Coming Home to Friends: Third Culture Kids’ Relational Development through the Lens of Social Penetration Theory

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by
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This thesis is dedicated to

My father, Robert Jurgensen,
For your many admonitions towards excellence and your example of hard-working steadiness.

My mother, Nanette Jurgensen,
For your encouragement on the phone one fall night several years ago that inspired me to believe in myself, and for all the other moments you have been my Mom.
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Abstract

When American third culture kids (AmTCKs) return ‘home’ to college, they experience reentry culture shock, face identity challenging questions, are often adjusting to larger schools than they are used to, and must adapt to new types of relationships with typical American collegians (TACs). Friendships are a part of the social support system that the literature suggests is vital to TCK reentry with positive outcomes (Huff). This study proposes several reasons why studying American TCK relationship development processes from the theoretical perspective of social penetration is useful: (1) theoretically, it promotes TCK scholarship; (2) as communication research, it extends the discipline into a phenomenon that has not yet been researched in this manner; (3) pragmatically, it promotes TCKs’ and TCK supporters’ abilities to re-enter or assist re-entry and acculturation into American colleges. Three research questions informed the forgoing study: RQ1: Do American TCK collegians (AmTCKs) penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships differently than typical American collegians (TACs)? RQ2: How do American TCK collegians self-disclose and penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships when re-entering their home college culture? RQ3: Do American TCK collegians self-disclose and penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships with other American TCKs differently than they do with typical American collegians? A review of relevant TCK, social penetration, and methodology literature informed the transformative concurrent embedded mixed methodology of the study (Creswell). Per the methodology, the studies were conducted concurrently and were transformed through the application of social penetration to the discussion. The results of the quantitative analysis using modified versions of Miller, Berg, and Archer’s Self-Disclosure Index and Opener Scale, as well as a modified version of Sidney Jourard’s Self-Disclosure Questionnaire, were presented in association to three hypotheses developed out of RQ1. The
Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) portion of the study analyzed eight interviews to develop major and minor themes; 19 separate themes were identified in the interview transcriptions by coder consensus through cross analysis of the emergent categories (themes) within organizing domains. The four domains of themes after cross analysis were: (1) locus of identity; (2) American vs. TCK; (3) TCKs as adapters; and (4) depth. The results of the two studies were mixed and interpreted through the framework of social penetration; it was seen that American TCK relationships are unique (as self-reported by TCKs) along the lines of both topic and depth processes. American TCK with other TCK relationships followed a separate process than the American TCK with typical American collegian process; a theoretical explanation is provided. Practical implications are drawn out of the discussion for the purpose of empowering TCKs and TCK supporters. Limitations, suggestions for future research, and final conclusions are provided.

Keywords: social penetration theory, self-disclosure, relational development, third culture kids, repatriation, consensual qualitative research, Jourard’s Self-Disclosure Questionnaire (JSDQ), Self-Disclosure Index (SDI), Opener Scale (OS), mixed methodology
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Chapter 1: Introduction and Overview

Thesis Motivation

Third Culture Kids (TCKs) are a new and growing area of academic study in several different disciplines. This study, as a part of the communication discipline, seeks to explore how TCKs self-disclose to develop relationships. Before exploring this unique phenomenon, the academic thrust of this thesis must be explained, first by clearly defining and explaining the meaning of the term third culture kid.

Pollock and Van Reken identify and define TCKs in their book Third Culture Kid Experience: Growing Up Among Worlds:

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

TCKs might be men and women who grew up as military kids, missionary kids, children of diplomats, or business kids among other smaller groups (Useem 103). However these groups all tend to identify most strongly with other TCKs, and have strong identifying factors similar to other TCKs. They are a subgroup of what anthropologists and sociologists commonly refer to as global nomads, a whole group of people who do live or have lived in countries and areas other than their homes for various and disparate reasons. Ruth H. Useem and Richard D. Downie, well respected sociologists, are partly credited with coining the term and initiating deeper research into TCKs; they note that “although [TCKs] have grown up in foreign countries, they are not
integral parts of those countries” (103). Huff, among others, suggests that possibly the most significant and stressful similarity shared by all TCKs is re-entry culture shock (2001).

There is a great need to study this aspect of TCKs as a group for several reasons. First, though TCKs have been around for quite a while, they are an still an emergent area of study (Davis et al. 2010; Firmin, Warner, and Lowe 2009; Fail, Thompson, and Walker 2004; Dewaelea and Oudenhoven 2009; Bikos et al. 2009; Greenholtz and Kim 2009; Klemens and Bikos 2009; Peterson and Plamondon 2009; Priest 2003; Russell 2011). Second, TCKs are becoming more prevalent in America; by way of example, Davis et al. points out that President Obama is a TCK and that his administration and cabinet are both primarily composed of TCKs (Davis et al. 2010).

I personally became interested in studying TCKs because I lived overseas for a year among them. Some of the best friends I have ever made, I made while attending an international school in Almaty, Kazakhstan that year, but none of those friendships were made in the typical American pattern. The phenomenon of a TCK has interested me ever since my year abroad. What is it about TCKs and their relationships that are so cohesive and distinctive? And how does this relationship style affect TCKs’ reentry into their home cultures?

Perhaps the most appropriate answer to these questions is embodied in a poem entitled “I Hear the Nomads Singing (in the style of Walt Whitman’s ‘I Hear America Singing’)” written by Sarah E. Gilbert, a TCK, and at the time she wrote this poem in fall 2007, a high school student whom I met and befriended while we attended that international school:

I hear the nomads singing, the earth wanderers’ melodies I hear,

The song of the one who delights in the hearts of a people not his own, and yet who are a part of him,
The song of the one who weeps in despair, he knows not who he is—

Some have said: “You are one of us, the brother from another blood,”

While others from his own land say: “You have returned to us, your people!”

And all the while his own heart cries out its dirge: “Who am I?”

I hear the song of the one who is never content to rest,

The pegs of his tent are driven into the ground,

He reveals his heart to those he meets, or else builds a wall through which none may pass,

But either way his heart turns to the road—

His ear listens for the roaring “thrummm” of the plane—

His feet ache to move again.

I hear the song of the one who knows people,

From every corner of the earth,

From the steaming, living green wealth of South America,

From wave upon wave of red-roofed Istanbul,

From the cool, isolated majesty of the Pamirs,

And from the culture-rich provinces of China

I hear the song of the one who has said goodbye—

One hundred too many times,

I see the crowd of downcast friends, and the one who is leaving in the center,
I see the tears run down her cheeks—her pain is freely shown,
I feel her arms clench me, strengthened by the knowledge that this is the last time I shall feel them,
I hear her groan—half of weariness and half of pain,
The cry of a heart that has been bruised too many times by goodbye.

All of this I hear and they are my songs also,
Melodies of pain and of joy,
All twining together to become one song,
The nomad’s song,
My song. (Gilbert)

This poem is an apt statement about TCKs partly because it is written in the style of one of America’s most celebrated poets, and was written by an American Third Culture Kid.

**Purpose and Scope**

Missionary Kids (MKs) are a significant group within the scope of TCKs. Firmin et al. note that MKs are the overlooked missionaries on the field (2006). Historically, there have been supports for missionaries (i.e. adults) when they leave for the foreign context mission field and also support when they experience the culture shock after they return, but there seems to be a missing system for the MKs. In many ways there seems to be a lack of that support specifically for American MKs who return to attend college. There are emerging transition seminars and groups available, like *Mu Kappa* at Wheaton University, a fraternity/sorority for MK students; however, the understanding of how to support MKs is still somewhat new (Bikos et. al. 2009). Wendy Stultz argues, “Increasing awareness of the TCK profile will help higher education
professionals to identify those students who may benefit from understanding more about their unique background. These benefits are not only in regard to the TCK profile, but in a more personal experience with a culture’s customs, and in a potential ally for cultures that may be underrepresented on the campus;” something, that will be mutually beneficial to the student and the school (86).

Specifically, relational development has been noted as a central issue by TCKs in various qualitative studies (Firmin et. al. 2006; Bikos et. al 2009; Russell 2011) and through the results of researchers who have conducted quantitative studies (Klemens et al. 2009 and Huff 2001). So, a central area of necessary study as suggested by a pragmatic purpose would be the relational development patterns and difficulties of reentering TCKs, including the resulting adjustment of self-concept and identity.

In Bikos et al., a TCK supporter, or as defined by their study, a person who has had close supporting contact with TCK students and has spent time overseas, had some pertinent comments on the nature of these depth patterns (2009). Bikos et al. note that “[o]ne MK supporter suggested that MKs may be used to developing very deep relationships very quickly, so when they return to their home country they are not used to a slower relationship building process” (Bikos et al. 742). It is possible that TCKs and MKs develop relationships ‘very quickly’ due to the fact that they do not know how long friends might remain in the same area. Bikos et al. also notes the repeated point made by a separate interviewee: “Some of the difficulty [building relationships] comes from the ways in which MKs tend to make friends, as is described in the following example: ‘When a MK makes friends with another MK, they go deep real fast. It is hard with non-MKs, because they can’t go deep so fast.’”(Bikos et al. 747). It seems important to note here that the issue is not whether non-MKs can or cannot “go deep fast,” but
whether they are comfortable and willing to do so, and it seems they are not. The literature suggests a qualitative disparity between how TCKs penetrate and how non-TCKs penetrate.

Additionally, social penetration (SP) has been studied in multiple different contexts. It suggests that through four levels of disclosure across a breadth of subjects, over time, and as the result of a cost/reward evaluation of relational development, one can identify the closeness of an existing relationships as well as predict how relationships will typically develop (Bikos et al.). Gudykunst conducted a quantitative study that looked at the development of intra-cultural friendships against the development of cross-cultural friendships. By successfully finding that there are significant parallels in the friendships of both situations, using social penetration (SP) as a lens, Gudykunst established that social penetration is appropriate for dealing with relational development in cross-cultural environments (Gudykunst 1985). Since other scholars argue that defining TCKs’ relationship development with others as cross-cultural relationships, social penetration can be appropriately applied to TCK research.

From the standpoint of a pragmatic paradigm of research for the purpose of effectively promoting research and practical reentry programs for TCKs, a mixed methodology strategy appropriately spans the gap between the necessary rich and accurate information. TCK research is an emerging field of multi-disciplinary study; qualitative study largely lies in the fields of missiology or sociology, while quantitative studies tend to group in the psychological and socio-psychological fields. One study in particular in mixed methods combines a case study and a survey when looking at TCKs (Greenholtz et al. 2009).

A review of the literature and personal experiences with TCKs (arguably the author has certain TCK tendencies, per the perspectives explored by Russell 2011) informs a qualitative investigation guided by the framework of the Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR)
methodology exemplified by Bikos et al. in their study of TCK repatriation experiences. The consensual qualitative research yielded rich and effective data in the repatriation study; so it was used to create rich data in this study as well (Bikos et al. 2009).

To bring all this together into cogently expressed thoughts, the thrust of this study is embodied by the need to answer these questions:

RQ1: Do American TCK collegians (AmTCKs) penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships differently than typical American collegians (TACs)? (quantitative)

H1a: The difference in the disclosure level between acquaintance and friend will be less in American TCKs than in TACs.

H1b: The general willingness to disclose of American TCKs will be more strongly associated with initial (to acquaintance) self-disclosure than the same associate in TACs.

H1c: The general willingness to disclose of American TCKs will be more strongly associated with their perceived ability to get others to disclose, than the same association in TACs.

RQ2: How do American TCK collegians self-disclose and penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships when re-entering their home college culture? (qualitative)

RQ3: Do American TCK collegians self-disclose and penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships with other American TCKs differently than they do with TACs? (qualitative)

It seems that this specific topic is not only academically worthy of study, but is also of importance to the broader, global community of nomads and friends of nomads. It is a topic that has not been specifically studied yet. As the following literature review will show, relationships
have been deemed important to the successful reentry of American TCK students when they return to America and attend college. There are unique aspects to those relationships, aspects that no study has yet specifically evaluated in terms of the unique pattern of self-disclosure exhibited by TCK students.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Third Culture Kids

Francesca Kelly, an American expatriate with four children of her own (TCKs in the making), notes in her article “Going to College in America” several things for third culture kids to expect. She assures her TCK audience of several things: they will feel different; they will not know their home culture well; their fellow students might not know where “there” is; they will be viewed as interesting or odd; they will be frustrated with several of the major differences; they might end up becoming friends primarily with other TCKs (Kelly, 64-70).

Kelly’s article is written for TCK College aged readers, who according to Ittel and Sisler quoting Pollock and Van Reken, “…have spent a significant part of [their] developmental years outside the[ir] parents culture” (Pollock and Van Reken qtd. in Ittel and Sisler 487). They continue, saying that “[t]he TCK frequently builds relationships to all the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture may be assimilated into the TCK’s life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background” (Pollock and Van Reken qtd. in Ittel and Sisler 487). Kelly makes the point that TCKs will tend to gravitate to one another; and, relationships are an especially pertinent area of study where repatriating TCK college students are concerned.

College socialization and repatriation of third culture kids can be quite dramatic and intense for the adjusting students. Missionary Kids, a sub-category of TCKs, grow up on the mission field generally as a part of a Christian missions family working with one or more missions organizations overseas. Several authors suggest that the TCK college student might be described as a hidden immigrant (Klemens and Bikos 721; Ittel and Sisler 487). TCKs lack the cultural competencies, lack the typical social cues of American society, and lack the cultural
experiences of their American counterparts. Just like an international student they must adjust; the difference is that since they look, speak, and act with great similarity to the typical American college student, cultural differences inherent to international students and TCKs are unnoticed in the TCK. As a result TCKs are expected to be “normal” and to act “normal” right away when they do not exactly know what normal is (Bikos et. al. 2009).

So, when TCKs begin the process of making friends and reentering their passport countries, there are several psychological, social, and communication tendencies that are eminent, and that have been studied for the past half-century or so. Kate Russell notes that as an undergraduate TCK student she realized very quickly that she thought and felt very different from what she believed the typical American college student thought and felt (2011). She was different; she was a TCK. At the same time she was still American and needed to re-adapt, at least in part, her home culture. In seeking to experience that socialization, she made two close friends who were both better aware of the American culture, and who helped guide her through the reentry adjustment process. They all three became very close, but it is interesting that all three were TCKs (Russell 35). Why did this happen? How did it happen? Why did these three TCKs gravitate to one another? There are many different issues associated with the repatriation of TCK college students, but multiple researchers note that stable and close relationships, like the ones experienced by Kate Russell during her college experience, are vital to the effective adoption of and adaptation to the TCK’s passport culture (Klemens and Bikos 722; Van Der Zee et al. 26; Hervey 4).

Hervey notes that TCKs are typically divided into four sub-categories: missionary kids, diplomat kids, military brats, and business kids (Hervey 2009). This literature review and study primarily focuses on MKs, but also references TCKs in general because MKs often have more
challenges to overcome as the nature of their parents’ work requires fuller integration into the “host” culture (Hervey 5).

There have been many different studies in many different disciplines from many different theoretical perspectives that examine TCKs and MKs. The TCK literature, then, might be divided into many different directions, and more precisely, the TCK literature pertaining to the repatriation of college students might be divided into multiple different topic areas. This study will divide the literature into three primary areas: pre-college focused TCK literature, college focused TCK literature, and post-college TCK literature.

**Pre-College**

Much of the research that has been conducted about pre-college TCKs deals with their relationships in the family and with their host cultures. McLachlan published a study in 2007 that looked at the missionary family from a qualitative perspective with the purpose to identify the typical strategies TCK parents use to raise their children in an ever-changing environment and culture. It evaluated the closeness of the family as a major theme in the “internationally mobile family,” the accepted term for a TCK’s family. McLachlan notes that “for some TCKs, a sense of belonging is more relationship-based rather than geographically-based, as they experience a common bond with other IM people like themselves (McLachlan “Global Nomads” 235). So, the consistent and continuing relationships of the family seem to be of central importance to the TCK throughout the growing years.

McLachlan also notes in a similar study on internationally mobile families, that the concept of roots, regardless of the lack of geographical foundations, is vital to the development of identity of TCKs (“Impact of Globalization,” 18-19). Nigel Bagnall also explores this concept of family being connected to identity as the roots in a qualitative interview study of international
school students in Brazil (177). Bagnal found that students expressed several identity forming factors: “these included birth country, length of time in birth country before moving, number of schools attended, language, parents’ nationalities, composition of family, friendship patterns, and length of time in a particular country” (184). Since these were ISSs, it is clear that the majority of these factors were determined by, and if not ‘determined’ then all were at least influenced by the nature of the ISS’s family. So internationally mobile families are central to the concept of identity for TCKs.

Robin Berting suggests that the multiple factors of TCK identity, such as those identified by Bagnal, have caused international schools to approach their student populations with the perspective of a continuum between local and international (TCK), forgetting that TCKs are in many ways as different from one another as they are similar (Berting 31). Within international schools there can be both colloquial and cosmopolitan description of the population regardless of the local or international descriptions; cosmopolitanism is suggested by Berting as a “worldview: bi- or multilingual, cross-culturally adaptable with highly developed critical thinking skills and an international outlook” (31). Berting suggests that creating a four-quadrant model that associates the variables local-international and colloquial-cosmopolitan (Q1: colloquial and local; Q2 colloquial and international; Q3 cosmopolitan and local; Q4 cosmopolitan and international) is the best manner in which to assess internationally mobile families and their international school students (33). This perspective is useful in understanding American TCKs in college because they have essentially moved from being Q4 to being Q3, and from interacting with primarily Q4 and some Q2 to interacting with other Q3 and Q1. This change in their identity situation and interaction is quite stark and challenging.
The blend of a cosmopolitan worldview and international situation relegates the formative areas of an international school student’s identity to relationships with other international school students (or TCKs) and with his or her family. Philip Harrington wrote an article on the identity formation of TCKs, and notes “…their ‘sense of belonging’ is more closely aligned to others with similar experiences…than with either their parents’ culture (first culture) or places in which they have been raised (second culture)” (13). Thus, Harrington concludes that the schools in which international school students learn have a significant contextual weight in their identity formation (15). Two relevant concepts emerge from this analysis: (1) TCK’s experience a cultural identity that is heavily associated with the relationships they form with other TCKs at the international schools they often attend, creating a stark contrast to the lack of TCK majority at a large university in their home cultures; (2) TCKs experience what might be called a fragmented or multiple faceted identity, in that they identify first as a TCK, then as either a member of their ‘home’ culture and as a member of the one or many ‘host’ culture(s) during their formative years; thus, American TCKs do not identify as American, but also feel they must be American at the same time.

School transitions are also vitally important to helping international school students adjust to the new culture. Marjory Ebbeck studied the transition of international school students (young TCKs) into a new international school in Singapore and found that students experienced high levels of transition stress for up to eight weeks after the transition. She concludes that “the emotional needs of Third Culture Children should not be underestimated; they have additional barriers to overcome, such as the need to belong and become a part of their new culture both at school and in their new home location. Children who relocate bring (and take) with them the attributes of their own and other cultures, and so the process of acculturation goes on” (Ebbeck
There is simply a lack of confidence in the new culture, and this confidence is a direct correlate of the degree to which a TCK will integrate with the new culture, and feel confident in future changes in culture (Ebbeck 15). Regardless of this fact, Jessica Bates found that international school administrators are unaware of the ‘transitional problems’ of TCKs, and that there is a lack of effective transition systems for TCKs (85).

There has been some research on how to enable international school students to use the naturally adaptive and creative cosmopolitan outlooks to solve problems in whatever new cultures they transition to; Young J. Lee, Sherry K. Bain, and R. S. McCallum, conducted a small study in which they found that explicit critical thinking training among TCKs significantly affected their ability to solve the problems they were presented, and conclude that simply critical thinking and creative problem solving training alone could contribute to TCK adjustment in new cultural situations (460-461). Essentially, international school students need help moving from one culture to another in order to reduce stress and promote identity acculturative success. This might come from family, TCK friends, international school programs or administration, or a few other sources, but it is needed.

As a result of the necessity for solid families and continuing relations with TCK children’s’ and adolescents’ passport cultures, there has also been a significant amount of literature published on TCKs from the standpoint of counseling. Much of this literature is very practical, and is application-based. Mary Langford reviewed a book by Ettie Zilber in which Langford summarizes four TCK themes outlined by Zilber - TCKs feel connected to the school community by: “(1) exceptionally tight bonds and relationships within educator families; (2) ambivalent feelings about their life experiences; (3) awareness and sensitivity to multiple and intersecting roles of international school communities; and (4) positive reflections about
attitudes, adjustment and achievement, with a common denominator the parent involvement in the life and education of the children” (Langford 105). Dealing with the issues of the TCK who is constantly adjusting to culture, Warna Gillies suggests five methods to encourage TCKs towards positive connection to the classroom: encourage positive communication, provide consistency, give TCK students the opportunity to choose and lead, and confirm their cultural understanding and growth (Gillies 38).

Barringer, a counseling researcher evaluates the ways in which a TCK’s childhood will affect her or him through the rest of life. She suggests that some of the central themes in TCKs’ lives are change, relationships, worldviews, and cultural identity (Barringer n.p.). Because TCKs feel they are not fully part of one culture or another, and have always lost friendships after a period of time, they become very adept at blending in, becoming friendly, and moving on, away from the friendship (Barringer 8). Experiencing a lack of cultural belongingness, a loneliness in unique cultural differences, a frequent change of cultures, and a “persistence of transient friendships” contribute to unique patterns of communication and relationships by the time a TCK attends college (Hoersting and Jenkins 17-18).

One major difference TCKs experience when they head to college is that they often leave their internationally mobile family, and are for the first time on their own, which can be traumatic and challenging. Peterson and Plamondon published a quantitative article that supports McLachlan’s findings. They evaluated the valence of repatriation experiences among 170 American TCKs after they had returned to America. The purpose was to develop TCK repatriation variables and test them; among some of the variables focused on were authoritarianism, acculturative balance, and positive affect. The findings suggest that strong and close-knit families and an understanding and acceptance of the American culture backed positive
repatriation experiences for TCKs (Peterson and Plamondon 761). Essentially, one of the variables for successful TCK transition and repatriation during college is not only the possession of a history of strong familial relationships, but also the ability to make new strong relationships in college (Peterson and Plamondon 761).

**College Aged TCK Literature**

So, there is a focus in the TCK literature on transition seminars and their effectiveness in the TCK reentry period. Davis et al. conducted a study to evaluate the effectiveness of the reentry seminar on TCK (esp. MK) depression, anxiety, stress, and overall wellbeing (“Evaluating Impact of Transition Seminars”). Of course this study was highly qualitative and thereby captured some nuanced truths of TCK reentry, but is less applicable as a generalizable truth. The ultimate relationship of the TCK to students in their passport culture does help to determine their acculturation and ultimate identity formation. A similar study by Pamela Davis, Elisabeth Suarez, Nancy Crawford, and Mark Rehfuss, on the association of MK depression, anxiety, and stress in college with the effectiveness of transition seminars, showed through a quasi-experimental design that levels of stress in MKs were significantly reduced if those MKs went through a transition seminar (128). Regardless of whether TCKs attend a transition seminar, there are multiple different factors to TCK repatriation.

Jennifer Huff looked at four different aspects of MK college repatriation: parental attachment, reverse culture shock, perceived social support, and college adjustment. In the study Huff measured the differences between the TCK experiences of each of these aspects of repatriation as well as the relative influence of each aspect upon the TCK (Huff 246). Huff’s results show that “parental attachment was found to have a direct causal effect on perceived social support and college adjustment for all subjects. Perceived social support was found to be
significantly correlated with college adjustment” (Huff 246). This study further supports the pre-college and college years’ emphasis for the importance of strong relationships with parents and friends between TCKs.

Klemens and Bikos performed a multivariate quantitative study of the relationships between cultural adaptation/understanding and psychological well-being. They concluded that the sociocultural skill level of a TCK affects that TCK’s emotional well-being. So, if sociocultural skills can be increased then so too will emotional well-being increase (730). This point is centrally important to the present study because it suggests that if a TCK can understand his or her relational development tendencies, i.e. patterns of self-disclosure within relationships, and can better understand how that is different than the average American student, then he or she might be able to have a more fruitful and desirable college friendship/romance (Klemens and Bikos 731). Firmin et al. conducted a qualitative study of 24 TCK and found their adjustment as Missionary Kids back into American culture in the context of a Midwestern Christian College was dominated by a wish to fit in with their American peers, but an uncertainty about how to do so and an anxiety about being socially awkward (Firmin et al. 123). The adjustment back into American life is often very stressful for the TCK, especially in the realm of relationships.

There is also a focus in TCK college literature on college choice and identity adjustment in college. Stephen Wilkins noted in his 2003 study on the university choices of TCKs in the Arab Emirates, that the primary considerations of TCKs in choosing higher education were: “their need or desire to return to the place regarded as home; to study in the country where they intend to settle permanently; to live with, or be close to, siblings or extended members of their family; to minimize tuition, accommodation and general living costs; and to study in the location where they will feel most comfortable” (44). Wilkins additionally found that TCKs who
intended to return to their home countries for college did not typically feel afraid of losing their third cultural identities. Kelly suggests several things to expect when returning to one’s ‘home’ culture for college when writing to TCK students – she says, among others: (1) “You may feel ‘different;’” (2) You might not know how things work – but you’ll learn quickly;” (3) “Other students may not know – literally - where you are coming from;” (4) You may be “…perceived as more interesting than the average college student;” (5) “You may be stupefied by things most Americans take for granted;” (6) “ ‘Diversity’ might not mean ‘tolerance’ or ‘integration;’” and (7) the ability to make friends will be your best asset in finding a “niche” (68-71). This last article paints in general terms some of the practical issues of transition dependent upon the identity of TCKs.

It is also important for colleges to know who TCKs are, as Wendy Shultz suggests (81). K. Elizabeth McDonald found in a study of transculturals (closely associated with TCKs), that the global, or ‘cosmopolitan’ identity of TCKs actually was associated with a higher score of cultural wellness than the normative sample (of presumably colloquial participants) (247). Allyn D. Lyttle, Gina G. Barker, and Terri L. Cornwell, conclude in their comparative study of TCKs to non-TCKs, that TCKs exhibit a greater social sensitivity in their communication and interpretation of non-verbal signals from others (691). Michael E. Gerner and Fred Perry found in their original 1992 that “adolescents who live abroad rate themselves are more culturally accepting, more interested in travel, more open to learning other languages, and more interested in an international career in the future compared to U.S. adolescents who have only lived in the U.S.” (280). In their re-analysis of that previous study, Gerner and Perry also found significant gender differences between TCK male and female self ratings, and typical U.S. adolescent male
and female ratings, although the gender differences were unique to the group (281). Thus, in TCK studies, they suggest including gender differences is appropriate (Gerner and Perry 282).

Raquel C. Hoersting and Sharon R. Jenkins looked at the cosmopolitan, multicultural aspects of TCKs’ identities to see if these related to a sense of cultural homelessness or self-esteem effects (17). These unique identities were found to relate to a higher sense of cultural homelessness and a resulting lower sense of self esteem if there was not affirmation, belonging, and commitment to the cosmopolitan identity (28). Essentially, TCKs need identity support from relationships in order to benefit from their unique cultural identities. Parts of those identities often have to do with multilingualism, which itself can affect the TCK personality.

Jean-Marc Dewaele and Jan Pieter van Oudenhoven found that the differences between language and multilanguage dominances of TCKs significantly affected the components of TCKs’ identities that they measured; specifically TCKs with multiple dominant languages were more open-minded, had greater cultural empathy, but were less emotionally stable (443). These findings echo those of Lyttle et al. (691). Laura Sicola similarly looked at the manner in which second and third languages learned by TCKs or sojourners affect the manner in which their home or first languages are spoken and understood; essentially, she found that multilingual individuals approach communication in a blended lingual manner (166). This means that the manner in which a TCK talks might simply sound foreign and odd, for example because they might naturally use Japanese syntax to express an English sentence, because in their minds that is the ‘format’ that best fits that statement (153). Clearly, there are multiple different manners in which TCKs experiences, identity, worldview, and personality interact to create their TCK-ness.

In an auto-ethnographic account Jennifer Jang suggests some of the aspects of the TCK that are relevant to higher education. She notes “When I came to the United States, I was
insecure and overwhelmed by being on my own in a completely new social context that I had to learn in order to survive…. TCKs benefit greatly by gaining insights into the new culture with institutional support” (143). She continues, explaining that “…[TCKs] lack a sense of security in their own identity that their peers may acquire from growing up strongly rooted in the same social background. Stemming from this is a prominent sense of isolation, with the inability to relate to their peers or form close personal relationship because of their transient lifestyles” (Jang 143). She concludes by noting that when schools account for these unique qualities the TCK students directly benefit, the student body is enhanced and enriched, and the institution is bettered from a diverse, open-minded culture that is promoted in its institutional culture (144).

Post-College TCK Literature

Another section of literature directly concerning TCKs deals with their integration into the workforce and life after college as adult TCKs. Fail et al. developed a multiple case study evaluation of the lives of eleven adult missionary kids (Fail et al. 332). The themes they identified were (1) the sense of a hidden marginalization, (2) a chosen separation from mainstream culture, (3) reverse culture shock, and (4) mixed cultural experiences (Fail et al. 332). The following articles are loosely organized around Fail et al.’s themes.

Concerning the sense of hidden marginalization, Karen Wrobbel and James Plueddemann found that the identity of adult missionary kids, and the degree to which they were psychosocially developed, according to Eriksson’s theory of psychosocial development, was less than the typical monocultural person’s development, suggesting that adult TCKs experience a silent lifelong struggle of developing or integrating their cosmopolitan identities (372). In a sense, this explains some of the hidden marginalization they experience.
Bonebright studied the special human resource challenges and opportunities that adult TCKs represent when in the organization; suggesting that they might not totally integrate with the organizational culture, but at the same time pose as excellent choices for business expatriate roles. (Bonebright 351). Further, Hon Lam and Jan Selmer suggest as a result of their study that because TCKs don’t fit into any one culture, but rather have the experiences of a life that straddles cultures, that they are best utilized by trans-national businesses as expatriates (119). Fundamentally, adult TCKs do not quite fit into mainstream culture, but are perhaps the best global participants in international business.

Robert Priest considered the nature of various continuing cultural problems encountered by TCK adults and hypothesized that these were the result of either childhood trauma or loose identification with culture; he found that only the latter is true (Priest 189). Priest further calls into question the conclusions of Wrobbel and Pleuddeman, suggesting that the measure of psychosocial development they utilized was only valid in monocultural settings; Priest found that TCKs actually experience a loss of relational richness as adults living in their home cultures, because their developmental years were often defined by highly interpersonal, quickly developed, intimate friendships with other TCKs (190). When TCKs live in their home culture for the majority of their adult lives, they essentially will always experience the results of many different layers of reentry culture shock.

Finally, adult TCKs exhibit a mixed cultural experience that affects their lives. Elizabeth Melles and Jonathan Schwartz found that the number of countries an adult TCK lived in correlate with lower scores on prejudice, although US adult TCKs exhibit a higher level of prejudice than non-US adult TCKs (266). These findings suggest that the cultural experiences of TCKs affect the manner in which they assimilate and understand future experiences, as well as
suggesting that there are home country distinctions among TCKs. Celeste Rosemary-McKibbin suggested in her 2000 article on American beliefs, that as a TCK she believes the international mixed cultural perceptions of the TCK would contribute to strengthening speech pathologists ability to administer services to increasingly multicultural clients in America (58). Her article is a clear example of the mixed cultural experiences that shape the resulting perspectives of adult TCKs.

This brief overview of TCK literatures provides three important observations. First, it shows that the TCK is a very widely studied and very relevant topic in a globalized culture. Second, the relationship development of TCK college students is vital to those students sociocultural success and their cultural sense of belonging. Social penetration by Altman and Taylor provides an effective lens for understanding the centrality of effective relationship development among TCKs in college. Thus, a third observation: the social penetration or self-disclosure of college TCKs must be understood in order to promote better relational development and cultural identity formation.

*Social Penetration.*

The social penetration theory developed originally by Irwin Altman and Dalmas Taylor was a theory meant to describe the process of interpersonal relationship development from a perspective similar to that of the Social Exchange model. Essentially if the cost of self-disclosure is considered to be less than the reward of increased intimacy, as described by the breadth and depth of communication, then self-disclosure is communicated and reciprocity of disclosure between individuals begins (Taylor and Altman 18-19). This self-disclosure might be defined by its breadth, or topic areas, and by its depth, or how closely the person who is self-disclosing centrally holds the information disclosed.
What is particularly relevant from social penetration to this study is the four levels or stages of self-disclosure between two people. These stages represent levels of intimacy in the communication evident in the relationship, and the intimacy is defined both by the breadth and depth of the disclosure shared, and by the frequency of the reciprocity. The levels were simplified by Michael Roloff in 1981 as listed by Nicole Allensworth in her article and explication of social penetration: (1) orientation, which typically involves phatic communication; (2) exploratory affective exchange, which is characterized by an increase in breadth and some increase in depth; (3) full affective exchange, where the breadth of topics has mostly been reached and the main movement is depth; and finally (4) stable exchange, where there is great depth and breadth in the relationship, and a deep and broad level of relational intimacy has been reached – though this last stage is typically rarely found (Allensworth 12-13).

There has been a significant amount of research that either formally studied social penetration or has used aspects of the theory to evaluate other phenomena. For the sake of brevity, this literature review covers only articles that are relevant to the topic of study at hand: application to cross-cultural research, application in computer-mediated-communication, and psychological effects on social penetration performance.

Interestingly two cross-cultural studies both looked at the differences between intimacy built within relationships among Taiwanese and American college students. These studies are particularly relevant to supporting the current research because though they do not explicitly define or apply to the TCK culture, these studies do suggest differences in self-disclosure patterns between same culture and cross-culture relationship building. Gudykunst published a study in 1985 that has been foundational to the application of social penetration theory in cross-cultural situations. In his study he evaluated the differences evident in communication behavior
among cross-cultural students building relationships with other students throughout college in a natural setting (1985). As summarized by Chen, Gudykunst “confirm[ed] that self-disclosure is influenced by (1) self-monitoring; (2) the degree of cultural similarity; and (3) the type of relationships…. More importantly… culturally dissimilar backgrounds are becoming less and less significant…” (Chen 22-23).

Chia-Fang Hsu conducted the other American-Taiwanese study on self-disclosure among cultures and found that Taiwanese friendships quantitatively indicated greater levels of reciprocity and deeper/broader levels of self-disclosure than did American friendships (Hsu 370). What this means is that (1) once again, cultural differences in self-disclosure are confirmed, but that (2) it is likely that more collectivistic cultures possess more intimate levels of self-disclosure in friendships, making it so that TCKs who interact in those cultures would experience disorientation in America when trying to make friends.

Another relevant application of social penetration theory is in computer-mediated-communication effects. Nearly every college student must utilize social networking in order to create and maintain friendships effectively. The use of communication technology is widely pervasive, and is especially applicable to TCK communication because it allows for friendships to be maintained over distance. Jiang et al. published a qualitative study in 2013 where college participants were divided into two interaction-categories of dyads who communicated face to face or through computer mediated communication. Jiang et al. hypothesized that CMC self-disclosure tends to be more intimate than does face to face. The hypothesis was supported, showing that the communication channel affects self-disclosure as well (Jiang et al. 139).

Another study by Paul Lowry et al. developed a model for measuring self-disclosure over self-disclosure technology, and tested it using instant messaging in both America and China. In
Jurgensen

these highly different cultures, there were very few significant differences between the
motivations that were shown to drive self-disclosure technology (Lowry et al. 188-191). This
study suggests there may not be a need to evaluate the differences between TCKs use of self-
disclosure technology in relational development and typical American college student usage, as
the differences should not be significant enough to warrant immediate investigation. Though this
is a topic worthy of study, the literature would suggest that it does not need to be of primary
importance.

However, another study by Adriana Manago et al. in 2012 shows that there is a reliance
on social media technology for building friendships in college. The study evaluated the
differences between the large networks supported by social networking sites like Facebook and
twitter and the traditional interpersonal relationships available to college students. The study
found that there is a tradeoff between intimacy and audience, but that by using Facebook, college
students are able to maintain past relationships and feel more connected (Manago 2012). This
study is especially pertinent to the present one because though Lowry et al. determine that there
are not significant cultural differences in the motivation for use of technology, Manago shows
that technology is a significant central focus of relationship building for college students. What
technology lacks is the richness of vis-à-vis interpersonal communication.

Two studies point out the effects of some intrapersonal influences on interpersonal self-
disclosure and communication patterns. Leaper et al. studied the differences in self-disclosure
between male and female friends. Their study was unique in comparing gender differences
between men and women because it considered possible self-disclosure effects from the
standpoint of male-female friendship. After analyzing all variations of male and female friend
interaction, Leaper et al. found that disclosure statements and listener supporting responses
changed depending on who was speaking and who was listening. Cross gender friendships were compared to same gender friendships and the results showed that there are significant differences: men disclosed more, women listened more actively, and clarification was asked in response to male disclosures more commonly than female disclosures (Leaper et al. 398-400). This interesting evaluation of listener response to self-disclosure is simple but important because it shows that there are gender differences between self-disclosure that cause small changes in the patterns of disclosure, but might potentially have significant results in cross-cultural communication, or from American student to TCK.

Joel Aronoff et al. conducted an empirical study to evaluate the effects of affect on disclosure. The study evaluated whether an emotional or “evocative affective” response to stimuli was necessary in people’s comprehension to allow them a “breadth” of response. The study does not directly have to do with social penetration or TCKs, although it does briefly discuss self-disclosure as one of the dependent variables of the study, associated with the “adaptive capacities” influenced by emotive responses and determining “breadth” of response (Aronoff 105). More willingly affected people were shown in this study to better connect with others. Aronoff et al. say “More ego-adaptable individuals made greater contact with other people, become more deeply engaged in the task, express their subjective states through greater cognitive and behavioral fantasy, and in their language and facial activity, respond more intensely across a broader range of emotions than do less adaptable people” (Aronoff et al. 112). Basically, people who have the ability to feel more deeply and to express that emotion more appropriately and effectively are able to connect to task via interpersonal channels with others in a more intimate and effective manner than those who cannot. Clearly this is another manner in which social penetration can be non-verbally seen, though it might be descriptive of the verbal
exchanges between partners or friends. This quantitative study suggests that emotional
temperament will have an effect upon self-disclosure patterns of TCKs as well, so there needs to
be a quantitative study of a broader number of people following the qualitative one for the sake
of generalizable results.

Joseph Forgas also researched some of the fine conversational changes that potentially
could change TCK self-disclosure patterns significantly. In his quantitative analysis conducted
for the purpose of understanding mood effects upon self-disclosure, the results indicated that
different moods affect information processing abilities of persons who then self-disclose
accordingly (Forgas 449). For example, when a happy person self-discloses they tend to disclose
more content, more varied content, and more abstract content. People in a negative mood,
however, are sensitive to the other person’s disclosure, and carefully disclose with equal
reciprocity (Forgas 457).

Methodology Literature

The following literature is included in this review for its relevance to the methodologies
of research that have been conducted in study of third culture kids or using social penetration
type. It is divided into three subsections: (1) quantitative literature; (2) qualitative literature;
and (3) mixed methodology literature.

Quantitative Literature

There have been years of quantitative research in both TCK literature and social
penetration literature. Some of the pertinent examples of quantitative research to this study are
listed below because they establish a good foundation of similar literature that encourages the
quantitative aspect of this study.
Robert Hays published an interesting study in which he followed 84 male and female students over 3 week intervals through an entire fall semester to evaluate the progression of intimacy between same-sex dyads as they moved from acquaintance towards friendship. In the quantitative coded study Hays compared males to females in terms of relational development from the social penetration perspective (Hays 910). This paper has the theoretical support and explanatory power of social penetration among other relational development theories, and combines depth and intimacy as the result of cost/rewards to explain the progression of a friendship through the levels of intimacy. Another similar study by Dunleavy et al. suggested, “idiomatic communication is a strategic and unique form of communication that is indicative of a close relationship. The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between idiomatic communication with solidarity and satisfaction to validate social penetration theory using Knapp’s stages of escalation and de-escalation” (Dunleavy 416). Both of these studies take into consideration the aspect of time where relational growth is concerned, or intimacy.

**Qualitative Literature**

There are multiple articles written on both TCKs and social penetration theory that come from the perspective of qualitative research, and in fact at least half of the research on third culture kids comes from a counseling or missions standpoint, both of which are not quite so interested in the semi-hard science of quantitative social psychology. There are three studies in particular whose methodology is particularly interesting and applicable to this present study.

Limberg and Lambie published an article entitled “Third Culture Kids: Implications for Professional School Counseling,” as a conceptual article based upon secondary research and primary observation on the unique description and implications of the TCK student in school in America, and how counselors should approach such a student. It also considers specifically what
counselors should expect and implement for TCK students while they are in the “transitional stages” of cultural re-entry. Finally, it looks at an illustrative case study that helps to promote a deeper understanding of the nuanced differences of a TCK. (Limberg and Lambie 45-54). This article is important as a foundation for the organization of the purposes of this study; because it allows for there to be practical application points made after a discussion so that the research has practical implications.

Gordon et al. provide a set of questions in a tested questionnaire that when adjusted would prove to be useful open-ended questions for an interview question base. The problem that the researchers are attempting to fix in the article is to answer the questions surrounding how to measure the depth aspect of self-disclosure (Gordon et al. 81). The application in the article is one that blends the idea of personal expansion with interpersonally motivated self-disclosure, and the researcher successfully uses the personal expansion questionnaire to conflate the two theoretical frameworks.

Kate Walters explored the identity development of women that are TCK, so that the identity development of TCK women might be identified. Walters utilized a semi-structured interview process with 8 college-aged women to tender results. The researcher interviewed young women TCKs in order to gain an understanding of how women TCKs form a sense of identity, as they grow up overseas. Several themes emerged from the interviews: “(a) the disruption of transition, (b) the stability of spirituality, (c) the pervasiveness of ‘different,’ (d) the silencing of voice, (e) the sense of belonging, and (f) the autobiographers as women” (Walters 755). The phenomenological interview method was useful to Walters in that it allowed her respondents to direct the interview towards what felt normal for the conversation (Walters 760). Also Walters audiotaped the interviews so that she could pay full attention to the interviewees
(Walters 760). For analysis Walters chose a method that was in line with her feminist purpose: Listening Guide, which is a voice centered method that allows for the multiple layers of silenced voice to be heard and understood (Walters 761).

Perhaps one of the most important methodological qualitative articles is one by Bikos et al., entitled “A Consensual Qualitative Investigation into the Repatriation Experiences of Young Adult, Missionary Kids.” This article evaluated the many different and nuanced effects of identity management and socialization of TCK college students as they experience the shock and adjustment of repatriation. The TCKs studied were specifically MKs. Nine MKs were interviewed as well as four MK supporters (Bikos et al. 736).

There were different interviewers as well as the nine interviewees. Intercoder reliability was achieved by allowing one of the coders to also be part of the studied group (Bikos 737). Bikos et al. asked open-ended questions to generate discussion. The question topics included: “(1) experiences during the missionary assignment; (2) experiences of home leave or vacation; (3) first impression of home country nations; (4) adjustment issues; (5) support systems; (6) factors that aided in preparation for repatriation; and (7) factors that could have helped ease repatriation” (Bikos et al. 738). The coders analyzed and found consensus among the different themes that developed out of the interactions. The methods by which Bikos et al. conduct the research allowed them to draw practical and applicable action items. In addition to the qualitative literature, there is some multi-method research on TCKs.

Multi-Method Literature

One study actually utilized a mixed method approach while evaluating the phenomena of third culture kids. Greenholtz explored “global nomadism” by first looking deeply at the case study of a TCK named Lena. Lena is a TCK who exemplifies the constant diametric of being a
chameleon to socially fit in anywhere, but never feeling totally included. The researcher used a quantitative psychological inventory in order to gain a ground for Lena’s psyche and then observed her in her natural setting over a long period of time.

The researchers interviewed Lena to help her realize some of the differences between the ways that she thought vs. the way her home culture thought. It was a very useful way to help Lena become more aware of the cultural differences between herself and her home culture, to adjust, and to experience less stress (Greenholtz 397).

**Literature Summary**

In the literature, there are multiple themes that come into play when considering the uniqueness of TCK relationships. TCKs’ family, as well as their TCK school friends, both seem to be a central component of their identity formation. The unique collection of culture seems to also influence not only their identity, but also their language, communication confidence, and cosmopolitan culture. The degree to which TCKs feel supported in college seems to be related to the self-esteem and acculturation process that they are willing to undergo. And finally, the cultural sensitivity and communicative competence within the framework of interpersonal communication seems to be central to the success and satisfaction that they socially experience in their home cultures. The process of acculturating will be a process they experience for their lives.

Social penetration is seen to provide a unique lens through which to understand these TCK themes. As it proffers a motive (social exchange) and a framework (four levels of disclosure) within which to understand the degree of intimacy of a relationship, social penetration seems to be appropriate as a theoretical perspective for understanding TCK college relationships. The model was applied cross culturally with success and relevance. Gender
effects, emotional language, emotional states, and the medium through which it is shared modify self-disclosure.

Social penetration, or self-disclosure as a part of social penetration has been applied into both quantitative literature and qualitative literature. It has even been applied to mixed methods research. The study of relationships is dynamic and deep, nuanced, complex, and complicated. Considering the phenomena from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective will allow a greater and fuller understanding, per the thrust of the literature.
Chapter 3: Methodology

Concurrent Transformative Rationale

This is a concurrent transformative, mixed methods study employing quantitative and qualitative data collection informed by the literature, meaning that it concurrently quantitatively and qualitatively investigates TCK relational self-disclosure. The results are transformed or mixed together in the discussion through the theoretical lens of social penetration. John Creswell suggests that a concurrent transformative methodology is useful for any study that seeks to promote change or reveal truth about a minority (Creswell 167). For deep analysis these two concurrent studies are mixed in two places: first, in the data collection, second, in the interpretation of the results. This methodology is highly appropriate in the study of TCK relationship development due to four points of rationale.

First, this study extends the understanding and study of TCK relational development. The majority of previous research on TCKs, and especially TCKs as they reenter the American culture, typically revolves around sociological, missiological, and psychological inquiries. There are multiple studies that evaluated the typical issues and challenges that TCKs must overcome or adjust to upon reentering American culture in the college context. Several studies even mention relationship development as one of the challenges, but none of them seem too concerned with expounding very greatly upon the subject. Possibly, this hole in TCK re-entry literature is due to the fact that there is also a noticeable lack of research on TCKs in communication literature, specifically interpersonal literature. So, by exploring TCK relationship development using social penetration as the theoretical perspective, it extends and broadens the literature available upon the topic of TCKs.
Using a mixed methodology approach, particularly one following the concurrent embedded transformative strategy of inquiry, allows for a rich description and thematic analysis of relational development. In association with the quantitative survey of closed-ended questions about relational development given both to TCKs and typical American collegians (TACs), the qualitative aspects of the phenomena can supply an explanation for why and how the differences exist.

Second, this study will extend the understanding of communication research and social penetration theory, as it is applied within a unique culture or group of internationally experienced members. Social penetration has been used to describe and even prescribe various actions and processes within numerous disparate groups across multiple cultures, as emphasized by the literature. However, the unique context and identifiers of the TCK population in college, having recently reentered “home-country” life and voraciously seeking new friendships (as many college students do), suggests a unique new population for social penetration to be applied within. The mixed methodology provides the mode of social penetration’s explanation of the phenomenon. By allowing an interpretive, qualitative analysis to support the use of quantitative instruments, these instruments are more effective and valid in measuring generalizable relational tendencies among TCKs.

Third, this study contributes to the use of mixed methodologies, a research paradigm that cultivates a holistic understanding of the human experience, both in a specific situation and among broader groups. This study serves to continue strengthening the use and understanding of mixed methods procedures in multiple different disciplines, contributing to the larger body of research beyond communication studies.
Fourth, this study advocates for a better integration and acceptance of the uniqueness inherent to the American TCK collegian by seeking to provide a better explanation of the differences and similarities of the American TCK to the typical American collegian. It seeks to clearly describe and descriptively elucidate the relationship development process by which American TCKs are comfortable connecting with others. As an exploratory analysis of the TCK using an open-ended semi-structured interview coded by both a TCK and non-TCK, this study provides depth of research as a background for the generalizable survey responses from a larger sample group. The qualitative study provides rich explanation of the self-disclosure patterns that drive relational development within American TCK college relationships from a social penetration perspective. The quantitative analysis of survey results explains the qualitative data as not only descriptive of the group studied within one college context, as is typical of highly qualitative research, but also to the larger population of American TCK college students struggling with reentry across numerous US universities. The results of this study are purposed to help TCKs as they seek to learn about themselves, but also to assist leaders at TCK clubs and support groups, like Wheaton University’s Mu Kappa, as they seek to lend support to TCKs in those challenging college years of adjustment.

All four of these reasons provide a strong support for utilizing a concurrent embedded transformative framework because they place the emphasis of this research upon evaluating TCKs from a relatively solid communication research perspective where social penetration might be applied to a unique social phenomenon, allowing for theory development, and proper understanding of a rich event. Since social penetration is a theory that has been utilized and applied in multiple different contexts towards multiple different people, it can be seen as a tried and true theory. TCKs cannot be correctly described as members of, or seen as fully similar to
national (American) or international (i.e. Japanese) groups, but operate within a distinct set of conditions (psychological, social, etc.). So, the following study is justified.

**Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis**

The quantitative instruments are based upon the literature. The instruments sought to measure the most significant themes or variables in relationship formation and self-disclosure patterns between TCKs. Qualtrics was used for all surveys that were sent to an introductory communication course at a private mid-Atlantic mid-sized university. Respondents voluntarily completed the survey, but received extra credit within the communication course in which it was distributed. Using this class the survey pool for gleaning respondents was about 1200 students.

**Instruments Used**

Three scales were used, and are well supported in the literature. Before any other instruments, a basic demographics questionnaire was administered so that gender, age, time overseas, time since being overseas, amount of college, and type of TCK could be evaluated. The first two scales have been used conjointly in the past.

The *Self-Disclosure Index* (SDI), developed by Miller, Berg, and Archer was used to measure the extent to which respondents were comfortable with self-disclosing. Wei, Russell and Zakalik also used the Self-Disclosure Index in their 2005 study on freshmen’s experiences of depression and loneliness as mediated by self-efficacy, adult attachment, and self-disclosure. It was used by Miller, Berg, and Archer in their study on the influence of openness upon self-disclosure, and among other instruments, used the *Opener Scale* (OS), that evaluates the self-perceived ability of respondents to gain reciprocity in disclosure. The Self-Disclosure Index and the Opener Scale were shown to correlate significantly as instruments in Susan Hendrick’s study,
“A Generic Measure of Relationship Satisfaction” (93). Both of these studies have been used extensively.

A modified version of Sidney Jourard’s Self-Disclosure Questionnaire (JSDQ), consisting of sixty items will help to evaluate the degree of self-disclosure in six different aspects of relationships: Attitudes and opinions, tastes and interests, Work (or studies), money, personality, and body (Jourard and Lasakow 92). The Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire has been used in numerous studies over various topics, with simple changes to the stem and phrasing of the questions (Jourard 1961[earlier version]; Brown and Heimberg 2001; Snoek and Rothblum 1979; Komarovsky 1974; Dolgin, Meyer, and Schwartz 1991; Bender, Davis, and Glover, 1976; and Mathews et al. 2006) Together these will be administered to TCKs who meet the TCK requirements outlined for interviews, and will also be administered to typical American collegians.

Analysis

The quantitative survey was composed of a demographics questionnaire and the three instruments (SDI; OS; JSDQ) was posted on Qualtrics and opened to the 1200 available respondents in an introductory communication course at a mid-sized mid-Atlantic university for an entire week. There were 111 responses; only 86 respondents (71 TACs and 15 AmTCKs) were in included in the analysis.

The final count of respondents used in the study for inferential analysis after further eliminations (one for international students, a second for respondents who skipped questions) was 71 typical American collegian respondents and 15 American TCK respondents. The descriptive results presented for each instrument reflect all but the last elimination, as it is not necessary for the partially complete surveys (mostly where 5-10 individual questions were
skipped) to be eliminated at a question-by-question level analysis; rather the analysis was carefully conducted to avoid being skewed by the data. The survey’s instruments are provided in Appendices I-III.

The descriptive statistics were pulled from the available reports on Qualtrics for each item in the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire, the Self-Disclosure Index, and the Opener Scale. The inferential statistics were run after the means for the entire instruments were calculated. The relationships and differences between the two groups were evaluated using appropriate descriptive statistics as well as a combination of Paired T-Tests and Pearson Product-Moment Correlations.

The one-tailed paired t-statistic tested the magnitude of the differences in the relative change in means of each of the six different items on the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire between acquaintance and friend. These tests sought to explicate the differences between the topical disclosure changes of American TCKs and typical American collegians to support H1a.

One set of one-tailed Pearson Product Moment Coefficients looks to explain the association of the general willingness of both American TCKs and typical American collegians to disclose to acquaintances and to friends in order to establish whether there is a significant connection between the degree to which general willingness to self-disclose influences or associates with the self-disclosure within different topic areas. These tests sought to explicate the differences of American TCKs and typical American collegians in their willingness to disclose and actual disclosure in specific content areas to both acquaintances and friends in order to support H1b.

The other set of one-tailed Coefficients sought to associate the general perceived willingness to disclose with the general perceived ability to influence disclosure. The correlation
between the Self-Disclosure Index and the Opener Scale of both American TCKs and typical American collegians sought to support H1c.

These analyses show correlations and relationships between the themes in the literature, allowing for the most salient themes pertaining to TCK self-disclosure patterns and relational development to be generalized for the all of TCKs in college across the spectrum of that description. So, this analysis was done in line with seeking to answer research question number one.

**Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis**

The following section describes the manner in which the qualitative portion of the study was conducted.

**Interview Inquiry**

Three sources of data informed the semi-structured interview that consisted of open-ended questions. First, the literature informed the definition of qualified participants. Second, the content of the questions in the quantitative instruments were adjusted to provide further interview questions. Third, the researcher’s own experience abroad assisted in the coding and thematic interpretation of the results, although he does not meet the qualifications set in this paper for an AmTCK. Specifically, the qualitative research will be conducted as follows.

Nine interview participants were chosen for interview per the following qualifications. They had to be undergraduate students, not younger than 18 years old, at a liberal arts university in the United States. They needed to be students enrolled full time, attending residentially, either living on campus or living off campus. In order to be considered a qualified TCK, participants had to be US natives, having lived overseas for a minimum of five years between the ages of five
and eighteen, either in their family home, or at an international boarding school. These students needed to have been back in the US for less than two full years before college.

Once the interview questions were formulated (see Appendix IV), participants were found using a snowball method, starting with several TCKs that the researcher personally knows, but who were not included in the study. Other TCKs who were put into contact with the researcher through these mutual acquaintances were contacted via email, text, or phone so that their consent to an interview could be requested.

The interviewees were informed that the interview was audio recorded prior to the interview, and filled out a second consent to be audio-recorded form. They were also told the information provided in the interview was confidential and anonymous. Once consent was obtained a face-to-face (5 interviews), Skype (3 interviews), or phone (1 interview) interview was conducted at a mutually agreed upon. The interviews were recorded by audiotape, transcribed, and then coded, so that themes could be identified through the process of consensual qualitative research.

**Consensual Qualitative Research**

Consensual Qualitative Research has proven to be an effective method for identifying thematic trends in the stories and explanations that interview participants provide, largely in the discipline of psychology; it allows for a transformative perspective due to the applications of ‘domains’ in the stages of analysis discussed below (Hill et al. “Rejoinder” 1997, 611). In many different ways is presents an appropriate and effective method for identifying the themes of relational development in the interviewed American TCK population.

Bikos et al. effectively conducted a consensual qualitative research study, utilizing semi-structured interviews as a means to gather rich data on the reentry culture shock experiences
among TCKs returning from college (Bikos et al. 735). Their study was very effective in creating a holistic rich description of the type valued in anthropology and sociology, especially from an ethnographic standpoint.

Hill et al. developed Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) for the purpose of identifying themes in transcribed psychoanalysis interviews (Hill et al. “CQR Update” 199). It allows researchers to go beyond identifying what is said, to understanding what is meant by what was said. This has been the purpose in several studies in which the methodology has been used (Hill et al. “Attitudes About Psychotherapy” 13; Schofeld 12; Stefano et al. 289). This study is interested in identifying the process and attitudes of TCKs in their disclosure about how they built relationships upon reentering America to attend college, and so, it has a psychoanalytical aspect to it, suggesting that consensual qualitative research is appropriate in purpose.

CQR has also been applied to relationship and cultural adjustment phenomena, suggesting is appropriate application in the phenomenal context of this study. Lee et al. used consensual qualitative research to study the process of acculturation in elderly Asian Americans (4). Brouwer et al. used consensual qualitative research to investigate the experience of social support among adolescents with Type 2 Diabetes Mellitus (1130).

Another reason for the appropriateness of consensual qualitative research is its concern with “mutual respect, equal involvement, and shared power,” an approach that is “similar to both feminist and multicultural approaches to psychology, [where] a diversity of viewpoints is valued, honored, and protected” (Hill et al. 1997, 523 qtd. in Hill et al. “CQR Update” 197). Part of the practical purpose of this study is to promote the integration, acceptance, and empowerment of TCKs.
The parameters of this current study also compare well to the process of consensual qualitative research outlined by Hill et al. in “Consensual Qualitative Research: An Update” in several different ways:

1. Hill et al. suggest a sample size of 8-15 participants (their review of consensual qualitative research studies shows a range of 7-19); this study employed 8 interviews (“CQR Update” 199).

2. Hill et al. suggest that the interview participant sample is “randomly select[ed] from a homogeneous population… [that is] very knowledgeable (hopefully having had recent experience) about the phenomenon under investigation” (“CQR Update” 199). This study has used only American TCK collegians who are even currently experiencing the process of the phenomena under investigation.

3. Hill et al. suggest that one array of interviews is sufficient, noting that second arrays of interviews have tended to yield less rich, less usable data (“CQR Update” 199). This study was centered on the use of one array of eight interviews.

4. Hill et al. suggest, “that researchers talk with people from the target population…as well as examine their own experiences with the phenomenon to develop questions” (“CQR Update” 199). In this study the researcher has done both.

5. Hill et al. encourage researchers to let the literature inform the formation of their questions (“CQR Update” 199).

6. Hill et al. recommend that an interview should have between 8-10 scripted questions, and that the interviewer should allow for other non-scripted questions to probe for the experiences of the interview participant (“CQR Update” 199). This study had 8 scripted questions, and was conducted in a semi-structured format.
7. Hill et al. suggest that, per the analysis of other consensual qualitative research studies, both face to face and telephone interviews allow for rich data collection, and the inclusion of both into studies has not seemed to skew the results (“CQR Update” 199-200).

Because the current study has a qualitative portion with similar purposes and dynamics to that of the Bikos et al. study, the same consensual qualitative research strategy of inquiry is used. One difference from the Bikos et al. study is that the researcher of this current study considers himself as a quasi-TCK, having spent a significantly developmental year overseas during high school, learning to adapt to the qualitatively different patterns of relational development among TCKs. So, in some respects the qualitative portion of this survey has an ethnographic participatory lens to it; such a lens is perfect for the consensual qualitative research paradigm.

Once the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed, two coders looked for specific themes and motifs evident in the answers given by TCKs. The researcher also looked for themes among the data after instructing the other coders about how to do so. As a part of the “consensual” aspect of the research, one of the coders acted primarily as an auditor. The auditor’s purpose, as a TCK, was to review the themes generated against the interview data to see if there was any bias skewing, or misinterpretation by the coders. By involving the TCK in the research process, the purpose of fostering a better understanding of TCKs was be better accomplished since oftentimes a group might understand certain aspects of its own group best (Bikos et al. 735).

The coder who is also an American TCK will not seek to identify codes so much as audit the existing codes identified by the researcher and typical American collegian coder. Hill et al. suggest this is an effective manner in which to combat groupthink and invalid themes (“CQR:
An Update” 196). Further, they found that in other consensual qualitative research studies, when the auditor was an internal auditor, the quality of suggestions and corrections in the themes was deeper and more meaningful (Hill et al. “CQR Update” 201). This way a consensus was established to help to regulate intercoder reliability.

According to the process of Consensual Qualitative Research outlined by Hill et al., there are three stages to analysis (196). In the first stage, the researcher decides upon the domains within which the codes will be explored, a process at can be a priori from the theory and literature, or can be a posteriori as the outflow of the second stage (Hill et al. “CQR Update” 200). In the second stage, each coder worked separately and independently until all transcribed data was coded and core ideas had been identified (Hill et al. “CQR Update” 200).

In the final stage, the coders work together to choose the major themes of the interviews and to code the themes (Hill et al. “CQR Update” 200). Hill et al. suggest that the final stage of thematic cross-analysis of the codes should be charted so that all coders are aware of the changing aspects of the major and minor themes that have been identified (Hill et al. “CQR Update” 200). Since Hill et al. suggest that the developing themes should be charted on a whiteboard so that the coders can discuss and clearly see the changing themes, the present study employed that method (Hill et al. “CQR Update” 200).

There were two levels of themes identified. Themes that could be identified in all cases were labeled as ‘major themes, while themes that occurred in at least half of the cases were identified as ‘minor’ themes. Themes that occurred in less than half of the interviews were not included for two reasons. First, since the consensual qualitative research has been adopted into a mixed methods study, the interest in the themes pertains to their ability to be mixed with the quantitative results. Since the quantitative results identified a few ‘major’ themes, limiting the
themes identified and discussed in the consensual qualitative research portion created a balance between the parts of the study. Second, the researcher analyzed the coded themes of the interview against his understanding of the literature, for the purpose of generating a rich description of the TCK relational development process as seen in the rate of depth and self-disclosure from the theoretical perspective of social penetration.

*Quantitative and Qualitative Mixing*

Results from each study were compared, as is typical in transformative mixed methods research where the main mixing of qualitative and quantitative research lies in the discussion of the results. This connection of the two main strategies of inquiry was an assurance of reliability or legitimization of the research.

The research results were combined in the discussion of the results with two purposes. First, the results were presented together because their blending better enables the application of social penetration theory into this new area of study towards this unique phenomenon. Second, the results were combined in order to create actionable application points so that the fourth central purpose of this methodology could be accomplished.

Towards these ends, after data collection and appropriate analysis by both qualitative and quantitative standards, this study evaluated and interpreted those results in order to synthesize applicable principles and descriptions of the American TCK college students’ relational self-disclosure processes. TCK supporters at various universities will be able to use these synthesized points in order to understand how to help TCKs better integrate into their respective campuses. This will also help American students and TCK supporters without international experience to better understand the how and why TCKs act and communicate the way they do where relationship formation is concerned.
Utilizing a concurrent embedded transformative mixed methods strategy of inquiry, this research contributed to TCK, mixed methods, and communication research. It also advocated for the addition and improvement of programs that support American TCKs re-entry. Schools often emphasize typical American college entry and innovative international student programs, but forget TCKs. The study also advances a new application of social penetration instruments for future study pertaining to TCK relational development.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research questions and hypotheses of the following study are:

RQ1: Do American TCK collegians (AmTCKs) penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships differently than typical American collegians (TACs)? (quantitative)

H1a: The difference in the disclosure level between acquaintance and friend will be less in American TCKs than in TACs.

H1b: The general willingness to disclose of American TCKs will be more strongly associated with initial (to acquaintance) self-disclosure than the same associate in TACs.

H1c: The general willingness to disclose of American TCKs will be more strongly associated with their perceived ability to get others to disclose, than the same association in TACs.

RQ2: How do American TCK collegians self-disclose and penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships when re-entering their home college culture? (qualitative)

RQ3: Do American TCK collegians self-disclose and penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships with other American TCKs differently than they do with TACs? (qualitative)
Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

This chapter presents the results of both components of this mixed methods study, and then discusses their meanings in relation to the answers they propose for the research questions. The results are presented separately for the purpose of objectivity, and then mixed in the discussion section for the purpose of creating a more holistic and complete picture of the American TCK relational development process.

The following sections systematically explain the results of the study. First, the quantitative results are presented and related to their respective hypotheses. Second, the qualitative results are presented. Third, the discussion of the results mixes the findings of the two components in the process of relating them to the research questions. Finally, practical observations from this study are presented.

Quantitative Results

The quantitative descriptive statistics are first presented question by question through each instrument. Then, the inferential statistics are described as they related to each hypothesis.

Participant Responses per Instrument

Participants responded to the demographics questionnaire first, and then to the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire, followed by the Self-Disclosure Index, and finally the Opener Scale. However, the following results will be organized into a different order for the purpose of discussion: demographic questionnaire, the Self-Disclosure Index, the Opener Scale, and lastly, Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire. After the results to each question are presented, the means and standard deviations for the instruments are also presented.

The demographics questionnaire was composed of a series of seven questions that both managed the participant parameters of the study and organized participants into relevant groups.
for the inferential analyses. It also served to automatically eliminate any international students taking the survey who would have skewed the results of the comparisons.

Question one asked the participants’ genders. Of the 98 respondents who completed surveys, 38 indicated they were male, while 59 indicated they were female. So, 40% of survey takers were male and 60% were female. As Gerner and Perry noted in their re-analysis, TCK gender differences are significant, and would be a good thing to include in any quantitative study on TCKs (261). Although, this study does note the fact that there are gender differences, the scope of inquiry and size of the study did not allow for the inclusion of a gender based analysis, what can be said is that there was a relatively good balance of male-female responses for both American TCKs and TACs.

Question two was a parameter question that asked respondents if they were U.S. citizens. In total, 87 participants indicated that they are U.S. citizens, and the other 11 that noted they were international students, who were then re-routed to the survey completion page where they were thanked for their participation and given instructions on how to still receive their extra credit. So, per the parameters of the study, 87 participants completed the study and provided answers; however, one additional respondent was eliminated due to the fact that he did not answer even half of the questions, only those at the beginning and those at the end.

Question three was similar to question one in that it asked for information that would be interesting to cross-analyze against the different groups. It asked for the U.S. Census coded ethnicity of the survey participants. As 70 (69 without the last eliminated participant) participants indicated they were “White,” eight participants indicated they were “Black/African-American,” five indicated they were “Hispanic/Latin-American,” two responded they were
“American Indian,” and two responded “Asian or other.” There was not enough diversity in order to statistically analyze demographic differences in responses.

Question four requested the participants’ college status. Sixty-three participants (72%) responded that they were freshmen. Sixteen participants (16%) responded that they were sophomores. Five participants (6%) responded they were juniors. Three participants (3%) responded they were seniors. This suggests that the weight of the responses in the survey were from a homogeneous sample per academic age, in that the majority of participants were experiencing or had just experienced college adjustment.

Question five sought to differentiate third culture kids (TCKs) from typical American collegians (TACs) for the purposes of later analysis. It asked respondents where they grew up: 71 responded that they grew up in the US their entire lives; six responded that they lived between one and five years overseas; and nine responded that they lived more than 5 years overseas. The latter two groups were combined to create the 71 typical American collegians and 15 American TCKs (AmTCKs) that were compared.

Question six was only available to participants who responded to question five with an indication that they had lived overseas for some time. Question six asked students to indicate what profession their parents had worked in that brought their family overseas. Of the 15 respondents for this question: seven indicated that their parents had worked in missions; four indicated business; three indicated military; and one indicated other, providing engineering as the explanation, which might be reified to business. As there were only 15 respondents available to answer this specific question, it was not included in the inferential analyses of the study.

Question seven was also a parameter question that asked American TCK respondents whether they had returned to the U.S. within the last two years. Eight respondents indicated that
they had, and seven indicated they hadn’t. Unfortunately, the survey did not include an option for TCKs to provide an answer to how many years they had been back before attending college. From the interviews in this study, it became clear that, especially for MKs, often their family would move back to the US when older siblings were beginning college. Once these questions were completed, the respondents completed the other three instruments.

**Self-Disclosure Index**

The Self-Disclosure Index was composed of nine different prompts that the respondent was instructed to approach in the following terms: “Rank the following statements by the degree to which they describe your willingness to share about yourself…I would be willing to discuss this________.” The respondents had the option for each statement to indicate their response on a five point scale: none at all; a little; some; in detail; fully and completely. The response categories were weighted from 1 to 5, respectively, allowing for a mean value of the question to be established. Throughout the Self-Disclosure Index there were 71 typical American collegian respondents and 15 TCK respondents.

Question one (Things I have done which I feel guilty about) had a mean value of 2.37 for TACs and of 2.13 for AmTCKs. Question two (Things I wouldn’t do in public) had a mean value of 2.99 for TACs and of 2.80 for AmTCKs. Question three (My deepest feelings) had a mean value of 2.28 for TACs and of 2.20 for AmTCKs. Question four (What I like and dislike about myself) had a mean value of 2.66 for TACs and of 2.40 for AmTCKs. Question five (What is important to me in life) had a mean value of 4.15 for TACs and of 3.87 for AmTCKs. Question six (What makes me the person I am) had a mean value of 3.79 for TACs and of 3.60 for AmTCKs. Question seven (My worst fears) had a mean value of 2.72 for TACs and of 2.73 for AmTCKs. Question eight (Things I have done which I am proud of) had a mean value of 3.44 for
TACs and of 3.60 for AmTCKs. Question nine (My close relationship with other people) had a mean value of 3.38 for TACs and of 3.33 for AmTCKs. The variance of these question averages can be seen in the larger SD for the mean answer on the Self-Disclosure Index compared with the SD of the mean answer on the Opener Scale.

Since the Self-Disclosure Index is a full instrument that is significant as a collective measure of the individual questions, the following results are presented for the whole instrument. The values for each response to each question were added across all nine questions for each respondent. The sum of every case (respondent) was averaged to find the mean sum, from which the standard deviation was taken. The mean for TACs was $M(71)= 28.70$ (SD= 6.77) where the range of possible scores was 9 to 40. The mean for AmTCKs was $M(15)=27.67$ (SD=8.59). That meant that the mean answer of TACs was 3.09 (SD=.65), whereas the mean answer of AmTCKs was 2.96 (SD=.65) for all of the questions. Thus, TACs and AmTCKs essentially rated themselves at the same level of willingness to self-disclose in general.

*Opener Scale*

The Opener Scale was composed of ten different prompts that the respondent was instructed to approach in the following terms: “Please respond to the following statements concerning the degree to which you believe this statement describes you.” The responses were similarly weighted on a 5-point scale (statements from 1-5 weight): Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Disagree nor Agree, Agree, or Strongly Agree. The means for each question follow.

Question one (People frequently tell me about themselves) had a mean value of 3.76 for TACs and of 3.93 for AmTCKs. Question two (I’ve been frequently told that I’m a good listener) had a mean value of 3.92 for TACs and of 4.13 for AmTCKs. Question three (I’m very accepting of others) had a mean value of 4.15 for TACs and of 4.33 for AmTCKs. Question four (People
trust me with their secrets) had a mean value of 4.00 for TACs and of 3.93 for AmTCKs. Question five (I easily get people to ‘open up’) had a mean value of 3.80 for TACs and of 3.93 for AmTCKs. Question six (People feel relaxed around me) had a mean value of 3.97 for TACs and of 4.07 for AmTCKs. Question seven (I enjoy listening to people) had a mean value of 4.21 for TACs and of 4.27 for AmTCKs. Question eight (I’m sympathetic to people’s problems) had a mean value of 4.13 for TACs and of 4.33 for AmTCKs. Question nine (I encourage people to tell me how they are feeling) had a mean value of 4.01 for TACs and of 3.60 for AmTCKs. Finally, question ten (I can keep people talking about themselves) had a mean value of 3.70 for TACs and of 3.93 for AmTCKs. What can be concluded from this is that both American TCK and typical American collegian respondents leaned towards believing that they would be able get another person to self-disclose to them.

Since the Opener Scale is also a full instrument that is significant as a collective measure of the individual questions, the following results are presented for the whole instrument. The values for each response to each question were added across all ten questions for each respondent; so, the sum of every case (respondent) was averaged to find the mean sum, from which the standard deviation was taken. The mean for TACs was $M(71)= 40.66$ (SD= 6.73) where the range of possible scores was 10 to 50. The mean for AmTCKs was $M(15)=41.47$ (SD=6.23). That meant that the mean answer of TACs was 3.97 (SD=.17), whereas the mean answer of AmTCKs was 4.05 (SD=.23) for all of the questions. Thus, typical American collegians and AmTCKs essentially rated themselves at the same level of ability to influence other to self-disclose to them.
**Jourard’s Self-Disclosure Questionnaire**

The Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire is a questionnaire composed of a series of six different instruments that seek to measure a respondent’s willingness to self-disclose in the six different topic areas towards a specific person that the respondent has in mind. Originally, Sidney Jourard fashioned the stem to prompt respondents to answer in terms of what they would disclose to a parent and to a friend (Jourard and Laskalow). The Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire is provided in Appendix I.

In this study, the stem and prompt were adjusted so that the two persons the respondent kept in mind were a recent acquaintance who might become a friend versus a more very recent friend who has the potential to become a very close friend. The prompt was changed to reflect these people because they would relate the level and type of disclosure indicated to fall within the categories of penetration within social penetration.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether the person they were thinking of was a male or female in order to require them to actually think of a specific person, engaging with the prompt, so that their answers towards acquaintance and friend would not be general preferences or perceptions, but based upon what they actually have disclosed and would be willing to disclose in these categorized relationships across specific topical items. The following results for each different instrument are provided in terms of typical American collegian and American TCK responses to each of the ten prompts towards both an acquaintance and a friend. Participants were prompted to respond to each of the disclosure content types listed for each of the ten questions in the six different instruments. The prompt participants read is as follows: “You are to read each item on the questionnaire, and then indicate the extent to which you have talked about each item to each person; that is, the extent to which you have made yourself known
to each person. Use the rating-scale that you see below to describe the extent to which you have talked about each item.”

0= Lied: Have lied or misrepresented myself to the other person so that he has a false picture of me.

1= No disclosure: Have told the other person nothing about this aspect of me.

2= Some disclosure: Have talked in general terms about this item. The other person has only a general idea about this aspect of me.

3= Deep disclosure: Have talked in full and complete detail about this item to the other person. He/she knows me fully in this respect, and could describe me accurately.

Thereby, if a person had lied to an acquaintance or friend about some topic, there was not any disclosure amount measured for that item.

Attitudes and Opinion

The Attitude and Opinion instrument was ten items long. The responses were weighted on the 4-point scale (statements from 0-3 weight): lied; no disclosure; some disclosure; deep disclosure. The means for each question are provided, and then the overall descriptive statistics of the instrument are explained. Statement three was thrown out of the statistical analysis on this instrument due to the fact that participants were only able to answer with either of the first two responses, thus the value distribution of the answers to that question for both typical American collegians and AmTCKs was invalid.

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<tr>
<th>Attitudes and Opinions M Per Question</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>TAC (N=71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaint. M</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AmTCK (N=15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaint. M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In relation to the acquaintance, here are the provided values. Statement one (What I think and feel about religion; my personal religious views) had a mean value of 1.68 for TACs and of
1.67 for AmTCKs. Statement two (My personal opinions and feelings about other religious groups than my own, e.g., Evangelicals, Catholics, Muslims, atheists) had a mean value of 2.34 for TACs and of 1.53 for AmTCKs. Statement three (My views on social issues, e.g., healthcare, gay marriage, gun control) had to be eliminated from the analysis due to a value-scale input error in Qualtrics. Statement four (My views on the present government – the president, government policies, etc.) had a mean value of 1.38 for TACs and of 1.29 for AmTCKs. Statement five (My views on diversity and tolerance) had a mean value of 1.51 for TACs and of 1.40 for AmTCKs. Statement six (My personal views on drinking) had a mean value of 1.61 for TACs and of 1.53 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (My personal views on sexual morality – how I feel that others and I ought to behave in sexual matters) had a mean value of 1.46 for TACs and of 1.40 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (My standards of attractiveness for a man or woman) had a mean value of 1.56 for TACs and of 1.53 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (The things that I find desirable in the opposite sex – the qualities and attributes I look for in a partner) had a mean value of 1.57 for TACs and of 1.47 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (My feelings about how parents ought to deal with children) had a mean value of 1.41 for TACs and of 1.27 for AmTCKs.

In relation to the friend, here are the provided values. Statement one (What I think and feel about religion; my personal religious views) had a mean value of 2.34 for TACs and of 2.00 for AmTCKs. Statement two (My personal opinions and feelings about other religious groups than my own, e.g., Evangelicals, Catholics, Muslims, atheists) had a mean value of 1.97 for TACs and of 2.00 for AmTCKs. Statement three (My views on social issues, e.g., healthcare, gay marriage, gun control) had to be eliminated from the analysis due to a value-scale input error in Qualtrics. Statement four (My views on the present government – the president, government policies, etc.) had a mean value of 1.80 for TACs and of 1.50 for AmTCKs. Statement five (My
views on diversity and tolerance) had a mean value of 1.86 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs. Statement six (My personal views on drinking) had a mean value of 2.13 for TACs and of 2.07 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (My personal views on sexual morality – how I feel that others and I ought to behave in sexual matters) had a mean value of 2.07 for TACs and of 1.80 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (My standards of attractiveness for a man or woman) had a mean value of 2.07 for TACs and of 2.13 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (The things that I find desirable in the opposite sex – the qualities and attributes I look for in a partner) had a mean value of 2.15 for TACs and of 2.07 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (My feelings about how parents ought to deal with children) had a mean value of 1.87 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs.

Since the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire instrument, Attitudes and Opinion is a full instrument that is significant as a collective measure of the individual questions, the following results are presented for the whole instrument. The values for each response to each question were added across all ten statements for each respondent towards both the acquaintance and friend; so, the sum of every case (respondent) was averaged to find the mean sum, from which the standard deviation was taken. The mean for TACs was M(71)= 13.55 (SD= 3.90) for acquaintance, and M(71)= 18.27 (SD= 4.61) for friend, where the range of possible scores was 0 to 30. The mean for AmTCKs was M(15)=13.00 (SD=5.11) for acquaintance, and M(15)=16.87 (SD=5.51) for friend.

The mean difference of level of disclosure from acquaintance to friend and standard deviation were also calculated by subtracting the sum the friend from the sum of the acquaintance across cases. The mean difference for TAC was M(15)= 4.72 (SD=3.92), and for American TCK was M(15)=3.87 (SD=3.44). This mean suggests that there was a statistically
significant increase in self-disclosure depth in the topic area of Attitudes and Opinion from acquaintance to friend for both American TCK and TAC.

**Tastes and Interests**

The Tastes and Interests instrument was also ten items long. The responses were weighted on the same scale. The means for each question are provided, and then the overall descriptive statistics of the instrument are explained.

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<tr>
<th>Tastes and Interests M Per Question</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.33</td>
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</table>

In relation to the acquaintance, here are the provided values. Statement one (My favorite foods, the ways I like food prepared, and my food dislikes) had a mean value of 1.89 for TACs and of 1.72 for AmTCKs. Statement two (My favorite beverages, and the ones I don’t like) had a mean value of 1.80 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs. Statement three (My likes and dislikes in music) had a mean value of 1.86 for TACs and of 1.80 for AmTCKs. Statement four (My preferences in reading) had a mean value of 1.45 for TACs and of 1.47 for AmTCKs. Statement five (The kinds of movies that I like to see best; the TV shows that are my favorites) had a mean value of 1.80 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs. Statement six (My fashion preferences) had a mean value of 1.61 for TACs and of 1.40 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (The style of house, and the kinds of furnishings that I like best) had a mean value of 1.15 for TACs and of 1.40 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (The kind of party, or social gathering that I like best, and the kind that would bore me, or that I wouldn’t enjoy) had a mean value of 1.45 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (My favorite ways of spending spare time, e.g., hunting, reading, cards, sports events, parties, dancing, social media, etc.) had a mean value of 2.00 for TACs and
of 1.93 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (What I would appreciate most for a present) had a mean value of 1.18 for TACs and of 1.33 for AmTCKs.

In relation to the friend, here are the provided values. Statement one (My favorite foods, the ways I like food prepared, and my food dislikes) had a mean value of 2.27 for TACs and of 2.20 for AmTCKs. Statement two (My favorite beverages, and the ones I don’t like) had a mean value of 2.15 for TACs and of 2.20 for AmTCKs. Statement three (My likes and dislikes in music) had a mean value of 2.27 for TACs and of 2.36 for AmTCKs. Statement four (My preferences in reading) had a mean value of 1.77 for TACs and of 1.86 for AmTCKs. Statement five (The kinds of movies that I like to see best; the TV shows that are my favorites) had a mean value of 2.24 for TACs and of 2.33 for AmTCKs. Statement six (My fashion preferences) had a mean value of 1.90 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (The style of house, and the kinds of furnishings that I like best) had a mean value of 1.45 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (The kind of party, or social gathering that I like best, and the kind that would bore me, or that I wouldn’t enjoy) had a mean value of 1.83 for TACs and of 2.07 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (My favorite ways of spending spare time, e.g., hunting, reading, cards, sports events, parties, dancing, social media, etc.) had a mean value of 2.49 for TACs and of 2.33 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (What I would appreciate most for a present) had a mean value of 1.58 for TACs and of 1.53 for AmTCKs.

Since the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire instrument, Tastes and Interests, is a full instrument that is significant as a collective measure of the individual questions, the following results are presented for the whole instrument. The values for each response to each question were added across all ten statements for each respondent towards both the acquaintance and friend; so, the sum of every case (respondent) was averaged to find the mean sum, from which
the standard deviation was taken. The mean for TACs was $M(71) = 16.20$ (SD= 4.49) for acquaintance, and $M(71) = 19.96$ (SD= 5.35) for friend, where the range of possible scores was 0 to 30. The mean for AmTCKs was $M(15) = 16.27$ (SD=5.65) for acquaintance, and $M(15) = 20.00$ (SD=5.41) for friend.

The mean difference of level of disclosure from acquaintance to friend and standard deviation were also calculated by subtracting the sum of the friend from the sum of the acquaintance across cases. The mean difference for TAC was $M(15) = 3.76$ (SD=3.95), and for American TCK was $M(15) = 3.73$ (SD=3.08). This mean suggests that there was a statistically significant increase in self-disclosure in the topic area of Tastes and Interests from acquaintance to friend for both American TCK and TAC.

Work (Or Studies)

The Work instrument was also ten items long, and the responses were weighted on the same scale. The means for each question are provided, and then the overall descriptive statistics of the instrument are explained.

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<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend M</td>
<td>2.13</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In relation to the acquaintance, here are the provided values. Statement one (What I find to be the worst pressures and strains in my studies) had a mean value of 1.62 for TACs and of 1.60 for AmTCKs. Statement two (What I find to be the most boring and unenjoyably aspects of my studies) had a mean value of 1.75 for TACs and of 1.60 for AmTCKs. Statement three (What I enjoy most, and get the most satisfaction from in my present work) had a mean value of 1.63 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs. Statement four (What I feel are my shortcomings and handicaps that prevent me from working as I’d like to, or that prevent me from getting further
ahead in my work) had a mean value of 1.38 for TACs and of 1.36 for AmTCKs. Statement five (What I feel are my special strong points and qualifications for my work or major) had a mean value of 1.59 for TACs and of 1.53 for AmTCKs. Statement six (How I feel that others appreciate my work (e.g. fellow classmates, teacher, parents, etc.)) had a mean value of 1.32 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (My ambitions and goals in work and school) had a mean value of 1.90 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (How I feel that others appreciate my work (e.g. fellow classmates, teacher, parents, etc.)) had a mean value of 1.51 for TACs and of 1.27 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (My ambitions and goals in work and school) had a mean value of 1.90 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (My ambitions and goals in work and school) had a mean value of 1.90 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs.

In relation to the friend, here are the provided values. Statement one (What I find to be the worst pressures and strains in my studies) had a mean value of 2.07 for TACs and of 2.13 for AmTCKs. Statement two (What I find to be the most boring and unenjoyably aspects of my studies) had a mean value of 2.08 for TACs and of 1.93 for AmTCKs. Statement three (What I enjoy most, and get the most satisfaction from in my present work) had a mean value of 2.06 for TACs and of 2.00 for AmTCKs. Statement four (What I feel are my shortcomings and handicaps that prevent me from working as I’d like to, or that prevent me from getting further ahead in my work) had a mean value of 1.83 for TACs and of 1.80 for AmTCKs. Statement five (What I feel are my special strong points and qualifications for my work or major) had a mean value of 2.01 for TACs and of 2.13 for AmTCKs. Statement six (How I feel that others appreciate my work
(e.g. fellow classmates, teacher, parents, etc.)) had a mean value of 1.61 for TACs and of 1.27 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (My ambitions and goals in work and school) had a mean value of 2.38 for TACs and of 1.2.33 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (My feelings about the salary or rewards that I get for my work, or the feeling that I have about the grades that I receive for my efforts in studies) had a mean value of 1.86 for TACs and of 1.93 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (How I feel about the choice of career/major, choice of school, or choice of classes that I have made – whether or not I’m satisfied with it) had a mean value of 2.31 for TACs and of 2.36 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (How I really feel about my professors and employers, or classmates and coworkers) had a mean value of 2.08 for TACs and of 2.33 for AmTCKs.

The Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire instrument Work is also a full instrument that is significant as a collective measure of the individual questions, so the following results are presented for the whole instrument. The values for each response to each question were added across all ten statements for each respondent towards both the acquaintance and friend; so, the sum of every case (respondent) was averaged to find the mean sum, from which the standard deviation was taken. The mean for TACs was $M(71)= 16.20$ (SD= 4.20) for acquaintance, and $M(71)= 20.30$ (SD= 4.92) for friend, where the range of possible scores was 0 to 30. The mean for AmTCKs was $M(15)=17$ (SD=5.48) for acquaintance, and $M(15)=22.27$ (SD=4.98) for friend.

The mean difference of level of disclosure from acquaintance to friend and standard deviation were also calculated by subtracting the sum the friend from the sum of the acquaintance across cases. The mean difference for TAC was $M(71)= 4.10$ (SD=4.20), and for American TCK was $M(15)=5.27$ (SD=3.33). This mean suggests that there was a significant
increase in self-disclosure in the topic area of Work from acquaintance to friend for both American TCK and TAC respondents.

Money

The Money instrument was also ten items long, and the responses were weighted on the same scale. The means for each question are provided, and then the overall descriptive statistics of the instrument are explained.

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<th>M</th>
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<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.67</td>
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In relation to the acquaintance, here are the provided values. Statement one (How much money I make at my work, or get as an allowance) had a mean value of 1.13 for TACs and of 1.00 for AmTCKs. Statement two (Whether or not I owe money; if so, how much) had a mean value of 1.08 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs. Statement three (Whom I owe money to at present; or whom I have borrowed from in the past) had a mean value of 1.06 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs. Statement four (Whether or not I have savings, and the amount) had a mean value of 1.06 for TACs and of 1.00 for AmTCKs. Statement five (Whether or not others owe me money; the amount, or who owes it to me) had a mean value of 1.07 for TACs and of 1.00 for AmTCKs. Statement six (Whether or not I gamble; if so, the way I gamble, and the extent of it) had a mean value of 1.06 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (All of my present sources of income – wages, fees, allowance, dividends, etc.) had a mean value of 1.08 for TACs and of 1.14 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (My total financial worth, including property, savings, bonds, insurance, etc.) had a mean value of 1.07 for TACs and of 1.00 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (My most pressing need for money right now, e.g., outstanding bills, some major purchase that is desired or needed) had a mean value of 1.08 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs.
Statement ten (How I budget my money – the proportion that goes to necessities, luxuries, etc.) had a mean value of 1.11 for TACs and of 1.07 for AmTCKs.

In relation to the friend, here are the provided values. Statement one (How much money I make at my work, or get as an allowance) had a mean value of 1.41 for TACs and of 1.53 for AmTCKs. Statement two (Whether or not I owe money; if so, how much) had a mean value of 1.27 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs. Statement three (Whom I owe money to at present; or whom I have borrowed from in the past) had a mean value of 1.23 for TACs and of 1.53 for AmTCKs. Statement four (Whether or not I have savings, and the amount) had a mean value of 1.34 for TACs and of 1.47 for AmTCKs. Statement five (Whether or not others owe me money; the amount, or who owes it to me) had a mean value of 1.25 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs. Statement six (Whether or not I gamble; if so, the way I gamble, and the extent of it) had a mean value of 1.23 for TACs and of 1.27 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (All of my present sources of income – wages, fees, allowance, dividends, etc.) had a mean value of 1.37 for TACs and of 1.60 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (My total financial worth, including property, savings, bonds, insurance, etc.) had a mean value of 1.17 for TACs and of 1.20 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (My most pressing need for money right now, e.g., outstanding bills, some major purchase that is desired or needed) had a mean value of 1.47 for TACs and of 1.40 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (How I budget my money – the proportion that goes to necessities, luxuries, etc.) had a mean value of 1.48 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs.

The values for each response to each question were added across all ten statements for each respondent towards both the acquaintance and friend; so, the sum of every case (respondent) was averaged to find the mean sum, from which the standard deviation was taken. The mean for TACs was \( M(71) = 10.77 \) (SD = 2.14) for acquaintance, and \( M(71) = 13.15 \) (SD =
3.75) for friend, where the range of possible scores was 0 to 30. The mean for AmTCKs was 
M(15)=10.67 (SD=1.63) for acquaintance, and M(15)=14.47 (SD=4.07) for friend.

The mean difference of level of disclosure from acquaintance to friend and standard deviation were also calculated by subtracting the sum the friend from the sum of the acquaintance across cases. The mean difference for TAC was M(71)= 2.38 (SD=3.39), and for American TCK was M(15)=3.80 (SD=3.75). This mean suggests that there was significant increase in self-disclosure in the topic area of Money from acquaintance to friend because the mean of difference was positive. Also, not only was the level of self-disclosure in money less than the other areas, but the increase from acquaintance to friend was also less. Money disclosures are not something college students want to share with one another.

**Personality**

The Personality instrument was also ten items long, and the responses were weighted on the same scale. The means for each question are provided, and then the overall descriptive statistics of the instrument are explained.

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<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.73</td>
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In relation to the acquaintance, here are the provided values. Statement one (The aspect of my personality that I dislike, worry about, that I regard as a handicap to me) had a mean value of 1.20 for TACs and of 1.27 for AmTCKs. Statement two (What feelings, if any, that I have trouble expressing or controlling) had a mean value of 1.17 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs. Statement three (The facts of my present sex life – including knowledge of how I get sexual gratification; any problems that I might have, with which I have relations, if anybody) had a mean value of 1.13 for TACs and of 1.07 for AmTCKs. Statement four (Whether or not I feel
that I am attractive to the opposite sex; my problems, if any, about getting favorable attention from the opposite sex) had a mean value of 1.17 for TACs and of 1.00 for AmTCKs. Statement five (Things in the past or present that I feel ashamed or guilty about) had a mean value of 1.20 for TACs and of 1.00 for AmTCKs. Statement six (The kinds of things that just make me furious) had a mean value of 1.50 for TACs and of 1.20 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (What it takes to get me feeling really depressed and blue) had a mean value of 1.14 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (What it takes to get me really worried, anxious, and afraid) had a mean value of 1.17 for TACs and of 0.93 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (What it takes to hurt my feelings deeply) had a mean value of 1.13 for TACs and of 1.07 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (The kinds of things that make me especially proud of myself, elated, full of self-esteem or self-respect) had a mean value of 1.34 for TACs and of 1.20 for AmTCKs.

In relation to the friends, here are the provided values. Statement one (The aspect of my personality that I dislike, worry about, that I regard as a handicap to me) had a mean value of 1.85 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs. Statement two (What feelings, if any, that I have trouble expressing or controlling) had a mean value of 1.72 for TACs and of 1.53 for AmTCKs. Statement three (The facts of my present sex life – including knowledge of how I get sexual gratification; any problems that I might have, with which I have relations, if anybody) had a mean value of 1.42 for TACs and of 1.27 for AmTCKs. Statement four (Whether or not I feel that I am attractive to the opposite sex; my problems, if any, about getting favorable attention from the opposite sex) had a mean value of 1.61 for TACs and of 1.40 for AmTCKs. Statement five (Things in the past or present that I feel ashamed or guilty about) had a mean value of 1.72 for TACs and of 1.40 for AmTCKs. Statement six (The kinds of things that just make me furious) had a mean value of 2.06 for TACs and of 1.80 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (What it
takes to get me feeling really depressed and blue) had a mean value of 1.59 for TACs and of 1.80 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (What it takes to get me really worried, anxious, and afraid) had a mean value of 1.69 for TACs and of 1.73 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (What it takes to hurt my feelings deeply) had a mean value of 1.49 for TACs and of 1.47 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (The kinds of things that make me especially proud of myself, elated, full of self-esteem or self-respect) had a mean value of 1.80 for TACs and of 1.87 for AmTCKs.

The values for each response to each question were added across all ten statements for each respondent towards both the acquaintance and friend; so, the sum of every case (respondent) was averaged to find the mean sum, from which the standard deviation was taken. The mean for TACs was $M(71)= 12.11$ (SD= 2.86) for acquaintance, and $M(71)= 16.85$ (SD= 5.15) for friend, where the range of possible scores was 0 to 30. The mean for AmTCKs was $M(15)=13.27$ (SD=3.79) for acquaintance, and $M(15)= 18.93$ (SD=6.06) for friend.

The mean difference of level of disclosure from acquaintance to friend and standard deviation were also calculated by subtracting the sum the friend from the sum of the acquaintance across cases. The mean difference for TAC was $M(71)= 4.73$ (SD=4.81), and for American TCK was $M(15)=5.67$ (SD=3.39). This mean suggests that there was a significant increase in self-disclosure in the topic area of Personality from acquaintance to friend because the mean of difference was positive. Also, not only was the level of self-disclosure in money less than the other areas, but the increase from acquaintance to friend was also less.

Body

The Body instrument was also ten items long, and the responses were weighted on the same scale. The means for each question are provided, and then the overall descriptive statistics of the instrument are explained.
In relation to the acquaintance, here are the provided values. Statement one (My feelings about the appearance of my face – things I don’t like, and things that I might like about my face and head – nose, eyes, hair, teeth, etc.) had a mean value of 1.25 for TACs and of 1.29 for AmTCKs. Statement two (How I wish I looked: my ideals for overall appearance.) had a mean value of 1.28 for TACs and of 1.00 for AmTCKs. Statement three (My feelings about different parts of my body – legs, hips, waist, weight, chest, or bust, etc.) had a mean value of 1.20 for TACs and of 1.07 for AmTCKs. Statement four (Any problems and worries that I had with my appearance in the past) had a mean value of 1.23 for TACs and of 1.20 for AmTCKs. Statement five (Whether or not I now have any health problems – e.g., trouble with sleep, digestion, female complaints, heart condition, allergies, headaches, etc.) had a mean value of 1.24 for TACs and of 0.93 for AmTCKs. Statement six (Whether or not I have any long-range worries or concerns about my health, e.g., cancer, ulcers, and heart trouble) had a mean value of 1.13 for TACs and of 1.07 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (My past record of illness/injury and treatment) had a mean value of 1.34 for TACs and of 1.20 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (Whether or not I now make special efforts to keep fit, healthy, and attractive, e.g., running, swimming, gym, diet, etc.) had a mean value of 1.71 for TACs and of 1.47 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (My present physical measurements, e.g., height, weight, waist, etc.) had a mean value of 1.34 for TACs and of 1.27 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (My feelings about my adequacy in sexual behavior – whether or not I feel able to perform, or feel I will be able to perform in a sex relationship) had a mean value of 1.11 for TACs and of 1.13 for AmTCKs.
In relation to the friends, here are the provided values. Statement one (My feelings about the appearance of my face – things I don’t like, and things that I might like about my face and head – nose, eyes, hair, teeth, etc.) had a mean value of 1.64 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs. Statement two (How I wish I looked: my ideals for overall appearance.) had a mean value of 1.67 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs. Statement three (My feelings about different parts of my body – legs, hips, waist, weight, chest, or bust, etc.) had a mean value of 1.70 for TACs and of 1.80 for AmTCKs. Statement four (Any problems and worries that I had with my appearance in the past) had a mean value of 1.52 for TACs and of 1.47 for AmTCKs. Statement five (Whether or not I now have any health problems – e.g., trouble with sleep, digestion, female complaints, heart condition, allergies, headaches, etc.) had a mean value of 1.82 for TACs and of 1.67 for AmTCKs. Statement six (Whether or not I have any long-range worries or concerns about my health, e.g., cancer, ulcers, and heart trouble) had a mean value of 1.37 for TACs and of 1.20 for AmTCKs. Statement seven (My past record of illness/injury and treatment) had a mean value of 1.70 for TACs and of 1.60 for AmTCKs. Statement eight (Whether or not I now make special efforts to keep fit, healthy, and attractive, e.g., running, swimming, gym, diet, etc.) had a mean value of 2.15 for TACs and of 2.27 for AmTCKs. Statement nine (My present physical measurements, e.g., height, weight, waist, etc.) had a mean value of 1.66 for TACs and of 1.93 for AmTCKs. Statement ten (My feelings about my adequacy in sexual behavior – whether or not I feel able to perform, or feel I will be able to perform in a sex relationship) had a mean value of 1.34 for TACs and of 1.33 for AmTCKs.

The values for each response to each question were added across all ten statements for each respondent towards both the acquaintance and friend; so, the sum of every case (respondent) was averaged to find the mean sum, from which the standard deviation was taken.
The mean for typical American collegians was $M(71)= 12.79$ (SD= 3.69) for acquaintance, and $M(71)= 16.48$ (SD= 5.28) for friend, where the range of possible scores was 0 to 30. The mean for AmTCKs was $M(15)=11.53$ (SD=2.61) for acquaintance, and $M(15)= 16.60$ (SD=5.40) for friend.

The mean difference of level of disclosure from acquaintance to friend and standard deviation were also calculated by subtracting the sum the friend from the sum of the acquaintance across cases. The mean difference for TAC was $M(71)= 3.69$ (SD=4.87), and for American TCK was $M(15)=5.07$ (SD=3.69). This mean suggests that there was a significant increase in self-disclosure in the topic area of Body from acquaintance to friend for both groups. Also, not only was the level of self-disclosure in money less than the other areas, but the increase from acquaintance to friend was also less.

**Inferential Statistics per Hypotheses**

Two types of inferential statistics were run. The first type was a one-tailed paired Student’s T-test that was meant to test the validity of the observed mean differences between the sums of acquaintance to friend levels of disclosure of participants in each content area (i.e. Attitudes and Opinions, Work, etc.). So, the T-Test was associated with testing H1a. The second type of statistic was a Pearson Coefficient that established the strength of a linear relationship between instruments. This second statistic was used to test H1b and H1c. The results of these statistical analyses are presented in relation to their respective hypotheses.

*H1a: The difference (change) in disclosure level between acquaintance and friend will be less in American TCKs than in TACs.*

The following chart shows the comparative means and standard deviations of both typical American collegian and American TCK disclosures to both an acquaintance and a friend. As the
chart makes clear the overall difference between the two groups makes it pretty clear that both groups disclosed essentially at the same level at first, but American TCKs experienced a greater increase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M of Disclosure to Acquaintance</th>
<th>TACs</th>
<th>AmTCKs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes and Opinion</td>
<td>13.55</td>
<td>3.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tastes and Interests</td>
<td>16.20</td>
<td>4.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (or studies)</td>
<td>16.20</td>
<td>4.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>10.77</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>12.11</td>
<td>3.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>12.79</td>
<td>3.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>13.60</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M of Disclosure to Friend</td>
<td>M(71) SD</td>
<td>M(15) SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes and Opinion</td>
<td>18.27</td>
<td>4.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tastes and Interests</td>
<td>19.96</td>
<td>5.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (or studies)</td>
<td>20.30</td>
<td>4.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>13.15</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>16.85</td>
<td>5.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>16.48</td>
<td>5.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>17.50</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were two stages to the analysis to prove H1a. First, the level of disclosure reported for acquaintance across all instruments in the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire was subtracted from the friend (Friend-Acquaintance=Difference). This was the order of subtraction rather than the opposite process (Acquaintance-Friend=Difference) for two reasons: (1) it was assumed that self-disclosure would likely increase between the change from acquaintance to friend per the theoretical perspective, so this manner allowed the analysis to be in positive integers; and (2) it is the conventional process with paired T-tests. Second, the mean and standard deviation of the differences was taken, so that the T-test could evaluate whether these differences were statistically significant, in that the differences were the result of a process or the influence of a variable rather than random chance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Average Difference</th>
<th>TAC</th>
<th>AmTCK</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes and Opinion</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>-0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tastes and Interests</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (or studies)</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.E.</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paired T-Test of Acq. Vs. Friend</th>
<th>TAC</th>
<th>P-value</th>
<th>AmTCK</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes and Opinion</td>
<td>10.15</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tastes and Interests</td>
<td>8.01</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (or studies)</td>
<td>8.01</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>8.29</td>
<td>6.47</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>P &lt; .05</td>
<td>5.31</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T(7)</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P &lt; .05*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit. T-Val</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the Table “Overall Average Difference” shows, there was clearly a higher overall difference, or increase in self-disclosure from acquaintance to friend for American TCKs than for TACs, suggesting that American TCKs will experience a greater increase in content of self-disclosure over the life of a relationship between the levels of acquaintance and friend than will TACs. This finding did not support H1a. The T-tests validated the differences at a 95% probability level.

The only two categories of disclosure in which H1a was supported were Attitudes and Opinions and Tastes and Interests. What is interesting to note is that these two categories are perhaps the most ‘internal’ or abstract, which is notable since TCKs theoretically feel the need to disclose about past experiences and their beliefs about the world, and this need is great in the beginning and does not increase as much. The other categories are more concrete and perhaps more culture specific, requiring more growth by American TCKs reentering their ‘home’ culture, learning what to ask, and what to disclose in these areas, a process that happens through the mutual experiences of a relationship.

With this analysis, it is clear that the overall tendency does not support H1a, although the two first categories suggest some support for it. As the values for the paired T-Tests were the strongest for these two categories that do support H1a, it would seem that there is a very strong tendency for American TCKs to change (increase) less in their disclosure in Attitudes and Opinions and Tastes and Interests.

**H1b: The general willingness to disclose of American TCKs will be more strongly associated with initial (to acquaintance) self-disclosure than the same association in TACs.**
To test this hypothesis, Pearson Coefficients were run on the average sum of both typical American collegian and American TCK disclosure to both the acquaintance and the friend. The results of these coefficients are listed in the following tables.

The coefficients showed strong associations for both typical American collegians and American TCKs between the Self-Disclosure Index, which tested their general willingness to disclose, and all of the measures for actual topical disclosure to acquaintances. In general it is clear that although there was a greater standard deviation of the means for AmTCKs, the strength of the associations between their general willingness to disclose and their actual disclosure to acquaintances was much stronger than that of TACs.

The fact that for neither group was the Self-Disclosure Index strongly or even significantly associated with actual disclosures suggests that perhaps change in level of disclosure evaluated as a part of H1a was due to a different reason than willingness to disclose. Although, these correlations do not prove a causal relationship between willingness to disclose and actual disclosure, it does show that there is a patterned association attributable to some reason other than chance. In fact, where American TCK willingness to disclose (SDI) and actual
disclosure (any of the six Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire instruments) are concerned, the association is so strong that a pattern for this relationship can be considered nearly certain.

Further, the strongest associations for American TCKs were between the Self-Disclosure Index and the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire Attitude and the Self-Disclosure Index and the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire Tastes, whereas the strongest associations for typical American collegians were between the Self-Disclosure Index and the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire Personality and the Self-Disclosure Index and the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire Body. The differences in these associations are interesting to note when also considering the relative changes of the differences tested in H1a. Essentially, there was what seemed to be an inverse relationship in the strength of the differences of change where typical American collegians experience the strongest change with Attitudes and Opinions and Tastes and Interests while American TCKs experiences the strongest change in Personality and Body in the movement from actual acquaintance disclosure to actual friend disclosure.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these correlations with significance is that H1b was well supported. American TCKs showed visibly stronger associations towards acquaintances than did TACs.

*H1c: The general willingness to disclose of American TCKs will be more strongly associated with their perceived ability to get others to disclose, than the same association in TACs.*

There were only two correlations necessary to test this hypothesis. They are listed in Pearson Coefficients tables as the correlations between the Self-Disclosure Index instrument and the Opener Scale instrument. The correlations were not strong enough to reject the null hypothesis at a 95% confidence level, and so H1c was not supported.
This finding is interesting, however, because the opposite finding was actually true. Typical American collegians showed a significant association between the Self-Disclosure Index and the Opener Scale, consistent with the findings of Berg, Miller, and Archer (1983) or Susan Hendrick (1988), however American TCKs did not. It is possible that as Allyn D. Lyttle, Gina G. Barker, and Terri L. Cornwell suggest, American TCKs here were exhibiting their experience that cultural sensitivity requires observation and understanding (691). Thus, this non-association exhibits the fact that American TCKs are willing to self-disclose when asked a question, but don’t feel as confident coming back to America in their ability to ask appropriate or effective questions that would enable others to open up to them.

Michael E. Gerner and Fred Perry also note that the varied cultural background of TCKs is extensive, but that there are also gender effects (280); applying this information suggests that perhaps the non-association implies a much more nuanced and dynamic relationship between American TCK willingness to self-disclose, and their perceived ability to get others to open up.

Qualitative Results

The qualitative results of the study were analyzed using the Consensual Qualitative Research method that allows for the identification of major and minor themes within research domains. The qualitative results of the study are presented following a description of the interviews and participants.

Descriptions of Interview/Interview Participants

There were eight interview participants. Nine individuals were interviewed, but in the process of one interview, it became apparent that the participant was not in fact an American, and so could not be included in the study. The interviews for all eight American TCKs ranged in length from 15 minutes to 35 minutes, typically lasting about 25 minutes. Five interviews were
conducted at a neutral location, face to face. Two were conducted over Skype. One interview was conducted over the phone. The interviewees were allowed to adjust their responses and move away from the scripted questions.

All of the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by a professional transcriber, verbatim. Since the unit of analysis for consensual qualitative research is the idea unit, however, it was not necessary to transcribe verbal pauses, and other non-verbal markers. The researcher reviewed the transcriptions for accuracy and confidentiality prior to giving them to the coders to be analyzed.

**Thematic Codes per Research Question**

The results of the Consensual Qualitative Research conducted on the transcribed interviews were analyzed with a beginning set of domains: (1) Topic (Breadth) of Disclosure, (2) Depth (Intimacy) of Disclosure; (3) American TCK vs. typical American collegian Differences; (4) American TCK descriptors; (5) Reciprocity; (6) “Other Perception.” However, through the process of cross analysis, the domains were changed based upon the emergent data, as suggested might happen in Hill et al. (“Update” 199). So, the final domains within which the major and minor themes are presented and explained were as follows: (1) Locus of Identity; (2) Typical American Collegian as Different than the American TCK; (3) American TCKs as Adaptors; (4) and The Definition of Depth.

These latter domains were identified as the result of too few general themes being identified within the constraints of the previous domains. As the stage of cross-analysis, the coders who were both familiar with social penetration, allowed the data to direct the adjustment of the domains while keeping in mind the theoretical perspective of the study. In this way, the domains were allowed to reflect the data, but to do so through the lens of SP. As such, the
domains were themselves a part of the themes of the study, albeit broad themes, and served to connect the thematic content of the interviews with the theoretical components of social penetration. The table below provides the major and minor themes of the study. The following sections present the resulting themes of the American TCK interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Density</th>
<th>Locus of Identity</th>
<th>Major and Minor Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Emphasize their shared past experiences and background</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Have an understood trust with other TCKs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Experience Perceived Otherness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Elitism of TCK-ness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Desire to Assimilate but not lose their culture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**American vs. TCK**

| G       | Emphasize different past and worldview |
| G       | Look American, but are not “American” |
| G       | Experience difficulty finding ‘common ground’ |
| T       | Americans perceived as opposite to the TCK |
| T       | TCK wants the typical American collegian to want to understand the differences |

**TCKs as Adaptors**

| G       | Non-geographical culture and identity |
| G       | Experience re-entry culture shock |
| G       | Different relational development process to TCKs and to TACs |
| T       | Transient nature of friendships |
| T       | Typical transition of small school to large college |

**Depth**

| G       | Associated with cultural understanding |
| G       | Degree of dynamism in past relational experiences |
|         | Number of past created and stasis friendships |
|         | Heterogeneity of relationships |
| G       | Depth is related to the experience of past life and emotions |
| T       | Described as Spiritual, non-physical |

*Note: G=General, Major Theme; T=Typical, Minor Theme per CQR convention*
Each of the themes identified relate to the ways in which they are used in disclosure and are a part of the relational development process of AmTCKs. As the participants recounted their re-entry into the American culture and how they developed new relationships with other AmTCKs, TCKs, and TACs, their comments identified that their locus of identity and the other thematic domains, including differences from the typical American collegians surrounding them, their experience as adaptors, and the depth of disclosure that they both described and desired, were all also central to their disclosures and the process of relational development.

*Locus of Identity*

The locus of identity was the first adjusted domain, and pertained to the topics of disclosure. In the literature, identity is a central component of the uniqueness of the TCK and is also one of the central transition difficulties for repatriating American TCKs (Bikos et al.). In the locus of identity there were three major themes and two minor themes that emerged in this domain.

**Emphasize their shared past experiences**

The theme of shared past experiences seemed to be central to both the content and processes by which relationships were built. It was clear the American TCKs believed their experiences as to who they were and from where they had come were vital to understand and communicate within the first stages of a relationship. Some American TCKs noted that they asked probing questions of the other person to see if that person would reciprocate with questions and answers that showed an interest in the background of the AmTCK; others expressed that they would tend to calmly provide unengaged answers to any questions about their backgrounds until they were sure they wanted to begin a relationship. One participant said this:
I’ve realized that when people remember that I’m from Taiwan, not Thailand, is when they're my good friend because they realize I'm from Taiwan. It's a different county and they, um, they appreciate that I speak randomly in Chinese to them. Them don't condemn or get angry. They appreciate that part because that is a part of me to speak in Chinese and some words are easier to say in Chinese than others. … I, I like these kinds of foods because of this past. Like everything is connected to one other and I … It’s very important for me for others to understand why those things are important to me not to say that that is the only identity but everything is definitely connected to the past.

The other side to this theme was evident when the interview participants suggested they tried to get typical American collegians to open up about their different home life. They would talk about where home was and what it was like. They noted that past experiences have emotions and memories attached to them, and that because of this, past experiences are not only the easiest to become close, but create a unique similarity with other TCKs.

These experiences and memories are held closely by about half of the respondents, who only shared them when they believed it would initiate a friendship, and were used by the others to emphasize the differences.

Have an understood trust with other TCKs

All eight participants strongly noted that TCKs inherently trust one another. They feel comfortable jumping right in to deeper conversations with one another after a simple set of introductions. One participant explained that when she found out her roommate was also a missionary kid, they both began with simple questions based on that mutual trust, found depth together through the mutual understanding of their reciprocating responses, and became deep friends very quickly.
Another participant noted that TCKs have an “instinctive common ground” shared with other TCKs because they have all experienced other cultures, traditions, languages, food, ethnicities, and more; often, these are different experiences even from TCK to TCK, but every TCK has experienced them to some degree and in some manner. One American TCK respondent said this:

…Growing up as a TCK, … You will have that instant common ground….

… Like you don't have to talk about anything to know that you are different [from everyone else on the field].

Different shared past experiences were related by the American TCK respondents as highly important disclosures in their processes of forming relationships. American TCKs’ similar backgrounds were perceived to allow the relational development process to speed up with other TCKs because it allowed for inherent trust. All of the respondents noted this observation.

Experience perceived otherness

The American TCKs also expressed a sense of otherness from both other groups and even other TCKs. In seeking to define who they were in the interviews, the American TCKs most often described how they were different from this group or that. Multiple participants noted the differences from typical American collegians, but also cited differences from other cultures and from other TCKs from other nationalities or combinations of ‘host’ cultures.

These differences helped to define the American TCK’s perceived identity as a part of the unique TCK group to which they belonged. One participant noted of TACs: “I have this picture in my head of what your life looks like… but you have no real picture of what mine is.” Another participant described how he has a hard time building relationships with TCKs who have lived in certain cultures because those cultures have influenced them in a different manner. The essence
of this theme was the willingness of American TCK respondents to say my identity is “not this,” but when asked what exactly it was, they were less clear.

All of the respondents had a hard time identifying exactly what a TCK building a relationship looked like. Only one gave a hard period of time for how long it would typically take for a relationship to matures to become ‘deep,’ but it seemed that the common idea was that TCKs are not to be identified with another group; they are perceived to be separate or to be other.

Elitism of TCK-ness

The theme of perceived otherness was echoed in a more negative manner by five of the participants; although, the tone of elitism could be identified throughout many of the different interviews. Due to this disparity between the negative and positive aspects of the elitism, it was split into two themes by the coding team.

One participant noted the elitism to be one of the reasons that he believed he had a hard time building friendships when he first arrived at college. He suggested that had believed the adjustment and friend-making processes was difficult, he would have been more intentional about making friends, and thus more successful as well. He was in actuality less equipped than he had believed he was, and he needed to acculturate to connect with others.

In a similar line of reasoning, another participant said, “I really dislike the whole TCK, um, like egotism and pride that I think that exist a lot… you know, we went to this, we went to this seminar that was like the reentry seminar for TCKs. It almost became like they elevated us above the common American students, which I don't find to be true at all.” Essentially, the point is that by emphasizing their TCK-ness with a valence of pride, these American TCKs felt they
were less able to acculturate and reenter America via relationships with typical American collegians.

Desire to Assimilate but not lose their culture

Another minor theme associated with the locus of identity was expressed by half of the respondents. They wanted to assimilate to the home cultures in order to build friendships, but at the same time did not want to lose their TCK identities. The “home” culture was seen as more powerful because it was a culture that they were expected to be similar to, but weren’t. They see the differences, but blend in (which is another theme). The TCKs noted that there was one of two ways TCKs typically go when beginning to build relationships on campus, and each of the respondents noted that they had gone one direction or the other. Either one made American friends and avoided TCKs, or one made TCK friends and avoided Americans.

The TCKs who do the first were seen as frustrating to they others because they forsook their identity. One American TCK said that it is almost worse trying to build a relationship with an American TCK who goes the first route: “…Some TCK’s are a lot more reluctant to talk about their overseas experience, because they want to assimilate into American culture faster, and they feel like the best way to do that is to sup[press it].” But the same participant noted that this is not how he feels:

Um, but then when you come back to the States …you don't really feel like an American even though you look like an American. For me, I was in Asia so I was obviously very [different] – I looked very different – than everybody else around me. And so I was always labeled as American. But when I came back to the States, people didn't wanna label me as an American because I wasn't an American like them.
Half of the respondents explicitly noted this quandary about their identities, although one noted that he did not think there really is much of a significant difference other than their AmTCKs’ unique experiences. His view was not widely shared among the respondents.

*Typical American Collegian as Different than the American TCK*

Three major themes and two minor themes emerged in the AmTCKs’ discussions of the differences between American TCKs and typical American collegian where the building of relationships was concerned. The following themes are explained.

**Emphasize different Past and worldview**

The epitome of the related differences in between TCKs and American TCKs in relationships is evident in an extensive comparison quote by one female participant:

I don't how to reciprocate this relationship with you because you build friends like someone who has built friends and lived next door to them. And it was hard when they moved across town and you only saw each twice a week instead of everyday…. You build friendships like someone who grew up with their grandparents next door and who has known the same people, been at the same church, and… lived in the same town and state.

So you, you're, you're not as afraid of the end – you don't look – you don't build relationships thinking, “How long will this one last?” …I don't consciously think [about] how long will this relationship last, but one of the first things I'm going to find out about someone is, what year are you? Where are you from? – so that I can get a gauge on – “Okay, you're, you're a senior and you're from not Lynchburg so you're probably going to be gone in a year” – that’s how, that's how much friendship I will give you – a year's worth.
I'm not going to be hurt when you leave… because [the] mental calculations were, like, we can be great friends for this year. Once you go back to Tennessee probably I'll be fine and you'll be sitting there going what, what just happened, like, I thought we were friends. I'm like, “yeah we are, we're, we're cool, you know. If you're ever, if we ever happen to meet in the same airport at the same time it will be great, it will be awesome.”

But am I going to call you everyday or every week? Am I going to be consistent in sending you emails or something? No.

This same theme was made explicitly clear across all the interviews. Some participants made references to the fact that typical American collegians might not have left the country, had not experienced as many cultures, did not speak other languages, understood ‘home’ in terms of a geographic specific location, and noticed all the differences between ethnicities.

It was also noted by several of the respondents that typical American collegians often feel closer in a relationship with an American TCK than does the AmTCK. A few participants reasoned, perhaps this was because typical American collegians don’t know how to have the type of relationship that is understood as deep by TCKs. Another code that supported this theme was that American TCKs did not need consistent relationship contact to maintain a relationship while they perceived that typical American collegians do.

Altogether, the differences of past experiences, closely associated with the American TCKs’ identities, were one of the most salient themes within the interviews that differentiated American TCKs from TACs.

Look American, but are not “American”

In the literature, this theme has been termed “hidden immigrant” (Bikos et al.). Here the theme had less of an emphasis on the identity of the American TCKs and more of emphases on
how their approaches to communication, their competencies, and their interactions were at times American, but at others were not.

As a major theme that spanned all eight transcripts, different participants identified different points. One that came out in several interviews was the difference in humor. One girl was unsure about whether she was supposed to laugh at the much cruder humor she encountered with others at college. American TCKs also noted that they were unaware of many of the phatic conversation topics like recent movies, TV series that have been running, and sports.

Three mentioned Wal-Mart by name, noting how overwhelmed they felt when in it, and how this would be something they tried to relate to others. One participant talked about this theme as evident when people started asking her questions about her life overseas: “I mean people ask all kinds of questions about what’s it like to be [in Africa]… and when I really, when I’m ready to get to know someone I’ll talk about things, like, [how] I just hate going to Wal-Mart because I get, I have a nervous breakdown every time, or I feel like I’m going to…”

Another difference was the manner in which language and thought interacted. Several participants noted how sometimes they thought of concepts or words in other languages before English. One noted:

…I'm American. I was born in California. I spent the first five or six years of my life here. I lived here for three years now so there, I have a little bit of a foundation to go off of… Oftentimes I don't think people realize that there is a gap there because I look, I look like them. I sound like them most of the time. Every now and then, you know, my accent switches or English is just not the language that comes out, you know, it's just you're tired and so it's not English right then and the people just look at you and you're oh
hey, yeah that wasn't, that was English. I'm sorry about that. I'll work on translating that…

They noted that they accept their American identities as a nationality, but if they really are relating who they are, they will pick the most salient features of their ‘host’ countries. For example, one American TCK noted that she would respond to the query of where she was from with a quick “Alabama,” the place she was born, but would not mention “Taiwan” until she was certain that the other person was interested in have deep conversations.

Experience difficulty finding ‘common ground’

The last major theme in this domain that was observable across all the transcriptions was the frustration and difficulty American TCKs experienced trying to find common ground with typical American collegians upon which to start the relationship building process. American TCKs all noted that typical American collegians approach relationships very differently than AmTCKs.

One participant described her perspective of this theme by noting that while she ‘hangs out’ with minority peoples who were hurting, typical American collegians wanted to do community service at their respective churches. She noted how she talked with a homeless man who was an ex-sniper for the Australian military, and said that these were the conversations and experiences she wanted to relate to her friends. Another expressed frustration that in her opinion the level of conversations differ; TCK surface level conversations are deep conversations to typical American collegians.

So, how does one find common ground? All the American TCKs noted that it was hard or impossible for a typical American collegian to relate to a TCK in terms of background and life experiences. One participant did say that he thought many typical American collegians have
experienced deep trials and events in their lives that would allow them to connect with TCKs in their past experiences, but that this was not typical. All respondents agreed that the typical conversation with a new typical American collegian acquaintance revolved around questions such as “What is your major?” and “Why did you choose that?” although those conversations die off for lack of common ground. One TCK explained:

I've noticed with ... when I hang out with an American kid ... with just a plain-out flat American kid, it's more like I have to see them multiple times to even consider them my friend type of a thing. But I'd have to interact with them in multiple scenarios in order to even them call them my friend, rather than just an acquaintance. And then I have to have a similar type of humor with them and share some more interest with them as well. And then after that, then the deeper conversations come in.

Two solutions were proposed by different respondents and echoed by the narrative explanations of the others. One American TCK said that she connects with her typical American collegian friends over the future, “because in the future is like what you hope and dream for but in the past, it’s connected to emotions that they will never understand because they don’t understand the situations you know.” This idea was widely agreed with by other the other American TCK respondents.

Another solution that was shared by many respondents was to have shared experiences with typical American collegians about which to talk. One respondent specifically cited entertainment, TV, and football as vital modal tools to interact with typical American collegians over. Another talked about how she has had to learn how to use social media sites to connect with her typical American collegian friends over the different shared events in their lives. All agreed that the process of growth towards depth must be slower and different.
Americans perceived as opposite to the TCK

One minor theme that was identifiable only in the interviews was the positioning of the TCK as everything opposite of the TAC. Essentially, with the exception of three of the eight interviews, each participant emphasized the differences between the American TCK and typical American collegian while barely noting the presence of similarities. The similarities noted were life status commonalities; for example, American TCKs in college had typical American collegian friends in college. The perceived opposite of the American culture emphasizes the perspectives in the relationship. Essentially, differences were expressed as opposites or polarizations rather than differences.

One interviewee noted that whereas TACs’ home cultures are the US, and they experience culture shock abroad, for many American TCKs their ‘home cultures’ are abroad, so they experience culture shock when coming home. Another interviewer suggested that the difference between Americans and American TCKs is less about identity and more about the differing mindsets. All participants did not share the perspective of the theme.

AmTCK wants the typical American collegian to want to understand the differences

This was nearly a major theme as there was only one case that did not seem to contain a code that could be identified with the desire of American TCKs for typical American collegians to specifically understand the differences. This theme was unique to other similar themes listed above where American TCKs expressed that there are differences, or that those differences are important to their locus of identity in a relationship.

The theme of wanting a typical American collegian friend to understand the differences between him/her and the American TCK was typically expressed in the context of a miniature story. One respondent said:
… The friendships that I have kept consistently the longest and that mean the most, you know, are the ones that they, they would talk and then they'd look at me and go hey actually I want to hear about this and I actually care and I'm going to listen.

[There’s] more back and forth where they're actually like hey this doesn't make sense to me. I don't understand what you're talking about, but I want to know. I want you to try to explain it to me and I'll sit here and go that's cool, I don't really know, I have no idea what that's like, but try and make me understand.

This theme was expressed both in the positive sense, as in the quote above, and in the negative sense, as in the following quote from another participant. “[It] was hard for me…trying to build past … break past that…surface level, because there'd be times I'm like, ‘This person really doesn't care about what I have to say in the surface level basic conversation. We're not really getting it.’ And they were ... They simply [would] be perfectly okay with it.” Others expressed it in the happiness they noted when someone asked them about their differences as a TCK or in the frustrations of feedback from typical American collegians that was not positive or interested.

*American TCKs as Adaptors*

The American TCKs as adaptors theme group contains themes that look at the TCK as both a student learning to adjust to college as well as a person adjusting to a new culture. The American TCKs also emphasized the personal growth in their college years. There were five themes; three were major and two were minor.

Non-geographical culture and identity

This theme was a third facet of the themes of identity throughout; whereas the first focused on the importance of shared past experiences in the content of disclosure for creating connection, and the second focused on the worldview grown out of TCKs pasts that
differentiated them from TACs, this theme of identity focused on the manner in which TCKs were able to change, to adjust because of their past. It was mainly expressed in many of the smaller statements, though was clearly evident across all the cases.

One of the longer narrative statements that described the effects of this was provided by a female participant and exemplifies the theme.

We're all American citizens that have lived overseas. And, so, for us it's different because we all understand each other and we all understand, "Oh, hey, I may not be from a specific country, but I'm not American either." Like, I'm in that between ... like, I don't know where I'm from actually. And whereas Americans, they know where they're from. They can tell you down to the city where they're from, you know?...

[My family] didn't have many Americans [near to us overseas]... because of the situation where we were living. So everyone...was... my two younger sisters, and then possibly another missionary family. And so, like, growing up, I wasn't necessarily close to my blood relatives just because I grew up overseas and they were all in the States. And so, growing up, my other relatives...[were] other missionary families or other TCK families. So, like, I would call my missionary kids' mom, aunt, blah, blah, blah, just because we have more of a relationship like that. Like they were more considered family than my...blood relations.

Other participants noted how they had moved between multiple different countries with their families. Several pointed out, similarly to the admission in the above quote, that their families overseas were composed of a composite of either missionary families or internationally mobile families that had children going to the same school. They noted their living locations changed, their friendships came and went, and the size and shape of their social circles was inconsistent.
These differences were played out in relationships in two ways, closely connected to the other themes. Half of the participants noted that this was a very good way to grow up, that they have many friends all scattered around, and believed that they were very good at making friends because they had had to make friends so many times. The other half noted that either this arrangement put friends in their way with whom they never needed to be intentional, and so they never learned to foster a friendship, or they were emotionally wary, putting in only as much of themselves into the relationships as was necessary for the amount of time available for the relationship.

Experience re-entry culture shock

One participant explained that everything about the stressful college adjustment was enhanced by the fact that he was experiencing culture shock. Another respondent noted that even though freshmen all start in the same place, that it felt like TCKs were essentially at a disadvantage within about a year because all the typical American collegians had made friendships in their manner, and she felt left behind because she did not know the cultural cues. A third respondent similarly explained:

… I grew up surrounded by poverty. I grew up with orphans banging at the car window. I grew up with people with polio and rickets and leprosy who are missing limbs sitting outside the churches begging and I grew up with, you know, trash on the streets and smelling the dump and burning at the landfill and that, that's something that's shaped how I am and so I'm uncomfortable in white picket fence suburbia. I'm uncomfortable being in the ethnic majority…. I'd rather go out and hang out with those people you're not supposed to hang out with. I'll go hang out in the homeless shelter and just talk, just hang out.
This was a general theme across all cases that affected the practical surface level conversations of TCK to TAC. Statements about culture shock had a wide variety; one American TCK expressed her frustration with hygiene products: “…Why are there 27 different kinds of toothpaste...?” Another interviewer noted how her mom taught her many practical pieces of information for living overseas in Africa, like “how to bleach veggies,” and how that is not valued or useful here. In contrast, she did not know many little useful pieces of information for this culture.

Other participants noted the differences in an emphasis on sports, particularly how people keep up with them basically to the minute. One talked about how important social media is to TACs, and initially felt the shock of needed to learn to use that in order to survive socially. Another participant mentioned the need to learn about all the current TV shows. So, there were a lot of media references in relation to the culture shock.

Humor, manners, social norms were also cited as sources of culture shock. As time passed in their degrees, the older TCK participants noted that they learned the culture, adjusted, and were able to enjoy it. One noted that this process was one that in some ways was not any different than moving from one country to another overseas, except that here American TCKs are expected to already know the culture as explained in the previous theme about TCKs looking American but not “being” American, as well as, them wanting to acculturate, but not wanting to lose their TCK-ness.

Different relational development process to TCKs and to TACs

This was the final major theme in the domain of TCKs as Adapters, but was perhaps the second strongest theme throughout all the interviews. Since the interviews were typically about how American TCKs develop relationships with both other TCKs and TACs, this was not
surprising. All respondents noted a distinct difference in the processes between individuals in the different groups. All agreed that the process of relational development was faster with other TCKs and particularly AmTCKs.

All but one attributed this to the similar backgrounds and experiences shared by TCKs, which is the other strongest theme; the one dissenting opinion was that this speed was due to the fact that on the field other TCKs were there and available without any other options for friendships, while at college everyone has many options, so the difference between the ability to make fast growing relationships was more centered on the actual friend-making ability a TCK has. The dissenter did note that because the TCKs have a similar background, that it was easier for them to simply choose the easy and available friendship without having to be as intentional.

Here is an example quote concerning the majority opinion:

Um, yeah I think like when TCKs are with each other, like they tend to talk about things that aren't so like surface level. I mean it kind of depends on the group of people you were in. But especially like one-on-one, like, you don't so much talk about just kind of surface level things from this part of life…It's just like a lot of times like if you meet someone and you kind of have clicked, and you start to come friends with them, …it…becomes closer faster I guess. Um, but like with…traditional students, it’s… not the same … it's a more slow process; and I found like it's not harder to make friendships.”

This quote also illustrated another point about the theme. Several participants defined the process as merely slower when with TACs, two in particular noted that it was both slower and harder. Here is one example of a participant who believes it is just slower:

[With TACs, to become friends] it’s definitely slower. It’s not harder. It’s just a slower process…MK or TCKs, for example, when they come together they can be friends
automatically…whereas with Americans, you have to cultivate that relationship continuously in order for it to survive.

The general consensus was that the process is something that had to be learned, as a skill or ability. One participant explained how it as a process to learn the process (redundancy intended for clarity in the quote):

“[Not-TCKs] wanna connect on other things [than past experiences]… which is, I think… a good practice to have…. When dealing with American students… you have to develop that [ability]. And so I think that that's the process. That's the difference in the process. Its like, there's, there's less developing of a process…between TCK to TCK [than there is] TCK to not-TCK.”

Another participant talked about learning process, too: “I had to adjust and figure out what was a way that I could actually get to know a person and actually become better friends with them without having to ruin it and making it go way too fast in the beginning…”

And that process of learning to build slower relationships was understood to be hard and to take time. There was a typical level of agreement among the older (junior, senior) students that during the latter part of the first year or in the second year, there was a period of time in which the learning process of how to develop meaningful relationship with typical American collegians was most difficult. One female participant explained that her learning process has been constant her entire college career:

“So um, yeah and so I guess it was learning to take more time with people and like starting from like nothing. Sometimes what it seemed like to like no common ground, nothing and really taking the time and being really intentional to uh, to like I said
a good foundation for a friendship to build from there. I know these past four years; I've had a lot of friendships I have grown. It started from basically nothing and, and grown…”

Transient nature of friendships

A typical theme expressed by nearly all of the American TCKs is that friendships were transient. There were particularly two respondents who did not feel that their relationships overseas, or their approach to relationships were not permanent, as the other participants expressed.

The group that felt their relationships were transient typically said their relationships could be very quickly escalated to deep penetration, and then as soon as the physical proximity was lost, those relationships would depenetrate. This is how one participant put it:

[TCKs] make friendships very quickly, but we can, we can say good bye just as fast…. You can be really good friends and you talk and you're like this is awesome and then when you leave and now they're in Australia and you're here or they're in Switzerland and you're here, they're in south Africa and you're here then it's like that was cool, I'll Facebook stalk you, send a message on your birthday, that's it. If all of a sudden it was oh hey we're both in the same country, this is awesome, let's hang out and most likely we would go back to being friends.

The participants who did not agree share the background of being in an international school setting, although some who did agree also attended international schools. The two participants noted how they made friends within that setting, that those friendships were available, and that they lasted.

Several AmTCKs, one of whom provides an explanation, attributed the transiency of friendships to the nature of international life:
I think part of that is, the culture part of that is, just the reality of growing up overseas, is every year someone leaves. And so I've said good-bye to a best friend every year. Um, so you come into it with this [belief that] relationships hurt and they just leave, they end. There aren't people that have known me for more than ... I don't have anyone who was a neighbor for the past 20 years of my life.

The same respondent from the first quote also clearly said what several others mentioned in relation to their willingness to engage in a transient relationship: “…It takes a lot for me to decide to become emotionally invested in a friendship and I have to make a very conscious effort to be, like, ‘This person matters enough for you to be hurt by.’”

Typical transition of small school to large college

This minor theme was referenced by just over half of the participants. They noted that their ‘shock’ came from not only the change in culture, but also the change in the size of the school setting. It influenced their ability and process in building relationships. One participant emphasized the need to be intentional and to find a group when re-entering. He said this of his experience entering college:

“I think it was really hard to, uh, to move to a college where, not only did I not know anyone there, I didn't know anyone else in the city, I didn't know anyone else in the state, I didn't know anyone else in like five states around me. You know what I mean? Like, I couldn't even go home like on the weekends so I can see some friends, you know that I … you know, there's no fallback on any kind of relationship so that you're … it was darkness, man. Just, you know, like, eating by myself three meals a day. You know, like, eating by myself in the morning.”
He expressed the fact that because he had been in a small international school for a good part of his life, the friendships he had made were, in a sense, based upon their availability and mutual convenience, and so he noted that he had really never learned how to be a friend to make a friend.

Other participants noted that living on a residence hall helped to make the school smaller and create relational interactions. Two talked about how they engaged in theological discussions with typical American collegians from classes.

The Definition of Depth

The last thematic domain within which the thematic categories rest was American TCKs attempts to define depth. In the interview, the American TCKs were essentially directly asked to define what constitutes something deep, and when in a relationship deep communication is appropriate. The first two categories relate to how the American TCKs determined what was appropriate as depth in a relationship, and the last two discuss what constitutes a deep topic or disclosure

Associated with cultural understanding

The degree of depth that is appropriate in a relationship was held to be associated with the degree to which a person could think globally. American TCKs across the board referenced that they would ask questions to gauge the degree to which a typical American collegian was willing to think in multicultural terms.

One participant said that she asks questions that require an answer from a different cultural perspective to see if she can share ‘deeply’ with another person. Another talked about how she brings of theological issues that are odd or even awkward, are certainly not America-centric; for example, she says that sometimes she asks people what a new Christian man should
do with his multiple wives in Africa. If the answer is not just a simple ‘Bible’ answer, then she knows she can engage on a deep level.

Generally, the theme emerged out of a certain perspective. American TCKs thought that it was less important, perhaps, what the experiences of a typical American collegian were, because obviously those are different the American TCKs and were presumed not to compare, rather than the global perspective of the TAC. One participant noted: “If somebody’s an American but they’re very globally minded, then I feel like it’s more easy to connect with them because I don’t know, it’s just easier talking about the world. Because if that’s something that you love, then that’s easier to connect … I don’t know, to connect with [you].

The depth of the available disclosure in the relationship was quickly determined by the willingness to engage on cultural terms. An example statement to this effect was that “…The culture is always … is always a huge aspect that ties into these different [relationship] processes.”

Degree of dynamism in past relational experiences

Across the board, American TCKs indicated that the depth process of supported by the presence of two factors that constitute the dynamism of past relational experiences: (1) the number of past created and lost friendships; and (2) the heterogeneity of past relationships. If someone had one or both of these, then they were seen a more able to connect with the AmTCK, and both of these well describe TCKs. One American TCK described the first factor:

…There was … one time period was seven years when I moved 30 times within those seven years. So for me, it was really normal to, like, move really, really fast.

…Because I move so fast, I had to latch on to people really, really fast because I knew that if I had a relationship with them, it's gonna be a short time.
So, growing up, it was really ... it was like that my whole entire life. So, when I got to college, I tried the exact same thing. Latched on to people really fast…asking them questions about their whole entire life, so ... if I met them on a Monday, by the end of the week, I pretty much knew all about them.

Respondents all noted the relationship between the heterogeneity of past relationships playing a factor in the success of a current relationship. It was expressed in different manners. One noted that if a person were a friend to a diverse group of people, that person would be better able to fit in to the diverse group of people preferred by the TCK. Another participant suggested that a person who has moved within the U.S. a lot would be easier to connect to, in that they would have friends from multiple different places in the U.S.

Depth is related to the experience of past life and emotions

A typical or minor theme that also emerged dealt with the association of depth of communication or disclosure with the topical content of the people’s relative past lives and emotions. One of the male participants talked about how he became deeper friends with one of the girls he worked with:

So she would ask me about…where I was from, about my experiences overseas.

And I would ask her about her experiences like growing up. She’d never left the country, but she moved around a lot. And so that was again something else like, we have that in common. Um, we moved around a lot uh, whether that's in the country, outside of the country.

Several other participants noted that if there was some type of trauma or difficulty that was emotionally real in a typical American collegians past life, then on that point of similarity, they
could enter into a deeper relationship initially. Two of the participants did not express this theme with clarity.

Described as Spiritual, Non-Physical

Five of the eight respondents noted that they first found depth in their communication with typical American collegians through talking about spiritual, non-physical, and abstract ideas. Two noted the theological discussion, but these discussions were unfruitful towards gaining depth in the content disclosed. The emphasis of the theme was different. On participant said:

Well, my friends aren't typical in the sense that they're very, um, they're very spiritually mature. And so like a lot of topics, the conversations that come up are like biblical convictions and what we learn about God from our daily lives….We talk about shallow things but we talk about ... not shallow things. We talk about like daily things… But we do it as like, "This happened." We talk about, “This happened and this how I feel about it. This is my perception of it.”

The other participants made references to the fact that at a ‘Christian school’ most of the students have a shared higher identity in Christ, so they found that an entry point for deep conversations that promote deep relationships are spiritual conversations.

A different participant, relating his story of adaptation to college and the US, made a suggestion for how he did and how American TCKs can build friendships through becoming a part of a group:

A fluid group because everyone is fluid, you know, like a find a group that you can belong to, and for me that was a, uh, a group that we, we prayed… like we got up in
the morning and we walked around the entire campus. We were laughing inside of the campus every morning and, uh, that was kind of where my breakthrough happened.

Discussion of Results

The discussion of the results of the two concurrent studies centers around three levels of analysis. First, the research questions are be presented and answered according to the quantitative and qualitative results of the research. Second, within the framework of the research questions, social penetration theory is extended and applied to the American TCK collegian phenomenon. Finally, practical American TCK implications are provided.

The discussion section is arranged in this manner for three reasons. Creswell suggests that for transformative concurrent embedded strategies, the results and discussion should be mixed to provide the best available interpretation of the data (221). However, the interpretive study used was the consensual qualitative research, in which Hill et al. suggest that the results and theoretical analysis should happen at two different stages (Hill et al. “CQR: An Update”). So, to follow both suggestions as closely as possible, the results for each individual study were presented separately, and their theoretical analysis and discussion are be mixed. Third, one purpose of this study was to provide specific usable implications for American TCKs and TCK supporters, so sectioning the discussion near to the practical implication was the most effective manner to associate the implications with their meaningful explanations.

Research Questions

The results of both studies are mixed together in this analysis in order to explain how the research questions were sufficiently answered. The focus of the quantitative part of the study was embedded into the first research question and was centered on the three hypotheses that were analyzed briefly in the results section of the quantitative study.
RQ1: Do American TCK collegians (AmTCKs) penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships differently than typical American collegians (TACs)? (quantitative)

The simple answer is to say that there were clear differences between American TCKs’ and typical American collegians’ penetration into relationships along lines of depth and breadth. The more complex answers suggest modifying influences upon each of the differences.

First, the results of the quantitative analysis did not support H1a (The difference in disclosure level between acquaintance and friend will be less in American TCKs than in TACs), although it did show differences. As discussed earlier, there were two different tendencies in the data results for H1a. The first was that the overall average difference between the typical American collegian increase in actual disclosure versus the American TCK increase in actual disclosure showed a 1.06 difference in favor of AmTCKs. So American TCKs do experience a significantly greater increase in their levels of self-disclosure over the life of a relationship, which is the opposite of the general trend predicted by H1a.

This was only the first tendency, though. In terms of Attitudes and Opinions (-0.85) and Tastes and Interests (-0.03) there was just barely less increase, between typical American collegians and AmTCKs. When these results are compared to the qualitative themes gleaned from the consensual qualitative research there are three explanations that can be given. First, in the interviews it is apparent from the American TCKs responses that they value very fast, deep communication, initially about subjects that pertain heavily to their and the other’s past experiences. They want to connect with whomever it is that they are talking with, be it TCK or typical American collegian by understanding who that person is based on where they have been and what they have done. American TCKs also indicated in the interviews that they want to self-disclose about their own past experiences because they want to be accepted as different and
unique, defined strongly by their differences from other groups and persons, and unique by their TCK-ness.

So, it follows that they would be more willing to disclose in the very beginnings of a relationship about their attitudes and opinions as well as their tastes and interests in a deeper manner than the other more concrete items; it would also explain why there is not such an increase in their disclosure levels in these two facets as opposed to the others on the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire. In fact, another two minor themes about the explanation of what is deep also support this tendency in the quantitative data; namely, first that depth of disclosure in a relationship was seen to begin surrounding spiritual beliefs and attitudes about events, and second that deep conversation was related to the experience of past emotions and life.

What these themes do not explain is why the initial levels of disclosure reported by American TCKs are nearly identical in depth to those reported by TACs. H1a posited that the greatest difference in depth would exist at the level of acquaintance, but the mixing of the quantitative results with the thematic results suggests that the greatest jump in depth should actually be at the friend level, according to the stem provided to participants at the beginning of the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire. If this is the case and H1a were modified to assume that the greatest increase and therefore greatest difference between typical American collegian and American TCK self-disclosure is actually between when an American TCK has established an acquaintance and is interested in beginning a friendship, then the greater increase of actual self-disclosure of American TCKs apparent in the results makes sense.

The interview data supports this perspective. The American TCKs indicated that TCKs share an understood trust, but that that trust must be built with typical American collegians before depth can be experienced, per the needs of the typical American collegian. Also, it was
very clear that American TCKs had to slow down their own self-disclosure, even with one another, to understand the context of the potential relationship. Once they decided that they wanted to become friends, and then self-disclosure was greatly increased. These trends suggest that the quantitative data is actually supportive of the qualitative data.

The results of the quantitative analysis showed strong support for H1b (The general willingness to disclose of American TCKs will be more strongly associated with initial (to acquaintance) self-disclosure than the same associate in TACs.). This data was relatively straightforward, indicating that the general willingness to self-disclose was strongly associated with American TCK actual disclosure in all six of the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire categories. Typical American collegians did not have nearly as strong correlations.

The themes of the qualitative portion also supported and explain this. When initially disclosing to an acquaintance that might become a friend, American TCKs were strongly motivated by the fact that as a TCK part of their identity is to disclose very quickly to one another about where they came from, who they are, and what their past experiences have been. This tendency was a part of several emerging themes. Self-disclosure of past experiences, worldview, beliefs, and perspectives about life seemed to be almost necessary to exchange for TCKs before they can move on to having the shared experiences of friendship. So, actual self disclosure about a variety of topics, but primarily topics that pertain to abstract, personal, and background things could very reasonably be associated to American TCKs general willingness to self-disclose.

Typical American collegians did not show as strong associations because perhaps at the stage of acquaintance, moving towards a friendship, they are more comfortable with doing things together, talking about external concrete topics like sports, music, entertainment, etc. before they
decide to begin deeper self-disclosure. This analysis is certainly supported by the frustration expressed by many of the American TCK interview participants primarily through the themes of their perceived need to adapt their relationship processes to meet the slower, mutual experience based, process of TACs.

And there was no support for H1c (The general willingness to disclose of American TCKs will be more strongly associated with their perceived ability to get others to disclose, than the same association in TACs.). Miller, Berg, and Archer found a significant correlation between the Self-Disclosure Index and the Opener Scale in a general population (1291). Of course, the American TCK is not exactly a general population, so it is certainly acceptable that they did not experience a correlation between the two measures. Perhaps the reason there was no significant correlation is similar to that found by Hoersting and Jenkins, who suggested that TCKs need identity support in relationships, or from Gerner and Perry, who suggested that although TCKs exhibit greater cultural sensitivity, so are also more hesitant to say they have emotional sensitivity; essentially, they are less confident (28; 281). The major themes of identity show that TCKs view themselves as having a perceived otherness, and on the darker side of that coin, can exhibit elitism, it would seem that they are more concerned or willing to share about themselves than they are to seek others’ disclosures in an acquaintanceship that they would like to become a friendship. It was a very clear theme that American TCKs felt the other person needed to understand the TCK in order to form the potential of a friendship.

So, American TCKs do penetrate into relationships in terms of depth and breadth significantly differently than do TACs, though not in the exact manner proposed by the hypotheses. The quantitative analysis validates the thematic description of the American TCK perspective on these differences as it allowed for a comparison to be made. social penetration
provides a parsimonious means to explain the answer to the other two research questions, as to
how those differences are to be understood.

RQ2: How do American TCK collegians self-disclose and penetrate (depth and breadth) into
relationships when re-entering their home college culture? (qualitative)

Based upon the results from RQ1 and the qualitative data, the answer to RQ2 is best
given in a series of paradoxes that seem to guide the initial (between acquaintance and friend)
relationship self-disclosure of American TCKs as they are navigating the cultural, social,
academic, and relational changes inherent to college.

Paradox One

First, American TCKs want to accept their new American collegian identity, but don’t
want to change or lose their TCK identity. This is important because even though many of the
different American TCKs expressed that they had moved between multiple countries, multiple
cultures, and had what Berting called a cosmopolitan perspective, they are intimidated by
American culture (30). Essentially, it is because their home cultures are a part of their identity,
in that they use them to differentiate themselves among other TCKs. Thus, American TCKs are
different from TCKs in general. Otherwise, all the different places they have lived go in the
melting pot of culture and nationality that makes them similar to other TCKs and unique as a
group. So, in self disclosing about their past to typical American collegians (TACs), wanting
typical American collegians to ask them about their life as a TCK, wanting typical American
collegians to understand that they won’t understand, and wanting to go deep in these areas
quickly, American TCKs are attempting to solve this identity crisis.

The explanation of the paradox is that assimilating and integrating into the American
college culture will change the TCK. That was very clear from the interviews with the older
AmTCKs; they learned to adapt both to the culture and to the new way of making friendships. In the end, the older American TCKs who expressed this merely more mature, not less TCK. There is no need for TCKs to either become American or have only American friends, or to remain TCK and to only hang out with TCKs and international students. The paradox is one that exists only as an American TCK perception.

Paradox Two

The false perception leads to a second paradox: American TCKs either exude a sense of egotism or elitism in their TCK-ness, or experience a lack of confidence in the transition. Again, this is essentially a paradox that exists only in the minds of the AmTCKs. One of the American TCKs in particular discussed the manner in which the transition seminar he went to pumped up TCKs and their TCK-ness as what he described as better than non-TCKs. It seems that as a result of the efforts of TCK supporters to support the identity and unique background of TCKs, and to characterize those backgrounds as good, and as something that both differentiates and enhances many qualities of the TCKs, that TCK supporters are actually creating a false dichotomy, and one that was expressed by many of the interview participants in the different emergent themes.

When they arrived at college, they felt they either had to rest in their TCK prowess, to defend it, and to be defined by the strengths without the weaknesses of TCK-ness, when in many ways they felt less prepared or less able to navigate the social waters. They were overwhelmed by the cultural differences, by the size of campus, by the entirety of small and large differences in relationships, people’s interests, and particularly the typical American collegian group they were pitted against. So, they either needed to hold on to a belief that their TCK-ness was better than TAC-ness, in order to compensate for all the inadequacies they felt, or they would be
without confidence. In some ways, this is not any different than the expected experience of nearly all new college students.

The American TCKs who walked through this and who came to the other end found that their TCK-ness allows them to be different and unique. It is not better or worse, but through the process they found confidence. This adaptation process happened through the growth in how they approached relationships. It happened after they learned to appreciate the different relationship processes with TACs.

Paradox Three

All of the interview respondents expressed the frustrations they had experienced trying to find common ground with typical American collegians. This theme illustrates some of the grounds for the third paradox: American TCKs saw American TCKs and typical American collegians from either the perspective of their differences or their similarities. Again, this seemed to be a false paradox; inherently American TCKs and typical American collegians have both similarities and differences.

It is a matter of perspective. American TCKs believed that they were successful in building meaningful and deep relationships with TACs, albeit unique from TCK-TCK relationships, when they had the perspective that there were similarities between TCKs and typical American collegians. However, they noted that other American TCKs, or even in their own pasts, they were not successful in building these intergroup relationships. They observed that when they were not focusing on similarities, the perspective of elitism was cultivated by accentuating the differences. This elitism included the belief that typical American collegians could not span the differences between the groups to build friendships. The paradox, of course, was that it was actually the TCKs who would not span the difference.
Paradox Four

The fourth paradox is closely associated to the ‘differences’ perspective of paradox three. Paradox four was that although American TCKs desired reciprocity with typical American collegians such as they experience with American TCKs, they did not believe it was possible or probable with typical American collegians. This did not illustrate the perspective of all the AmTCKs, but for those who held the perspective of ‘differences’ and therefore minimized or trivialized any similarities. There simply was little hope.

All the American TCKs experienced the frustration of the challenge to find relational depth beyond that orientation stage characterized by phatic communication with TACs, but were successful if they found a topic area they believed this could happen in. For some that was spiritual matters, for others it was future possibilities, and for all who found the reciprocity, it came after slowing the process down, and allowing the mutual experiences of the friendship to open up shared topic areas.

Paradox Five

The ‘process of learning the process’ as characterized by one participant illustrated the fifth paradox. This paradox is not directly related to American TCK and typical American collegian interaction, but is a global paradox for all the relationships American TCKs developed. American TCKs expressed their desire to have a certainty about the quality of a relationship through initial relational depth without risking the time and experience of the relationship. This quandary was frustrating and stressful for the American TCKs at first. They would seek to cause depth in any relationship to determine whether this was a relationship worth hurting over when it ended. They would gauge the value of the depth against the amount of time available, and then put the right amount of themselves into it.
In many ways the cost to benefit analysis that is a part of social penetration theory provides the explanation for this process. AmTCKs, who have experienced the beginning and end of many different friendships, know the personal cost of a relationship all too well; they are not interested in paying for something that is not worth it. In this sense, the paradox is real and true. However, American TCKs have to learn to value different relationships with different measures, something that was learned by one respondent as ‘the process,’ and by another as the perspective change, and by still another as a change in the ‘type’ of value or purpose of the friendships. When this is learned, American TCKs were able to navigate the rocky waters of paradox five, and build relationships with both other TCKs and typical American collegians.

Paradox Six

Paradox six explains the existence of paradox five. American TCKs seemed to perceive that typical American collegians were unable or uninterested in having “deep conversations,” but American TCKs were unwilling to have “deep conversations” with typical American collegians. The answer to this paradox lies in the meaning of “deep conversations” as something that does not mean the same thing to American TCKs as it does to TACs. In an initial relationship, American TCKs primarily understood that by “deep conversation” they mean they want to talk about past experiences, how this shaped them, how it changed what they believe, and how is changed their cosmopolitan perspective. Likely, typical American collegians have a difference perspective on ‘deep conversations’ and therefore the modality of disclosure into deep relationships, than do AmTCKs. Through the same process of learning to navigate paradox five, American TCKs learned to navigate paradox six, by changing their understanding of how others define deep conversations.
Together these paradoxes that explain the themes of the interviews provide an interesting answer to research question three.

*RQ3: Do American TCK collegians self-disclose and penetrate (depth and breadth) into relationships with other American TCKs differently than they do with TACs? (qualitative)*

Again, the short answer is yes, it is very different; and, again the longer answer shows that the qualitative difference is also nuanced and perhaps less diametric than expected. These nuances are evident in an explanation along the lines of breadth and depth, and the processes for both, understood through the lens of social penetration. Of course, all of these theoretical explanations are grounded in an interpretation of the themes and paradoxes in the themes observed from the interviews, and are related to the initial phases of a relationship, post acquaintance into early friendship.

In general, the topical content of disclosures is different. American TCKs relate with other TCKs along the lines of abstract internal topics and over past experiences. They feel a tension over the fact that there is no longer a need to build quick relationships when they attend college, but still relate very quickly to other TCKs. On the other hand, with typical American collegians, the content is more concrete shared external topics (sports, entertainment, etc.), to future possibilities, and to current experiences. They ask more questions of the other, do more life together, and let the self-disclosures follow naturally.

Thus the process of topical disclosure from American TCK to TCK is different than to typical American collegian. Towards another TCK there is first connection over past similarities that influences their connection over present interactions and experiences, and the resulting relational development. Towards a typical American collegian it is different. They connect over their future possibilities and those inform their current co-experiences, and these allow relational
development. Of course, this process is cyclical over the long run, but initially it might be described as more phasic. The following diagram charts the differences.

**AmTCK Proposed Topical Process**

It was also clear that the depth component of American TCK to TCK relational development was different from American TCK to TAC. As the qualitative theme suggests, there was a clear assumption of mutual trust between TCKs since they were both TCKs, perhaps originating in the development of past relationships with TCKs or their shared backgrounds and experiences that are perceived to promote more similarities than differences. This existing mutual trust and similarity is perceived to quickly promote a quality relationship, and thus, depth happens quickly and emotional intimacy happens quickly.

With a TAC, however, there is not inherent trust, as there are more differences than similarities. The American TCKs suggest that the TCK is willing to overlook this because he or she can develop mutual trust quickly through deep disclosure related to promoting an understanding of the others past, so the TCK either shares deeply or asks deep questions,
depending on their confidence level. The problem is that typical American collegians don’t build relationships in this manner, and so often don’t reciprocate as a TCK would, mitigating the motivation of many TCKs to continue the relationship.

Thus, it can be inferred that the classic process of a relationship per the depth of disclosure proposed in social penetration is modified when experienced by an AmTCK. Of course, as research into social penetration has shown, the levels of disclosure are cyclical, as they repeat in depth across multiple different topic areas in the stages of exploratory affective disclosure, and full disclosure through the dialectic nature of reciprocity. However, there seems to be a difference in the general trend of relational development through self-disclosure and reciprocity where American TCKs are concerned.

**AmTCK Proposed Relational Processes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exploratory Affective Disclosure</th>
<th>Meaningful Phatic Communication</th>
<th>Current Shared Experiences</th>
<th>Possible Full Disclosure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AmTCK with TCK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>AmTCK with TAC</td>
<td>Orientation Phase (Phatic)</td>
<td>Current Shared Experiences</td>
<td>Possible Full Disclosure</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exploratory Affective Disclosure</td>
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The relational development (depth) between an American TCK and another TCK seems to first begin with exploratory affective disclosure, remembering that this affective disclosure seems to primarily relate to past shared experiences on the grounds of understood mutual trust, then orientation to one another through phatic communication is understood culturally and per past experiences, so it is given meaning. The phatic communication surrounds everyday experiences that are shared, and then would presumably promote further exploration of affective
disclosure, that would lead into possible full disclosure. These last two stages are the logical progressions of the model, but are presumed rather than observed as they predict relational development beyond the scope of the data in this study.

Relational development follows a different pattern between an American TCK and a TAC. This is more of the traditional pattern associated with social penetration. Essentially, there is not much perceived inherent similarity, and little mutual trust because of that. So, American TCKs talk about external concrete things that have little to do with the deeper ideas, affective experiences, and desires. While they engage in this phatic communication, they begin co-experiencing different things that allow them to then begin engaging in a more natural and organic process of exploratory affective disclosure.

For AmTCKs, the predominant perspective was that this second process must be learned, that it feels much more intentional and that it takes longer. However different it is, American TCKs who successfully adapted to being able to utilize this more ‘American’ process expressed satisfaction in the interviews over the relationship they had. Several noted that relationships that followed this format lasted a longer time and were generally healthier and more dynamic than others.

In the literature, there are many different aspects to American TCK repatriation or re-entry into American culture especially in the college setting. This study specifically considered the aspect of relationships or friendships and process of their development. The literature shows this to be important because: relationships were central themes to cultural reentry; adult TCKs intimated a sense of marginalization their entire lives; Perceived social support was found to be significantly correlated with college adjustment; the sociocultural skill level of a TCK affects that TCK’s emotional well-being, and if this increases so to does the emotional well-being; reentry was
dominated by a wish to fit in with their American peers, but an uncertainty about how to do so and an anxiety about being socially awkward; and social support is centrally important to TCK wellbeing (Bikos et al. 735; Fail, et al. 319; Klemens and Bikos 731; Firmin et al. 123; Huff 246 [respectively]). So, how can the results of this study empower TCKs and enable TCK supporters in terms of college entry and learning to develop healthy relationships?

**Practical American TCK Implications**

There are six different implications out of the forgoing discussion for TCKs and TCK supporters.

1. TCK supporters, and transition seminars should emphasize the differences and the similarities between TCKs and TACs. Accepting the American parts of the American TCK identity will not eliminate the other aspects of ones TCK identity. Through being willing to form relationships with non-TCKs, and doing American things, another facet of identity and growth will only be added to one’s repertoire.

2. TCK supporters should seek to create a context where TCKs can connect deeply with both other TCKs and TACs. The typical American collegians in these contexts should have a multi-cultural perspective, similar to that identified by Berting with which they are willing to open up more deeply (31). This will help to shatter the some of the false paradoxes.

3. Transition seminars that are becoming more popular should be careful to emphasize that although there are distinct differences between TCKs and Americans, that one is not better than the other. By creating elitism, TCKs seek to mask their lacking sense of confidence in their identity, rather than dealing with it in the context of a relationship.
Relationships with both TCKs and typical American collegians both play a role in the process of maturing relationally and in TCKs’ self-concepts.

4. Campus student leaders, spiritual directors, or resident assistants need to be aware of the relational difference of TCKs so that they can both better connect with TCKs and help to guide TCKs through the process of adapting to new relational development processes and understanding of self through relationships.

5. Typical American collegians and TCKs who are willing to become friends with one another need the opportunities to build memories together through co-experiences upon which to hinge future affective discussions.

6. Universities should consider providing continuing relational support for adjusting TCKs, just as they do for international students.

Summary of Discussion

Learning to do relationships differently is not only central to the American TCK reentry success, but is also a long and often difficult process that involves their locus of identity, their perceptions of themselves against others, and what they understand as topical and relational depth. There are many inconsistencies or paradoxes in the manner to which they understand these different parts of their relationships with typical American collegians. By considering these paradoxes through the lens of social penetration, one can see the unique processes of relational development as expressed by American TCKs towards other TCKs and typical American collegians. From this clearer understanding of the phenomena, practical suggestions for TCKs and TCK supporters were made.
Chapter 5: Limitations, Future Research, and Conclusion

There were several limitations to this study, out of which some of the suggestions for future research emerge. The following section notes the limitations of this study and makes several suggestions for future research.

Limitations

This research study was a transformative embedded concurrent mixed methods study. As such it included a pragmatic research perspective, a quantitative study, a qualitative study, and a mixed discussion. Several limitations can be seen along the lines of the methodology, the theory, and the practicality.

First, the author recognizes his bias in the study. It was made apparent in the introduction that the author has had extensive interaction and relational history with TCKs, and therefore, also has a well formed understanding and opinion of those relationships. Although this does pose a bias that might be found in the study, it was also an advantage to promoting an understanding of the results and interpreting the meaningful themes that emerged.

Methodological Limitations

There were three major areas of methodological limitations to this study. The first pertained to the overall study, the second to the quantitative portion, and the third to the qualitative portion.

First, the overall study was a mixed methodology that sought to embed a quantitative analysis into the qualitative study. It was labeled as concurrent, which was meant to aid in both the time component of data collection and analysis, as well as allow for the theoretical perspective to guide the process and interpretation of the data. However, the drawback was that by doing a concurrent rather than sequential study, the data had to be related a priori, which
might have stifled the growth of the results. In the future, if this study were repeated with a sequential methodology, the results might have blended more easily.

Also, the study was based upon self-report both for the quantitative and qualitative portions. This could be adjusted in the future by embedding an experimental study within an interview. Doing so would create more internal reliability.

Second, the quantitative study would have benefited from a pilot study. Although the instruments were gleaned from the literature as well researched and validated measures of reliable trends, this study did apply the instruments in a new context, and the data did seem to reflect the need for additional explanation. Perhaps the instruments, their stems, and the manner in which they were utilized could have been shifted to better reflect the trends of the groups.

Also, it would have organized the order of the questions differently on Qualtrics. The order of the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire requested respondents to answer each prompt towards the acquaintance they had in mind, and then the friend that they had in mind. This back and forth questioning seemed to eliminate several of the participants from answering all the questions, so less data was available. It also made the analysis process much more difficult for the purpose of organizing the raw data. In the future, a simpler organization of interview questions and instruments would be effective for promoting an effective study.

Also, on a minor note, prompt number three in the Jourard Self-disclosure Questionnaire Attitudes and Opinions did not show all four-response options, and so had to be thrown out. The analysis of the data collected for that instrument was adjusted to avoid skewing the results.

The study parameters were also too stringent. Although there needed to be somewhat clear parameters for who could participate in the study, over categorization of the major groups being analyzed was inefficient, and eventually ignored in the analysis (to some degree) on the
grounds that the individual groups would have been too small to suggest statistical significance, and the interactions very complex. Further, the adjusted stems for each of the studies could have been more clear, to promote a better survey taking experience.

Finally pertaining to the quantitative study, while the descriptive and inferential statistical analysis were sufficient to provide a significant explanation of the trends in the survey, more advanced analysis could have possibly shown more than associations, and would have provided a more directed set of results to mix with the qualitative themes.

Third, the consensual qualitative research methodology turned out to be somewhat difficult to use to its fullest extent in a mixed methods type study. The manner in which Hill et al. suggest the results and discussion of results should be arranged could not be followed entirely since the concurrent embedded mixed methodology required the results of both the quantitative and qualitative studies to be mixed (“CQR: An Update”). While this might be considered a limitation of the qualitative portion of the study, it was overall a success.

Also, typical American collegians were not interviewed, so the perception of how typical American collegians build relationships with TCKs and other typical American collegians was not explored, leaving the explanation of the cross-subcultural somewhat one sided.

The nature of this study was that social penetration both directed the type of inquiry, and directed the explanation of the results. For consensual qualitative research this was a somewhat difficult adjustment because the results reflected what the participants wished to say, and so their answers in the interviews did not always relate directly with the phenomenon of inquiry. Thus, the consensual qualitative research seemed to produce a vast array of rich data what had to be carefully organized by the coders within a framework that reflected the exact nature of what participants said, but also allowed for its explanation through social penetration.
Theoretical Limitations

There were also a few theoretical limitations. Social penetration is a theory that had been widely applied to the phenomenon of relational development, and it allowed an exploration of both the depth of disclosure, the purpose of relationships, and the various types of content in disclosures. However, looking back at the study, it is clear that the cultural change had a heavy influence, and thus social penetration might have been limiting in terms of the theoretical analysis of the content. Also, this study was conducted from the pragmatic perspective of theory, thus much of the analysis had the underlying bias of how it could be applied and used.

The Research Questions and Hypotheses were built out of an understanding of the literature and social penetration. While this was effective for building a direction and parsimony to the study, it also limited the ability of the data to speak for itself. A point in case is H1a. It was worded with the assumption that the depth increase happened at the very beginning of acquaintance, but in fact the data revealed that the increase was there, but was slightly later. By better defining the theoretical model upon which the hypotheses were based, the data might have been more specific.

Practical Limitations

The majority of the limitations of this study pertain to the practical aspects of conducting the study. First, the size could have been much larger, especially in terms of the quantitative survey. Around 1200 undergraduate students comprised the sample pool, but only 98 surveys were usable, and American TCKs filled out only 15 of those. While the study found significant results, the generalizability of those results would be more reliable if: (1) the overall size was larger; (2) if the sample group of American TCKs was larger; and (3) if the two groups were more similar in size.
Also the location of the study was limited to a college campus. The population studied was somewhat homogeneous, which limited the perspective of the study to primarily white American TCKs versus white TACs. More diversity would promote a better study.

Future Research

There are three areas of research that the results of this study would suggest are appropriate for future inquiry. Research into American TCKs and TCKs is obviously appropriate. Also, applying social penetration into intercultural relationships continues to be a suggestion stemming from the research of Gudykunst (270). Third, this association of methods in the mixed methodology suggests that quantitative analysis paired with consensual qualitative research generated directed but rich results.

American TCK and TCK Research

This study sought to plug a hole in the literature. Many studies note that relational development is vital to TCK repatriation effectiveness and psychological well-being through the process of adjusting to college; however, no studies seem to have looked at the communicative process TCKs experience when building relationships in college. There needs to be a flood of other research on this specific phenomenon. If it is central to American TCK satisfaction in college, and influences the relationships and experiences that they live through for the rest of their lives, then it is imperative for TCK supporters to have a good understanding of American TCK relationships.

Other future studies should look at the different stages of relational development. They should explore the topics of communication central to those stages. They should seek to identify the variables central the formation of TCK to TCK and TCK to non-TCK relationships. Then
research should find the causal relationships between those variables so that theory can be
developed.

One of the themes that developed out of this research was that American TCKs are
different from other TCKs. Future research should investigate this to identify the manner in
which the different combinations of cultures create different TCK-ness, and affect relational
development.

Future research should have a two part purpose: (1) it should seek to provide practical
ways for TCKs and TCK supporters to both understand the phenomena to TCK-ness in the
context of relationships, and (2) should emphasize their integration and appreciation as a unique
group, seeking to eliminate elitism among TCKs and marginalization of TCKs by other groups.

**Social Penetration**

The research on social penetration theory seems to have become somewhat saturated, and
would do well to be applied within this unique group of people. Much of what TCKs
experience, and what begins to define who they are, relates to the various relationships that they
build across multiple different cultures in multiple different timeframes. The application of
social penetration into this field of research would allow the theory new area to grow and
change. Particularly the adjustment to social penetration four-phase relational development
model as applied to American TCKs relational development should be tested and adjusted in
future studies.

Also, the social exchange portion of social penetration should be researched in terms of
the different relationships TCKs form, to understand what the value of each relationship is. One
interview participant noted that she learned to value her friendships with typical American
collegians when she realized that they served different purposes in her life. Future research
should evaluate how the costs and benefits weighed by a TCK in a potential friendship determine the understood purpose or value of that relationship.

**Mixed Methodology**

Finally, the options for mixed methodology application in the field to TCK research are ripe. Future research should continue applying mixed methodology where the inquiry of TCK relational formation processes is concerned because such methodologies allow for both the rich description of the phenomena as well as a more reliable generalizability. This specific topic area needs the growth of research in both of these modes due to the fact that there is very little.

Theory formation would also benefit greatly from mixed methodology use in future research. This study began to build or adjust theory because it related a quantitative study to a qualitative one. Studies should repeat similar processes such as the ones in this study in order to build theory about TCK relational development processes.

**Conclusion**

Third Culture Kids (TCKs) are the subject of study across several academic disciplines. This study, as a part of the communication discipline, sought to explore how TCKs self-disclose to develop relationships. It found that TCKs self-disclose uniquely as a result of their past experiences, that they engage in a relational development process that is patterned differently than the typical American collegian, and it suggested several implications for TCKs and TCK supporters to consider.

As the following literature review and the discussion of the mixed method results showed, relationship development is vital to the successful reentry of TCK collegians when they return to America. There are unique aspects to those relationships that this study identified.
Perhaps the concluding remarks of one of the interview participants is most appropriate to express the appropriateness of this study:

TCK's are very complicated people. I mean Americans are also really complicated too, but in their own um, ways… This whole study is something that, it will… be very beneficial for TCK's and um, for Americans as well to try to better understand each other, because I think there's really a lot of misunderstanding and interaction between TCK's and [Americans] whether that's uh, missionary kids or um, military kids or business kids.

This specific topic so much more than an academic study; it was important to the broader, even global community of nomads, sojourners, transculturals, and friends of nomads. It has provided a first look into the relationships of TCK college students seeking to cultivate relationships in cultures they don’t fully understand, but feel as though they already should know; it is the quandary of the TCK, or as Sarah E. Gilbert poetically expressed, it is the song of the nomad.
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http://dx.doi.10.1080/10615800601032781


Appendix I
Modified Self-Disclosure Questionnaire (Jourard and Lasakow 1958)

Original instrument was adapted for use by author from Jourard and Lasakow in their 1958 article “Some Factors in Self-Disclosure.”

For the duration of this survey, please rate the following statements in relation two different people that you know at two different relational levels:

1. To a new person that you have recently met within the last month (please imagine a specific person). You do not know yet whether you will want to be good friends with this person or not, but are willing to get to know them better, they are a new acquaintance.
   Please indicate whether the person you are thinking of is male or female (Circle):
   Male   Female

2. To your newest friend whom you have begun to intentionally hang out with and seek to get to know (please imagine a specific person). This is someone that you have not known for a long time, and have only recently begun to define as a friend, rather than an acquaintance. This person is someone that you would like to become good friends with; someone who you believe you could potentially have a lasting and positive relationship with.
   Please indicate whether the person you are thinking of is male or female (Circle):
   Male   Female

You are to read each item on the questionnaire, and then indicate the extent to which you have talked about each item to each person; that is, the extent to which you have made yourself known to each person. Use the rating-scale that you see below to describe the extent to which you have talked about each item.

1= No disclosure: Have told the other person nothing about this aspect of me.
2= Some disclosure: Have talked in general terms about this item. The other person has only a general idea about this aspect of me.
3= Deep disclosure: Have talked in full and complete detail about this item to the other person. He/she knows me fully in this respect, and could describe me accurately.
0= Lied: Have lied or misrepresented myself to the other person so that he has a false picture of me.

Attitudes and Opinion
1. What I think and feel about religion; my personal religious views.
2. My personal opinions and feelings about other religious groups than my own, e.g., Evangelicals, Catholics, Muslims, atheists.
3. My views on social issues, e.g., healthcare, gay marriage, gun control.
4. My views on the present government – the president, government policies, etc.
5. My views on diversity and tolerance.
6. My personal views on drinking.
7. My personal views on sexual morality – how I feel that others and I ought to behave in sexual matters.
8. My standards of attractiveness for a man or woman.
9. The things that I find desirable in the opposite sex – the qualities and attributes I look for in a partner.
10. My feelings about how parents ought to deal with children.

Tastes and Interests
1. My favorite foods, the ways I like food prepared, and my food dislikes.
2. My favorite beverages, and the ones I don’t like.
4. My preferences in reading.
5. The kinds of movies that I like to see best; the TV shows that are my favorites,
6. My fashion preferences.
7. The style of house, and the kinds of furnishings that I like best.
8. The kind of party, or social gathering that I like best, and the kind that would bore me, or that I wouldn’t enjoy.
9. My favorite ways of spending spare time, e.g., hunting, reading, cards, sports events, parties, dancing, social media, etc.
10. What I would appreciate most for a present.

Work (or studies)
1. What I find to be the worst pressures and strains in my studies.
2. What I find to be the most boring and unenjoyably aspects of my studies.
3. What I enjoy most, and get the most satisfaction from in my present work.
4. What I feel are my shortcomings and handicaps that prevent me from working as I’d like to, or that prevent me from getting further ahead in my work.
5. What I feel are my special strong points and qualifications for my work or major.
6. How I feel that others appreciate my work (e.g. fellow classmates, teacher, parents, etc.)
7. My ambitions and goals in work and school.
8. My feelings about the salary or rewards that I get for my work, or the feeling that I have about the grades that I receive for my efforts in studies.
9. How I feel about the choice of career/major, choice of school, or choice of classes that I have made – whether or not I’m satisfied with it.
10. How I really feel about my professors and employers, or classmates and coworkers.

Money
1. How much money I make at my work, or get as an allowance.
2. Whether or not I owe money - if so, how much.
3. Whom I owe money to at present; or whom I have borrowed from in the past.
4. Whether or not I have savings, and the amount.
5. Whether or not others owe me money; the amount, or who owes it to me.
6. Whether or not I gamble; if so, the way I gamble, and the extent of it.
7. All of my present sources of income – wages, fees, allowance, dividends, etc.
8. My total financial worth, including property, savings, bonds, insurance, etc.
9. My most pressing need for money right now, e.g., outstanding bills, some major purchase that is desired or needed.
10. How I budget my money – the proportion that goes to necessities, luxuries, etc.
Personality
1. The aspect of my personality that I dislike, worry about, that I regard as a handicap to me.
2. What feelings, if any, that I have trouble expressing or controlling.
3. The facts of my present sex life – including knowledge of how I get sexual gratification; any problems that I might have, with which I have relations, if anybody.
4. Whether or not I feel that I am attractive to the opposite sex; my problems, if any, about getting favorable attention from the opposite sex.
5. Things in the past or present that I feel ashamed or guilty about.
6. The kinds of things that just make me furious.
7. What it takes to get me feeling really depressed and blue.
8. What it takes to get me really worried, anxious, and afraid.
9. What it takes to hurt my feelings deeply.
10. The kinds of things that make me especially proud of myself, elated, full of self-esteem or self-respect.

Body
1. My feelings about the appearance of my face – things I don’t like, and things that I might like about my face and head – nose, eyes, hair, teeth, etc.
3. My feelings about different parts of my body – legs, hips, waist, weight, chest, or bust, etc.
4. Any problems and worries that I had with my appearance in the past.
5. Whether or not I now have any health problems – e.g., trouble with sleep, digestion, female complaints, heart condition, allergies, headaches, etc.
6. Whether or not I have any long-range worries or concerns about my health, e.g., cancer, ulcers, and heart trouble.
8. Whether or not I now make special efforts to keep fit, healthy, and attractive, e.g., running, swimming, gym, diet, etc.
9. My present physical measurements, e.g., height, weight, waist, etc.
10. My feelings about my adequacy in sexual behavior – whether or not I feel able to perform, or feel I will be able to perform in a sex relationship.

Appendix II
Modified Self-Disclosure Index (Miller, Berg, and Archer 1983)

Original instrument was adapted for use by author from Miller, Berg, and Archer in their 1983 article “Openers: Individuals Who Elicit Intimate Self-Disclosure.”

For this short survey, please answer each of the questions in consideration of your normal tendencies during the first month that you have met someone new. Consider how comfortable you are sharing about yourself with other people who you are beginning to know and will likely have future interactions with, especially if there is a possibility that you will become friends.

Rank the following statements by the degree to which they describe your willingness to share about yourself using the following scale:

0= would discuss not at all
1= would discuss a little
2= would discuss some
3= would discuss in detail
4= would discuss fully and completely

Self-Disclosure
1. Things I have done which I feel guilty about
2. Things I wouldn’t do in public
3. My deepest feelings
4. What I like and dislike about myself
5. What is important to me in life
6. What makes me the person I am
7. My worst fears
8. Things I have done which I am proud of
9. My close relationship with other people

Appendix III

Opener Scale (Miller, Berg, and Archer 1983)

Original instrument was adapted for use by author from Miller, Berg, and Archer in their 1983 article “Openers: Individuals Who Elicit Intimate Self-Disclosure.”

For the purposes of this short survey please answer each of the questions in consideration of your normal tendencies. This scale seeks to determine the degree to which you are comfortable with and perceive yourself able to help others open up to you about themselves. When answering these questions consider the new relationships that you have been making in college, and the friendships that you want to develop.

Respond to the following statements using the following scale:
0= strongly disagree
1= disagree
2= neutral
3= agree
4= strongly agree

Opener Scale
1. People frequently tell me about themselves
2. I’ve been frequently told that I’m a good listener
3. I’m very accepting of others
4. People trust me with their secrets
5. I easily get people to ‘open up’
6. People feel relaxed around me
7. I enjoy listening to people
8. I’m sympathetic to people’s problems
9. I encourage people to tell me how they are feeling
10. I can keep people talking about themselves

Appendix IV

Demographic Survey

This survey simply asks for some descriptive information about you. Please honestly complete the following survey, answering each question as accurately as you can.

1. Gender:
   a. Female
   b. Male

2. U.S. ethnic code:
   a. White (Non Hispanic)
   b. Cambodian, Laotian, or Vietnamese whose family immigrated after 1975
   c. Other Asian or Pacific Islander
   d. American Indian or Alaskan Native
   e. Hispanic/Latin American
   f. Black/African-American

3. College rank:
   a. Freshman
   b. Sophomore
   c. Junior
   d. Senior

4. U.S. Citizen
   a. Yes, yes by birth
   b. Yes, naturalized
   c. No

5. Where did you grow up?
   a. My whole life in the US
   b. 1-5 years overseas/internationally
   c. 5 or more years overseas/internationally

6. My parents worked overseas in mainly this occupation:
   a. Missions/Non-profit, Non-government humanitarian workers
   b. Government/Non-military
   c. Military
   d. Business
   e. Not Applicable

7. Having lived overseas, I came back to the US within the last two years:
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. N/A (answer here if you have not lived overseas)
Appendix V

Interview Questions

Prior to the interview the respondent will:

• Fill out a consent form to be interviewed
• Be informed that the interview is audio recorded, the audio will be transcribed, kept confidential for 3 years per federal requirements, then destroyed (if applicable)
• Be informed that the interview is confidential and anonymous
• Sign a consent to be recorded
• Fill out the Demographics Questionnaire

The open-ended questions/prompts for the interview will be followed by a brief introductory explanation of the study and the use of the interview in the study. The following will be read.

This is a study about American third culture kids who have returned to America to attend college. What I want to study is how you and other TCKs build relationships, and more specifically how you self-disclose, that is how you share about yourself with others. I also want to know how you feel you are able to get others to tell you about themselves. The questions that I have for this interview are very open-ended; I am hoping that you will elaborate and explain what you mean by your answers. The more you feel comfortable sharing for each answer, the better. I want to gain a clear understanding of what you mean.

For the following questions please be honest and open. There are no wrong answers because the right ones are simply what you feel and believe. Before we get started do you have any questions for me?

Once all questions are answered start the audio recording here (if audio is opted for):

1. Think of a recent friendship that you have started fostering. Don’t tell me who it is, but let me know if it is a guy or girl. How did you go about trying to get to know this person initially? What did you talk about? Tell me the story.
2. When you are trying to get to know someone, what are some typical things that you will talk about?
3. Do you feel more comfortable sharing things about yourself with someone or listening to them share things about themselves with you, why?
4. What are the most important topics to talk about when trying build a friendship?
5. Do you find it different when making friends with an American student that grew up in the United States rather than another TCK American student? How?
6. With whom are you more comfortable with making friends with? Why? Do you have an example?
7. When you are trying to make a standing acquaintance, maybe another classmate, into an actual friend, what describes the depth of what you are willing to tell others about yourself? And does it seem to you that others should share in the same way?
8. In general, without referring to something specific, what defines something deep or personal? And who would you be willing to share this with? And how soon in a relationship do you feel that it is appropriate to share that?
Email to Survey Participants

Students!

My name is Mr. Nathan Jurgensen, and I am one of the GSAs for this Coms 101 course. I am also a graduate student in the School of Communication and Creative Arts working to complete the thesis requirement for my Master of Arts degree. If you are interested, I would appreciate your help to complete the research component of my thesis.

I am conducting a study on relationship development patterns among college students. This study looks at how students who have lived overseas for several years develop friendships in college. It also looks at how students who have lived in the United States their entire lives develop relationships. By completing the survey for this study you will be eligible for extra credit. It should only take 15-20 minutes.

Once you have completed the survey, if you email me to let me know that you have completed it, you will be eligible for extra credit. As Dr. Alban has stated in class, there will be several opportunities for extra credit throughout the semester. You will still be able to receive extra credit through other opportunities even if you choose not to participate in this survey.

If you have lived overseas for several years and have come back to the United States for college you may also be interested in participating in an interview. All participants must be at least 18 years old, must be in their first or second year of college, and must have lived overseas for a minimum of five years. Interview participants will have the additional chance to win a $50 Wal-Mart gift card.

If you are interested in participating in the interview, please email me at nrjurgensen@liberty.edu so that I can get in contact with you. The interview will likely take about 30 minutes and will be recorded for the purpose of transcription. All of your responses and your participation will be confidential and carefully handled.

Please access the attached informed consent document prior to proceeding to the survey.
Email to Interview Participants

[Student’s Name],

Thank you for being willing to participate in an interview. Here is a bit of information about what it is and how we can find a time to complete it. I would love to have the chance to sit down and talk with you.

The interview component of this research is purposed to add richness to the data gathered through my survey. It is an informal one-on-one face-to-face interview guided by a series of questions that have been prepared to promote a better understanding of how people who have grown up overseas typically build relationships. The hope is that understanding this better will allow colleges to better assist students who are coming back to school in the United States after having lived overseas for a significant period of time.

Although I will be talking with you face-to-face and will be audio recording the interview for the purpose of accuracy, your identity will remain anonymous in all results and analyses. I will keep all data confidential and secured. Prior to conducting the interview I will further explain the nature of this study and ask for you to review and sign a consent form for the interview and audio recording. The interview will take approximately 15 to 35 minutes. Once completed you will have a chance to win a $50 Wal-Mart gift card.

Again, thank you for your willingness to participate.

Sincerely,

Nathan Jurgensen
Consent for Survey Participation

CONSENT FORM FOR SURVEY PARTICIPATION
Coming Home to Friends: Third Culture Kids and Relational Development through the Lens of Social Penetration Theory
Nathan Jurgensen
Liberty University
School of Communication and Creative Arts

You are invited to be in a research study of the relational development patterns of Third Culture Kid (TCK), students who have lived overseas for a significant period of time while they were growing up. You were selected as a possible participant because you are an undergraduate student in your first or second year of college, 18 or older, and either a traditional American college student or a TCK. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by Nathan Jurgensen, who is a graduate student in School of Communication and Creative Arts at Liberty University. He is also a Graduate Student Assistant for Introductory Communication (Coms 101) with the College of General Studies.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is to look at the differences between how TCKs and traditional American college students build friendships and relationships.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

• Complete an online survey that will take approximately 15-20 minutes.
• Email me at njurgensen@liberty.edu after completing the survey to let me know that you have completed it and are eligible for the available extra credit.
• Email me after completing the survey if you are interested in participating in an additional interview and you meet the following requirements:
  o At least 18 years old.
  o Born in the United States.
  o Have lived overseas at least 5 years between the ages of 5 and 18.
  o Have been back in the US for two years or less prior to college.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study:

This study has risks no greater than what you would encounter in everyday life.

However, the study has several risks:

• You may understand yourself better and seek to change your current relational mode of operation.
• You will be disclosing information about yourself via anonymous and confidential survey.
• If you provide your email for an additional interview, you will remain anonymous to everyone but the primary researcher.
• If you provide your name and communication section number for the available extra credit, you will not be anonymous to the researcher, but your information will remain confidential.
Your GSA will only know that you have, in fact, completed a survey so that they can award you the appropriate extra credit.

The benefits to participation are:
- There are no direct benefits to participants.

Compensation:

Survey participants will receive extra credit in their communication course. However, if you choose not to participate in this survey, you will still have the opportunity to earn extra credit through other opportunities throughout the semester.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only the researcher will have access to the records.

All research data will be kept either electronically or physically, and will remain confidential and anonymous. The electronic data will be kept on a password-protected computer in a password-protected file. The physical data will be kept in a locked drawer at the principle investigators place of residence. Per federal requirements the research data will be kept for a period of three years, at which time, if unneeded, it will be destroyed.

The only case in which you data will not be anonymous will be if you provide your email for the additional interview. In this case you will still remain anonymous to everyone except for the principle investigator.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Liberty University. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is Nathan Jurgensen. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact him at nrjurgensen@liberty.edu. You are also welcome to contact Dr. Faith Mullen, the Faculty Advisor for this study at fmullen@liberty.edu or via phone at (434) 582-2111.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, you are encouraged to contact the Institutional Review Board, 1971 University Blvd, Suite 1837, Lynchburg, VA 24515 or email at irb@liberty.edu.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

IRB Code Numbers: 1763.013114

IRB Expiration Date: 1/31/15
Appendix IX

Consent to Audio recorded Interview

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIORECORDED INTERVIEW
Coming Home to Friends: Third Culture Kids and Relational Development through the Lens of Social Penetration Theory
Nathan Jurgensen
Liberty University
School of Communication and Creative Arts

You are invited to be in a research study of the relational development patterns of Third Culture Kid (TCK), students who have lived overseas for a significant period of time while they were growing up. You were selected as a possible participant because you are an undergraduate student in your first or second year of college, 18 or older, and TCK. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by Nathan Jurgensen, who is a graduate student in School of Communication and Creative Arts at Liberty University. He is also a Graduate Student Assistant for Introductory Communication (Coms 101) in the College of General Studies.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is to look at the differences between how TCKs and traditional American college students build friendships and relationships.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

• Participate in a face-to-face interview that will last approximately 30-45 minutes.
• Consent to be audio recorded.
• Answer questions honestly and accurately to the best of your ability.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study:

This study has risks no greater than what you would encounter in everyday life.

However, the study has several risks:

• You may understand yourself better and seek to change your current relational mode of operation.
• You will be disclosing information about yourself in an interview that will be anonymous to everyone except the primary investigator, although this information will still be confidential.

The benefits to participation are:

• There are no direct benefits to participants.

Compensation:

You may receive a $50 Wal-Mart gift card if you win the drawing from the pool of interview participants.

Confidentiality:
The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only the researcher will have access to the records.

All research data will be kept either electronically or physically, and will remain confidential and anonymous. The electronic data will be kept on a password-protected computer in a password-protected file. The physical data will be kept in a locked drawer at the principle investigators place of residence. Per federal requirements the research data will be kept for a period of three years, at which time, if unneeded, it will be destroyed.

Your data will remain anonymous to everyone except for the principle investigator due to the fact that the interview is face-to-face. The data will otherwise remain confidential and anonymous.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Liberty University. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships. If you decided to withdraw from the study, all data collected in the study from you will be destroyed, and nothing pertaining to your data will be included in analysis.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is Nathan Jurgensen. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact him at nrjurgensen@liberty.edu. You are also welcome to contact Dr. Faith Mullen, the Faculty Advisor for this study at fmullen@liberty.edu or via phone at (434) 582-2111.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, you are encouraged to contact the Institutional Review Board, 1971 University Blvd, Suite 1837, Lynchburg, VA 24515 or email at irb@liberty.edu.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read and understood the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

☐ Please initial here if you consent to be audio recorded.

Signature: ___________________________ Date: _______________

Signature of Investigator: ___________________________ Date: _______________

IRB Code Numbers: 1763.013114

IRB Expiration Date: 01/31/14