacement and ambivalent feelings about belonging. It dissolves the seeming contradiction between coherence and fragmentation by reconstructing fragmentation as hybridity. Jan Pieterse (2001: 229) writes, "Hybridity is an argument against homogeneity, not against coherence." To be sure, I am not suggesting that cultures exist as essential wholes that can be blended like colors. Instead, I am referring to a sense of not fitting neatly into the discourses of or expectations for singular identities whether due to being mixed cultured or having grown up within an expatriate culture (Knörr 2005). As an insider construct, TCK narrates a form of hybridity that at once challenges the notion of singular, bounded identities as it enables a sense of coherence for otherwise fragmented experiences by situating them within the larger sociohistorical context of a globalizing world.

Mutual Intelligibility within the "Third Culture"

The concept of Third Culture Kids further challenges singular and bounded constructions of identity by alluding to a sense of mutual intelligibility that stems from a shared transnational upbringing. A recurring theme on the TCKid forum is the difficulty faced by TCKs in

expressing their feelings and sharing their transnational experiences with those who have not had a transnational upbringing. In contrast, TCKs feel they do not have to explain themselves in detail to be understood when speaking to fellow TCKs. A Korean alumnus of TIS said it was "healing" to return to the school for a visit almost two decades after she had graduated and to also meet up with a former teacher. Eun Joo explained, "everything about [the international school] made sense. … I fit in like that piece of puzzle that's been missing for years. … I didn't have to explain anything to anybody.… Mr. [Salamon] just 'got it.'" Through meeting someone who could understand her, the international school environment helped normalize Eun Joo's experiences. The interaction, as David Morley (2000: 48) writes, "is not dependent on long explanations but can proceed on the taken-for-granted premises of a set of shared assumptions." While Mr. Salamon did not self-identify as a TCK, he was the child of European migrants to the United States and had taught at the international school as an expatriate teacher for over two decades. He was familiar with the transnational experiences of his students.

Although TCKs come from diverse backgrounds, their shared experience of mobility and cultural displacement offers a platform for mutual intelligibility to the extent that their differences become momentarily suspended. As Nathan mentioned earlier, "part of the beauty of being a TCK is that our differences are actually the thing that unites us." The sense of mutual intelligibility among TCKs based on the experience of mobility and cultural hybridity is a constant theme in the literature (Fail 2002; Schaetti 2000; Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]). From the purview of anthropology, Ira Bashkow (2004: 452) notes that individuals of diverse backgrounds can negotiate differences to create "an exaggerated impression of mutual understanding" that enables them to feel as though they are part of the same tribe. Richard Jenkins (1997: 10) similarly contends, "mutual intelligibility of the behaviour of others' is a fundamental prerequisite for any group." It gives the impression that they are members of the same group who are "fundamentally 'playing the same game'" (Barth 1994: 15). At the individual level, their habitus gives them the "feel for the game" (Bourdieu 1990: 66). According to Jenkins (1992: 75), habitus is a "'tendency,' 'propensity' or 'inclination'" toward certain matters, behaviors, and ways of thinking rather than others. At the collective level, habitus facilitates a sense of mutual intelligibility through a shared set of dispositions. Furthermore, if habitus is internalized structures, then it follows that an individual and group of individuals can internalize a multiplicity of structures that affect them differently depending on the context.

The literature that utilizes the concept of Third Culture Kids and takes it for granted often mistakenly assumes that mutual intelligibility signifies the inconsequentiality of differences. In her dissertation on students at an international elementary school, Leah Frederick (1996: 282) goes so far as to write that she "was convinced TCKs were special" in reference to their ability to transcend differences. Helen Fail's (2002) study of TCKs who are nonnative speakers of English corroborates this argument, but none of her interview questions allowed for the participants to discuss the impact that language, ethnicity, or culture had on their transnational experiences. These examples and others assume that transnational social spaces are neutral and that transnational experiences by default produce internationally minded cosmopolitans (see also Fail, Thompson, and Walker 2004; Ferstad 2002; Wurgaft 2006). The literature paradoxically essentializes the "third culture" by assuming that there is only one way to be a Third Culture Kid.

In fact, mutual intelligibility is situational. Those growing up in the "third culture" are diverse and their sense of mutual intelligibility shifts in relation to various factors. Factors such as cultural background, nationality, "race," and class do not become irrelevant; they instead continue to shape the subjectivities of those with a transnational upbringing. While some research suggests that young people may not automatically transcend difference by virtue of their transnational upbringing, these works are still few and far between (Allan 2004; Konno 2005; Sparrow 2000).

The TCK concept challenges bounded, singular definitions of identity based on the nation-state, though in its application it runs the risk of essentializing the "third culture." As an insider term, it narrates continuity over time and coherence by normalizing the experiences of fragmented identity resulting from geographic and cultural displacement. It narrates transnational belonging by acknowledging the sense of mutual intelligibility that arises out of a shared experience of transnational social spaces, which is characterized by mobility and some sense of hybridity. The concept is the response of a group of people, with a set of shared experiences, to a world where mobility and the transnationality of economic, political, and social realms are increasingly becoming the norm for many. Benedict Anderson (1983) argued that nationalism had helped build an imagined community in Indonesia among an otherwise ethnically, religiously, and linguistically diverse set of people through a shared sense of history. But national narratives that once fulfilled a positive use are seen by some as beginning to expire as they look for alternative narratives, and by others

as being under assault as they defend it with fervor. In this changing world, the TCK concept has gained traction because it offers a transnational narrative for imagining a community among a growing population with a transnational upbringing that is deeply affected by mobility.

From "Third Culture Kids" to Transnational Youth

As an analytical concept, Third Culture Kids is difficult to use. It tends to be applied prescriptively and is unable to adequately address the diversity and sociocultural inequality that exists among those who participate in transnational social spaces because it was never designed for such use. It was designed to identify the shared traits and experiences of individuals with a transnational upbringing and further developed to allow them to imagine a community vis-à-vis others. It was not designed to understand the political dynamics that occur among them as a social group. Both practitioners and researchers have so far been caught up in trying to determine who is or is not a Third Culture Kid, without realizing that their application of the concept is Eurocentric and not reflexive of the concept's sociohistorical specificity. In contrast, this book shifts the analysis from the individual to the group by using an anthropological approach that is self-reflexive and considers the sociohistorical context of this population.

The TCK concept finds its historical origin in a time of postcolonial turbulence when nationalism was taking hold across the globe in the 1950s and 60s.[8] During this time, Useem, a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University, was conducting research on what she calls the "third culture" that mediated relations between the growing number of American expatriate workers and host-country nationals in India at a time of global economic, political, and cultural transition from colonialism to American-led global capitalism (Useem, Useem, and Donoghue 1963: 169; Useem and Useem 1967). As Useem studied the adults, she noticed that her own children and those of other Americans growing up in India were practicing a culture that was unlike that of young people growing up in the United States for they had been influenced by their experience of growing up overseas. Useem subsequently turned her attention to the children growing up in the educational school setting of the third culture (Useem 1973; Useem and Downie 1976).

Third Culture Kids have therefore been defined as those who spend their formative years outside their parents' home country ("first culture") as "visitors" in one or more host countries ("second culture") to

develop a "third culture" or an "interstitial culture" (Useem and Downie 1976; Pollock and Van Reken 2009 [2001]). Given the context in which the term was coined, "Third Culture Kid" relies on binary frameworks, such as "home country" and "host country," and categories that appear mutually exclusive, such as "American" and "Indian." While the concept argues for a postnational or transnational form of identity, these frameworks and categories remain analytically anchored to methodological nationalism, which assumes "the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" and takes the nation-state as the starting point of analyses (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002: 302). However, categories derived from methodological nationalism are unsustainable in a field where identities are a messy business—complex, shifting, and overlapping (Hall 1996).

More recently, Gene H. Bell-Villada and Nina Sichel (2011) traced the genealogy of the Third Culture Kid experience back to the colonial era, when European imperial powers sent their people overseas to serve in colonial outposts. In their introduction to a collection of memoirs, essays, and research, Bell-Villada and Sichel (ibid.: 4–5) write, "Many of these voluntary expatriates would in turn have offspring, who grew up as what we might today consider TCKs, and who might feel the same conflicting emotions vis-à-vis their 'mother country' … colonialism, in a sense, first created Third Culture Kids." This historical lineage has contemporary significance due to the cultural legacies of colonialism.

The conflicting emotions described in the TCK literature are not unique to children of white colonial expatriates or mobile professionals. Scholars have written extensively on the impact of cultural displacement and hybridity on the (formerly) colonized, many of whom were equally mobile whether by choice or otherwise. In fact, the experiences of TCKs of non-Western background reveal a historical continuity with westernized local elites of former colonies and children of migrants in settler countries and former colonial metropolitan centers, but their stories have remained invisible in the TCK literature.

Anthropological studies that have applied a postcolonial analysis to people who live transnationally as adults show that colonial discourses continue to influence the ways in which Western expatriates perceive and interact with host-country nationals (Fechter 2007; Leggett 2010). Even so, Anne-Meike Fechter and Katie Walsh (2010: 1197) acknowledge in their special issue on expatriate communities that such studies have a "somewhat myopic focus on Western expatriates" (e.g., Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Coles and Fechter 2008; Farrer 2010; Fechter 2007; Korpela 2010; Leonard 2010). They recognize that there is a need to

study the relations between Western expatriates and other expatriates as well as locals, and the way they perceive each other.

The literature on expatriate and local children in the context of transnational spaces is similar. Much of this educational and psychological literature uses Third Culture Kids as an analytical concept and fails to take the sociohistorical context and sociocultural inequalities within the third culture community into consideration, as previously discussed. There is also an emerging body of anthropological work in this field. Unlike the educational and psychological perspectives, the anthropological perspective enables researchers to interrogate the issue of national and/or transnational class reproduction. Some focus on expatriate children either as returnees (Knörr 2005; Goodman 1990) or in the context of international schools (O'Reilly 2009; Sander 2014; Désilet 2014) and outside the context of international schools (Korpela 2016; Fechter 2016) as they live overseas. Others focus on local children attending international schools (Peterson 2011; Imoto 2011). These studies tend to acknowledge the TCK concept only in passing, as though they were at a loss as to what to make of a concept that is highly popular but analytically flawed. However, none focus on the social dynamics that occur *among* the various seemingly disparate groups—children of Western expatriates, other expatriates, and locals—in politically imbued transnational social or educational spaces. Most studies follow the lives of members of one or two particular nationality groups. Others analyze either expatriate children or local children, but not both because they are treated as belonging to two distinct categories.

In summary, the Anglophone literature on participants of transnational spaces has been unable to integrate the perspectives and experiences of its diverse population under one analytical lens for three reasons. First, it uses the nation-state as its analytical starting point and assumes the mutual exclusivity of the national and transnational, leading to the use of binary frameworks. Second, it uses a Eurocentric perspective that fails to take the sociohistorical context into consideration. Third, the scope of research has been limited by methodologies that overlook the social processes involved in becoming international.

Meanwhile, Mary Hayden (2011) notes that the growing popularity of international education and the internationalization of national education means that national and international education are merging. Children of the local elite, particularly in former colonies, are also attending international schools and national educational spaces are becoming more diverse and transnational (Rizvi 2009). These trends

require an approach that is able to integrate seemingly disparate groups under one analytical lens.

Bringing together the diverse range of experiences of mobility and international schools for young people into one theoretical space requires the use of a more encompassing term that avoids the definitional problem of "TCK." In this book I have opted to use the term "transnational youth" to mean simply any young person who is affected by international mobility either directly, by moving from country to country, or indirectly, by growing up in a transnational environment such as the international school where the people around them are highly mobile. This book treats the national and transnational as mutually constitutive in order to analytically integrate the perspectives and experiences of Westerners, locals, and other non-Westerners who inhabit transnational spaces (Smith 2001; Delanty 2009). I define transnational spaces as social spaces wherein multiple national and transnational discourses converge. The national and transnational economic and cultural hierarchies intersect in the transnational spaces of international schools to affect the perceptions and experiences of young people.

Being "International" as an Empirical Phenomenon

One of the main contributions that this book makes to the study of internationally mobile children and international schools, specifically, and migration, more generally, is that it takes the transnational, rather than the national, as its analytical point of departure. This represents an analytical shift from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism in the study of a diverse group of people (Beck and Sznaider 2006). This shift enables us to bring a diverse group of transnational youth into one analytical space. To be clear, this book is not offering a newer, better form of cosmopolitanism or an ideal way of engaging across difference. Rather, it suggests that we study the cosmopolitanism of being international not as a moral, philosophical ideal, but as an empirical, sociological phenomenon (Igarashi and Saito 2014; Beck and Sznaider 2006). There is a diverse range of equally valid ways of engaging across difference or forms of cosmopolitanism that may coexist in a finite transnational space, and their relationships to each other need to be understood in order to analyze the institutionalization of global inequality. Methodological cosmopolitanism offers an approach that can reveal the tension that ensues when a diversity of

actors, such as Anne-Sophie Bolon and Dae Sik, meet and interact in a transnational social space as equal targets of an international school's globalizing mission.

At The International School (TIS), the ideology of being "international" is promoted as the ideal form of engagement across difference and the only one that is valid, when in fact it is only one form among many. Being international is a form of cosmopolitanism that privileges those who have a certain set of cultural capital, such as being "westernized" and/or being able to speak English fluently. As a result, those students who do not possess the right set of cosmopolitan cultural capital, or enough of it, are seen as failing to become international, even when they are perfectly capable of engaging across difference through other means. While westernized students at TIS were labeled "international" by staff and students, others were labeled as "Indonesian" or "Korean" or "Asian" despite the fact that all students had to engage across difference on a daily basis by virtue of attending an international school with a diverse body of students and staff.

Much has been said of how parents use their economic means to acquire cosmopolitan capital for their children as a way to achieve upward social mobility or reproduce their class status within their national contexts. In his study of local Dutch parents who put their children through internationalized education in the Netherlands, Don Weenink (2008: 1092) argues that cosmopolitanism is a "source of power" and a "form of social and cultural capital." Further afield, cosmopolitan cultural capital is often seen as synonymous with Western cultural capital, sometimes combined with westernized international education. Roger Goodman (1990) argued early on that Japanese returnee children, commonly referred to as *kikokushijo* and often children of corporate elites at the time, used their experience of living overseas as cultural capital to enter good universities upon repatriation. Similarly, Mark Allen Peterson (2011) analyzes the way the Egyptian elite reproduce their eliteness by sending their children to an American international school in Cairo to acquire cosmopolitan capital through the consumption of Western education and other Western goods. My findings confirm that cosmopolitan capital is used to reproduce national class structures.

Less has been said, however, of how cosmopolitanism is institutionalized as cultural capital (Igarashi and Saito 2014) and the way this reproduces transnational class structures in which the sociocultural hierarchies found within transnational social spaces reflect the global economic hierarchy. Like Hiroki Igarashi and Hiro Saito (2014: 223), who wrote on the role of higher education, I use Bourdieu's concept

of cultural capital to understand the ways in which an international school produces the "seemingly contradictory nature of cosmopolitanism as cultural capital" that simultaneously operates "as a marker of inclusiveness and as a basis for exclusion." At TIS, those who fell short of being "international" on the school's terms were sometimes labeled as "not really TCKs" by staff and often blamed for self-segregation, when in fact it was the school that failed to recognize the exclusivity inherent in their definition of being international. Scholarly oversight on this matter has been partly due to the methodological approach used and the researcher's background. As I have mentioned before, research conducted outside of the discipline of anthropology has tended to reproduce the moral value that society has attached to the notion of being international in their scholarly work rather than interrogating it against its sociohistorical context.

The ethnographic participant observation method I used allowed me, as a researcher, to immerse myself in the lives of transnational youth and systematically observe the day-to-day social interactions that influence the ways in which they become international. The literature on international schools emphasizes the importance of the "informal aspects such as mixing with students of other cultures both inside and outside school" over the more formal aspects of international education in nurturing intercultural understanding (Hayden and Thompson 1995: 341; see Hill 2007). TIS's advertising material likewise cites "immersion" as the only way to acquire "true internationalism." Despite acknowledging that social processes are crucial to becoming "international," ethnographic research by long-term immersion on these social processes has been rare until very recently, as I have mentioned. My research is part of a body of emerging ethnographic work on internationally mobile children inside and outside international schools that has been more critical of the class dimension of international mobility among children (e.g., Désilet 2014; Fechter 2016; Korpela 2016; Sander 2014).

However, this book is the first to integrate the perspectives of a diversity of social groups that are present in a single transnational social and educational space in order to critically analyze how being "international" is institutionalized. It does so by offering rich data on the insider perspectives of multiple social groups at TIS. Part of the reason I was able to access this data is because I am a native speaker of English, Japanese, and Indonesian, and have advanced fluency in Chinese (Mandarin), as well as the accompanying cultural fluency for these languages. The impact that the researcher's linguistic and cultural fluency has on the field and the data collected should not be underestimated,

particularly given that researchers have limited time to conduct intensive fieldwork (see Tanu and Dales 2016). My linguistic and cultural background, coupled with my own transnational upbringing, allowed me to capitalize on the sense of mutual intelligibility that I shared to varying degrees with those I researched in order to build trust—an element that is crucial to ethnographic fieldwork—in a much shorter period of time than it would have otherwise been possible.

The insight I gained through immersive fieldwork led me to conclude that it was more useful to treat all the students at TIS as "transnational youth" who are equally affected by the transnational structures that shape their world, regardless of whether the school sees them as having successfully become international or otherwise. However, as Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller (2002: 326) warn, in moving beyond methodological nationalism it is "important to remember the continued potency of nationalism." In promoting the ideology of being "international," TIS in fact inadvertently reinscribes the national among transnational youth at every turn. Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider (2006: 8) also write, "Cosmopolitanism and nationalism are not mutually exclusive, neither methodologically nor normatively." Hence, I incorporate the national context of the host society and other countries into the analysis. I also emphasize that I interrogate the school's ideology of being international and the cosmopolitan practices of transnational youth within the context of converging transnational as well as national discourses.

Transnational youth internalize both national and transnational structures as habitus, which in Bourdieu's (1990: 56) words is "embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history." Habitus is the process through which a shared sense of metaphoric place facilitates mutual intelligibility or, in Gillian Bottomley's (1992: 122) words, "a commonsense understanding of the world, and especially of what is 'natural' or even imaginable." Habitus is so natural, like the air we breathe, that we forget it exists. Habitus impacts on the way transnational youth and other actors, such as parents and staff, interact with each other at TIS and the way they engage with the school's ideology of being international.

Importantly, transnational youth share a sense of place or habitus in some ways with each other, but not in all ways, at all times, with all transnational youth. It is analogous to how Italians may share a sense of place in some ways but not in all ways, at all times, with all Italians. Students internalized the Eurocentric sociocultural hierarchies that informed the school's ideology of being international (i.e., the rules of the game) in varying ways that reflected their diverse backgrounds. Con-

sequently, not all students had the cultural capital (i.e., the capacity) to play the game successfully. This created varying responses among them. Some played along, others challenged it, and still others did both.

Yet even when they did challenge the hierarchy, the ways in which they did so were constrained by the Eurocentric transnational structures they had internalized. Bottomley (1992: 123) notes, "Habitus is not determining, but it is a powerful mediating construct that can predefine what is necessary or even imaginable."[9] Despite the school's ideological commitment to nurturing a spirit of engagement with the Other on equal terms, the internalized Eurocentric structures remain powerful in mediating social interactions at TIS. A teacher referred to it as the "hidden curriculum" (Snyder 1970). These structures shaped young people's responses to the school's mission of making them "international."

On the one hand, these responses reproduce the external structures that underpin the Eurocentrism of the ideology of being "international" by encouraging the growth of a transnational capitalist class (Sklair 2001) that is westernized to some degree. On the other hand, they complicate the external structures by diversifying the growing transnational capitalist class to include those who practice cosmopolitan engagement across difference in ways that are labeled, by themselves and others, as being "Asian" or, for example, being "Indonesian." Nevertheless, in both cases, transnational youth draw on a "cosmopolitan style" that signifies their privileged place in a capitalist, postcolonial world based on their "education, experience, and taste," which reflect the Eurocentric ideology of being international (Peterson 2011: 216).

Cosmopolitan Capital

For the purposes of this book, I differentiate between cosmopolitan ideologies, practices, capital, and subjectivities. Cosmopolitan ideologies pertain to attitudes and beliefs about peaceably engaging with the Other; cosmopolitan practices refer to the ways in which one engages with the Other; cosmopolitan capital refers to the cultural capabilities and social networks that enable one to practice cosmopolitanism (Bourdieu 1986; Weenink 2008); and cosmopolitan subjectivities refer to the ways in which people feel or do not feel cosmopolitan. I argue that cosmopolitan ideologies, practices, capital, and subjectivities are embedded within structures of power (Werbner 1999; Hall and Werbner 2008).

Bourdieu's notion of capital has extensive application in this book for analyzing social interactions among actors at the school and the way they engaged with the ideology of being international. Bourdieu (1986: 241) describes four forms of capital, which he also refers to as "accumulated labor": cultural capital, symbolic capital, social capital, and economic capital. Most pertinent to this book is cultural capital in its embodied state in "the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" as discussed above (ibid.: 243). It encompasses language, accents, and taste for "clothes, types of food, drinks, sports, friends" (Bourdieu 1989: 19) and the way a person carries themselves. It can be transmitted through educational institutions, as well as socialization within the family.

Closely related to cultural capital is symbolic capital, which Jenkins (1992: 85) summarizes as "prestige and honor." Symbolic capital gives recognition to economic and cultural capital as a sense of distinction. If cultural capital is "primarily legitimate knowledge of one kind or another," then symbolic capital produces "common sense" and determines what can be considered legitimate (Bourdieu 1989: 21; Jenkins 1992: 85). At TIS, those with Western capital, including the ability to speak native-sounding English, are constructed as culturally superior and authentically "international" (e.g., chapters 2 and 4).

Social capital refers to "membership in a group" or a "durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 1986: 248). I will show that social capital and the ability of students to mobilize their social capital (by drawing on their cultural capital) influences their relationship to each other and the staff, and thereby the way they practice cosmopolitanism.

The notion of economic capital is relevant because the experiences of transnational youth are classed. Economic capital marks the collective privilege of those at TIS. However, even among a privileged cohort, some are more privileged than others in different ways. This principle prompted some parents to use the education offered by TIS, an English-medium international school, to convert their own economic capital into (cosmopolitan) cultural capital for their children (chapter 4) by enrolling them in the school. The notion of economic capital is also relevant in that it can be used to challenge others' cultural capital. The ability and disposition of transnational youth to engage with the school's ideology of being international and practice one form of cosmopolitanism over others varies with the capital they possess and habitus through which they operate.

One of the central arguments of this book is that the school's ideology of being "international" is a Eurocentric form of cosmopolitanism,

and its Eurocentrism has implications on the social dynamics of the school. This ideology defines difference based on colonial conceptions of "race" and culture, and only recognizes as "international" the cosmopolitan practices that privilege Western cultural capital. The literature on Third Culture Kids and the dominant (Western) culture of transnational educational spaces privilege an elite form of cosmopolitanism, which I refer to as the ideology of being international, that reflects contemporary transnational capitalist structures and the continuity of colonial cultural legacies. Specifically, TIS endorses a notion of being international that is characterized by speaking (native) English, maintaining a certain distance with the local, having Western capital by acting "white" or "Western," and engaging with those who are "racially" different. While the ideology of being international promotes peaceable engagement among transnational actors, it also reproduces transnational and national class structures by privileging Western capital. Meanwhile, the data reveals that there are many different ways of practicing cosmopolitanism that do not reflect the purported ideal. There were young people at TIS who were practicing cosmopolitanism in ways that did not fit the school's ideology of being international. This made them *appear* as though they were refusing to engage across difference.

Cosmopolitanism is practiced in many different forms specific to the sociohistorical context because it is a dialogical process of engagement with the Other. I emphasize Gerard Delanty's (2009: 53) words that "the very notion of cosmopolitanism compels the recognition of multiple kinds of cosmopolitanism." I use cosmopolitanism as a conceptual framework that recognizes that openness to the Other leads to a multiplicity of ways in which social interactions and identifications across difference occur in transnational spaces.

The people I studied experienced global mobility from a position of privilege in relation to the majority of the world's population. They are the children of a population who Leslie Sklair (2001: 10) refers to as the transnational capitalist class: "It is domiciled in and identified with no particular country but, on the contrary, is identified with the global capitalist system." Nevertheless, the people I studied were not always in a position of privilege relative to the dominant culture *within* elite transnational spaces because these spaces are not neutral. Further, because they move countries as dependents of mobile professionals rather than by their own volition, in some ways transnational young people have no say in crossing cultural borders and have to practice cosmopolitanism from a place of relative lack of power. I argue that transnational youth practice both "cosmopolitanism of the above" and

cosmopolitanism from a place of relative marginalization in ways that shifts relative to the context (Hall and Werbner 2008: 346).

Crucially, the different ways in which young people experience transnational spaces influence the way they think and feel. Ortner (2006: 107) refers to this as "subjectivity," by which she means, "the ensemble of modes of perception, affect, thought, desire, and fear that animate acting subjects … as well [as] the cultural and social formations that shape, organize, and provoke those modes of affect, thought, and so on." Cosmopolitan subjectivities are shaped within structures of power. Cosmopolitanism from above enables a sense of being "a citizen of the world." This kind of cosmopolitanism requires one to invoke privilege (Calhoun 2008). It is a Eurocentric form of cosmopolitanism that has historical continuity with the colonial discourse of being at home everywhere in the Empire (chapter 1), as well as one that panders to the cultural requirements of a capitalist modernity (chapter 4). This is the form of cosmopolitanism that characterized TIS's ideology of being international. But in order to practice it, students needed Western capital, which was not available to all in equal measure. Those unable to uphold or embody the school's ideology of internationalism, due to insufficient Western capital, practiced alternative forms of cosmopolitanisms, which were not necessarily recognized as such by their practitioners, let alone by the dominant school culture. These forms of cosmopolitanism were practiced from a place of marginality vis-à-vis the dominant Western culture of the school.

When practiced from a place of marginality, cosmopolitan engagement with the Other produces a sense of ambivalence. Of this ambivalence, Hall (2008: 347) says, "this is inevitably the site of what Du Bois called 'double consciousness,' and of what, somewhat unadvisedly perhaps, I have elsewhere called 'hybridity.'" In contrast to the felt cosmopolitanism of the dominant Western culture, some students at the international school expressed their cosmopolitan tendency or hybridity as a process of becoming "Asian," among other things. Transnational youth situationally shift between multiple practices of cosmopolitanism depending on their positionality (or status in any given social hierarchy), and in turn this shapes their subjectivities in different ways. They practice cosmopolitanism by becoming "Western" and/or by becoming "Asian," "Indonesian," "Korean," and so on. These processes are not mutually exclusive. Cosmopolitanism is an expression of mutual intelligibility among those who traverse existing socially constructed boundaries in the same way that nationalism expressed a sense of mutual intelligibility among those who traversed preexisting nonnational boundaries (Anderson 1983). Cosmopolitan ideologies

are prisms through which communities are imagined in an increasingly globalizing world.

Structure of the Book

This book can be divided into two broad sections. The first four chapters interrogate the broad structures that define the ideology of being "international." Much of the discussion focuses on the school, the staff, the parents, and alumni (of TIS and other international schools), though the perspectives of the students are also presented. Chapter 1 sets the scene by introducing The International School (TIS), situating it in Jakarta, Indonesia, as a postcolonial locale, as well as contextualizing it within the global trend toward internationalization of education. It outlines and critiques the symbols and rituals that revolve around the school's ideology of being international, including its annual celebration of United Nations Day. It also maps the various student groups. The rest of the book explores the tensions that arise as the school's ideology of being international intersects with national and transnational cultural hierarchies to produce diverse practices of cosmopolitanism.

As language is a theme that permeates the research, chapter 2 outlines the way colonial and capitalist discourses relating to language, particularly English, shapes the subjectivities of transnational youth. Chapter 3 focuses on the way the school imagines an international community that is expatriate, broadly Western, and distant from the local. Chapter 4 shows that parents and students are driven by global economic and political forces to pursue Western cultural capital that is packaged as cosmopolitan cultural capital. It also explores the discourse of authenticity that mediates the perception that some of these pursuits are more acceptable than others.

From chapter 5 onward, I turn the focus onto the social dynamics that occur among the transnational youth studying at TIS, and their perspectives. Chapter 5 looks at with whom and where students choose to hang out, and the way social status or popularity and spaces are racialized such that students with Western capital seem to have a stronger sense of belonging at the school than the others. It also shows how others challenge the Eurocentric notion of being international. Chapter 6 explores the variety of cosmopolitanisms that are being practiced and the differing labels that they attract. Chapter 7 delves deeper into the processes of gendered racialization that occur in transnational spaces by looking at romantic attractions.

Chapter 8 brings the book together by returning the focus to the Eurocentrism of the school's ideology of being "international" as expressed through United Nations Day. It breaks down the social dynamics surrounding this particular event to show that students compete to become "international," resulting in a hierarchy within a hierarchy that resembles a fractal. Methodologically, this chapter also highlights the insights of those of mixed descent whose ambiguous physical appearance bring social fault lines into relief.

The school's ideology emphasizes visible diversity based on colonial discourses of "race." It looks favorably upon the visible "racial" heterogeneity of the English-speaking student groups by rendering their cultural homogeneity invisible. Similarly, it looks unfavorably upon the racial homogeneity of those who choose to segregate from or challenge the hegemonic cosmopolitan practices, by rendering their cultural heterogeneity invisible. This selective vision results in a Eurocentric cosmopolitan hierarchy, and it is within this framework that students used both acquired and inherited capital to compete to become "international." While TIS endeavored to produce "global citizens," it did not sufficiently recognize that transnational spaces are not neutral and that cultural hierarchies based on global, regional, and national hierarchies continue to impact social relations among transnational youth and the way they practice cosmopolitanism.

In all, the chapters together demonstrate that the ideology of being "international" is institutionalized to act as a vehicle for the reproduction of the transnational capitalist class as well as national elites. In turn, transnational youth employ cosmopolitan practices situationally as social strategies to manage their hybrid identities and navigate transnational spaces.

Ethnographic Writing

While the first four chapters of the book emphasize interview data, the analyses would not have been possible without the understanding gained from daily on-site observations of social interactions, which are described in more detail from chapter 5 onward. The data presented in this book is drawn mainly from participant observation at TIS's high school campus and in Jakarta at large, and in-depth interviews with over 140 students, staff, and parents from the school, as well as alumni of international schools in various countries.[10] I also conducted two weeks of additional participant observation at a smaller international

school in Jakarta, which informed the analyses, and maintained contact with international school communities in Jakarta to keep abreast with new developments.

   This book uses several ethnographic conventions. Pseudonyms are used for the school and all participants to protect their anonymity. Descriptions about people are left vague in cases where naming the specific national, ethnic, linguistic, or cultural background of the participant (usually a staff member) in combination with their marital status or other information would reveal their identity to those who have been associated with the school. For example, instead of "Chinese Jamaican," I might say, "Asian Caribbean." In one or two cases, I have used two pseudonyms for the same person in different sections when a substantial amount of personal information is divulged. Unless otherwise indicated, conversations that I heard during participant observation are reconstructed from field notes. Finally, I use the term "school administrators" to refer to the principal, vice principals, activities director, academic director, and sports director of TIS.

Notes

1. Sections of this book have previously been published in Tanu (2011; 2014; 2015; 2016) and Tanu and Dales (2016). They are republished in parts here with permission.
2. Email to author, 7 June 2017.
3. See Ossman (2013) for "serial migrants."
4. The early figure varies depending on the definition of "international school" used (see Bunnell 2014 for a discussion). The recent figure is derived from statistics provided by the International School Consultancy (ISC) founded by Nicholas Brummitt, which is used by prominent researchers in the field (see Pearce 2013). ISC defines "international school" as any school that "delivers a curriculum to any combination of pre-school, elementary or secondary students, wholly or partly in English outside an English-speaking country, or if a school in a country where English is one of the official languages, offers an English-medium curriculum other than the country's national curriculum and is international in its orientation." The definition used is simultaneously broad, as it includes English-medium schools without a critical view of its curriculum, and narrow, as it does not include schools that use languages other than English while teaching an international curriculum.

   Furthermore, according to ISC, Asia has 54 percent of the total number of international schools and 60 percent of the total number of students. It should be noted, however, that ISC defines "Asia" to include Western Asia and the Middle East. Of the top fifteen Asian countries/territories ranked

   by the number of schools, eleven are located in East Asia, South Asia, and
   Southeast Asia. Indonesia is listed as having 190 English-medium interna-
   tional schools.

 5. In addition to David Pollock's work, Ruth E. Van Reken conducted 300
    official surveys in 1987, and subsequently gathered qualitative data in the
    form of thousands of informal interviews through letters, phone calls, and
    in-person meetings. Van Reken (email to author, 12 January 2017) explains
    that after awhile the stories "all sounded the same except for the details,"
    which indicates data saturation, to the point where "I could guess, within
    about five years, their [interviewee's] age depending on what they were
    telling me about where they were in their journey."

 6. From "The 'TCK Profile' seminar material" (1989: 1) as cited in Pollock
    and Van Reken (2001).

 7. Pseudonyms are used for all research participants to protect anonymity.

 8. See Tanu (2015) for a more detailed history of the term "Third Culture
    Kids."

 9. See Baldassar (1999) for an example.

10. High school consisted of grades nine to twelve, with student ages ranging
    from fourteen to eighteen years, though at least one student interviewed
    was nineteen years old.