Saija Benjamin

“People who don’t live what we live, don’t understand”

Youths’ experiences of hypermobility

Academic dissertation

To be publicly discussed with the permission of the Faculty of Educational Sciences at the University of Helsinki, in the Small hall (Main Building) at Fabianinkatu 33, Helsinki on Friday 25th of August 2017 at 12 o’clock.

Supervisors

Professor *Arto Kallioniemi*, University of Helsinki
Docent *Arniika Kuusisto*, University of Helsinki
Professor *Fred Dervin*, University of Helsinki

Reviewers

Associate Professor *Johanna Waters*, University of Oxford
Docent *Leena Suurpää*, University of Tampere

Custos

Professor *Arto Kallioniemi*, University of Helsinki

Opponent

Professor *Ann Phoenix*, University of London

Copyright @ Publisher & Author

Publisher: Migration Institute of Finland – http://www.migrationinstitute.fi
Publications 16

Cover photo: Bas van den Eijkhof – freeimages.com (#1333959)

ISBN 978-952-7167-37-3 (printed)
ISBN 978-952-7167-38-0 (eBook)
ISSN 2343-3507 (printed)
ISSN 2343-3515 (eBook)

Painosalama Oy, Turku, Finland 2017

University of Helsinki, Faculty of Educational Sciences

Saija Benjamin

"People who don't live what we live, don't understand"

Youths' experiences of hypermobility

Abstract

This qualitative PhD study examines the lived experiences of eight young individuals who moved from one country to another several times during their childhood because of their parents' profession, hence the term *hyper*mobility in the title. As international, work-based mobility is increasing, it is of critical importance to observe how it affects childhood in general and how the children experience it in particular. The various socio-emotional aspects related to children's hypermobility – often overlooked in discourses surrounding internationalization – are examined.

This interdisciplinary study is situated in the field of intercultural education and guided by the following research question: *How do children relocating with their families experience hypermobility?* The data were gathered in Prague in 2013 with one-to-one semi-structured interviews that were conducted in English with eight youths (13 to 17 years old) who had moved internationally several times during their childhood and who had a "mixed" parental heritage. The interviews were complemented with self-chosen photographs and a life-grid. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA, Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009) was used as the methodological and analytical framework for the study.

Four master themes emerged from the analysis as the predominant topics regarding the informants' experiences of hypermobility. The themes disclose 1) the pervasive feelings of ephemerality and uncertainty outlining the youths' everyday lives and relationships, 2) the different strategies the youths' deploy to cope with the psychological strain related to the major life changes, 3) the ways the youths resort to *multivoiced* biographical narratives as a way to understand and describe the self, and 4) the feelings of connectedness that are grounded in self-created imageries, personal memories and (trans-generational) family narratives. In addition to the master themes, the role of international schools is discussed as significant in the youths' identity and worldview development and as an environment where the youths' complex life trajectories are normalized and validated.

The rising calls for closed borders and nationalism necessitate increasing awareness of the diverse ways of being and belonging in societies and com-

munities. Although based on a small sample of informants, this study opens a window for examining one way of inhabiting this world through the experiences of young mobile individuals. The findings enhance the current understanding of what it is like to grow up in the midst of international relocations in a world predominantly defined by sedentary norms and majority. The study's conclusions should also prove to be particularly valuable to parents who consider or pursue an international career and for educators who work in schools with a high student turnover.

Keywords: youth, third culture kids, international mobility, expatriates, international education

Helsingin yliopisto, Kasvatustieteellinen tiedekunta

Saija Benjamin

"Ne, jotka eivät koe samaa kuin me, eivät voi ymmärtää." Nuorten kokemuksia toistuvasta kansainvälisestä muuttoliikkeestä

Tiivistelmä

Tässä laadullisessa väitöstutkimuksessa tarkastellaan kahdeksan nuoren omakohtaisia kokemuksia siitä, millaista on lapsuus, kun perhe muuttaa useamman kerran maasta toiseen vanhempien työn vuoksi. Koska kansainvälinen työperäinen liikkuvuus on kasvussa, on kriittisen tärkeää selvittää, millaisia vaikutuksia sillä on lapsuuteen, ja erityisesti kuinka lapset itse kokevat toistuvan muuttamisen. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on syventää ja laajentaa ymmärrystä lasten muuttamiseen liittyvistä sosioemotionaalisista näkökohdista, joita on toistaiseksi tutkittu suhteellisen vähän ja jotka jäävät usein muiden kansainvälistymiseen liittyvien ulottuvuuksien varjoon.

Tämä monitieteinen väitöstutkimus sijoittuu monikulttuurisen kasvatuksen kentälle ja sen päätutkimuskysymys selvittää *kuinka vanhempiensa mukana muuttavat lapset kokevat toistuvan kansainvälisen muuttamisen.* Tutkimusjoukkoon valittiin 13-17–vuotiaita nuoria, jotka ovat muuttaneet valtioidenvälisesti useamman kerran lapsuutensa aikana ja joilla on vanhempiensa kansallisuuksien perusteella "kansainvälinen" perhe. Tutkimusaineisto kerättiin Prahassa vuonna 2013 englanninkielisten teemahaastattelujen avulla, joita täydensivät nuorten itse valitsemat valokuvat sekä life-grid–taulukko. Aineisto analysoitiin tulkitsevan fenomenologisen analyysin (IPA Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009) avulla.

Analyysissa tutkittavien tulkinnat jaettiin neljän pääteeman alle, jotka tarkastelevat 1) nuorten arkielämää värittäviä väliaikaisuuden ja epävarmuuden tunteita, 2) selviytymisstrategioita, joiden avulla nuoret jälleenrakentavat arkielämänsä ja sosiaalisen verkostonsa aina uudelleen, 3) nuorten omakuvaa, joka näyttäytyy moniäänisenä narratiivina, johon kytkeytyvät kaikki elämänpolun vaiheet sekä 4) nuorten kuulumisentunteita, jotka rakentuvat luotujen mielikuvien, muistojen ja suvussa kulkevien tarinoiden varaan. Pääteemojen lisäksi pohditaan myös kansainvälisten koulujen merkittävää roolia nuorten identiteetin ja maailmankuvan kehittymisessä sekä paikkoina, joissa heidän monisyiset elämänpolkunsa koetaan normaaleiksi.

Voimistuvan nationalismin ja sulkeutuvien valtionrajojen aikakaudella on tärkeää kiinnittää huomio erilaisiin tapoihin olla, elää ja kuulua yhteiskuntiin ja yhteisöihin. Vaikka tutkimuksen otanta on pieni, se avaa ikkunan toisenlaisen

arkielämän tarkasteluun liikkuvien nuorten omakohtaisten kokemusten kautta. Tutkimuksen tulokset laajentavat ymmärrystä siihen, millaista on elää jatkuvassa kansainvälisessä liikkeessä maailmassa, jossa globalisoitumisesta huolimatta yksilö edelleen pitkälti määritellään kansalaisuuteen ja pysyvyyteen nojaavien normien perusteella. Tutkimustulokset voivat olla arvokkaita myös vanhemmille, jotka luovat kansainvälistä uraa tai harkitsevat sellaista, sekä kasvattajille, jotka työskentelevät kouluissa, joissa oppilaskanta on liikkuvaa.

Avainsanat: nuoriso, kolmannen kulttuurin lapset, kansainvälinen liikkuvuus, ekspatriaatit, kansainvälinen kasvatus

Acknowledgments

This PhD dissertation opens a small window to observe someone else's experiences with curiosity and an open mind. I believe that at times like these, we need to open as many windows as we can to increase our understanding of each other – awareness is often followed by acceptance and harmony. For me conducting this research opened up an entire gallery of different portraits, all unique and fascinating. I want to express my gratefulness to the Faculty of Educational Sciences at the University of Helsinki for giving me the entrance ticket to this gallery six years ago.

I am still touched by the way Professor Arto Kallioniemi took me under his wings when I first told him about my dream to conduct a study on highly mobile children. I want to thank him for trusting me, for his advise regarding my PhD in general and for his support with the grant applications in particular.

I had the privilege to be Docent Arniika Kuusisto's first PhD student (not the first one to graduate, though!). The way she guided me through this entire process was exemplary – I could not have been luckier. Arniika has taught me enormously about doing research, especially with youth and children. I've valued her fine-tuned advice on research ethics, researcher's position, and reporting the findings. Her feedback was always discerning and constructive, and co-writing three articles with her was illuminating and a real pleasure. Above all I want to thank Arniika for the continuous encouragement and support I received at both professional and emotional levels since the beginning.

Shortly after I started my PhD, professor Fred Dervin joined the faculty and I had the honor to join his brilliant team of PhD students. In his unique and straightforward ways, Fred opened my eyes to review in a more critical light the ideas, concepts and presuppositions related to diversities that are often so carelessly used in mundane discourses and academic debates. He helped me to develop my own thinking and adopt an analytical approach to all kinds of "truth". Co-editing a book with him was instructive and I am grateful for his confidence in me in the project that taught me so much. I want to thank Fred for his support and sharp-sighted feedback throughout the PhD process.

I would like to thank the examiners Professor Johanna Waters and Docent Leena Suurpää for their insightful comments and feedback concerning this dissertation. I am honored to have Professor Ann Phoenix as opponent, and I want to thank her for accepting this important role. Thank you Sirpa Lappalainen for acting as evaluator for my thesis. My gratitude goes also to Wihuri Foundation, which provided funding for this work for two years. I am delighted

that the Finnish Institute of Migration agreed to publish this dissertation, thank you for your trust.

I send my warmest thoughts to my wonderful PhD seminar colleagues Amin Alemanji, Kaisa Hahl, Anu Härkönen, Tuija Itkonen, Mika Launikari, Heidi Layne, Pia-Maria Niemi, Tanja Riikonen and Anna-Leena Riitaoja. Thank you for the interesting discussions, peer support and peer reviewing over the past years. Thank you Amin for conducting a small study and co-writing two articles with me, I enjoyed and learned a lot from our project. A big bow of gratitude goes for Kaisa, who kindly enabled my on-line participation in the seminars countless times through Skype. Thank you Kaisa for being my eyes and ears and for always thinking about me. Thank you all "Derviniens" for making this journey less lonely for me by letting me join the seminars from the distance.

I have a special place in my heart for Marjaana Kavonius and Essi Ikonen, with whom I have shared unforgettable moments in Helsinki and Tallinn. Your peer support has meant a lot to me.

Thank you Marja Laine for trusting me with a huge project at the beginning of my PhD studies and for all the other projects that followed. I have learned so much by working with you and from your astonishing expertise in the field of Finnish cultural heritage and education.

I want to thank Viktorija Čeginskas, Ulla Heinonen and my aunt Marja Szodruch for their valuable feedback regarding my study. Thank you Salla Keski-Saari and Mira Huusko for patiently answering my countless questions. I am also grateful to John Gage and Ian Dobson for checking the language in my papers. Thank you Duo-projekti for great collaboration over the years. Heartfelt thanks to Valisa Krairiksh for sharing her captivating life-story with me at the beginning of my PhD that helped me design the research interviews.

I want to thank the wonderful youths that took part in my study. This dissertation is about you. Your experiences are to me an endless source of inspiration. I am also profoundly thankful for and inspired by the amazing people who are part of my own narrative and whose unique border-crossing stories have contributed to this dissertation each in their own way: mon astrologue préféré Jacqueline, my sis-in-law Caroline, mes beau-frères François & Andrew, Joshua, Sophia, Ville J., Johki & Kenneth, Eeva & Mike, Hanna & Neil, Moneshia & Johannes, Gina & Patrick, Umesh, Jie Hui, Yoanna, Anu, Merika, Riikka, Riina, Sanna, Suvi, Les Filles de "Mensa": Helena, Johanna, Lilli, Maiju & Suvi-Tuulia, Biamel & Kaarel, Anja & Nico, Rachid & Samira and les amis "Mousquetaires". You are the most precious souvenirs I have taken from my journey that I always keep close to heart.

This PhD has witnessed several laborious new beginnings: in the past 6 years we have moved from the Czech Republic to France, I have given birth to a child, we have launched a family business and moved yet another time to a

new house in a new city. While the things surrounding me have changed and will probably change again, there is always one thing remaining. My family. My parents and sisters mean the world to me. I know that whatever happens, they'll always have my back. Thank you Äiti, Iskä, Hanna and Mirkka for your constant support, help and encouragement during these years. Lots of hearts and *likes* also go to my beautiful nephews and nieces Siiri, Alvar, Elias, Elina, Lilja, and to my brother-in-law Janne. I may live far away, but my roots are deeply anchored in the community we form and in the soil of our summerhouse in Ristiina. All these together constitute my personal, meaningful *niche* providing for me feelings of continuity, stability and belonging.

This PhD would never have been done if a certain stranger hadn't crossed my path in the Finnish countryside 17 years ago. Alex and I were young, brave, in love and embarked on an international journey without really thinking where it might take us. As it appears, it took us to a wonderful itinerary full of surprises and challenges. Mon amour, you have always encouraged me to follow my dreams and you have believed in me more than I have myself. You are my rock and my cherished partner in life. Thank you for your solid faith in me, and thank you for walking this path by my side. Thank you Stars for making us meet.

Alex and I have been blessed with three sons. Yoseph, Noah and Nelson, you are the most beautiful gifts life has given to me. There is nothing more important to me than your happiness and well-being. That is why I made this PhD, worked so much on my computer and was often absent-minded. I made this study because I wanted to understand what it might mean for you that we move and live in different countries. My darlings, now it's done. *This book is written for the three of you*.

Alex, boys, we still don't know where we are going and when, but you know, we don't have to know. Because when we are together, we are already home.

On June 21st 2017, on the first day of summer

Saija

List of contents

Acknowledgments ... 7

1. Introduction ... 13

1.1 International mobility ... 14
1.2 Reaching beyond "Third Culture Kids" ... 16

2. Conceptual Framework ... 19

2.1 Identity and belonging in the context of mobility ... 19
2.1.1 The *multivoiced* self ... 20
2.1.2 Uncharted places of belonging ... 23
2.2 The specificities of worldview development in the context of hypermobility ... 25
2.2.1 Values and worldviews transmitted through school education ... 29
2.2.2 International education and global citizenship ... 30
2.3 Conclusions on the conceptual framework ... 32

3. Research questions ... 34

4. Research Process ... 36

4.1 Philosophical underpinnings of the study ... 36
4.2 Methodological framework ... 39
4.2.1 Research approach: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis ... 39
4.2.2 Limitations of IPA ... 41
4.3 Informant sampling ... 41
4.4 Data collection ... 43
4.4.1 Life-grid ... 45
4.4.2 Photographs ... 46
4.4.3 Parent questionnaires ... 47
4.5 Data analysis ... 48
4.6 Researcher's position ... 52
4.7 Delimitations, reliability and validity ... 56

4.8 Reflections on the case study of two international schools 59
4.9 Ethical considerations 61

5. Summary of the Publications I–IV 64

6. Findings and discussion 66

6.1 The informants 66
6.2 Individual informant themes 75
6.3 Master themes for the group 77
6.4 Life settings: select "international" – on hypermobile childhood 79
6.5 Press restart and play – on coping with moving and change 83
6.6 The mobile me – on identity and worldviews 88
6.7. Connecting... – on belonging 92
6.8 International schools as agents in transmitting values and worldviews 99

7. Conclusions 102

7.1 On studying youth identities 103
7.2 On hypermobile childhood 104
7.3 On coping with moving and change 105
7.4 On identity 106
7.5 On belonging 109
7.6 On international education and worldviews 111
7.7 Turning the gaze beyond this study 115

References 118

Appendices 129

Original publications 139

List of original publications

(I) Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). Analytical and methodological considerations for the use of social categories in identity research. *International Journal of Bias, Identity and Diversities in Education*, 1(1), 13–27.

(II) Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). Kansainvälisyys oletusasetuksena elämässä. M. Peltola, M & A. Kivijärvi (toim.), *Lapset ja nuoret muuttoliikkeessä – Nuorten elinolot 2016 vuosikirja*. Nuorisotutkimusverkoston julkaisusarja 185. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusseura, 79–90.

Originally published in Finnish and translated into English: Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). Internationality as a default setting in life. M. Peltola & A. Kivijärvi (eds.), *The mobility of Children and Youth – Yearbook of youths' living conditions 2016*. Helsinki: Finnish Youth Research Network, 79–90.

(III) Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). 'Identity is experience—my experience is where I'm from'. Towards a wider understanding of worldview pluralism in educational settings. *Journal of Religious Education*, 63(2), 51–64. First published online in May 2016.

(IV) Benjamin, S. & Alemanji, A. (2017). "That makes us very unique." A closer look at the institutional habitus of two international schools in Finland and France. T. Itkonen & F. Dervin (eds.), *Silent partners in Multicultural Education*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 93–116.

* * *

The original publications have been reproduced with the kind permission of the copyright holders.

1.

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to increase understanding of how international mobility is experienced by children who have moved from one country to another in relatively frequent intervals because of their parents' career assignments and/or choices. In particular, this interdisciplinary study focuses on the experiences of hypermobile youth aged 13 to 17 who have experienced several international moves during their childhood. The concept *hypermobility* has been linked to the plurality and intensity of the forms of mobility existing in the contemporary societies, for example, (Dervin & Ljalikova 2008) or to a lifestyle closely associated with the extended professional traveling of the mobile "elite" (Cohen & Gössling 2015). In the context of this study, however, hypermobility is taken in the literal sense of the term where "hyper" refers to "excessive" and describes life settings that are dictated and impacted by repeated international movement. As international work-based mobility is increasing, it is of critical importance to examine how it affects childhood in general and how the children experience it in particular. Internationally mobile children have been approached through the category "Third Culture Kids" in a number of studies and from different perspectives, but the discussion around the theme tends to be dominated by retrospective accounts on mobile childhood (e.g. Tannenbaum & Tseng 2015; Selmer 2014; Dessing 2013; Moore & Barker 2012; Hoersting & Jenkins 2011; Bonebright 2010; Fail, Thompson & Walker 2004). What have hitherto been subjected to too little study are the socio-emotional aspects related to these children's mobility at the time they are unfolding. This study aims to fill this gap by examining how eight hypermobile youths make sense of their lives in the midst of mobility. Respecting the unique qualities and life trajectories of each informant, this study has an idiographic focus that implies that everyone is unique and should therefore be studied in an individual way. Thus the informants are not considered as if they are part of a homogeneous group, but each informant's narrative forms a separate analytical case. However, in order to observe hypermobility from the youths' viewpoint at a more

general level, the convergences and the shared aspects between the informants' experiences are also examined through four broader master themes that represent a thorough and synthesized analysis of the youths' experiences of hypermobility. This study is interdisciplinary in that it is situated in the field of intercultural education, but draws also on theories and ideas from psychology and the social sciences. The study is analytically and methodologically guided by Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009).

This study focuses on the children of professional expatriates who move because of work-based motivations, thus omitting from the analysis the children of other types of migrating families. The families not included consist of immigrants moving from country A to country B with the intention of staying and families moving for humanitarian reasons or those in search of adventures or extended holidays. Although some aspects featured in this study may also resonate with the experiences of the children of these families, and even though these children evidently have their own unique stories to tell, they have been left out of the scope of this study because of the major differences in the motivations, options, resources and circumstances underlying their families' mobility.

This thesis begins with a description of the phenomenon of international mobility as it relates to this study and continues with the conceptual framework discussing the central notions around the theme, as they are understood in this study. The research problem and the sub-questions are presented with regards to the four publications each answering one sub-question. For the reader to understand how the young informants were approached in this study and how the data were gathered and analyzed, the thesis moves on with a thorough presentation of the methodological framework, the data collection and analysis. Finally, all parts are set together as a whole, as the main findings are discussed and the concluding remarks on these are reviewed.

1.1 International mobility

> *"In every region of the world, throughout recorded history, men and women have traveled great distances – in pursuit of trade, of empire, or knowledge, of converts, of slaves – shaping the minds and the material lives of people in other regions with objects and ideas from far away. (...) We have always been a traveling species." (Appiah, 2007, p. 215).*

Migration is a central phenomenon in the history of the human kind. Besides the conflicts it has evidently initiated, migration has most importantly permitted an exchange of values, ideas, philosophies, products and manpower

between distant places. During the past decades the means of travel have developed and the simplicity of communication and access to information on the internet have escalated these exchanges bringing the societies to a setting that has been generally entitled as "globalization", or perhaps more precisely as "hybridization" when it comes to ideas, customs, material, traditions and border-crossing of all type (Pieterse 1994) and as "pluralism" regarding human diversities and worldviews.

As a consequence of globalization, international mobility and permanent dislocation are consistent features of life for more and more people. Today, more than 230 million people are living outside their birth countries (United Nations 2013). The number is rapidly increasing with the current so-called crises in the Middle East causing millions of refugees to leave home. Next to the people migrating for humanitarian reasons, the number of individuals and families moving for economic or professional purposes is steadily increasing (ibid). In addition to the diplomats and missionaries, multinational companies and organizations are sending their employees abroad for assignments. Within the broad pool of migrants these itinerants can be considered as privileged, as they belong to a relatively wealthy, educated group of professionals whose move is often supported by the sending organization and most importantly, depending on the personal and the family's situation, their movement is more or less voluntary and not based on necessity or distress.

Consequently, an increasing number of children have a childhood that has been stamped by frequent international moves whilst they follow their parents' job assignments. While some children end up spending only a few years abroad and then return home, some children continue moving from one country to another for their entire childhood. The experiences of this particular group of children are the center of interest of this dissertation. These children's growing up settings differ from those that are considered as "normal", at least from an "occidental" perspective. First, because of the recurrent moves, they constantly transition in and out of places, contexts and friendships, houses and schools during their formative years. This type of repeated moving is characteristic for the traditionally mobile people like the Sami or the Roma, but atypical for the majority (about 97%) of people in the world living predominantly within the borders of their native country (UN 2013). This number, however, does not take into account the numerous people who, at one point of their life, live abroad for a certain period of time for various reasons. Second, while the mobility of the Sami or the Roma is trans-generational, the internationally mobile children viewed in this study are most often the first generation to experience such mobility in the family history. The absence of models for identification, i.e. the lack of support of meaningful examples of traditions in intergenerational lifestyle, adds a supplementary layer of complexity to their identity construction processes.

Third, the citizenship of a nation-state is traditionally thought to provide people with a national identity and situate them within a certain physical, legal, social and emotional framework, also called a "homeland" (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002; Billig 1995). Social categories like nationality can help people structure the world around them and create a sense of security. However, in the era of "hybridization" (Pieterse 1994), these categories are more challenging to assign for more and more people, and especially for individuals who are constantly on the move.

Most often the scholarly and public discourses around international mobility concern the development of intercultural competencies (e.g. Guilherme, Glaser & Garcia 2010), or the transforming cultural practices, the cross-border connections and the phenomenon of localities turning into transnational spaces by the influence of the passers-by (Rizvi 2009). These discourses often consider the mobile professionals as exemplars of "cosmopolitanism", i.e. as adaptable global citizens leading a nomadic, cross-national lifestyle (e.g. Wagner 1998; Appiah 1997; Bauman 1996). Yet moving, especially between countries, is considered to be a major stress factor in life (e.g. Madison 2009; Dixon & Hayden 2008; Kim 2008) and can involve important physical, emotional and social costs for the individual experiencing it (Cohen & Gössling 2015). Although the sending or the receiving organization typically assists the families with practical matters and the necessary paperwork, less support is available for the psychological turmoil produced by the move.

In effect, the apparent simplicity of moving and the other, more dominant discourses often eclipse the socio-emotional aspects related to mobility, especially considering children. Stepping away from general descriptions of mobile individuals, this study turns the gaze onto the internationally mobile children and their subjective experiences of living and thriving in mobility.

1.2 Reaching beyond "Third Culture Kids"

In literature and research, children who move for their parents' professional choices are usually called "Third Culture Kids" ("TCKs", Pollock & Van Reken 2009; Useem & Downie 1976). This title is based on an assumption that there are three cultures involved in the international sojourn experience; the "first culture" (that of the parents), and the "second culture" (that of the host country), and the "third culture", that refers to a hybrid combination of elements of the first and the second culture and that is thought to form a mental framework within which the children grow up. The notorious "TCK mantra", so often quoted in studies and texts on Third Culture Kids, postulates: "The third culture kid builds

relationships to all the cultures, while not having full ownership of any" (Pollock & Van Reken 2009, p. 22). While the dichotomies between cultures may have been more noticeable at the time when the term TCK was coined in the 1960s (American families working in India), in the light of the postmodern understanding of culture this famous assumption becomes problematic, consequently problematizing the very notion of Third Culture Kid. First, it is criticized because it remains a mere metaphorical conceptualization based on local descriptions of national identity and on particular expectations of the outcomes of sojourning outside the country of origin (Pearce & Cambridge 2008). Second, as the meaning of the term culture has been diluted (Abdallah-Pretceille 2013; Dervin 2011; Rizvi 2009), the "cultures" involved in the child's mobility experience are almost impossible to define. According to Kim (2008), "culture has become a nostalgic concept" (p. 359) that, in most Western societies (Mesoudi, Magid & Hussain 2016), can no longer be described in ways other then through general observations of the local norms, customs and legislation that reflect the history and current political and religious aspirations or policies of the nation. Although these norms can impact the individual's behavior and experiences to a certain extent (Hall 1990), their effect on people's *identities* and *worldviews* remains marginal compared to the influence of the lived experiences, education, faith, social class and cognitive abilities (Banks 2006), to name a few. Third, defining someone's "culture", be it the "first" or the "second", is even more problematic in the context of international mobility, especially regarding children with "mixed" parental origins. While the "traditional" immigrant trajectories (like those of the very first TCKs in India) are often outlined by a move from place A to place B, most hypermobile children (like the ones observed in this study) often have no explicit place of departure and no certainty of permanent settlement. Like the title of Publication II *(Internationality as a default setting in life)* implies, mobility is a normal, almost a taken for granted facet in these children's lives. They have moved – and in most cases will move again – from one country to another for their entire childhood, thus they typically have no place of return. They have normally not spent a substantial number of years in one country to be acculturated (Kim 2008) therein. The level of acculturation, i.e. the acquisition of new norms, practices and language, naturally depends on the length of stay and the degree of contact with host nationals (McCaig 1996). However, as discussed in Publication III, most often these children lack real exposure and knowledge regarding both their countries "of origin" and their countries of residence.

Alas, no other reckoned concept has emerged from the large body of research and literature published in the past decades to better illustrate the internationally mobile children's experiences. Gradually Third Culture Kids has become a popular concept both in research and media, mainly due to the much-advertised advantages the international lifestyle is purported to develop in children (e.g.

Pascoe 2006). In effect, the attractive idea conveyed by the "third culture experience" has resulted in an overuse of the concept. Currently Third Culture Kid may mean almost any child who has sojourned abroad, including short and/or one-off stays. Sometimes the concept is even used to describe the realities of children from "mixed", i.e. cross-religious, multiethnic, bi-national or bilingual families. All the glamorization around TCKs has "macdonaldized" the concept and loaded it with positivizing and essentializing stereotypes and therefore it can no longer be considered to be a satisfactory notion for describing the individual experiences of continuous mobility and dislocation in childhood (further discussed and analyzed in the volume "Beyond Third Culture Kids by Benjamin & Dervin 2015). However, for some internationally mobile individuals, especially former Third Culture Kids (Adult TCKs) the concept has become psychologically relevant in terms of identification, sense of belonging and recognition and may represent the unique social category they feel fully fitting in and entitled to (e.g. Grote 2015; Walters & Auton-Cuff 2009; Peterson et al. 2009; Fail 2004, see also the Facebook group "Third Culture Kids everywhere"). Tanu (2015) argues that the concept Third Culture Kid should better be understood as an "emotionally powerful insider (emic) construct that narrates identity and belonging for people with a transnational upbringing in the same way that 'Italy' or 'Indonesia' represent geographical and emotional homelands, but are insufficient as analytical concepts" (p. 14).

Whether Third Culture Kid is used as an unproblematic category demarcating identities and features or as an enticing, new title for the outcome of children's international experiences, or simply for marketing purposes, the concept is here to stay. This study, however, acknowledges the problems related to the TCK title, which are overuse and oversimplification and attempts to avoid any general assumptions on hypermobile children that often fail to reflect the reality of identity experiences at the level of individuals. Therefore, this study discards the title TCK as a loaded category and brackets the notion of culture as *the* influential element in describing children's international mobility. Instead, it focuses on examining the lived experiences of young individuals, who shall hereafter be referred to as internationally mobile or hypermobile children/youth.

2.

Conceptual Framework

This section discusses the notions that emerge from the existing educational and socio-psychological literature as significant for the examination of the lived experiences of the internationally mobile youths and explains how they are understood and applied in this study.

2.1 Identity and belonging in the context of mobility

The concept of "identity" is central to most research in the fields of education, psychology and social and cultural studies. In this study *identity* is a relevant concept in the broadest meaning of it, because identity is everything that touches the self – identity is the *experience of me* deeply intertwined and embedded in the contexts and relationships. If we are to investigate and understand people's experiences and the meanings ascribed to these, for example, we need to observe the filter through which these experiences are interpreted – the filter being the conception of the self at that time, at that moment, in that given context. In this study, the concept of identity is approached from an intersubjective perspective, postulating that individuals are engaged in a continuous process of thinking and reviewing their self-understandings and positions vis-à-vis the others and the society(ies). In accordance with Bauman (2004), identity seems to have become a key concept for understanding the changes in the social life and the individuals' personal experiences in the contemporary world.

Despite the increasing multi-faceted nature of modern-day individuals and the hybridization of cultures and social structures (Pieterse 1994), many nation-states, researchers, schools and educators still operate with traditional social categories, which portray societies that are disappearing, especially for youth. The same applies to the category Third Culture Kids. Although internationally mobile children are essentially a miscellaneous collection of young serial mi-

grants with different backgrounds, family contexts, aspirations and transnational trajectories, they are often viewed as a uniform group sharing certain "unique" features (e.g. intercultural awareness, adaptability, open-mindedness, identity confusion etc. e.g. Pollock & Van Reken 2009) and having feelings of rootlessness and "cultural homelessness" (Vivero & Jenkins 1999). As discussed earlier, on one hand the defined categories such as TCK can be helpful, as they may provide individuals with a psychologically relevant identity marker in terms of an imagined "in-group". On the other hand, the standardizing rhetoric surrounding the "third culture experience" can have negative consequences, as the rather single sided story it tells about the identities and experiences of these children flattens the true complexity and multidimensionality of each individual and reduces all their possible memberships under one narrow category loaded with assumptions.

2.1.1 The *multivoiced* self

In order to avoid resorting to the use of any pre-fixed categories in research and in particular in this study, the this section takes a closer look at identity and the possibilities to examine it without doing so. It builds on the analytical basis established in Publication I *(Analytical and methodological considerations for the use of social categories in identity research)*. The article's conclusions suggest reaching "beyond" the fixed and predetermined conceptions and descriptions of social categories in research. These categories, hypothetically describing the "identities" of certain groups or persons, often paint a limited, sometimes even a false picture of the individuals in question. The article also emphasizes that added sensitivity is necessary when examining or discussing someone's identity, whether the reference is to individual or group identities. This is particularly relevant for educators, as they, among other authorities, hold a lot of power in terms of attitudes, values, and knowledge they more or less consciously transmit to their students through education. Educators convey to the children images and descriptions of different social groups and of the status these groups have regarding the mainstream population in the society. These ideas shape the children's worldviews and strengthen their nascent understandings of the self as a member of certain groups. However, as highlighted in Publication I, the true significance of a group membership for the individual can never be judged from the outside. All people are connected with one way or another to various groups, but these groups' meaning for the individual remains deeply inter-subjective. In the following, the different elements influencing the construction and the perception of the self are examined and the contextual particularities of hypermobile individuals are considered.

This study focuses on youth who are 13 to 17 years old, thus in the midst of adolescence. Adolescence is a unique life stage, as it involves relatively quick physical and cognitive changes that usually lead the youth to an intensified examination of the self as an individual and as a part of a society (Xing, Chico, Lambouth III, Brittian & Schwartz 2015). The individual process of positioning oneself within the values and worldview continua and in relation to one's social connections intensifies (e.g. Erikson 1968). Adolescence is seen as a period of search, during which the youth reexamine and evaluate their childhood identifications and explore their personal interests, options and commitments. Many youths also become deeply interested in knowing more about the different groups they are members of or would like to be (Phinney 1990; Banks 2006). Comparing oneself to others socially, physically, intellectually and biographically is a recurrent process. As Ulrich Beck argues, "Identity excludes. For every "We" there is a "Them," the people not like us" (Beck 2011, 56). This phase of self-exploration is commonly referred to as *identity development* (Xing et al. 2015 p. 187). However, despite the momentary intensity during these years, identity development neither begins nor ends with adolescence: scholars tend to agree on a post-modern vision of identity as a continuous process (e.g. Brubaker & Cooper 2000), whereby the self is socially and continually (re)constructed through interaction (e.g. Dervin 2010) and language (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall 2005) amongst other things for the entire life span (Hoogland 2015). This vision of identity overrides and problematizes the older perimeters of the static, conventional and categorical conception of cultural/national/religious/ethnic identities, as discussed in the attached original Publication I.

While identity as a complex, continuous process is not measurable as such and even getting explicit depictions of it may be difficult, research can focus on the central elements involved in the process, such as meanings, emotions, actions and the play of different voices in the participant's discourses (Monrad 2013; Hermans 2001). These elements may reveal relevant and illuminating aspects of individuals' self-image that would otherwise remain hidden. Brubaker & Cooper's model (2000), presented in Publication I, proposed ways to approach identity from three alternative angles – through the analysis of the individual's identifications, self-understandings and feelings of connectedness – that take into account the situation, the context and the social positioning of the individual. This model demonstrates the complexity of identity and bringing forth the different dimensions present in the individual's identity construction. However, to increase further my understanding of identity as a fluid process before embarking the study of youths' live experiences, I turned to Hubert Hermans's theory of the dialogical self (TDS) (Hermans 2001; 2003; 2012; Hermans & Dimaggio 2007) that, in addition to Brubaker & Cooper's model, helped me to comprehend better the *multivoiced* nature of identity. The Dialogical Self

Theory argues that the "self" consists of multiple "selves" that are interacting with each other in a dialogical fashion. Drawing on figures like Mikhail Bakhtin and George Herbert Mead, Hermans suggests the existence of a multivoiced dialogical self that is involved in perpetual internal and external interchanges (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007, 35). The dialogical self can be understood as a range of I-positions in the individual's mind. I-positions are both "internal" (e.g. I as a girl, bi-sexual, college student, daughter, hip-hop dancer) and "external", as extended to the realities and environments outside the inner self (e.g. my friend, my school, my country, my enemy). Dialogues take place between internal positions (e.g. conflict between the positions as a daughter and as a bi-sexual), between internal and external (e.g. I as college student disagreeing with my teacher) and between external and external positions (listening to my friend's racist comments about my relatives) (ibid, 36). The voices interact and are involved in processes of agreement and disagreement, conflict and negotiation. Regarding the informants of the present study, the dialogue between the different voices (or positions) was powerfully present and detectable in their narratives. As discussed in Publication III (*Identity is experience—my experience is where I'm from*), these dialogues and negotiations became visible when the informants were trying to make sense of their multiple roles as children, siblings, and friends in different contexts, and of their positions as outsiders, insiders, and as someone in-between different social groups. According to Hermans (2012), it is within the constant interplay of these positions that "a complex, multivoiced, narratively structured self" is created (p. 8).

TDS postulates that the individual self-understandings and identifications should be understood "as being extended to the global and local environments" (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007, 49) thus interconnecting the self and society. The changes and developments in the local and global environments lead to changes and developments in the self and vice-versa (Hermans 2012, 4). Globalization especially impacts the individual's position repertoire by increasing the range of possible positions, because people are confronted with myriad of opinions and ideologies that are different from those of their own. This phenomenon can also be called "cosmopolitanization" (Beck 2011), signifying an emergence of multiple loyalties, interpenetration of national cultures and a "diversification of diversities" (ibid, 55). The pace of changes impacts the self by generating feelings of *uncertainty*. Uncertainty results from the increasing density, complexity and heterogeneity in the societies and the multiplicity of the voices in the self (Hermans 2012, 13). Hermans & Dimaggio (2007) argue that even today, people are largely driven by the biologically rooted needs for stability and security. But as globalization and cosmopolitanization gradually dilute the significance and authority of the traditional social categories, ideologies, and institutions that used to "restrict" and "guide" the children in their

growing up and identification processes, the children may now experience increased feelings of uncertainty. This is not necessarily a negative experience as it may open new vistas for exploration and questioning the worldviews and lifestyles that the previous generations used to take for granted. However, when intensified, the experience of uncertainty may lead to feelings of insecurity and anxiety. Hermans & Dimaggio point out that the natural way to respond to these feelings is to find a "niche" in an ideology or a group, viewed as capable to provide for one identity markers, security and certainty (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007; Hermans 2012).

Hermans' theory of a dialogical nature of the self is particularly relevant regarding hypermobile children who need to balance their needs for stability and security in the realms dictated by mobility and change and who undergo repeated (dis)engagements with their social worlds (e.g. Triebel 2015; Sears 2011; Nette & Hayden 2006) and are thus challenged to make sense of their different positions, memberships and affiliations – whether they be nominal or imagined – in an intensified fashion.

2.1.2 Uncharted places of belonging

On the basis of the Dialogical Self Theory and the idea that people are deeply driven by the needs of stability and security, it is understandable that so many studies on mobile individuals, especially on Third Culture Kids, put the feelings of belonging at the center stage of scrutiny (e.g. Tannenbaum & Tseng 2015; Bagnall 2012, Navarrete & Jenkins 2011; Moore & Barker 2012; Grimshaw & Sears 2008; Nette & Hayden 2007; Fail et al. 2004). According to these studies and many others, the sense of belonging is one of the most difficult and complex aspects to cope with for the highly mobile individuals, alongside the feelings of rootlessness and homelessness; the claims of not knowing "where they belong" or "where home is" are often presented as a problem or as a source of personal grief. This is not surprising, as "having a place" is said to be an ordinary human attribute (Rose 1995, 98) and except for the traditionally nomadic peoples, the sense of place is usually related to settlement, enclosure and home. To "have a place" is thought to provide one with a feeling of belonging, to contrast "us" and "others" and to be filled with socially interpreted meanings offering important anchors for identity (ibid). Despite globalization, or perhaps because of it, most people in the present-day world are still compliant to their original environment although they may accept/experience temporary discord between the original and the new environment when, for example, traveling (Madison 2009, 20) Even in immigration the connection with a place is not lost, as immigrants usually carry with them powerful images and narratives of the places and the home

left behind (Le Bigre 2015) that can be further enhanced by and easily reached with the opportunities offered by a range of technologies.

People are so accustomed to the idea that all individuals belong some*where* (place) and to some*thing* (communities) that the "floating" lifestyle of highly mobile individuals can be perceived as disturbing (e.g. Kannisto 2016). It is so, because living in permanent dislocation and outside permanent communities breaches the "natural" link between a person and a place. Thus, mobility becomes a problem regarding loyalties, affiliations and identities (Ossman 2004). For this reason, societies, researchers at the forefront, make identity, belonging and affiliations important questions that need to be answered. Challenged by the mobile individuals' claims to feel homeless and being "from nowhere", some researchers have tried to bypass the geographical places sketching different options for belonging for the mobile individuals. These include notions of, for example, a *Non-place* (Triebel 2015), *NatioNILism* (Grote 2015), or *Liminality* (Schaetti & Ramsey 2006), all based on conceptions of mutually recognized spaces of belonging that transcend the borders of any geographical or anthropological place. These spaces take place *beyond* instead of *across* nation-states (Désilets 2015, p. 158) and have the potential to provide the individual with a feeling of home. Although these conceptions may resonate with mobile individuals' actual experiences, they are often discarded as incompatible with the way the contemporary world is structured; we cannot escape the fact that all people are always bound to a nation-state to some extent – each experience and later the memory of it happened in country X and then in place Y – and is therefore marked by a border (Ossman 2013). Further, a "home territory" must be retained in order to maintain the mobile lifestyle (for passports & visas), although this place may have nothing to do with the individual's actual affiliations.

As stated, most studies on mobile individuals highlight the problem related to the sense of belonging. It is, however, worthwhile to ponder if belonging would be an issue for the mobile children if they weren't continuously challenged by the questions "where are you from?" and "where do you belong?" imposing a need to demarcate a place as "home". The core inquiry underlying these questions is of course "tell me where you are from, so I know who you are", which evidently neglects and devaluates the *multivoiced* subjectivities of the mobile children.

Hence, extending Hermans & Dimaggio's notion of "niches" (2007) by setting it in the context of hypermobility, this study puts such intrusive and nebulous questions aside and replaces them with an in-depth examination of the lived experiences and meaning making of the mobile children in order to learn more about the places or spaces that provide for them their niches, i.e. identity markers and feelings of certainty and connectedness.

2.2 The specificities of worldview development in the context of hypermobility

The sense of belonging is closely connected to identity, or one's self-understanding, as it demarcates the spaces, the places or the people who are somehow significant and meaningful for the individual. Another notion that is closely related to identity and relevant to the study of mobility is the notion of *worldview*. Shaped by and intertwined in one's lived experiences, self-understandings and sense of belonging, worldview here refers to a mental framework within which individuals interpret the nature of reality and the nature and purpose of human life, evaluate what is good and what is evil, and how one should live (Vidal 2008). In order to deepen my understanding of how the international mobility experience influences the youths' meaning making and interpretations of the world they live in, I felt the notion of worldview needs to be considered in the context of this study.

Worldviews are shaped by our life experiences (Hoogland 2015) and take into account the influential role of our caretakers, the social institutions we frequent, our encounters with the "others" and the crucial events over the life span (Koltko-Rivera 2004). All these elements shape our worldviews, but at the same time they reshape our approach to life (Hoogland 2015). This is in line with the previously discussed postulation of identity being extended to the outside realities and formed by the changes in it (Hermans 2001). We are constantly engaged in dialogues with the self and with the outside world; ultimately, the interpretations we make of our lived experiences shape the way we look at the world and consequently how we see ourselves positioned in that world.

The *socialization-in-context* model sketched by Kuusisto (2011) offers a mirror to reflecting the particularities of hypermobile children's worldview and value construction. Regarding more traditional life settings, the model presents four levels of socialization, one in which the superior level imposes limits to and influences the inferior one in a top-to-bottom direction. The model postulates that the developing children and youths are in many ways directed by societal, communal and family characteristics. At the top level (1), *the society* with its hegemonies dictates the norms, defines the majority and the appropriate presentation of diverse social groups and the attitudinal climate towards these. These, in turn, have an effect on the value-sets of different communities and families through education and other societal structures. At the *community level* (2), the different social groups the families are involved with (school community, football club, congregation etc.) have an impact on the family's social networks, doctrines and values. At the *family level* (3) the parents' worldviews, values and attitudes guide the family traditions, daily practices and the way the

children are raised. Finally, at the *individual level* (4) the processes of identification and belonging take place at the intersection of the three superior levels and the subjective experiences of exclusion and inclusion, and of similarity and difference (Kuusisto 2011, p. 61).

Set in the context of international mobility, the model exposes the particularities of mobile life contexts. First and foremost, due to the relatively short sojourns and the often surface-level acquaintance to the host society (language courses, visits, everyday errands), internationally mobile individuals commonly act at the margins of society (Purnell & Hoban 2014) and thus the local environment's direct impact on the children's lives may remain small. Nevertheless, although physically the mobile child may conform to the local majority (see "hidden immigrant" Pollock & Van Reken 2009, p. 55) the contrasts between the child's previous experiences and the new environment's realities may be major. In this case, even when observed from the fringes of society, the parameters and circumstances in the host society may indirectly impact and transform the child's worldviews and values (Madison 2009). Regarding Kuusisto's model, most differences between the sedentary and the mobile life settings appear at the community level. Some communities are "mandatory", that is, assigned to all of us at birth, e.g. gender, family, and nationality. Although nominal, these memberships may change or be changed over the life course (e.g. citizenship) and have little influence on the individual's identity and worldview. Rather, it is the other significant communities, like the extended family, or the residential, educational, religious, and interest-based groups that usually dominate the primary identifications and transmit the basic value sets for children (Helve 2016; Kuusisto 2011; Reich & Oser 1994). These communities, existent and accessible in sedentary life contexts and providing the family with social support and parenting models (e.g. Byrnes & Miller 2012), are scarcer in mobile life contexts. Simplified by technologies and opportunities for travel, the mobile families may maintain transnational ties to one or several other countries and uphold distinct ideologies and traditions, but most often the only long-lasting community, albeit also susceptible to changes, is just the family itself.

The weakened influence of the two superior levels implies an amplified importance of the family level in the socialization processes of the mobile children. Relocations are a strong catalyst for changes in the family and the family's adjustment plays an important role in the success of the job assignment (Expat Research 2017). McCaig (2007) and Schaetti & Ramsey (1999) observe some unique family dynamics that are shared by most mobile families. Although some parents are single and some divorced, the large majority of mobile families are composed of two parents with children (Haslberger, Hippler & Brewster 2015; Lazarova, McNulty & Semeniuk 2015). Further, even though the percentage of professional expatriate women is increasing (Fechter 2016), most mobile families

still move because of the husband's profession. This influences the sharing of responsibilities within the family and the way power and money are distributed and used, and ultimately the way the children perceive the existing gender roles in their family. In fact, although there is more and more diversity within the expatriates, the traditional gender roles and family structures continue to be quite consistent features in international migration (Kunz 2016). Even though many women become active in different organizations, study, or do voluntary work during their stay in the host societies, most of them have to face the fact that their own career ambitions are put on hold during expatriation and replaced by the role of the primary homemaker who is dealing with the family's basic needs regarding the children, the school, and the housing (McCaig 2007; Shaetti & Ramsey 1999). Further, depending on the intra-familial situation, the "trailing spouses" (e.g. McNulty 2012) often face the stress of a lack of financial independence and uncertainty about their post-assignment future (ibid).

In addition to the often-conventional gender roles, internationally mobile families are challenged by the frequent relocations and changes. They have to deal with the aspects of transience, the trials and the emotional turmoil linked to each family member's social and material disengagement and re-engagement. The separation of extended communities can result in the family forming an insular "bubble" in which the family members seek from each other the support that normally comes from outside the nuclear family. This creates a high degree of interdependence between family members. The hypermobile children are very reliant on their parents and siblings for support, affirmation, models for behavior and a place of safety (McCaig 2007). Within the family bubble the parents need to find a balance between the cohesiveness of the family and the independence and the individual needs of each family member (McLachlan 2007, McCaig 2007). Parenting children in the context of hypermobility is challenging, because as mentioned earlier, the parent(s) are generally left alone to deal with major stressors in everyday life, including the other parent's often frequent absences, the children's developmental crises, special needs and adjustment upon every move. The usual networks providing social support, cohesion, models for parenting and actual help are weak, so in case of dysfunction, the risk of severe tensions and problems within the family is increased (Lazarova et al. 2015; Schaetti & Ramsey 1999). While analyzing these aspects in more detail is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note that the insular, relatively isolated family bubble with the particular dynamics related to hypermobility represents a critical, but largely understudied and undermined aspect regarding the mobile children's well-being.

Although in theory the family's move is based on free will and even if some families decide to move without any organizational push factors (Tabor, Milfront & Ward 2015), in reality there is sometimes no real choice. Sometimes al-

ternatives are not offered or available. Refusing to move upon an international assignment can have negative consequences on one's career. The decision to accept or reject the offered assignment may create severe tensions within the family if one or more family members disagree with it. There are many reasons to reject the idea of the move, typically related to the other parent's career, the lack of schooling options for children in the host country, the special needs of a family member, the apprehension of the unknown, the unwillingness to disengage with the familiar, or other such personal reasons. While some families end up deciding that only the concerned parent pursues the job assignment and the rest of the family stays behind, many families decide to move together (Mäkelä & Suutari 2015). This decision is often facilitated by the positive rhetoric surrounding internationalization, especially considering the children.

The rather solitary nature of the mobile families' trajectories makes "traditional" value transmission more challenging, especially regarding minority communities, as the value-supporting networks may be limited or difficult to access because of a language barrier. The values and worldviews the parents promote in their education depend on their personal beliefs, but also on the way they perceive the advantages and disadvantages of the mobile lifestyle they are leading. Worldview gives us lenses through which we interpret our environment. It guides our attention and filters the kind of information we seek from our surroundings. This becomes relevant in relation to the stay-at-home parent's adjustment to the new place of assignment. While for the working parent the differences in the new host country (i.e. "culture shock") are usually buffered by the familiar elements and support received in the professional environment, the stay-at-home parent typically faces the new society alone (Lazarova et al. 2015; McCaig 2007). Therefore this parent's experiences and interpretations strongly mediate the way s/he translates the society, the local phenomena and the realities to the children, which obviously has a direct impact on their adjustment and well-being.

In the context of hypermobility it is typical that although most stay-at-home parents are educated and many have pursued a pre-assignment career (McNulty 2014), embarking on an international trajectory changes the previous family setting into a relatively conventional and gendered one. The model and the values this setting convey to the children are to be openly discussed within the family as these may be contradictory to the values the parents would like to promote in their education. It is also noteworthy that in most cases, the parents of mobile children have a sedentary background and therefore may have no previous experience of living abroad or any models for child rearing in a mobile life setting (McCaig 2007). Expatriation may trigger in some parents an amplified sense of patriotism and some seek the company of their compatriots to fight loneliness and to feel more "at home" (e.g. Sears 2011). Albeit

understandable, this is somewhat contradictory to the ideology behind the notion of global citizenship that many parents idealize and pursue for their children. Raising their children "abroad", the parents need to accept that their children may not necessarily appreciate or share the nostalgia for their passport countries. It is also notable that in many cases the preferred language of the mobile children may be different from that of the parents. An international growing up context certainly impacts both the children's national identifications and their value and worldview development. The children growing up internationally absorb a wider environment and function in contexts where flexibility and interaction with different people are solicited and required. Especially in adolescence, the parents' worldviews may conflict with those of their children who are growing up in very different settings compared to their parents (e.g. McCaig 2007; Schaetti & Ramsey 1999; Phinney 1996). Thus, in mobile families, on top of the traditional generational differences regarding worldviews and tendencies, there are additional layers of disparity between the parents and the children in terms of experience, exposure, value-supporting communities and language.

Adolescence usually activates a period of search, whereby the youth reexamine and evaluate their childhood identifications and parental values, and explore their own interests, identifications and commitments (Xing, Chico, Lambouth III, Brittian & Schwartz 2015; Habermas & Bluck 2000). Moving from the developmental theories to the individual level, how do the mobile children negotiate their experiences of inclusion and exclusion, of similarity and difference and what are the sources impacting and nourishing the worldview development of internationally mobile children at adolescence?

2.2.1 Values and worldviews transmitted through school education

As the socialization contexts of the mobile children are somewhat different from those of the sedentary children (Kuusisto 2011), especially at the community level, it is worthwhile to examine the role of schools in the children's worldview development. School education is a powerful agent in fostering certain identities and worldviews in children. The principles, value-sets and ethos of the school constitute its "institutional habitus" (Reay, David & Ball, 2001) that (in) directly impacts the overall schooling experiences and the identity construction of those therein through the expectations, attitudes, knowledge and practices it conveys (discussed in more detail in Publication IV *"That makes us very unique" A closer look at the institutional habitus of two international schools in Finland and France)*. Transferring messages about the desired and the discarded and those included and excluded, the examination of the elements constituting

institutional habitus is relevant regarding the educational growing-up context and the worldview development of children.

Although *national school education* is often falsely considered to be "neutral" (e.g. Poulter, Riitaoja & Kuusisto 2015), each nation has its specific educational values, ideologies and objectives, which are embedded in the school structures, curricula and other daily activities. Nation-bound schools are considered to be spaces in which civic engagement is enhanced and "national culture" with its norms, worldviews and values transmitted through education (Kärki 2015) conforming to the "Society level" in Kuusisto's model. The need to develop education and curricula to face the diversifying student bodies has been long-acknowledged and different models to address plurality have been created. However, the concepts describing educational approaches that aim to take into account the diversifying demographics are many and somewhat confusing (see e.g. Layne 2016). The ideas behind *multicultural* and *intercultural education* are based on presumptions that different groups of people have distinctive cultures the characteristics and needs of which should be discussed and met within education (e.g. Banks 2010; Almond 2010). In this sense, multiculturalism means "plural monoculturalism" and refers to "collective categories of difference" (Beck 2011, 54). However, education that continues to focus on clear-cut social categories is problematic in post-modern societal contexts (e.g. Publication I; Abdallah-Pretceille 2008). Although dialogue between cultures and religions is encouraged (e.g. Jackson 2006) and the difficulties related to the definition of culture are more and more recognized (e.g. COE 2010), culture often remains the basic unit of focus in both multicultural and intercultural education. It is viewed as something people *have* and that dictates their reasoning and actions to a certain extent, whereby the teachers can be encouraged, for example, to adapt pedagogical methods to pupils' family culture backgrounds. The principles guiding both multicultural and intercultural education seem to be based on cognitive representations of diversities as viewed from nationalistic perspectives, as majorities and minorities, as original and novel (e.g. Poulter et al. 2015). Ulrich Beck notes that this "multicultural lens makes us blind to the new constellations of diversification of diversity, which transcend the borders of the nation-state" (Beck 2011, 54).

2.2.2 International education and global citizenship

While multicultural and intercultural education relate to and are implemented within a national framework and address the existing diversities therein (cf. methodological nationalism, Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002), *international education* is a concept normally associated with another type of diversity catered

for by international schools (see article IV). International schools attend to the needs of a multinational and mobile student body and therefore stand as the number one choice of schooling for most internationally mobile children (e.g. Hayden & Thompson 2016). Because of their popularity among mobile families, these schools could be referred to as the "default growing up contexts" for mobile children. Therefore, in the light of this study, it is critical to understand the value-sets and worldviews highlighted by and transmitted within these schools. As private institutions, international schools usually follow international curricula and to a large extent, are independent of governments, national systems and programs. International schools' ethos and educational programs are above all focused on certain values and attitudes that their students should develop. These values are considered to be universal and sound very attractive in theory. For example, the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO), one of the governing bodies in the field of international education, emphasizes the aim of all IB programs to "develop internationally minded people who, recognizing their common humanity and shared guardianship of the planet, help create a better and more peaceful world" (IB 2015a). According to the IBO, these programs encourage students to "become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people with their differences can also be right" (IB 2015b). This approach highlights reflexivity and sensitivity, which are necessary skills in order to investigate our own perspectives and possible cultural bias in how we perceive and assess the other (Poulter et al. 2015). The schools accredited by the IBO promise to "promote intercultural understanding and respect, not as an alternative to a sense of cultural and national identity, but as an essential part of life in the 21st century" (IBO 2015b). What is referred to here as "essential part of life" is what Beck calls "conditio humana of cosmopolitanization" (2011, 57). It means that people belong to a range of communities of which nation-states are only one and that the range of significant relationships formed across state borders is growing (Calhoun 2002, 877). Thus, international education could be seen as a step away from approaches using culture as an unproblematic category and towards an understanding of individuals as having multiple positions and identifications. However, although this may be acknowledged at the curricular level, the categorical tendencies seem to persist on the pedagogical level (e.g. Publication IV).

Most international schools produce similar discourses in terms of mission statements. They tend to emphasize "international or global mindedness" putting forth the notion of "global citizenship" as one of the key objectives of international education (e.g. Hayden & Thompson 2016). Global citizenship is endorsed with attributes such as tolerance, respect, high achievement, confidence and open-mindedness, which are in the range of positive virtues international education is thought to develop (Tamatea 2007, 161). In essence, these descriptions are

"definitions of what constitutes the kind of virtuous and worthy human being needed by a liberal democratic society run on Enlightenment principles" (Tate 2016, 24) and as such, there is nothing really innovative in the notion of global citizenship. However, while developing worthy, international human beings may sound attractive in theory, it is more challenging for the schools to actually fulfill their missions in practice. This is because the notion of global citizen is both ethically and epistemologically problematic and unclear (e.g. Hobson & Silova 2014a; Sutherland, Price & Harris 2014). First, although global-mindedness is a mind-set emphasizing a specific worldview, the schools' imaginaries about education for global citizenship are very diverse: for example, while some schools emphasize a sense of connectedness, empathy and appreciation for diversity and difference, others concentrate on the individual student's competencies and competitiveness in a globalized world (Hobson & Silova 2014b, 306). Second, the "making" of the global-minded citizens takes place in a challenging intersection of different sets of norms, i.e. regarding the prerequisites for international education, and the equally powerful influence of local norms and contexts, which can sometimes highlight different and even contradictory worldviews (Hobson & Silova 2014b). Third, in international schools, wealth and social class are parameters that fundamentally limit the student diversity. Despite the number of nationalities, the large majority of international schools' students are locals of the same educated, middle-class milieu (Selasi 2014). Yet, the experiences and encounters that challenge one's own assumptions and worldviews are a major factor in the development of intercultural understanding (Gal & King-Calnek 2014). Can the international school students really relate to the diversities and worldviews outside their own milieu? Fourth, the notion of global citizenship, as a key component of desired student subjectivity, is somewhat problematical, because citizenship traditionally means being a citizen of a particular state and not another. Therefore, "it is difficult to imagine how, given confinement to this Earth, and based upon this history, it is possible to be a global citizen in any sense beyond mere rhetoric" (Tamatea 2007, 164).

2.3 Conclusions on the conceptual framework

This study approaches the hypermobile youths' experiences from educational and socio-psychological viewpoints. The informants have not been observed through any distinctive category, but as unique individuals with their subjective self-understandings and trajectories who are sharing a common experience. In order to study and discuss lived experience and sense-making, certain analytical concepts are needed. In the framework of this study, the notions of identity,

belonging and worldview were considered as central. Drawing from Brubaker & Coopers' ideas on identity (2000) and Hermans' Dialogical Self Theory (2001; 2003; 2007; 2012), *identity* is here viewed as a continuous, life-long process and individuals are understood as having multiple roles (positions) that are both internal (self-understandings) and external (identifications and feelings of groupness). These different positions are in a constant dialogue with each other and can argue, agree and disagree depending on the context and situation. It is within these processes that the understanding of the self is shaped and re-shaped. In this study, *identity* is viewed as the current understanding of the self as extended to the outside world, therefore it is deeply contextual and intersubjective.

Belonging is the second notion that is central in the context of hypermobility. Viewed from the sedentary perspectives tinted by methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002), people are assumed to have roots and one place to call home. Against this backdrop, the sense of belonging of mobile individuals is often discussed as problematized and put on central stage in studies, as the putative incapacity or unwillingness to demarcate a place is seen as disturbing. Mobile or non-mobile, the desire to belong – considered to be a basic human need (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007) – is a powerful factor in the individual's well-being. In the context of hypermobility, the repeated displacements and disengagements may create a feeling of uncertainty, especially considering the children whose realities are strongly linked to actual places and people. To alleviate the anxiety caused by uncertainty, individuals are prone to find a "niche" that provides for them feelings of security and continuity. In light of this study, it is interesting to observe the "niches" the informants have consciously or unconsciously found to anchor their feelings of belonging.

The third central concept in this study is the notion of *worldview*. Its relevance for this study is demonstrated in the comparison between the more "traditional" growing up settings characterized by non-changing environments, communities and relationships, and those defined by hypermobility imposing different preconditions, power differentials and value transmitting structures in the lives of the mobile children. Closely related to the worldview development of internationally mobile youths, the concept of *international education* and its ultimate outcome *"global citizenship"* are considered as the fourth and fifth central notions in this study. Most internationally mobile youths and six of the eight of the informants of this study attend international schools that usually follow international curricula that emphasize and promote specific value-sets. As international schools are considered as the "default" growing up contexts for mobile youth, the ideologies, objectives and practices applied therein need to be reflected as powerful agents in the worldview and identity development of their students.

3.

Research questions

The theoretical observations presented in the previous section exposed two concerns this study attempts to respond to, namely, that (1) the material aspects of moving and the dominant, glamorizing discourses around global citizenship often eclipse the socio-emotional aspects related to children's mobility and that (2) labeling all internationally mobile children as Third Culture Kids bears the risk of capturing the lived experiences of the internationally mobile children inside an attractive, but empty shell. The main inquiry of this study can be crystallized into the following research problem:

How do children relocating with their families experience hypermobility?

The above question is approached through the following sub-questions:

1. How to approach (youths') identities and experiences analytically and methodologically in research in ways that minimize essentialism and categorization?

   As a pathway to the study of internationally mobile youths' experiences, the main objective of this preliminary sub-study is to reflect on and analyze the options to approach individual identities, affiliations and memberships, especially concerning the youth, in ways that avoid categorization and labeling from the outside to the extent it is possible and that are both analytically and methodologically aligned with the contemporary understanding of the nature of identity as a life-long process.

2. How do internationally mobile youths make sense of their experiences of moving and internationality?

   This study begins the actual exploration of the mobile youths' lived experiences of mobility. This sub-question sets the focus on the mobility experi-

ence as it is lived and interpreted by the children. It also investigates the different dimensions embedded in childhood characterized by moving.

3. How does international mobility impact the youths' sense of self and of membership?

   This sub-question continues the exploration of the youths' lived experiences of mobility. It sets the focus on the subjective ways mobility impacts the youth's conception of the self and their position regarding the (significant) others.

4. What worldviews are transmitted by and constructed in international school settings, especially in relation to the students' hypermobility?

   This sub-study investigates the worldviews and value-sets inherent in international education and promoted by international schools. These are relevant, as international schools can be regarded as the "default" choice of schooling for mobile children. In this sense, international schools are powerful agents in contributing to the construction of identities and worldviews of their students.

As parts of the whole, each sub-question is answered to in one of the four original publications. In this final dissertation the four publications are set together and the findings are overviewed as a whole with the aim to answer the above research problem.

4.

Research Process

This chapter reviews the research design, the philosophical and methodological underpinnings, and the data collection and analysis processes utilized in the present study. The characteristics discussed in this chapter concern first and foremost the main research on internationally mobile children, but at the end of the chapter the case study on two international schools is briefly reviewed. First, Table 1 presents the main objectives of each sub-study with the informants, the methods and the data analysis applied, and the original publications in which the findings of each sub-study were reported.

4.1 Philosophical underpinnings of the study

When I started my PhD and immersed myself in literature discussing the "Third Culture Kids", I quickly understood that in order to get a grasp of my informants' lived experiences, to the extent that it is possible, I needed to adopt a research approach that reaches beyond the pre-existing categories and stereotypes. Positioning my research within the qualitative traditions, I began to study the different approaches and methodologies. The will to hear my informants without imposing on them my own pre-conceptions as a researcher was the guiding force of my inquiry. I did not pursue creating new theories, but rather to deepen the existing understanding of the quality of experiences of children, who undergo repeated international relocations during their childhood. This prompted me to write the first article (Publication I) discussing the ways in which "Third Culture Kids", and all other social categories in that respect, have been created, studied, "proved" and maintained in research and consequently

Table 1. Summary of the main aims, informants of each sub-study, data collection and analysis in Publications I–IV

Publication	Main aim	Informants	Data collection	Data analysis
I Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). Analytical and methodological considerations for the use of social categories in identity research. *International Journal of Bias, Identity and Diversities in Education*	To discuss the problematic related to creation, use and maintenance of social categories, especially in identity research and concerning youth, on both analytical and methodological levels. To propose alternative ways to approach individual self-understandings. RQ 1.	-	Literature review	Critical content analysis
II Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). Internationality as a default setting in life. In Peltola, M & Kivijärvi, A. (eds.) *Nuorten elinolot 2016 vuosikirja*. Helsinki: Finnish Youth Research Network	To examine internationally mobile youths' conceptions of life characterized by mobility and to investigate the strategies they use to cope with the changes. RQ 2.	8 individual case studies of internationally mobile youth	Individual semi-structured interviews, life-grid & personal photographs	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)
III Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). 'Identity is experience – my experience is where I'm from'. Towards a wider understanding of worldview pluralism in educational settings. *Journal of Religious Education*	To examine the self-understandings, identifications, connectedness and worldviews of intl. mobile youth. RQ 3.	8 individual case studies of internationally mobile youth	Individual semi-structured interviews, life-grid & personal photographs	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)
IV Benjamin, S. & Alemanji, A. (2016). "That makes us very unique." A closer look at the institutional habitus of two international schools in Finland and France. In Itkonen, T. & Dervin, F. (eds.), *Silent partners in Multicultural Education*. Information Age Publishing	To analyze how intl. schools influence the value & worldview development of their students, especially re mobile children. Deploying the notion of Institutional habitus. RQ 4.	A case study of 5 staff members in 2 international schools in Finland and France	Focus group, Individual interviews	Critical discourse analysis

in public and political discourses. Further, the dissatisfaction I felt with some previous research imposing pre-fixed categories on mobile children stimulated me to reflect on alternative ways to approach their experiences.

With these aspirations in mind I proceeded to find the most suitable method of inquiry. My will to move away from objective measurements and theorizing directed me towards phenomenology, which is sometimes presented as an alternative to positivism, because it emphasizes subjectivity, interpretation and agency (e.g. Denscombe 2010). Largely developed by the philosophers Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger, phenomenology is concerned with human experience as directly experienced by those involved. Phenomenology involves turning the gaze towards how the topic of interest appears to consciousness––what it means for the person, how he makes sense of and understands it (ibid). I do recognize, though, that how experiences "appear to consciousness" changes from one period of time to another: the developing maturity and cognitive skills and the lived experiences obviously impact the way different things are perceived and interpreted by the individual. However, what is relevant for me as a researcher is the postulation of phenomenology that things are not predetermined and encoded and that there is not one valid explanation or theory of how things are or what they mean. On the contrary, things may be seen differently as individuals are viewed as active agents interpreting and giving meaning to their experiences, implying the idea of *multiple realities* instead of one reality shared by everyone (Denscombe 2010, 97).

Acknowledging my limited philosophical knowledge and understanding of phenomenology, my study is, however, profoundly inspired and influenced by the beliefs and considerations underpinning it. I refer to Finlay (2009) who states that "phenomenological research is phenomenological when it involves both rich description of the lifeworld or lived experience, and where the researcher has adopted a special, open phenomenological attitude which, at least initially, refrains from importing external frameworks and sets aside judgments about the realness of the phenomenon." (p. 8). I assume that access to a phenomenon is mediated through people's experiences and interpretations of it, and access to other people's experiences of a phenomenon is mediated through the researcher's interpretive lens. Epistemologically this belief in the inherently interpretive nature of interaction usually links to a social constructionist view of knowledge and intersubjectivity (knowledge as co-produced by people). Therefore, I recognize that the knowledge produced in this study is partial, mediated and bounded by all the interpreters involved. Because all interpretation is intersubjectively constructed and delimited, the researcher's role in the outcome of the study becomes central. Matters related to the researcher's position are discussed at the end of this chapter.

4.2 Methodological framework

> *Going beyond methodological nationalism in the study of current migration thus may require more than a focus on transnational communities instead of the nation and its immigrants. In order to escape the magnetism of established methodologies, ways of defining the object of analysis and algorithms for generating questions, we may have to develop (or rediscover?) analytical tools and concepts not coloured by the self-evidence of a world ordered into nation-states (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002, 323).*

4.2.1 Research approach: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

> *Without phenomenology, there would be nothing to interpret; without hermeneutics, the phenomenon would not be seen (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009, 37).*

This section, answering the first research question, presents discussions of the ways (youths') identities and experiences are approached in this particular study. As an educator, I want to study human beings, and because we are all inherently singular and interpret the world through different lenses, the study of human beings requires understanding rather than explanation (Tappan 1997). International mobility is an experience that holds multiple meanings for the individual, not to mention the variety of meanings at a group level. Therefore, I believe, the most ethical and most sensible way to gain an understanding of how mobility is uniquely experienced by each informant is to study their experiences and focus on the meanings they attribute to these experiences. The phenomenological belief that experiences can only be known through interpretation directed me to choose Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis ("IPA", Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009) as the methodological and analytical framework for my study. IPA explores how people make sense of a lived experience and provides an entire theoretically-informed outline for conducting research, which was helpful for me as a novice researcher. IPA has clear ontological and epistemological underpinnings (phenomenology, hermeneutics, idiography, social-constructivism and contextualism), it delineates what type of research questions can be asked (about experiences and perspectives), provides guidelines for sampling procedures (small N, homogeneity regarding certain paradigms at the group level) and for collecting data (qualitative interviews ideally) (Smith et al. 2009). The informants are considered to be the experiential experts on the topic (Smith & Osborn 2008) and the researcher tries to make sense of

the informants' sense-making and to describe that in a way that answers a particular research question (Reid, Flowers & Larkin 2005).

The aim of IPA as an analyzing process is not to produce a theory that can subsequently be generalized across a whole population. Rather, the process targets an in-depth analysis of single cases and examination of individual perspectives of the informants in their unique contexts (Pietkiewicz & Smith 2012). That is why, alongside phenomenology and hermeneutics (interpretation), idiography constitutes an important theoretical underpinning of IPA. The idiographic approach means being concerned with the particular and to focus at the subjective meaning making of each informant prior to making any general statements at the group level. Naturally, there are some convergences between the informants' experiences; however, this is not an underlying presumption in the analysis. Rather, IPA examines the extent to which the same experiences (or commonalities) are reflected in the meanings attached to these experiences by informants who are engaged in them.

Meaning lies in personal experience and the experience is interpreted by the informant *and* the researcher, because these two look at the same phenomenon, but from different angles. Hence the notion of "double hermeneutic" (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009), through which the informants are trying to make sense of their world and the researcher is trying to make sense of the informants trying to make sense of their world. As a matter of fact, a third round of interpretation comes when the reader of the research creates their own interpretation of the researcher's interpretation. This is why the findings need to be presented in the form of rich, in-depth narratives of each theme, complemented with illuminating informant quotes. It is acknowledged that the access to an informant's "insider's perspective" both depends on, and is complicated by, the researcher's own conceptions (Finlay 2009). These are necessary in order to engage in an interpretative activity of making sense of other person's personal world, however, "bracketing" these in the process of interpretation is critical. By adopting a *phenomenological attitude* (Finlay 2014, p. 122), the researcher seeks to acknowledge and break away from her *natural attitude*, that is, her pre-understandings, knowledge, feelings and expectations regarding the phenomenon in question (ibid, 2014; Van Manen 2011). Otherwise this learned (outside) and experienced (inside) "baggage" might lead the researcher astray to premature or one-sided understandings. Indeed, albeit being a challenging and problematical task, adopting a *phenomenological attitude* involves openness and curiosity and the capacity to see the experience afresh, despite the possible previous involvements in similar affairs. "Bracketing" thus enables the researcher to approach the phenomenon with added sensibility and openness (Finlay 2014, pp.122-125).

4.2.2 Limitations of IPA

Critical literature on IPA discusses the shortcomings related to "bracketing". It is problematic that the analytic interpretation is so strongly bound by the researcher's ability to acknowledge and suspend her pre-conceptions adequately and to reflect on their influence on the conclusions, because the probability for the researchers to initiate a study without any awareness of the previous research or literature around the topic is obviously small (Brocki & Wearden 2006, p. 92). Nevertheless, a successful IPA study necessitates the researcher to aim to see the phenomenon "afresh", i.e. to bracket her personal views to "see" the world as it is experienced by the informants. Further, it is argued that IPA leaves too much freedom or "looseness" for the researcher's conscious processes regarding the analysis. Although a description of these processes would be central for the reader to understand how the themes and other conclusions are constructed, these processes often stay obscured, as there are no clear rules for how to make descriptions or follow the hermeneutic circle (Giorgi 2010). As a means of overcoming these limitations, a careful account of the data analysis process is necessary whenever IPA is being used. Therefore, in this study, each stage of the research process is described in detail. The researcher's position regarding the research problem and the informants is analyzed. The stages of the analysis are illustrated with direct excerpts from the transcripts with the researcher's notes and comments. The findings and the conclusions are written in a way that seeks to demonstrate that the researcher's thinking is based on the informants' words. In this way, any conclusions that are grounded in this study should be traceable backwards and will attend closely to the informants' experiential claims (Shinebourne 2011, p. 27).

4.3 Informant sampling

The data were gathered from students in three international schools and one French school in the Czech Republic. Czech Republic was chosen as the place of data collection for practical reasons, because it was the researcher's place of residence at that time. The country's capital Prague offered a favorable context for investigating the mobility theme, as the city figures as a hub for expatriate professionals in Central Europe hosting numerous multinational companies and foreign embassies. Therefore I was sure to have an adequate supply of suitable research informants. In theory, the context of data collection could have been any other city anywhere in the world, since after all, all informants were "on their way" somewhere, anticipating an upcoming move in the future. For

all informants, and for myself too, Prague was a point of passage. In respect of the principles of IPA, my aim was to find a fairly homogeneous sample of youth for whom the research topic was somehow meaningful. It is noteworthy that homogeneity in the context of this study does not mean pre-assumed similarities between the informants or their experiences, but rather shared similarities according to certain external factors; all informants were to be immersed in the same experience of repeated international mobility, but despite this commonality, they were likely to have different views and experiences of it (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009). I had three criteria for the target group; first of all, the focus was on *adolescents*. I believe that the most opportune moment to observe a phenomenon is while people are actually experiencing it (vs. retrospective studies). Aged between 13 and 19 years, adolescents are in transition between childhood and adulthood and in the integration and interpretation of memories of their personal past (Habermas & Bluck 2000, p. 748). At this age adolescents start to possess adequate cognitive abilities for autobiographical remembering, that, in other words, allow the "emergence of a life story" (ibid, p. 761). It is through this *autobiographical remembering* that I sought to find a way to hear the youth's experiences of international mobility from the insider's perspective. As the life story begins to develop only in adolescence (Habermas & Bluck 2000), I assumed that most meanings and understandings attached to the youths' experiences were still concealed at the time of the interview. This, I thought, would give me a chance to observe to each youth in the process of making sense of their experiences and to obtain, to a certain extent, "raw" and unedited narratives.

The second criterion for the target group was *sufficient exposure to relocations*. I wanted the youth to have experienced at least two international moves after the age of five. Five, because I thought that prior to this age the children would not have much memory of the moves. In addition, before this age many children may not have started schooling yet, thus the life changes within relocations are usually less significant. As I wanted to examine lived experiences, it was important that the informants could actually remember something about the moves.

The third criterion for the target group stemmed from the fact that many studies on "Third Culture Kids" assume that there is a certain "natural" national affiliation for the child in terms of her/his parents' origins. This is understandable, as most early studies on Third Culture Kids examined the children of diplomats, military or missionary professionals, most often with a spouse from the same national/religious origins, sent on a mission by a nation-state or a religious organization. However, since the early years of the TCKs, the domain of professional international mobility has significantly changed, and now includes many families whose *parents are from different origins.* In addition, in

respect to fact that the fastest growing "ethnic group" today is those who consider themselves as "mixed" (Gillespie, Howarth & Cornish 2012; Census, 2011), I wanted the informants to represent this shift. The "mixedness" of the informants' parental origins, I believe, does not only illustrate the plurality of many individuals in today's societies, but also makes it more interesting to observe the meaning making around affiliations and memberships because of the added layer of complexity (Publications II and III).

The wish to examine adolescents directed me towards international schools, which are the default choice of schooling for most mobile students. I contacted the principals of three international schools in Prague, explaining my research plan and asking for a permission to conduct my research at their school. All agreed following our discussion and having read the research plan. The principals then reached out to students at their schools who matched with the research criteria and asked about their willingness to participate. While some schools regarded the student's own willingness as sufficient, some schools also required parental consent, which I requested and received by email. Two informants from the Prague French lycée were suggested to me by a third party and for them, the parental and informant consent was obtained after a lengthy and exhaustive communication with the parents by email. The informant sampling procedure thus provided me with 10 young volunteers whose profiles fulfilled the criteria.

4.4 Data collection

"You are your life story. You cannot be known unless you have had the chance to tell with your own words where you come from, where you are going to and what you are carrying with you; what you have loved and what has made you suffer." Martti Lindqvist in Halkola et al. 2009 (my translation from Finnish).

Since IPA requires "rich" data, that is, detailed stories, thoughts and feelings from the informants, semi-structured interviews are considered as the best means to access such accounts (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009). Semi-structured interviews are loosely guided, but not dictated by a set of questions or topics that keep the discussion on the theme, but that also permit other meaningful topics to surface. Interviewing allows the researcher to engage in a dialogue with the informant and to observe her meaning making around the chosen theme by paying close attention to the different verbal and non-verbal cues, claims, assertions and contradictions inserted in her narrative, with an aim to enter the informant's social world as far as possible (ibid). To understand the broad themes and topics of concern, the data collection commenced with a pilot interview with a 30-year-old individual who had a mixed national heri-

tage and who had been moving extensively throughout her entire childhood and young adulthood. Her rich retrospective account about growing up in an extremely mobile family helped me to comprehend the multitude of dimensions international mobility can involve. Her narrative was not included in the final data analysis, but served as an illuminative introduction to the theme. In addition to this one-to-one pilot interview, I conducted a pilot focus group interview with two informants. The focus group discussion helped me to define the terminology to be used and to be avoided in the one-to-one interviews. For example, I understood that the terms "culture" and "identity" were highly ambiguous for youth, as I had anticipated. Also, their understanding of the term "Third Culture Kid" was vague. Although initially a "pilot" situation in nature, the focus group interview was so rich in information and interpretation that it was transcribed and used as part of the final data analysis as an addition to these two informants' one-to-one interviews.

At the time of data collection the informants were between 13 and 20 years of age and had lived in two to six different countries at the time of study (mean of international moves 4.1, average number of countries of residence 4.4[1] and the average time of stay 3 years (varying between 1–7 years). The language of the interviews was English. All informants were fluent in it because it was either the medium of school instruction, a home language, or both of these. The interviews were conducted on the informant's school premises in a place offering the necessary privacy, such as an empty classroom or a conference room in the school library. A Skype interview was conducted with an informant who did not live in the Czech Republic, but who was referred to me by a third party, who considered that his profile would be interesting for my study. The two informants from the French lycée were interviewed at their home in the presence of their mother. This was the prerequisite imposed by the mother for interviewing her two daughters. Obviously, the presence of the mother impacted the interview situation in many ways, which are further analyzed in the "informant profiles" section. All interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the informant. The recordings of the interviews were transcribed on the basis of "everything audible", meaning that in addition to the basic conversation, interjections, part words, repetitions and backgrounds noises were all transcribed.

---

[1] If the informant had moved back to a country s/he had lived in previously, the country was counted only once.

4.4.1 Life-grid

The objective of the interviews was to hear the youths' life stories narrated in their own words and to observe the meaning making around their experiences of mobility and relocations. However, due to the multidimensionality of these experiences and the recurrent changes in their lives, I assumed that autobiographical remembering could be challenging despite the informants' young age. Instead of using a pool of interview questions that always run the risk of being unclear or insignificant for the informants (Publication I; Harper 2002, 20), I wanted to use simple terminology and focus on topics that were familiar to the informants. Therefore, to replace the list of interview questions, I made use of pre-prepared life history grids (Elliot 2005) during the interviews. Life grid is a tool that enables construction of a visual temporal framework on paper, in which the informants record the major events of their lives according to their age at each time (Wilson et al. 2007). The life-grid had six topics, which were defined on the basis of the pilot interviews to facilitate the autobiographical remembering, namely: (1) Countries and relocations, (2) Schools, (3) Languages, (4) Family matters, (5) Meaningful connections and (6) Important life events. I thought these topics would cover most aspects of the youths' lives and they were considered simple to comprehend, because they were directly and firmly linked to the informants' realities. Also, focusing on simple, familiar topics permitted me to observe the terminology each informant used in the meaning making, as I did not provide them with any ready-made concepts through the interview questions. During the interview the informant went through all six topics, move by move. This process prompted many memories, some of them almost forgotten, some of them still fresh, of people, places and events. All things the informant brought up were discussed and some of them were written down on the life-grid with simple keywords. However, as the life-grid was realized on paper, it may have appeared like a scholastic exercise sheet at first sight. I noticed that some informants seemed puzzled and hesitant in front of it. I took time to explain how the grid worked and offered to do the writing for them if they preferred. After I had exemplified the process, the informants understood what was required from them and seemingly relaxed. Only one informant wanted me to fill in the life-grid for him arguing that he was "not very good at writing".

Integrating a life-grid into the interview enabled me to address specific areas of research interest while allowing a lot of space for particular stories and individual meaning making. In terms of research ethics, it was important that the informants were free to record only those events and experiences they were willing to share with me (Wilson et al. 2007). The grid also permitted the informants to raise potentially sensitive issues at their own pace. Further, the

physical dynamics of grid completion eased the interview situation, as no eye contact was needed and the attention could be focused on the grid. In respect to the premises of the emic approach, the autobiographical remembering demanded a high level of engagement and thus enabled shifting the power differentials and control from the researcher to the informant (Parry, Thomson & Fowkes al. 1999).

Since the informants were young adolescents, I assumed that they had not had many opportunities to tell about their life experiences in a way they would in the research interview. This proved to be true; most informants first seemed shy to talk about their life trajectories, as if they did not know what to say and what they thought would be of interest for me. But the atmosphere quickly relaxed and supported by the life-grid tool, the informants seemed more confident to share their stories with me. The fact that most informants were going through their life biographies in such a systematic way for the first time in their life gave me a unique chance to observe them in the process of making sense of their own experiences.

4.4.2 Photographs

To discuss oneself or certain aspects of life is not always easy, especially with a stranger. Planning the data collection methods, I therefore decided to add a visual dimension to the interview situation. Before the interviews, I asked the informants to bring with them a selection of personal photographs to be looked at and discussed together. Today, smartphones and tablets being a common extension of ourselves, most youth are used to documenting their everyday lives visually. Hence, I supposed that presenting oneself through pictures would feel like a natural form of communication for the informants.

Prior to the interviews, I emailed the informants asking them to go through the personal/family albums/computer files/smartphones with the following instruction in mind:

"Think about yourself as a unique person in this world. Now choose 5-10 pictures, taken of yourself at any moment after your birth until today. The pictures can be taken by anyone, anywhere and in any kinds of circumstances. Choose the pictures that you find the most important and meaningful to you. Print or take them apart to keep. You can also bring them in your iPad or laptop. Please don't ask anyone to help you choose these pictures."

The idea for them was to choose from a large selection of photos the ones that attracted interest like "emotional magnets" (Halkola 2009, p. 57). These pictures were thought of as illustrating dimensions of the informants' self-image, i.e. reveal aspects of their identifications and self-understandings. Savolainen

(2009, p. 220) argues that when we are young, the experience of "me" is at first subordinate to the stories spoken (or photos taken) by others. Our childhood photos influence the way we see ourselves today, but by observing them later we can ponder whether it is our own experience of life or the expectations of others showing in the photographs (Savolainen 2009, p. 218). With this in mind, I wanted to shift the power to the youths and asked them to choose the photos that were the most meaningful for them personally and to bring them to the interview. This way the youths had the opportunity to "paint their own picture" and display their own version of their life experiences to the researcher. Although it can be argued that a single photograph can never present the objective truth, but is merely an arbitrary view, or a construction of the cameraman, Savolainen (2009) states that if the individual finds the photograph meaningful and true, the image can really represent the *subjective truth* (Savolainen 2009, p. 212). I also thought that the presence of photographs would relieve the pressure and awkwardness of the interview situation, because silences could be easily covered (Banks 2001, p. 88). Again, this proved to be true. But while certain informants were quite excited and talkative about the photos, some were more reticent and would let the photos "speak for themselves". All informants, however, seemed happy to share their pictures with me. In their narratives around the photos I could detect feelings of pride, nostalgia, joy and sorrow. Most importantly, the opportunity to show certain carefully selected pictures of oneself seemed to be an empowering experience for many. Nevertheless, I realized how challenging it had been for many informants to pick just a few pictures. Despite the instruction to select from five to ten, some informants had brought hundreds of photos with them and some ended up presenting entire photo albums (often digital), as if they were afraid of leaving out something important. In these cases, I asked the informant to select few to show and to discuss.

4.4.3 Parent questionnaires

In addition to the interviews with the youth, it felt necessary to gather some information from the parents in order to view certain aspects about mobility from the parental angle. However, the parents' perspectives were not searched in order to extend or complete the youth's narratives in any way, but were to be regarded as a completely separate set of data. To avoid interference, the information from the parents was collected via an anonymous on-line questionnaire. The questionnaire was sent to the parents once all one-to-one interviews had been completed: I received 11 responses. It is also important to note that the questionnaire data were examined only after the one-to-one interviews had been transcribed and analyzed. The questionnaire data have not been analyzed

and discussed separately here, but I used them as another reference source, increasing my understanding of the phenomena related to international mobility and relocating families.

4.5 Data analysis

This section extends the methodology described in the previous section by detailing the method of data analysis utilized.

Having successfully conducted the 10 interviews (in addition to the two pilot interviews), I had to reduce the number of cases for the analysis in order to do justice to the idiographic nature of IPA. The experts in IPA recommend a sample size of four to ten participants for a doctorate level (Pietkiewicz & Smith 2012; Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez 2011; Smith et al. 2009; Reid et al. 2005). It is considered that this size provides enough cases to demonstrate the complexity of the phenomenon and to explore the (dis)connections between informants, but still allows sufficient space for detailed accounts of individuals' experience. It was relatively easy for me to reduce the number of cases to eight; one case was discarded because the informant's both parents were from the same origins. Another interview to be excluded was the one conducted via Skype, as I felt the interaction was shallower and more constrained due to the missing visual cues and physical presence. I have to admit that I felt wrong discarding these cases as both of these two informants had moved extensively and their accounts were rich in narratives. Therefore I felt unable to reduce the number of cases further. This left me with eight cases to analyze (four girls and four boys).

It is argued that the researcher is already analyzing the data already when it is being generated during the interviews (Barbour 2007, p. 113). The initial analysis continues and accelerates when the researcher transcribes the interview material into a written form (Liamputtong 2011, p. 115). Meticulous, verbatim transcription made it possible for me to keep the conversation "alive" in my mind during the analysis process.

In IPA, informants' accounts are explored at several levels: descriptive (taking explicit meanings at face value), linguistic (the use of e.g. metaphors), and conceptual (adopting a more analytic approach) (Finlay 2014, p. 127). The first stage of data analysis requires the researcher to immerse herself in the data and to proceed by a close line-by-line analysis, one transcript at a time. This analysis stage examines the semantic content and language use at a close exploratory level, allowing the researcher to begin to identify specific ways by which the informants talk about, understand and think about the issues. These remarks are written down and by every reading more notes are added as the analysis

advances from a quite free, descriptive textual analysis to a more interpretative noting, while the researcher's understanding of the informant's lived world grows. The next stage is to identify emergent patterns within this initial material. Preliminary comments and notes are grouped into emergent themes, which should illustrate the informant's claims, concerns and the relationship-to-the-world. These processes are exemplified in Table 2.

As the analysis continues, some themes that have identifying patterns cluster together. The theme clusters are named to represent broader "super-ordinate themes" (Table 3) capturing a variety of patterns in the informant's embodied, emotional and cognitive experiences of the topic. Let us take an example: in Max's transcript (above), there are a series of emergent themes around the feelings of difference in relation to others, namely "otherness", "outsiderness", "self as mobile vs. the sedentary", "self as international vs. the local", "expats as the Other" and "me as the Other". These themes, along with some other emergent themes from the rest of his transcript were grouped together under a super-ordinate theme title "Feelings of Otherness–changing social status". In this manner, the emergent themes produced five *superordinate themes* from Max's transcript: (1) Mobility as a fate of life, (2) Plurality of voices in identity negotiations, (3) Home, school, imaginary world –framework for life, (4) Feelings of Otherness–changing social status, (5) Belonging: nominal vs. imagined.

Having analyzed one transcript, the researcher then moves on to the next case and starts the same process over again. It is important to treat each case on its own terms and to "bracket", as far as possible, the ideas and themes emerging from the analysis of the previous cases. Once all cases are analyzed at these levels, the themes are interlinked as part of a more holistic description. The researcher proceeds to a careful examination of the similarities and differences across the cases in order to produce detailed accounts of reflections on the shared experience. However, all statements at this more abstracted and conceptual level are still grounded in the informants' words. Each *master theme* should capture and illuminate a "pattern of meaning" in the data. Thus, the themes represent more than just topics or characteristics of the target group (Michael Larkin, IPA discussion forum, 20.12.14). In my study, the examination of the superordinate themes across all the cases produced four master themes that form the cornerstones of the entire data. The master themes in my study portray the different aspects of international mobility from four different angles. These were named as the following: (1) *Life settings: select "international" – on hypermobile childhood,* (2) *Press restart and play – on coping with moving and change,* (3) *The mobile me – on identity and worldviews,* and (4) *Connecting... – on belonging.*

Defining the master themes allowed me to return to the transcripts to look for topics and clues that had previously passed unnoticed and to observe pas-

Table 2. Initial and exploratory comments (on the right) and emergent themes (on the left)

Emergent themes	Original transcript	Initial, exploratory comments
Otherness, outsiderness Self as international Importance of access to local life Social position, self as international but not an expat (wealth). Expats as the Other. Connectedness, belonging	[Saija asks about the students in the different international schools Max has gone to] **Max:** Uhm.. I'm more related to the people in China, because, though this school [in Prague] is an international school, I would say that (name of school) was a lot more international, because it was in China, and so… I don't know what I would call China, but it was far away from where most expats would live **S:** uh huh. **M:** And so there [in China] was Vietnamese people, Chinese people, Korean people, we had things like, 60 something nationalities and there was 1500 students. **S:** oh, it's a huge school.	School in China more international than in Prague Does not feel related to the students in Prague A lot more international – far from Europe Some foreigners experience "Fake" China vs. Real China? Expats vs. other people, does not see himself as an expat, we vs. them *We* had Predominantly Asian student population
Connected by a mutual experience and understanding Longing for continuity Awareness of fragmented life	**M:** it was a very huge school. And so I… and we all, we all had similar experiences, we all had moved from country to country to country and then settled here. And… Because, well, we all had the same television and we were all interested in the same things, we all had things to relate to each other.	Relating to others with similar experiences and many international moves Settled here. Feeling at home, stability. Wishing to stay. Sharing everyday life, common interests and topics of discussion. Connectedness
Self as mobile vs. the sedentary	**S:** yeah. And what about here [Prague]? **M:** Here, not so much. Not really. Because most of my friends are from the Czech Republic. **S:** ok.	Not relating to others, Locals, "lifers" from the CZ

Self as international vs. the local Drawing differences to the others Changed social position (from popularity to isolation)	**M:** and they've lived in the Czech Republic and then they came here [school]. I had a few friends, I have a friend from Sweden, who moved directly from Sweden to here and so for a lot of people this is their second place of living, or they've never lived outside Europe **S:** uh huh. Ok.	I *had,* feeling lonely? If the first international move, has not experienced the same Only the second place of living for many
IInternationality vs. interculturality Nascent self-understandings Value of personal experiences (social capital)	**M:** Europe and China are quite different. And see, that was the thing for me, it was uh, New Zealand, Philippines and I don't think you can get more different from New Zealand than China and I don't think you can get more different from China to the Philippines **S:** yeah.	Europe vs. rest of the world. Limited experiences Sees Europe as one cultural space That was the thing for me – highlighting the differences, radical relocations, huge changes, it changes a person. Max positions himself.
Growing resilience, awareness, competences Learning to cope Developing understanding of internationalism and one's position in it Disappointment	**M:** so it was just the complete changes and all of these phases and it was the same for most of the kids in China, like (name of friend in China) had lived in Kuwait and he had moved from Kuwait to China. But here, in Europe, it's not really that much of an international school. Because there's- though there's still a lots of nationalities. . . uh, a quite a lot of them are just different parts of Europe. **S:** uh huh. So you think there's a difference between that, those experiences–	Complete changes, these phases Max felt having true peers in China. Max's description of real internationality? For that you need to experience real differences. Nationalities do not make a school international Europe as one country Just different parts of Europe, not international Feeling different, not relating, no one understands
Me as the other	**M:** yeah. **S:** and yours, your experiences... ok. I see, yeah.	

sages in the transcript that I had not judged as important before. Every cycle of interpretation increased my understanding of the phenomenon and of the individual claims. The master themes permitted me to examine the phenomenon of mobility as a whole, but at the same time this understanding was established by reference to the individuals accounts, which, in turn, were grounded in the phenomenon of mobility. This moving from the examination of the whole (master themes) back to the case level (individual accounts) and back to the whole illustrated well the value of the hermeneutic circle.

The subthemes and the variety of meanings embedded in the four master themes are explicated in detail the *Findings* section. The summary of the final outcome of the analysis process was presented as an analytic narrative (Publications II and III), with the aim of finding a balance between illustrating themes at the group level, but bringing in the idiographic detail to highlight convergence and divergence within a theme. Indeed, the recurrence of a master theme does not mean it would look identical for all informants, but allows for considerable variation in how it is evidenced across different informants (Smith et al. 2009).

4.6 Researcher's position

> *I now believe that the biographical journeys of researchers greatly influence their values, their research questions, and the knowledge that they construct (Banks 1998, p. 4).*

My interests as a researcher are two-fold: on the one hand I am interested in the subjective experiences of hypermobile youths and in studying the factors that contribute to their psychological and social well-being. On the other hand, I want to develop my expertise in the field of international mobility regarding mobile families with children and this requires specific subject knowledge at a more general level of the population in question. Obviously these two motivations do not exclude one another, but rather highlight the need to approach the experiences of mobile individuals and the phenomenon of international mobility differently. In effect, being torn by different motivations is a universal problem for researchers; because we are both scholars and citizens, we face certain moral dilemmas related to the professional commitments, the worth of our work and the struggles between our efforts to understand (commitment to truth) and our desire to use our knowledge to change the world (commitment to personal values) (Vidich 1988, p. 475). To consolidate the two-fold motivations of my inquiry, I refer to Smith & Osborn (2008), who argue that although IPA is idiographic, i.e. focus is on the particular, the results may be reviewed

in terms of theoretical rather than empirical generalizability. The results of an IPA study may be linked with the extant literature and one's own (personal and professional) experiences, as "the power of the IPA study is judged by the light it sheds within this broader context" (ibid p. 56).

As discussed earlier, "bracketing" the researcher's subjective knowledge around the phenomenon is essential in IPA. While it is impossible to attain a purely objective stance or to eliminate all our subjectivity, the researcher can seek to manage it (Finlay 2014, 125). Reflexivity, or in other words "critical self-awareness of the researcher's historical-cultural situatedness and the context of the research" (ibid, p. 130) becomes important especially in the final stages of the analysis, because our visible and invisible discourses evidently contribute to the construction of the "Truth" of the study (Dervin 2010, p. 7). Critical reflection upon the different experiences and understandings of the same phenomenon (including our own as researchers) is a way of gaining further insight into the mutually interpreted phenomenon and eventually, to move beyond our own previous understandings of it (Finlay 2014, p. 130).

I set myself on the research path as a white young European female with personal experience of living in different countries and bringing up nationally mixed children. Concerning my pre-conceptions and "natural attitude" on international mobility, I knew what it is like to start anew in a previously unknown place without any local social networks and with somewhat limited skills in the local language (although from an adult's perspective). I had experienced this first alone as a young exchange student, then several times as a couple with my husband and later as a family with children. During the years spent abroad, I had constructed a diverse, global network of social connections including people who had moved internationally for various reasons and in different circumstances. I had personally experienced the joys and sorrows related to moving internationally; the excitement, the sense of freedom, the homesickness, the nostalgia, the loneliness and the mixed feelings upon repatriation – in other words, I was familiar with the array of emotions and practical stages involved in mobility. However, it is noteworthy that my experiences were based on personal choices and constructed on the grounds of an explicitly sedentary childhood. Also, I started my mobile trajectory as an adult, which means I had no subjective knowledge or experience of being a child and growing up in an internationally mobile context. Nevertheless, more recently, through the experiences of my own children, I have had the chance to observe how (differently) children deal with international moves and changes.

In addition to the knowledge gained from my master's studies in education and the professional specialization studies in multicultural education, I was familiar with the field of international education also through my teaching experience in three international schools and lately in the role of a parent. Upon our

first international move with children, I became interested in the plural student population in the international school my children were enrolled in. I began to study the endless rows of books in the school library discussing these children as Third Culture Kids. After the first few moments of excitement, I experienced a feeling of disillusionment. I noticed that most arguments and articles were based on adults' retrospective accounts. Where were the voices of the children? How would they describe their experiences afresh? As a mother grown up in a sedentary childhood context, and having been exposed to internationalism only as an adult, I was not sure what I wanted my children to experience and what kind of allegiances to develop from their rich "mixed" genealogy. I pondered on these matters and struggled to understand the connotations of the notions rootless/rooted childhoods and cultural/national identity/global citizenship.

With these reflections in mind, I drafted the research plan in which I set out to investigate the extent to which the mobile and "mixed" children were susceptive to and influenced by their parents' affiliations and how much connectedness there actually was for these children in terms of nationalities and "cultures". I was curious to find out what the parents were doing, according to the child, to transmit a "cultural/national identity" to their children and did it work? As said, at that time I was driven by a will, on the one hand, to provide a foundation to my own children (i.e. "give roots"), and, on the other hand, to bring them up with an international mindset. I was convinced about the importance of parental intervention and attitude regarding the "desired" identity construction of the child. I thought that by conducting the study, I could find solutions also for other parents having the same educational issues that I had.

Obviously, all the "knowledge" of international mobility I had gained during the previous years was biased, because it was based on my subjective interpretations and experiences and limited to the unique contexts I had found myself in. However, as such, this knowledge contributed to my understanding of the phenomenon of mobility at the beginning of my PhD shaping my "natural attitude" (Finlay 2014, p. 122) regarding the research topic. Fortunately, these biases became visible in the initial outlines of my research plan. Supported by the discussions and feedback given by my supervisors, I gradually become aware of most of the "baggage" I was carrying (i.e. the pre-conceptions and the "interfering" knowledge), which helped me to assess and review the research plan, the research questions and the intended approach. In addition, the process of working on the first article on social categories and identities proved to be helpful in reviewing my own thinking, the unconscious categorizing and stereotyping I was doing (e.g. re "expats") and the use of terminology regarding the research topic. Without the long and studious labor with this first article, the research design and the conclusions would have been completely different. Processing the article forced me to do serious self-scrutiny and made me humble in front

of the entire research process, not to mention the informants. Letting go of the "etic" approach cleared the way for the more "emic" accounts. All study at both academic and personal levels prior to the actual research helped me to partially "bracket" my pre-understandings around the topic and to adopt a more "phenomenological attitude" (Finlay 2014, p. 122) as a researcher.

My position as a mother of internationally mobile children is obviously a central factor in the entire study setting and one of the main motivations for me to conduct the study. Although my parenting experiences remain subjective and cannot be generalized at any level, they may have helped me to grasp an idea of moving as a process involving the whole family. However, highlighting this facet of myself may have had an impact on the informants and therefore on the quality of their accounts. This impact could have been either positive or negative depending on the relationship, openness and trust the informants have with their own mothers. Considering their life stage as adolescents and the possible conflicts they may have at home, I wanted to avoid creating a parent-child conversation type of set-up and decided not to emphasize my role of a mother. Instead, I presented myself to the informants as a PhD candidate from University of Helsinki studying the experiences of adolescents growing up with experiences of international mobility. This information seemed to suffice for all informants and they didn't show further interest in my personal background. I aimed for a comfortable interview setting within the school context (in an empty classroom or a conference room) with snacks and beverages and opted for a colloquial, informal discussion guided by the life-grid and the photographs. The two interviews I conducted at the informants' home were different in nature, as while we were comfortably sitting in the living room enjoying tea, the privacy and the authenticity of the interview situation were compromised by the presence of the informants' mother (more analysis on this in the "Informant profile" section). As I wanted to let the informants lead the discussion as much as possible, my role as a researcher was purposely diminished and I settled for showing signs of interest, empathy and acceptance, asking clarifying questions and putting the focus back on track, on the life-grid or the photographs, if needed. This set-up proved to be successful. After the first minutes of puzzlement, all informants seemed to relax and feel at ease. Nevertheless, I understand that despite the conversational and relaxed interaction I managed to create with all informants, the youth must have been impacted by the power differentials and the age difference between us. Their accounts, and thus the conclusions presented in this study, would have been different should the youth have discussed their situation with a peer, a male researcher or, despite the efforts I made to suspend my previous experience of the topic, with someone with no personal knowledge of international mobility at all. Another aspect that has to be considered in light of the findings is language. Although all informants were

fluent and felt at ease in English, for some it was not necessarily the language in which they preferred to express themselves. Some multilingual people actually feel they are different persons in different languages (Koven 1998), which means that conducted in another language, for example in a language chosen by the informant, the findings may have been somewhat different.

If I were to re-conduct the interviews today, I would take a slightly bolder stance as a researcher. Afraid of endangering the emic nature of the accounts, I was perhaps too cautious of asking direct, personal questions and too accommodating to let the informant talk as little or as much as s/he felt like of the topics s/he wanted. With few informants, much time was spent on topics out of scope because of my reluctance to interrupt them. But then again, all information brought up voluntarily by the informant is salient, if considered as part of her/his on-going meaning making. Further, instead of letting the discussion drop or change direction as soon as it touched something sensitive, I could have prompted and dug deeper with supplementary questions, despite running the risk of the informant feeling uncomfortable for a moment. The few informants I had the courage to do this with, I was able to elicit rich, emotional accounts and had a feeling that instead of feeling destabilized, the informant seemed content and sometimes relieved to be able to open up to someone "neutral" without being judged.

4.7 Delimitations, reliability and validity

Regarding the study reported in Publications II and III, the data collection included semi-structured interviews and visual tools, namely life-grids and photographs. The use of visual tools had several objectives; (1) they acted as aide-memoire to support the informant's autobiographical remembering; (2) in terms of triangulation, these methods helped both the informant and me to view and analyze the topic of discussion from different angles; (3) they shifted some of the control and power in the interview situation from me to the informant, and (4) they facilitated the interaction and reduced the possible unease between the informant and me, because no eye contact was needed and the silences were easily covered. However, while the informants had selected the photographs, the topics of the life-grid were chosen for them. The life-grid topics ultimately directed the discussion and impacted the content of the informants' narratives. Covering the whole life span, the life-grid obliged the informants to go through each relocation, moving and re-settling experience, one at a time. This obviously restricted them from talking solely about the events they wanted to bring up and considered to be meaningful, which

may have compromised the authenticity of their accounts. It was, however, relatively easy for me to notice which experiences were the meaningful ones by the amount of time spent on each topic – the informants were free to move forward on the life-grid when they desired.

Besides the guiding life-grid topics, there were other aspects in the interview situation impacting what was being said. As analyzed in Publication I, the terminology and the type of questions used by the researcher during the interviews always influence and guide the thinking of the informants. To mitigate this in this study, the life-grid proved a helpful tool as it gave time and space for the informant to think what s/he wanted to say and write down about each topic. Also, as a researcher, I tried to avoid using highly ambiguous concepts like culture, identity, and membership, that I knew were not notions utilized by the youth themselves, and asking equivocal questions about, for example, belonging and roots, that would in a sense force them to choose a geographical place or affiliation on the spot. Further, when people communicate with each other, and especially in a research interview, there is not only a speaker and an addressee, but also hidden audiences that are implicitly present in the narratives. Hermans and Dimaggio argue that discourses are always addressed to someone or something that is assumed to be "listening" (2007, p. 51). In the light of this postulation, I assume that the researcher is also involved in this play and thus I recognize my own hidden audiences to include all those people who see "Third Culture Kids" as a homogeneous group. Similarly, I assume that the "messages" the youths were sending within their narratives were probably intended for audiences like the youths' parents, friends or the school, depending on their content.

It is also important to note that interviews take place at a certain time, in a certain place and situation and these parameters highly impact the narratives and interpretations generated within. The findings of this study are mere reflections of particular exchanges at a particular moment, and most probably, had the interviews been done one year earlier or two years later, the conclusions would have been different[1]. The children grow, mature and their understandings and interpretations change (e.g. Dervin 2013). The findings can thus illuminate their experiences in a way that a photograph captures a fleeting instant. Further, it is also essential to recall that all descriptions, conclusions and theories elaborated always reflect the historical period of their formulation and what the researcher considers salient for investigation at that time (Vidich 1991). This is why it is essential to retain the researcher's clear voice in the study reports. Despite the

[1] If I had had the chance, I would have undertaken another round of interviews one year later. Regrettably, many informants had already continued their itinerary from Prague and were thus unreachable.

efforts to bracket, as a researcher, I am inherently subjective, which impacted the interviews, but also the analysis process: every interpretation I made was to an extent informed by my pre-existing experiences and pre-suppositions. A completely "neutral" stance does not exist. Rantala & Kuusisto (2013) point out that "the question of legitimizing the knowledge that emerged in the study is not a question of the validity of an objective investigation as much as it is a question of our ability to bring out a detailed, subtle, and ethical understanding of the studied processes as they momentarily surfaced" (p. 14). Therefore, in accordance with the principles of IPA, it was important to provide a certain degree of transparency so that the reader could judge the trustworthiness of my interpretations. My part in the research process had to be made explicit in order to avoid having the emic and the etic, the insider's and the outsider's views amalgamate in the results (see also Kuusisto 2011, p. 47). For this purpose, Table 2 is provided to demonstrate the stages of data analysis and the evolving interpretation around each account. To ensure validity, I need to display how the prevalence of a theme was determined. It is argued that for IPA studies with a sample size of four to eight, extracts from half of the informants should be provided as evidence (Smith et al. 2009). The selected extracts in Tables 6-9 in the appendices have as their purpose to give some indication of the convergence and divergence, representativeness and variability between the experiences of the informants. The unfolding narrative for a theme then provides a careful interpretative analysis of how the informants manifest the same theme in particular and different ways (Smith 2011, p. 24).

I recognize that the scope of the study is restricted: I am not examining gender differences, although gender is a determinant in migration and in the family organization, as discussed in chapter 2.1.2. Nor will I go into deep analysis of the social class of each informant in terms of the parents' education, professional status or wealth; it is however clear that despite the increasing internal diversity of the expatriate community, the large majority of them are white, educated and relatively wealthy, coming from countries of the Global North and holding somewhat privileged positions in social and economic hierarchies especially in countries of the Global South. Within the interviews the informants' references to social class remained marginal probably because they inhabit similar international milieus mostly frequented by people with similar backgrounds. However, the aspects related to the social hierarchies (or milieus) in the context of youths' international mobility, are discussed in Chapter 7. Further, concerning the generalizability of the findings, I acknowledge that the sample population is, firstly, limited in size, and secondly, distinct in terms of parental background (mixed) and the family itineraries (mean number of international moves 4.1). The findings may not reflect the experiences of all internationally mobile youths, especially of those from more homogenous families, and of

families who are strongly affiliated with a certain belief or community. Rather, the findings should be considered to be a case study demonstrating both patterns of similarity between a group of hypermobile children as well as of the uniqueness of the individual experience. On the one hand, the objective is to provide a nuanced analysis of how the same experience – as viewed from the outside – can be interpreted in particular and different ways by each child, but on the other hand, to reflect on the similarities and convergences of these experiences at a group level.

Despite the above-mentioned delimitations, I believe that the experiences of these individuals provide us with important information that reflects the globally accelerating mobility trend. As directly experienced by the children, the findings reveal important aspects related to international mobility that are worth considering from both the parents' and the educators' perspectives. Furthermore, the findings contribute towards constructing an increasingly diverse understanding of the lives and experiences of internationally mobile children and youth while they are actually "in the making".

Finally, to emphasize the value of phenomenological research, even small-scale, I quote Max van Manen (1996, p. 9):

> *Phenomenology merely shows us what various ranges of human experiences are possible, what worlds people inhabit, how these experiences may be described, and how language (if we give it its full value) has powers to disclose the worlds in which we dwell as fathers, mothers, teachers, students, and so forth. Of course, we can choose not to value these experiences. The point is, however, that we may enrich our lives by the recognition that these possible experiences could be or become our own actual experiences.*

4.8 Reflections on the case study of two international schools

The number one educational choice for mobile families (Hayden & Thompson 2016), the international school environment, can be considered as being the "default" growing up context for mobile children, including most informants in this study. As the data analysis in the primary study proved that the international school context was central in both the processes of worldview development and of identification regarding the mobile children, it felt necessary to explore these environments further. I wanted to understand what "international school" actually means and to know how do these schools transmit the "international" to their students. The aim of the small-scale case study based on two international schools was to provide an answer to the following research question: What is

the school's definition of "international" and how is it translated in the school's ethos, educational and pedagogical choices and organizational practices? In Publication IV, the meaning of "international" is reviewed in the context of two dissimilar international schools in Finland and France deploying the concept of *institutional habitus*, i.e. the institution's ethos or impact on the individual's behavior and considerations (Reay & et al 2001). These two international schools were chosen for the case study on the basis of the two researchers' previous connections to the schools, but in particular because of the substantial differences between the two schools that nonetheless both categorize themselves as "international". The first one characterizes an established, renowned school in the South of Finland and the second one represents a young, rapidly expanding school in the South of France. Both schools are positioned in the large, global spectrum of international schools offering an international curriculum leading to an internationally recognized diploma (IB) and catering to a multinational student body. Despite the many dissimilarities between the schools, these common aspects, considered "of essence" for international schools (Hayden & Thompson 1998), made the comparison possible and of interest. The research plan and design was drafted together with a colleague in Finland. I collected the data in the French school, which was previously familiar to me because of my children having been enrolled there for a couple of years. France was also my place of residence at the time of the data collection and I was knowledgeable of the local contexts and debates around national education. I considered a focus group interview to be the most appropriate method to collect the data in that particular school, because of its small size and the somewhat overlapping roles of staff and administrators regarding the branding and management of the school. In the Finnish school, the data were gathered by my colleague along with two individual interviews. All interviews were semi-structured, lasted about 30 minutes, were audio-recorded and conducted in English. In both schools, the persons selected for interview were the ones responsible for the management, branding or marketing of the school, therefore in a central position to review the school's choices concerning its educational ideologies and organization. Five people were interviewed. The correspondent researcher transcribed the interviews verbatim. The transcriptions were analyzed in collaboration with my colleague using discourse analysis drawing on the sociocultural linguistic perspective. This means the analysis focused on both the details of language and the influences of the surrounding culture and society (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In the context of this study this implied taking into consideration the contents of the local national curricula, the traditional, nation-bound pedagogical and ideological approaches and the present-day demographics and pluralism in each society, without forgetting the general attitudes and expectations in regards to education, visible in the current local public and political discourses.

In the analysis, several similar themes emerged from both data sets and these were then examined in relation to the three components constituting the institutional habitus. Focusing on the pre-selected topics of discussion, the analysis also concentrated on the interactional strategies the informants engaged in, which was relevant as the informants are both staff (insiders) and brand-makers (bridges to the outside), thus speaking with multiple voices. The convergences and divergences between the discourses of the two schools were analyzed in the light of the broader local societal contexts. The findings revealed the conceptualizations of internationalism and the ways in which the "international" was translated in both schools' ethos, practices and desired student outcomes.

In this sub-study I was the first author and responsible for the data analysis, the contextualization and for writing-up the findings. Again, although the sample is small, I believe that an investigation of two schools at a deeper level contributes to (1) the understanding of the values and worldviews transmitted by many international schools and (2) generally reflects the complexities related to the rapid growth of international education. In terms of my PhD, this sub-study also forms a conceptual and ideological framework around the mobility experience exemplifying the main terminology, objectives and pedagogical approaches used within international education. A future study could include several international schools and also teachers' perspectives in order to get a grasp of the practical, "hands on" aspects of the "international" in their education. As discussed in Publication IV, the perspectives of the administrative staff are relevant in understanding what are the guidelines, ideologies and values guiding the school and on what grounds these are constructed. However, to see how these ideals are turned into practice within the classrooms – i.e. how the "global citizens" are prepared and the students' worldviews shaped – a teacher assessment is needed.

4.9 Ethical considerations

Social researchers are expected to approach their mission in an ethical manner. The codes of ethics for social researchers exist to *protect the interests of the participants, ensure that the participation is voluntary and based on informed consent, avoid deception and operate with scientific integrity, and comply with the laws of the land* (Denscombe 2010, 331). As I knew I would be moving during the research process, from early on I decided to comply with the ethical principles of research applied at the University of Helsinki (Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity 2012).

The study reported in Publications II and III demanded particular attention regarding age; most informants were minors. According to the foundations of research ethics, the participation in a research must be voluntary, and in general at the age of 15 and above, the individual's consent is sufficient for participation (Mäkelä 2010). All individuals participating in the data collection had to state their willingness and interest in participation in the study. Some schools requested parental consent and these were achieved by an email exchange. Before the interviews I contacted each informant by email and explained my study's outline and purposes. I reminded the informants that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from it at any moment. I also emphasized the fact that all research data would be treated with confidentiality protecting the individual anonymity. These points were raised again face to face at the time the interview.

I acknowledge that it may have been difficult for the youths to understand what they were consenting to do when agreeing to participate in the study. In effect, it is impossible to predict in advance what topics emerge during the interview. In the momentum, the informants might unintentionally talk about some overly intimate personal or family affairs that they may later regret. Therefore, after each interview, I gave the informant the opportunity to erase parts of the recorded discussions if s/he felt this way. No informant expressed a desire to do so.

Ethical issues are more pronounced in a qualitative research approach, because it often focuses on sensitive and private matters (Helve 2005, 79). I am aware that my study touched on private and subtle areas of the self and the interviews may have evoked disturbing memories and/or caused strong emotions attached to these to arise. Further, I am conscious of the fact that the data collection methods used in the study may have provoked reactions and transformations within the informants, especially considering their vulnerable age. Therefore additional sensitivity and discretion on my part were demanded when confronting the adolescents. Extra attention was paid to creating a safe, comfortable and private research setting and a trusting relationship between the researcher and the informant. Finally, throughout the research process from the design to the reporting, I have been mindful of the power I hold as a researcher in terms of shaping the wider understanding of internationally mobile children's lived experiences. I acknowledge that the findings of this study cannot be thoroughly "authentic" in a sense that the knowledge is partly constructed *with* and reported *though* me.

In this respect, I have tried my best to stay as close as possible to the informants' original claims and statements and as transparent as possible when it comes to my own interpretations of their accounts.

Regarding the reporting of the study, I explained to all informants that I would be writing a PhD dissertation and journal articles about their experiences, and promised to remove or change their names to protect their anonymity. I also expressed my intention to send to the informants, the school principals and the international school staff a copy of the articles that were to be published on the basis of the study, which I did. However, unfortunately I was no longer able to reach all the young informants, as three years had passed between the interviews and the publications, and many of them had changed email addresses in the meanwhile.

5.

Summary of the Publications I–IV

Publication I entitled *"Analytical and Methodological Considerations for the Use of Social Categories in Identity Research"* sets the conceptual and epistemological framework for the PhD study by analyzing the limitations of measuring identities, with a special focus on youth, as based on pre-selected categories, such as 'Third Culture Kid', within which the individuals are placed according to particular criteria. The paper argues that the simplified categories fail to mirror the complex identifications of the contemporary individual and strengthen essentialism related to ethnicities, cultures and religions. The paper discusses the problematic related to categorization at both analytical and methodological levels and illustrates the need to approach identities from emic-etic perspectives (i.e. viewed from the inside and the outside) and from multiple angles in order to grasp a more multilayered view into the complex nature of identity. As an example of this, the paper introduces Brubaker & Cooper's approach to "identity" (2000) and illustrates how it can be deployed in youth research, in particular in the framework of this study.

Publication II *"It's uh, fine to move, even if you're the new girl all the time... Internationality as the default setting in life"* (originally published in Finnish) discusses the increasing international, work-based mobility trend from the relocating children's perspective. Based on the findings of the present study, the paper's aim is to increase the current understanding on how the hypermobile children make sense of the recurrent moves and cope with the complete life changes. The values and disparities related to international (as experienced) versus sedentary (as the norm) lifestyles are discussed. The notion of ephemerality, central to their meaning making and encompassing several aspects of their life, is explained. Further, the different strategies these youths deploy to make sense of the moves and to cope with the relocations are highlighted.

Publication III *"Identity is experience—my experience is where I'm from. Towards a wider understanding of worldview pluralism in educational settings"* discusses the plurality of the contemporary classrooms and problematizes the educational practices that ignore the increasingly multifaceted self-understandings of the contemporary youth. Central to pluralism and international education are the concepts of identity and worldview. The way these are addressed by educators is directly linked to pupils' personal development and wellbeing. Moving away from cultural essentialism and Western biases that often predominate education and obscure the complexity of the pupils' worldviews and identifications, this paper approaches pluralism from a more critical stance. Based on the findings of the present study, the paper's focus is on illustrating how internationally mobile youth make sense of their complex self-understandings and their "expanded" worldviews. The need to rethink the educational practices addressing these within educational settings is emphasized.

Publication IV *"That makes us very unique." A closer look at the institutional habitus of two international schools in Finland and France"* moves the discussion from the individual level to the school level with a particular focus on international education, considered as the "default" educational framework for most internationally mobile children. The paper discusses what "international" actually signifies in international schools and especially in relation to the students therein. This is relevant in the context of this study, as the school environment has a powerful role in the children's identity and worldview development. The meaning of "international" in two dissimilar international schools is analyzed by deploying the concept of institutional habitus. Institutional habitus is discussed through the elements interpreting it: educational status, organizational practices, and the expressive characteristics. These elements create a space, where certain types of identifications and experiences are encouraged and solicited. Regarding the wider discussion on education of diversities, the paper highlights the important role of the "silent" partners (i.e. in the hidden curriculum) in education in the identity and worldview development of the pupils.

6.

Findings and discussion

In respect to the idiographic nature of IPA that focuses on the individual and suggests that everyone is unique and should be studied in an individual way (e.g. Smith et al. 2009), the first section looks at the informants and their profiles at a case level. The brief introduction of each informant provides necessary information for the reader to understand the context behind the excerpts borrowed from their accounts to illuminate the general narrative around each master theme. Next, the findings are presented at the group level, one master theme at a time, in a general narrative that addresses the more predominant aspects of the informants' experiences, giving space for both the convergences and divergences in the meaning making of the informants. As explained, the master themes are illustrated with verbatim excerpts from the informants (quoted sic). The excerpts highlight the convergences and divergences between the informants' experiences regarding the same theme. A more exhaustive list of excerpts for each master theme can be found in the Appendices.

6.1 The informants

Each informant (in alphabetical order) has been provided with a pseudonym to protect anonymity. First, a brief introduction of each individual informant is provided, including information about their family context, moving trajectories and some other person-related facts that are considered relevant in the context of this study and for the interpretation of the findings. An overarching theme that aims to capture the "essence" of the informant's account is presented at the end of each introduction.

Ana

Ana is a 15-year old girl. Her family has been internationally mobile over three generations; Ana's grandmother moved from Italy to Argentina, where her mother was born and later married a Peruvian man. Ana's father being a diplomat, Ana has moved 5 times in 15 years. Ana was born in Switzerland and holds Italian and Peruvian passports. She is an only child. Ana speaks Spanish at home and English at school, but she also speaks Italian fluently.

The way Ana talks about herself gives the impression of her as an independent girl, rather solitary in nature. She does not seem attached to her relatives, whom she meets quite seldom, and she has not kept active contact with her friends left behind. Ana considers friendships important, but does not seem to have many friends at the moment. She feels sad for not having childhood friends like *"the others"* do. During her stay in Italy, Ana was part of a close group of friends, whom she thinks of with nostalgia, but at the same time she seems to feel relieved having moved away, as the friendships were at times *"complicated"*. Ana seems to like being on her own, listening to music, drawing and *"teaching herself"* things, like languages (e.g. Russian).

Ana's self-understanding is marked by a feeling of otherness. She seems to feel different from most people she is involved with, especially regarding the sedentary, non-mobile youth. Ana cannot point a place as her "home". In her account she emotionally rejects both Peruvian and Italian memberships, but admits that when she moved from Italy to Peru she *"realized where she's from"* (Latin America). Ana says she feels *"happy"* and *"herself"* when she speaks Spanish and when she is around Spanish speaking people, especially with Argentinians. Ana seems to have a strong emotional attachment to Argentina, the place she considers "home" although she has never lived there. Ana's identification as Argentinian is most probably mediated through her mother and her mother's nostalgia for her native country. Ana watches Argentinian soap operas and listens to Argentinian music. Argentina is the place she will *"go back"* to live when she graduates. Once settled there, she claims she will never want to move again, if she can choose. Ana's overall tone is somewhat sad and her experiences of international mobility are tinted with a grey tone; she seems to be angry with her parents for making her move and she considers sedentary youth as the lucky ones, because they are *"from one place only"* and *"know everything of that place"*. Ana seems to have reluctantly accepted her mobile fate, but can't wait to stop moving and making her own choices as soon as she is old enough to decide for herself.

Ana's overarching theme: The Self suspended during the mobile years, awaiting self-realization

Enzo

Enzo is a 15-year-old boy. His mother is Italian, and his father, who also has Italian origins, grew up in South Africa. Enzo has moved five times in his life because of his father's job, but has mostly been living in different parts of Italy. He is very fond of his family and feels especially close to his mother. Enzo is also attached to his extended Italian family, who feature in most of his narratives and self-chosen photos. He has grown up with his older brother *"like twins"*, but lately the gap between them has widened as his brother is *"more of an adult now"*, whereas he considers himself still as a *"teenager".* Enzo speaks Italian with his mother and brother and English with his father.

Out of all informants, Enzo's affiliation to a certain place is the most marked one. His self-understanding is unambiguous: Enzo feels at home in the international schools' communities and describes himself as a *"traveler"*, but identifies himself clearly as an Italian. He seems to feel connected to the family from his mother's side. He has lots of cousins with whom he has spent all summers in the countryside. Enzo's family also has a house in Italy that they return to every year. Despite all the moving, Enzo seems to have maintained a link to a "local" life in Italy and friends in the neighborhood whom he is in active contact with while living far. He says the *"most important things* [in his life] *have happened there"*, in the house in Italy. His positions as "I as Italian" and "I as an international traveler" seem not to be conflicting, but rather nourishing each other.

According to Enzo, moving has not affected him much emotionally. He seems to have a strong sense of stability and certainty through his family roots in Italy; for Enzo, life is where his family is and this gives him a feeling of continuity. Further, the frequent visits to Italy keep his identity "anchored" and allegiance robust. Enzo appears to be a socially active boy, but does not seem very attached to his friends in Prague, because they all come and go *"bringing new stuff".* He seems to think that true friends are those you make in your childhood and that you keep in your life always, like his father with his friends from South Africa. Despite feeling temporarily sad at each relocation for going away from his friends, the moves do not seem to have further destabilized Enzo. However, perhaps owing to the underlying sense of continuity anchored in certain places and people in Italy, Enzo seems to enjoy variation and being able to turn all experiences to his profit.

Enzo's overarching theme: The Self assimilated in family, mobility buffered by the senses of continuity and belonging

Joanna

Joanna is a 16-year-old girl. Her American mother and French father adopted her as a toddler. Joanna has a little sister, also adopted from the same country. So far Joanna has lived in five countries, including the early years in her country of birth[1]. Joanna's account is heavily impacted by the presence of her mother in the interview situation. She clearly wants to keep the discussion shallow and talk about things that are lightweight and general, in order not to offend her mother. She seems to avoid talking about her emotions or complex things that have happened to her or to her family and that still affect the current life in many ways. However, these topics float in the air and surface quite often in her narratives, but every time the discussion touches something sensitive, Joanna seems to downplay her emotions by saying *"whatever"* and laughing or changing the subject. It seems that this is very much due to her mother's presence in the room. Joanna's body language and appearance, nevertheless, seem to reveal a lot about the underlying thoughts and feelings. At times Joanna uses a tiny, fragile voice that indicates she doesn't want her mother to hear what she is saying. She twists her body and makes herself small on the coach. It is obvious that these are moments when meaningful, but problematic topics are touched. Perhaps these are also the topics of disagreement with her parents or topics that should be silenced?

During the interview Joanna seems to be torn between the will to speak her mind and the fear of hurting her mother's feelings. In her narrative she often contradicts herself, at times seemingly feeling guilty, at times victimized, at times almost euphoric. Further, Joanna seems to be saying certain things in order to please her mother (judging by the fact that she raises her voice for the mother to hear). Joanna's emotions seem to change constantly, thus displaying the on-going, complex identity negotiations and the play of different voices in her mind. In her narratives, Joanna oscillates between the different positions "I as the good little girl", "I as the rebel teenager" and "I as the reasonable young woman". All these positions are detectable in her meaning making. Her self-understanding is still much in process, which is understandable taking into account her vulnerable age and atypical background.

In Joanna's imageries, the US appears to be an attractive place of plurality, where she thinks she would find space for her multiple positions. In her account Joanna also seems to prefer the American side of the family, because she refers to them as *"more relaxed"* and *"open-minded"* compared to the French relatives. Joanna appears to reject France both as her home country and as a point of identification. This may be due to the negative experiences she had

---

[1] The birth country is not named for confidentiality reasons

during the years in Paris that in her mind casted a shadow over France and the French people. Even though both extended families are big and face-to-face contacts are annual, Joanna seems to lack a deeper connection with them and her feeling of belonging in general is vague. Joanna says she connects with people who have a similar, nonconforming life biography as hers, mostly with her sister, as together they have *"been through this all these years"*. During the past 4 years Joanna has gone to French lycées, where the student population is rather stable making it more challenging for the newcomer to find friends and to adjust. Although the student population may be diverse in these schools, mobility often remains a marginalized phenomenon, making it hard for Joanna to feel understood and to validate her life trajectory.

It seems that Joanna is resigned to her mobile fate without taking much agency of it. Things just seem to happen. Her attitude to moving is contradictory – international mobility is something she admires and finds *"right"*, but then again it is the very thing that makes her suffer. Joanna is struggling to decide whether moving is good or bad. She acknowledges the benefits of a mobile lifestyle, but somehow, they don't seem to fit in with what she is actually experiencing and feeling.

Joanna's overarching theme: Mobility as a fate that has to be accepted and that refines one's character

Julie

Julie is a 13-year-old girl. Julie was adopted as a small child by her American mother and French father from the same country as her older sister Joanna. So far Julie has lived in five countries and moved four times internationally. Julie is the youngest of all the informants. The interview situation is clearly the first time she reflects on her identity and what she really thinks about certain topics herself. In her account there is a lot of hesitation, staggering and searching for proper words. This may also be due to the fact that Julie is more used to expressing herself in French instead of English. Julie seems to be oscillating between expressing what first comes into her mind (natural reaction) and what she feels is appropriate to say in front of her mother. Julie seems to be strongly aware of mother's presence and this appears to impact what she says and how she says it (regarding the tone in which she tells her stories; she is often opting for a light, positive tone). Her mother's presence is somewhat disturbing also to my own concentration and I realize I tend to quickly jump to the next topic if the situation becomes too emotional, too close to something very personal (after all, maybe this is why the mother wanted to be present?). Every time Julie

seems to touch something sensitive, her eyes sweep the floor and her voice goes down making it hard for me to hear her well. In these situations, I feel restricted from asking further questions and Julie doesn't seem to have the courage to continue as if she was afraid of disclosing "too much". Therefore, in Julie's account, some potentially "rich" passages remain brief and somewhat superficial.

There were things Julie said in a very low, tiny voice and other things that she masks behind a laugh. Within the family she seems to have adopted a position of the *"cute little sister"* who, I feel, now seems abashed to be taken seriously in the interview situation, almost as an adult in her own right. More recently, her "little sister" position has also been challenged by puberty: referring to earlier years, Julie often uses adjectives like *"fun"* or *"cool"* to indicate that everything was easier for her back when she was still *"small".* Lately in Prague, life seems to have become harder and uglier and Julie has had more trouble at home and at school. As we speak, Julie seems to realize that her old position as "the cute little one" is, in fact, no longer valid and that it needs to be rebuilt.

Julie's self-understanding seems to be constructed upon feelings of otherness. She exaplains that she feels that people do not understand her and that they see her as weird and different. In fact, she does not seem to be sure whether she is the different one or if the others are different from her. Julie says she doesn't have friends at the moment, that she feels lonely and that the other students at school (French lycée) are *"mean"* and *"stupid"*. Julie says she had more friends and she was happier before they moved to Prague. Now she says that she hopes that the years in Prague will go by fast so they could move somewhere else. Relocation would be a relief giving her a chance to start over again. Also the relationship with her sister has recently changed from being close allies to a more discordant relation as her sister is keeping her distance from Julie who is, according to Joanna, in the middle of her *"adolescent problems".*

Moving for Julie seems to be an obligation dictated by the faceless powers of her father's profession, a fate she has to submit to. Moving does not seem to represent many clear benefits for her, but Julie appears to feel prohibited from complaining. She seems to consider complaining morally wrong regarding her parents who *"saved"* her as a baby. All in all, adoption plays an important role in her self-understanding. In her account, she often refers to the moment when her family *"had her"* and when she *"was seen"* by her parents as the true beginning of her life.

Julie's overarching theme: The Self as the Other

Max

Max is a 15-year-old boy, currently living in his fourth country of residence. His Norway-born father grew up in New Zealand, his Scotland-born mother grew up in Australia and Max and his two older brothers were born in New Zealand. Max seems to be an introvert who has a vivid imagination and spends much time alone. Max's parents are teachers at international schools and therefore he has spent his childhood going to school with wealthy *"expats"*, with whom he does not seem to identify. A certain feeling of (economic) inferiority is detectable. Max has felt close to very few people and doesn't seem particularly connected to any group, including his own family. He seems to have some anger towards his parents regarding his life course *("they dragged us there")* and declares a desire to break free from the *"family tradition of becoming a teacher"*. He clearly cherishes his memories from China, where he felt settled in and had a good social position, lots of friends and hobbies. The international school was *"the dream school"* that was *"away from where all the expats would live"* and where he says he *"blended in with the other Chinese people"* and had a grip of the local life. This was in contrast to the usual *"school-home-school-home"* type of life he describes having lived in the Philippines or now currently in Prague. Max claims feeling quite *"isolated"* at the moment, but says he is not actively looking for friendships. Max seems wearied by the cycles of moving, by the necessity to find friends and hobbies, especially after the seemingly disappointing departure from China. He doesn't seem to consider international life as glorious, but as rather lonely, where the home forms the center of life for him. However, Max says he does acknowledge that living abroad gives people more perspective and makes their opinions seem *"wiser"* and *"more intelligent".* Still, in Prague he doesn't seem to relate to the other students. He seems to think that most European youths in international schools are not truly international, because they have only lived in Europe, where he finds differences between countries rather minor. While Max barely mentions his mother and her Scottish roots, he seems to relate a lot to his father and nourish his identification and self-worth with the stories of his Norwegian ancestors. The awareness being a member of a notorious family anchors his identity negotiations and gives Max a strong sense of belonging.

Max's overarching theme: The Self anchored in powerful imageries and family narratives

Michael

Michael is a 16-year-old boy, living in his fifth country of residence. Michael has moved eight times, including moves within the US, from one state to another. Michael's father works for the US government, but most moves have been his parents' initiatives. Michael's father is American and mother Canadian. He was born in the US as the third child of five. All children have been homeschooled for long time by their mother. At one point Max's father was away for work for three years *("I had to learn to live as if I didn't have a dad")* and this may have further reinforced the mother's position in the family and in Max's account regarding her. However, as the father's occupation dictates the life context around the family, his figure is, to a certain extent, omnipresent in the family at all times. Michael has received a conservative upbringing. His family is religious and *"strong on morals"* as Michael puts it. Michael identifies with the Seventh-day Adventists referring to it as the *"personal views that I inherited".* Still, it seems that Michael is a loner. He is used to living in remote places and spending time alone or with the family. Because he views himself and his family as being different from others both in terms of values and the way of life, he says he finds it hard to connect with people, whether they be from the Seventh-day Adventist community or not. Although he declares himself to be a fierce US patriot, he finds himself inherently different from other American youth, mainly because of his family's international life trajectory and beliefs. However, Michael says he also feels different from other international youths because of his family background (re values and wealth). Instead, he seems to find comfort in structure and order. Statements of will to become a stronger person both physically and morally mark his account. Michael has clear objectives related to a career in the military and seems ambitious to *"make a difference".* Michael appears to be very grounded in his upbringing; he feels profound patriotism, although his admiration for what the military represents (brotherhood, hierarchy) may be stronger that his actual love for the country. However, moving around the world seems to be of interest for him, as, according to him, it helps him gain more perspective and awareness, endurance and strength. All this, he says, will *"serve him later".*

Michael's overarching theme: Forging the Self during the mobile years for a greater cause

Ryan

Ryan is a 14-year-old boy. His father is American and mother originally from Columbia. He has moved four times so far, and the Czech Republic is his third country of residence. Ryan is a very sensitive and emotional boy, the oldest of four brothers. He seems to feel responsible regarding his family and especially of his younger brothers. Ryan is still very young, but at times his reasoning sounds like that of an adult. Ryan seems to oscillate between his roles of a bewildered child and the "wise" eldest brother. This shows in his thinking; he is really working towards understanding his experiences, but seems to miss some maturity and perspective to make sense of everything. Ryan's narratives are full of emotions and the very meaning of a certain experience may change while he is processing it – at times he contradicts what he just said. This shows the complexity of the information he is dealing with at his age.

In general Ryan seems to see the bright side in everything and be very concerned about everyone around him being happy. He appears to feel positively different from his compatriots in the US, because unlike them, he has traveled and *"seen the world".* This, he says, makes him *"understand different perspectives"* better than his peers, who have *"never been out of the country".* Ryan seems to consider international experiences as a huge benefit for his future and a chance that has been given to him by his parents. Focusing on the positive aspects of moving may also be a way for him to mitigate the homesickness and living far away from some beloved ones that he often refers to. Ryan seems more attached to people than to places, even though he clearly sees the US as his home country. But home for him seems to be made of people he loves and cares about. Ryan says his Columbian roots make him special. He is in touch with both sides of the family, but there seems to be more emotions and imageries embedded in his account on the Columbian one, perhaps because he grew up with a Columbian great-aunt whose stories about her native country made Columbia "alive" and tangible at home.

Ryan's overarching theme: Constructing the Self around the positive aspects of internationalism and moving

Vanessa

Vanessa is a 17-year-old girl due to graduate from upper school six months after the interview. She has lived in four different countries, including the Czech Republic for the past seven years. Her mother is American and father French. She has two younger brothers. She speaks both English and French at

home. Vanessa is planning to move to Florida to study in order to *"continue the bilingual type of living"* in an international environment that she appreciates. Vanessa seems to place herself high on the social hierarchy among her peers in international schools and highlights her positions as someone truly international, scholastic and socially vigorous. Vanessa appears self-confident and there seems to be a balance between her self-image and her actual lifestyle. She seems to have positively accepted her family's international way of life, although she also acknowledges the aspects she feels she is missing out, such as long-time friendships or a place she could call and be familiar with as her "home". At the same time, Vanessa seems very conscious of the presumed advantages of international mobility and of how mobility has shaped her personality and social capital. She is familiar with the concept *Third Culture Kid* and willingly refers to the positive rhetoric surrounding it. She seems to have appropriated the TCK description as part of her self-understanding. In her account, Vanessa highlights the differences between her and the others who are not international up to her standard. These include the sedentary youth in general, but also those youth in international schools who *"actually are from a country".* Vanessa seems determined to succeed and pursue her dreams. The future seems well planned for her. She says she wants to become a doctor, marry someone international, work in the US, but raise her children in Europe, teach the children many languages *("because Chinese is gonna become a crucial language to know")* and make sure they get the best possible foundation for life. Within these arguments, Vanessa displays her conception of a "good" life, which for her seems to consist of a strong "international capital", like the one she seems to have acquired herself.

Vanessa's overarching theme: Internationalism as an important social/intellectual capital defining the Self

6.2 Individual informant themes

Starting from the case level. As described in detail in the Methodological framework, the IPA process produced a pool of four to six superordinate themes per informant. To illustrate the convergences and divergences of meaning making between the informants in relation to mobility, the superordinate themes characterizing each informant's experiences are presented. The superordinate themes are then compared across all informants in order to demonstrate the prevalence and the quality of the theme for each informant.

Table 3. Superordinate themes at a case level

Informant	Superordinate themes (in a random order)
Ana	• Membership negotiations: nominal vs. subjective • Feelings of otherness, solitude • Lack of agency • Personal passions; coping, continuity • Focus on future: own agency
Enzo	• Discovering the Self, own voice • Family as a home base • Belonging, roots, placed memories • Banal mobility
Joanna	• The ideal Self, Managing the Self • Moving and temporariness as frameworks for life • Lack of agency • Feelings of otherness, marginality • Multiple positions of the self
Julie	• Feelings of powerlessness re own life • Cacophony of voices talking through Self • Becoming someone, Self in the making • Otherness • Complicated feelings of connectedness
Max	• Mobility as a fate of life • Plurality of positions of the self • Home, school, imaginary world –framework for life • Feelings of Otherness–changing social status • Belonging: nominal vs. imagined
Michael	• Family framework: values, living “differently” • Life within relocations • Coping with changes: building resilience • Affirming subjective affiliations & ideologies • Feelings of marginality
Ryan	• Excitement of international life • Coping with changes • Emotional ties: family, friends • The Self in the making–Drawing the Others • Place imageries
Vanessa	• Being part: family, friends, people with common worldview • Self as international, Self as plural • Negotiating the pos. and neg. aspects of mobile lifestyle • Resilience, tools to cope with changes

As demonstrated in Table 3, despite the different trajectories and experiences the informants have had, rather similar themes occurred in their narratives. Nevertheless, the interpretations and the quality of meanings attributed to these experiences varied a lot from one informant to the next. The superordinate themes can be seen as a direct reflection of the on-going identity negotiation process of the informant whereby "telling is the 'doing' of identity" (Kraus, 2006, p. 107). The informants are at dissimilar stages of personal development and maturity, and at different stages of the moving cycle. Some of them have just arrived, some are in the "latent" period of the cycle and some are preparing for a forthcoming move or pending in uncertainty regarding the timing of the next move. All these matters influence the informants' thinking when bringing out certain topics and feelings, while some other topics, that perhaps at a different moment would have shown more prominence, are overlooked.

6.3 Master themes for the group

Moving on to the group level. The master themes representing the informants' experiences at a group level were rather easy to identify, as similar themes were highlighted in most cases. Basically, the analysis revealed four major themes around which most narratives took place. The narratives evolved around (1) the experiences of a mobile, international life in general, (2) the different ways to cope with the changes (albeit often unconsciously), (3) the narratives around the Self, and (4) the feelings of (dis)connectedness, from both spatial and social perspectives. The analysis thus produced four master themes, with three to five explanatory themes under each of them. It is of essence to note that despite the one title, a theme does not look identical for all informants, but allows for considerable variation of how it is evidenced across different informants.

Table 4. Master themes and explanatory sub-themes for the group

Master themes for the group*	Sub-themes
1. Life settings: select "international" – On hypermobile childhood.	• Moving as a part of life • Ephemerality and uncertainty • Locus of control • Relocation as an end • Relocation as a relief
2. Press restart and play – On coping with moving and change	• Focus on solidarity (to parents) • Focus on the meta level (global citizenship) • Focus on the moving rationale (how to play the game) • Focus on the future (stronger agency)
3. The mobile me – On identity and worldviews	• Self as international • The Others and Self as the Other • The both-and-reality • Expanded worldview
4. Connecting... – On belonging	• Feelings of disconnectedness • Feelings of connectedness • Idealized points of identification

* The themes titles are a play on words referring to the common features in mobile devices, such as "settings", "restart", "connecting..." etc. to highlight the "carry on" nature of the internationally mobile lifestyle of the informants.

All four themes have been analyzed and presented in the Publications II and III. While the word count limitations and the specific themes of each journal or volume restricted the authors from reporting the findings in their full richness and detail, in the following sections each master theme is presented as a comprehensive narrative illuminating the more predominant aspects of the informants' experiences. To avoid repetition, some subthemes presented in the Publications II and III are covered here with a cursory glance, while others are analyzed more thoroughly and approached from slightly different perspectives than in the journals/volumes. I want to stress that the selection of themes presented here is based on my personal decision as a researcher, highly impacted by (1) what I feel the informants assess as important aspects in their life and consequently (2) what I consider to be of interest and relevant to bring forth both as an educator and parent of mobile children. What follows is a detailed, interpretative analysis of the most predominant topics within each master

theme. The analysis is constructed upon and illustrated by excerpts from the informants’ narratives.

In the appendices, tables 5-8 present a collection of excerpts for each explanatory sub-theme, so that as a whole, each table illustrates a master theme and gives a general idea of the convergences and divergences between the meaning making of the informants regarding each master theme.

6.4 Life settings: select “international” – on hypermobile childhood

This section, answering research question number 2, discusses the way the informants make sense of their hypermobility and how they think it affects the life they are living. As argued in the introduction, living in a foreign country is the common feature for all “Third Culture Kids”, no matter how the concept is defined. What is characteristic for the informants of this study though, is that all of them had moved internationally several times at the time of the interview. Because they have not experienced what it is to grow up “grounded” in one place, moving and relocation form an integral part of their life, the only way of life they are familiar with. As one informant formulated *“when you move every few years like that it’s just part of your life”* (Joanna). Unlike immigrants who leave home and are expected to settle in the new country, and unlike traditional expatriates who are sent out and expected to return to their home countries one day, most informants of this study live in a permanent stage of transiency with no certainty of permanent settlement and no notion about a place of “return”. Max is moving with his teacher parents and has to live with vagueness concerning the family’s future plans: “*There were plans to leave for Singapore this year. But we’re no longer leaving to Singapore. We might still be going somewhere, but it’s possible that we’ll stay another year. S: Ok. And how does it make you feel? Max: Uhm, ... I’d be a bit sad, leaving, but not actually that much. Because (friend in Prague) he was my- he wasn’t my only friend, but he was my main friend, who I would spend lunch and after school with. And so when he left- though we’re still friends, there’s no real reason for me to stay here.”* Max’s excerpt illustrates well the level of uncertainty embedded in most informants’ lives. The youths’ whole life and all the current settings may change within one day, with one decision. For someone in a sedentary life setting such unpredictability may give a feeling of a *lack of control* that can easily turn into stress and anxiety (Hermans, 2007). However, as Max has already experienced several relocations and does not seem very content with his current life in

Prague, the thought of an eventual move does not worry him. His best friend has left, leaving Max on his own with *"no real reasons to stay"* any longer. Max seems to feel that the quality of his life would not suffer from another move. He has had more satisfying moving experiences before; therefore, he knows life might be better in the next place.

As the informants move because of a parent's profession and not by their own choice, the locus of control is experienced as external. Sometimes this results in a sense of powerlessness and a lack of agency over one's own destiny. For most informants, it is the parent's employer who holds the power to change the course of the family's trajectory. Julie makes sense of her mobile life by submitting to the will of an authority higher than her parents: "*But it is my father, what the work of my father says (...) it's not, we don't, we don't decide, they decide"*. For the parents, it may be easier to resort to the powers of a faceless employer to justify the reasons of the move to the child, however, for a few informants it is their own parents who choose to move; at the time of the move from the Philippines to China Max was only eight, but he seemed to understand the reasons for his family's departure*: "I'll be honest, it was a money thing. We were getting, it wasn't a very good school, like I liked it, but that's because all I understood was I would play with my friends and I would walk around, but it wasn't very good, for my parents. (...). They were working in the school, both my parents are teachers. And so my dad once again decided, 'let's move somewhere else' and we moved to China, to another international school."* What is interesting to note, though, is that most informants resort to a "we" when they make sense of the reasons for moving *("we don't decide"*, *"we are on orders", "we were getting", etc.)*. This demonstrates the extent to which mobility is an intrinsic feature in the informants' lives, a "default setting" that was selected for them at birth like the theme title implies.

Consequently, all informants evoke the notion of ephemerality. The experiences in different places and with different people have been and will be outlined and limited by time, although the exact length of stay may be uncertain. This impacts the adjustment and the opportunities to feel settled. Michael talks about the constrictions related to the limited timeframe: *"2 years, 3 years, it's more than enough time to just travel to a place, but not enough time to really live in a place, which I don't really like, because I always feel like it's not quite enough time to get settled, but it's too much time to just, you know, go and leave without unpacking the boxes... (...) It's, it's kinda awkward period between really knowing a place well, uh, and kind of growing into that place and just travel to the place to see it."* Michael has moved eight times already, more than the other informants, and knows the phases of moving. He feels he has never lived anywhere long enough to know how it feels like to *"really live in a place"* and certainly not long enough to *"grow into that place"*. These are notions he has borrowed from

the sedentary people and that represent an existential realm he is not familiar with. Michael seems to ascribe a lot of meaning to being settled and rooted, as these denote for him the "norm", the image of a stable lifestyle he has created in his mind. When it comes to Michael's own life, he seems to characterize it as *"awkward periods"* between packing and unpacking, between arriving and leaving again. Within these short intervals he is supposed to adjust, re-install the daily routines and structures, get to know the place, and go on with his life.

Living in this type of temporariness can be weary. Disengaging from the old and re-engaging with the new is exhausting, especially if repeated. The drastic changes in the child's living environment create a setting that is overwhelming with expectations, demands and challenges. "Why bother? It's just a few years" some informants seem to think, and react to the move by withdrawing and continuing to disengage, like Joanna did upon her move to France: *S: so [in Canada] you knew that you're going to move one day? Joanna: Yeah, that, that totally wrecked France, the trip to France, France was really just... cause I was going through a stupid moment, you know when you're adolescent you just do stupid things all the time. And so France was totally a wreck, cause like 'I'm gonna move in three years and that's all, I'm not going to, I wasn't paying attention the beauty and what uh, what uh, what the, the move can be".* Starting anew demands considerable effort and adjustment from the child. Therefore, like Joanna, the child may decide to retrieve to an enclosed position where only the most vital of these demands are met and the rest is discarded.

The more recurrent emotions are related to the ephemerality of friendships. Upon every move, the informants have to let go and disengage from their current social connections. Keeping contact with old friends during the transition period is, however, psychologically important for bridging the old and the new: the fact that the child is recognized as "someone" by the old friends can carry her over the first phase of being "no one" in the new place. But according to the informants, despite the mutual promises and the parents' encouragements to keep contact, the new everyday life in the new place carries on and slowly turns the previous connections into static memories. Although the interaction between youths happens more and more on-line (e.g. Finnish Youth barometer 2015) and even if online communication opens up opportunities for maintaining one's network beyond any residential limitations (Mesch 2012), many informants have had disappointments regarding the continuity of friendship and some seem to have given up the efforts to keep contact. "*You make friends and they may be really, really good friends and then they'll leave. And it's really hard to keep contact even with the internet, you know, it's hard to keep contact and so it never happens".* Many informants seem to share this reflection from Vanessa and it evidently impacts their expectations regarding new friendships in the new place. Despite the fond emotions they have had for their old friends,

the geographical distance contributes to an increasing emotional distance and to a changed friendship mode. Previous studies on mobile children show that their friendships tend to be less emotional and intimate and that they maintain more distance with their friends than the sedentary children (e.g. Kyoung, Luke & Bernard 2015).

However, some informants have friendships that have lasted over time and distance. The common factor in these seems to be the family's involvement, because it facilitates the contact and getting back together. Although Enzo's day-to-day friendships change often in the international school *("friends coming and going, it's fine.")*, he feels grounded in the friendship with his ex-neighbor in Italy: *"And, and we still keep in touch (...) yeah, until today, so it goes on and on (...) Every, every year we go twice to Italy, to the same house so there's always my neighbor, so we always hang out and yeah, still friends."* The shared history with Enzo's ex-neighbor seems to have cemented their friendship bond. Continuity of meaningful (non-family) relationships is important for any children, but especially for the hypermobile children who cannot control the frequency of contact and whose social networks are constantly disengaged and rebuilt. It is valuable for the child to know that s/he continues to matter for someone, despite the distance and the geographical location. This idea may alleviate the anxiety and uncertainty felt at the beginning of a move and help bridging the old and the new upon each relocation.

Relocation from one place to the next can be experienced differently depending on the many factors involved. A move can be experienced positively as a *relief* or negatively as an *end*, as a rupture. Max reflects on his difficult departure from China, where he finally felt like home after years of moving: *"I was not happy about this, about the move from China to the Czech Republic, at all. Because it was, it was, I had all these friends, I was popular (...) So I had the most, I settled in."* Max's excerpt discloses the "worst case scenario" for a mobile child; life was good, he had a strong social status, he liked his school, and was busy with different after-school activities. He even had a privileged access to the local environment through his Chinese friends. The new move demolished all what Max had constructed and made reconciliation hard. Since the family's move to Prague, Max has not been able or willing to engage with his new surroundings: *"In the Czech Republic I have settled back into the go to school, go home, sleep, go to school, go home, sleep. And because (name) was my main friend and we now only talk over the internet, there's very little reason to go out."*

A move is not always experienced negatively. Adjustment to the new place can fail making the new relocation feel like a good solution. Thus, a move may also be experienced positively as a relief, as a closure for an uncomfortable situation. Joanna remembers the struggles she had in France both at school and at home: *"The three years in France weren't really uh my cup of cake* [sic]*, I'd say,*

because people weren't very nice. Uh, once I came here [Prague], it's... bit kind of a liberation". Even though she acknowledges that she was *"going through [her] adolescent problems"* at that time, it is typical for the informants to associate certain feelings, positive or negative, with a place, as if the geographical location was good or bad per se. For Joanna, the move to Prague offered *"liberation"*, a necessary exit from the conflicting situation she was in. Similarly, Ana talks about the years she lived in Italy with a close group of friends, whose dynamics she sometimes felt as overwhelming: "*I was actually a little bit glad (laughter) [to move], because I don't know, I guess it gets a bit annoying sometimes, when I was always with the same people and my best friend was always getting mad at someone, and we were always fighting, so in a way I was a bit glad (laughter). It was complicated."* In a way, Ana, an only child who seems to like to do things on her own, found herself "trapped" inside a close circle of girlfriends with *"complicated"* group dynamics that did not seem compatible with her nature. Ana felt that leaving offered a release without her having to lose face or offend her friends.

6.5 Press restart and play – on coping with moving and change

This section, answering research question number 2, discusses the ways the informants deal with the regular moving and the inevitable changes it brings along. As argued in the introduction, the socio-emotional aspects of hypermobility, especially related to children, are often overshadowed by the other, more dominant discourses around the assumed benefits of international mobility. This section examines the strategies, which the informants more or less consciously employ to reduce the psychological strain related to the different phases of the moving process. According to research, moving, especially from one country to another, is one of the biggest stressors in life (Mäkelä & Suutari 2015; Dixon & Hayden 2008). When the working parent relocates for a new job, s/he generally receives support and guidance in occupational and practical matters both before and after the move. A child, however, leaves her familiar life behind and faces the new school environment with its norms and meanings relatively alone. Even if the family (McLachlan 2007) and school (Dixon & Hayden 2008) provided support during and after the moving process, the child must go through a large scale of strong emotions upon every move. Moving, dis- and re-engagement require a lot of "emotion work" (Hochschild 2003) from the child, in other words considerable attempts to control one's emotions according to the social norms and the multitude of expectations in order to manifest something *they think they should be feeling* in any given situation. The informants'

personal resources to do emotion work vary, but there are similarities in their strategies to process and thrive through the transitions.

The children who move with their parents usually have little to say about the major decisions concerning their life. As is the case for most children in any context, where they live and for how long is not something they can decide. However, what is representative for the hypermobile children is the notion of ephemerality. All informants seemed to be aware that the current place of living is not where they are supposed to settle down permanently. This notion presents an influential dynamic in their everyday lives compared to their non-mobile peers.

The informants' narratives display different strategies that they are deploying to make sense of the move and to cope with the tensions inherent in it. The use of coping strategies indicates developing resilience, i.e. capacity to cope with the stress related to changes in the social, geographical and cultural environments. Resilience is not a trait of the individual (cf. resiliency), but it is understood as a process. It is the result of individuals being able to interact with the surrounding settings and employ different coping strategies that promote well-being and/or protect them from risk factors (Constantine, Benard & Diaz 1999). Regarding the informants in this study, their coping strategies seemed to be mostly unconscious processes that unfold in the narratives when they are talking about a certain move and how they felt and made sense of it. The data analysis disclosed different patterns around the theme of coping and these patterns were grouped under four themes: (1) Focus on the meta level, (2) Focus on solidarity, (3) Focus on the moving rationale, and (4) Focus on the future. These coping strategies were reported in Publication II, and the most predominant ones are analyzed here in more detail.

Julie, a 13-year-old informant talks about her life in Paris a few years back. She compares her life to that of the sedentary peers with a slight tone of jealousy in her voice: *"Yeah, all my friends in Paris were, were in their houses for uh.. until- they said they're not gonna move until they're going to have their diplomas. And they keep in touch with their friends, and that's... nice."* Julie did not want to move to Prague because she felt happy in Paris. She seems to think her friends there are the lucky ones because they can stay *"until they have their diplomas"*. Having said this, Julie seemingly takes a hold of herself and pursues another line of thought: "*That was a... tough for me, but uh, before I didn't like it* [moving]*, but now I know that we... (sigh) we learn new things and we... see new beautiful things (with a monotonous voice) and so it's, it's uh, fine, to move, but, even if you're the new girl (sad laughter) all the time."* Julie's excerpt shows the most recurrent coping strategy amongst the informants related to moving; she focuses on the "meta level" of moving, in other words on the presumed benefits, the advantages and the privileged side of moving, in order to mitigate the

negative aspects and feelings involved. Indeed, the glamorizing rhetoric and the "hype" developed around the positive aspects of international mobility is omnipresent in public discourses, especially in the media, but it is also heavily used in the marketing of international education (for schools, see Publication IV) and exchange programs (for higher education, see Hahl 2016). This rhetoric highlights the intercultural competencies internationalization is purported to produce, such as enhanced cultural awareness, adaptability, open-mindedness and other "skills" characterizing a proper "global citizen". Julie's excerpt illustrates her attempts to make sense and internalize this positive rhetoric despite her subjective experiences that are contradictory. At the end of the excerpt she seems to concede her efforts to understand and laconically notes *"it's, uh, fine to move even if you're the new girl all the time"*.

All informants seem to acknowledge the positive aspects of internationalization, i.e. how the moving can contribute to their social capital, but many informants described these aspects abstractly, as if they were describing a beautiful painting without making a real connection to themselves. As exemplified in the previous section, Joanna criticizes herself for dwelling so much on her personal issues that she was not *"paying enough attention to the beauty and uh, what the, what the move can be"*. In effect, the discrepancy between the often-idealistic *moving rhetoric* and the actual *lived experience* can be difficult to handle for the young informant, especially if the moving experiences have been predominantly negative. Joanna seems to want to make the most of her international experiences and show appreciation towards her parents for having the opportunity to see the world, but she appears to be struggling to feel privileged and make sense of her feelings. She is speaking from two dissimilar positions that alternate in her discourses, sometimes even within one sentence; one that draws on the positive rhetoric surrounding internationalization ("I as a global citizen") and another that speaks of lived experience ("I as a victim").

"Some people think that it's hard, because we're losing our friends all the time. Well, when I was younger, and still now, it's still hard, because, uh, I just don't like moving, I don't like mov- the fact, moving isn't fun, the move itself. But once you get to the other place, you're like ok, great, this is another place, this seems interesting, although I've never been this sort of… outdoor person, I don't like going outside at all, it's like, I don't like really visiting museums (laughs). But well, I do, uh … so it's really actually interesting. Some people just say like 'oh, poor you, poor you, you always never have friends, it's hard for you and everything.' So I say, no, it's not really that hard, it's actually fun. I mean, I, I've got friends all over the world".

This excerpt illustrates how Joanna is resorting to the positive rhetoric surrounding internationalization as a strategy to cope with the feelings of loss (losing friends) and otherness (what people think). The position changes from a

passive "people think" to a subjective "I feel" showing how she is trying to make sense of her own understanding of the topic. From the position "I as a victim" Joanna declares that *"visiting museums"* or other such "advantages" of moving are not sufficient rewards[1] to compensate the loss of friends. But dismissing the positive aspects of moving seems to make Joanna feel vulnerable, so she quickly resorts back to the positive rhetoric and speaks from the position "I as a global citizen": *"it's really actually interesting"*. In addition, despite the fact that she has previously talked about feeling lonely and misunderstood by her peers, Joanna suddenly claims having *"friends all over the world"* like a proper global citizen is supposed to do.

Besides the positive aspects and options regarding the new living environment, most informants value the social capital internationalization is thought to produce. Ryan moved internationally a couple of times when he was small and after having lived in the US for many consecutive years, his family has recently moved to Prague. In this excerpt, he is evaluating his new, internationally flavored life: "*When you come out here, you see, all these different countries, like come together and like in one school and interact with each other, it really helps to, just like get a different perspective on stuff, so... It's really cool, yeah. (...) You know (sighs), like what my dad's doing right now, like moving us around the country, I would [like] my child also to experience different cultures. Cause I think that's very, very important, cause you get a, you get a very wide range of what life is in different countries. (...) And you get to see different places and view, and view them like differently and all kinds of stuff. It's really cool."* This excerpt demonstrates that Ryan is still relatively new to international mobility. He lived most of his formative years within the US, albeit moving between states, and now feels excited to be *"out here"* where *"different countries come together"* in an international school. As a freshman, Ryan willingly observes the *"different perspectives"* and *"cultures"* within the student body. In reality, the diversity within international schools remains rather limited, because despite the various passports, most pupils come from the same socio-economic milieu and are immersed in the quasi-similar ethos of international education all over the world (Publication IV). However, backed up by his father's argumentation about the positive aspects of internationalization, Ryan finds meaning for the move in the intercultural learning experiences and the increasing social capital: "*Because moving around, especially to different countries, you get to meet tons of different people and see and experience different cultures and just, just, that's gonna help me a lot in life, cause it's, it helps me see a different perspective on*

1 The positive aspects of moving, such as the opportunities to discover new museums and interesting places in the new country of residence are often the arguments the parents use to "market" the move for their children.

other people and stuff". The excerpt exemplifies well the extent to which most informants have internalized the global rhetoric surrounding internationalization; they seem to take for granted that living in different countries provides one with various intercultural competencies per se, despite the actual level of exposure to the local surroundings. Max tries to make sense of this logic: *"So if someone's from some small town in Britain, ok, that's interesting, but if he's lived in America and Czech Republic and Germany, his opinion is somehow more intelligent".*

While focus on the positive aspects of moving seems to be an efficient strategy for the informants to make sense of their experiences, their parents also easily resort to the positive moving discourse. Sometimes a move is imperative and inevitable for the parent(s) for professional, economic or political reasons, redundancy or other lack of alternatives. Particularly in this case the positive aspects of internationalization may be accentuated in the parents' discourses covering the real motives for the move and alleviating the potential feelings of guilt (Mclachlan 2007) related to their children. Sometimes the parents take the "marketing" of a move so far that the child may interpret the move to take place for her own good and the parents to work hard in order to offer their children an international lifestyle. For some informants, this contributes to a development of feelings of solidarity towards the parents, like this excerpt from Ryan's account illustrates: *"I'm very, appreciate all the work he's done for us, it's, aww, he works, he works so hard. When he retires, when I'm older, I definitely owe him."* Ryan's thinking is heavily impacted by how his father justified the family's relocation from the US to Europe: *"He said he wants us to have the best experience of our lives. I really appreciate how hard my dad's worked for us, especially with four kids... (...) and all the trouble times he's gone through with his work, cause there's been times where it's been really hard for him to work, cause it was so irritating and stuff, but he pushed through it and it got us to where we are today, which we are really happy."* In Ryan's meaning making the moves and experiences in different countries represent a reward for his father's hard work, a privilege that the children are expected to appreciate and exploit. In a way, resorting to a rhetoric that glorifies internationalization is a way for the parents to use power: children's feelings and experiences of moving are subordinate to the "greater cause" of internationalization. This is exemplified in an excerpt from Enzo: *"I always remember that my parents used to say 'be thankful because you travel a lot'".* In this type of setting, the child may consider expressions of negative emotions as improper and ungrateful and thus opt for muting these feelings.

The power differentials between the parents and the children are further accentuated by the fact that the families' international trajectories are relatively lonely; the protective structures, networks and communities that contribute to and maintain the family members' social capital are repeatedly left behind.

Parents and siblings are often the only social contacts the youth have at the beginning of each relocation. This is why an international move tends to intensify the family ties in good and bad—when the external social contacts are scarce, the positive and negative emotions find an outlet within the family framework. A frequently relocating family may form a sort of insular unit containing an overabundance of emotions and feelings that are held within the unit (see also McLachlan 2007). Subsequently, the family being one of the few things that remain the same upon each relocation, the youth's real space for rebellion and the opportunities for independence struggle—natural phenomena in adolescence—may be limited.

6.6 The mobile me – on identity and worldviews

This section, answering research question number 3, reviews the ways hypermobility impacts the informants' self-understandings, I-positions and identifications, and their definitions of the "other". The manner in which these conceptions contribute to their developing worldviews is also discussed. This section illustrates how the mobile youth understand and locate themselves as individuals regarding a broader youth population and how mobility shapes their self-understandings and worldviews. While all three sub-themes are reviewed in Publication III, here the focus remains on the predominant and recurrent aspect identified within the informants' narratives around the self: the positioning of oneself vis-à-vis the "others" or the "norm". Again, despite a common theme title, each informant's interpretation and experience of the theme may be different, which is exemplified by direct excerpts from their transcripts.

Promoted by the media, international education and ultimately their parents, the positive rhetoric surrounding international lifestyle gives a powerful model for the mobile youth to draw on in terms of self-understandings. Attributes associated with the "global citizens", such as "cultural awareness", "open-mindedness" and "adaptability", are often eagerly embraced by these youths. These attributes, i.e. "intercultural competencies", are highlighted as the positive outcome of internationalization, whether they relate to education, exchange programs or international mobility. Internationalization and these attributes are so strongly interlinked that to an extent they may become the default characteristics for the mobile youths to describe the self. This was further illustrated in the second master theme (coping strategies) where resorting to the putative intercultural skills as an outcome of international lifestyle is used as a means to strengthen and protect the self. This is a natural phenomenon, as it is argued that once a social affiliation becomes a part of one's identity, e.g.

a "global citizen", it may be prioritized over the other affiliations and become accepted as an integral part of one's "personhood" (Sen 2009, p. 287). This is a process called "identification"; if someone is labeled as an "X", people start to have beliefs and expectations of them. Gradually this person starts to identify with other "Xs" and finally, being an "X" becomes a part of their identity (Appiah 2005, p. 69; see also Tajfel & Turner 1979). Most youths in this study use attributes like *"more intelligent", "open-minded", "accepting", "different perspective"* and *"unique"* (quotes from different informants) to describe "international" people in general, and themselves in particular. These attributes progressively become central for their self-understanding. What these youths say about "international" or "mobile" people is therefore a description of a group of people they want to identify with and the image they wish to project to the outside.

As discussed earlier, adolescence involves constant comparing between oneself and the others on social, physical, intellectual and experimental levels (Beck 2011). Within their narratives, the informants are drawing tentative lines between the "I", the "us" and the "others" in order to understand their own locus. However, how the "us" and the "others" are understood varies between informants, which is further explained in the following sections. Most informants consider themselves different from their geographically stable peers and the contrasts emerging from this comparison form a framework around their identity negotiations. Although an increasing number of children and youths are moving for various reasons (parents' divorce, new marriage, new job, crisis in the family etc.) (Kivijärvi & Peltola 2016) sedentarism is still widely the norm throughout the world. Comparing themselves to their non-mobile peers (cousins, neighbors, classmates etc.) the hypermobile youths become conscious of their distinctive lifestyle. Therefore, the people who "do not move" often come to represent the "other" and function as a mirror to reflect the specificities of international mobility.

The differences between "us" and "them" are first and foremost perceived on a very concrete day-to-day level related to housing, schooling, relationships and continuity in general. Even for a young child it is easy to detect these disparities. All informants interact with people whose living environments and social networks remain relatively stable. In their narratives, they are trying to make sense of the self as "detached" from locally grounded territories or communities in contradiction of the traditional model of sedentary childhood where these aspects are normally present. For example, Vanessa claims to love her international life, but acknowledges that she is missing out on some things that come across at family gatherings: *"Like my French family is all in France and my American family are in the States and we're like the only ones who are not in those countries, and so, uhm... My cousins and all that they all have like, you know, a best friend that they've been and they go to their house all the time, you*

know they have like history with them, they've grown up with them, they have family friends they're always with and it's sort of, yeah. We don't really have that". Vanessa evokes one of the most profound differences between the sedentary others and herself: the lack of childhood friends and other long-term connections, which is a recurrent theme in most informants' narratives. To *"have history"* with someone, as Vanessa puts it, is to exist in the mind and heart of a significant other as a person in her own right. *"Not to have that"* refers to a lack of continuity and emotional security that is experienced as an important absence, almost as a loss. Ana talks about the same aspect as a grief inherent to international mobility: "*One that I always think about is that they [sedentary children] maybe have, like, the same friends since they were really, really young, and I don't have that, because since I've lived in different countries you kind of lose contact with people that you were friends with when you were younger. So I, I guess I will never have that like friend that I've been friends with since we were really young. And it's kind of sad in a way. For me at least."* The last sentence *"for me at least"* reveals that the losses and the shortcomings related to international lifestyle are not openly discussed among the international youths, but that they are often undermined by the positive rhetoric dominating the discourses. Ana seems to feel almost ashamed admitting that she would like to change places with a sedentary youth, have long-term friendships and root herself into one place: "*S: what do you think they think about the childhood you've had? Ana: People usually tell me that it's 'oh it's so cool' and all that. And I think it's actually kinda cool to be only from one place"*. For Ana, mobility is an unavoidable feature of her life and she's looking forward to choosing the itinerary of her liking after graduation from school.

Differences between the self and the "others" are also perceived at a more abstract level regarding worldviews, experiences and knowledge (Publication III). What is common between informants is the understanding of mobility's impact on these. Open-mindedness, acceptance and cultural awareness are part of the competences the informants view as created by mobility and associated with an expanded worldview shared by mobile individuals. Most informants contrast these features with isolation, ignorance and narrow-mindedness, which characterize the worldviews of the sedentary people who, as Vanessa puts it, live ''in a bubble'' and do not seem to grasp the world beyond their immediate surroundings.

As discussed in the previous section, the powerful rhetoric surrounding the set of "global values" or "intercultural competencies" associated with international mobility is often integrated as part of the self-understanding of the mobile youths. The informants make sense of their locus by observing the disparities between the sedentary and the mobile youths and drawing on the beliefs linked to these two separate, yet co-existing realms. This enhances the

positioning of non-mobile individuals as "the others". As discussed in Publication III, the informants consider the mobile lifestyle as broadening the worldview and developing the positive attributes related to internationalism. In turn, they describe the sedentary "others" as *"ignorant"* and *"isolated"* people sharing narrow worldviews, which may feel *"irritating"* and *"annoying"* from the mobile youths' perspective. For example, Ryan, who has recently moved to Europe from the US draws a clear difference between his compatriots and the internationally mobile youths: *"Like in America, the kids were really, how do you say, really... irritating, like they're really annoying (...) cause they just think America is America and that's it. And there's nothing else out there and they're just like 'oh yeah, I don't like this place, uh, or, America is the best and blah blah blah blah".*

In fact, as many studies show, "returning home" (e.g. Warinowski 2012) or going to a school dominated by a sedentary student population (Česinskas 2010) may not be easy for children with international itineraries. In sedentary environments, most of their experiences and knowledge may be overlooked and not validated as an integral and essential part of their biographies and self-understandings. Whenever Max returns to New Zealand, the country of his early childhood and most relatives, he feels he needs to withhold his experiences: *"I also feel like I have to be careful of what I talk about in New Zealand, because I have got many a mean look when I talk about my month in Turkey and then I will, 'ah, I went to China for a few weeks and then I was Vietnam' and they're like 'uh, ok, you wanna' (pulls a face) (...) because they have just stayed in NZ S: yeah yeah. So you feel there's a gap- Max: oh yeah, there's a gap, yeah, because I have been to all these places and they haven't. And so I... so that's one of the reasons I don't really like talking to New Zealanders".* As his life experiences and—in his own eyes—banal narratives easily come across as boasting, Max seems to feel misunderstood and prefers not to share his experiences with the New Zealanders, whom he has started to consider as the "others". Evidently, these types of encounter further increase his disengagement with the country that he already feels alienated from. Almost relieved Max says *"We don't go back to New Zealand anymore. S: No? Max: That's not... yeah, cause the only reason me and dad would go to New Zealand was to spent time with grandma. Cause my dad is quite, he's not big on- he doesn't like- we would go there to see his mother, say hello, stay with her and then we would leave, so without her, there is very little reason for us to go back to New Zealand."*

It seems that if the youths do not have peers to relate to or if they cannot be members of a community where the international experiences are normalized and validated, the child's international trajectory may lead to strong feelings of otherness. Having moved several times, Joanna has had traumatic experiences of being bullied and "othered" in schools that have mainly catered for the local student populations: *"Here [France] they were just putting me in a corner and*

leaving me there, like a... skeleton. I don't know, like old thing that doesn't always... always lying, always cheating, always doing stupid things. Ok. But here in Prague I unders- I sense that people understand... and when you, when you're with people that are living, that lived the same thing as you... People that don't live what we live, don't understand. Aren't open-minded. They're just 'yeah, ok, you're not doing what you're supposed to be doing' –thing, 'you're odd, you're not like us', right. 'you're dirt', essentially, and so... there." Joanna's account is heavy with emotion, feelings of otherness and even of dehumanization of some sort. Her interpretation of her being a mere "skeleton in a corner" within a sedentary student population may refer to the fundamental inferiority she has felt as an outsider and a newcomer in an established classroom setting. In France, she imagined herself being a skeleton that is taken out of the closet only for short displays for demonstrating the peculiarities of a human body, or like in her case, the eccentricities of a "different lifestyle". However, more recently in Prague (albeit still in a French school) Joanna has had a reconstructive experience of being understood by a few other mobile peers who live "the same thing" and who seem to understand her life-story as a solid, valid narrative. The above excerpt demonstrates how Joanna feels herself in a field of tension between two conflicting positions, "I as dirt, stupid, odd, excluded" etc. and "I as open-minded, understanding and included". Joanna is stretched between these two emotionally powerful positions and struggling with which position to adopt, which one to believe in. Finally, she seems to settle with the idea that "People that don't live what we live, don't understand." For Joanna "what we live'' is a way to compress her life experiences into three words and a metaphor for summarizing the agony related to the relocations and the feelings of otherness and difference. Curiously, "what we live", for her, is also the path to open-mindedness and understanding. In fact, the idea of "expanded worldview" (Publication III), typically embraced by the mobile youths, seems to give a strong point of identification for the mobile youths and offer a loose sense of connectedness amongst those, who, as Joanna said, "live what we live". Despite international mobility being a "default setting" in their life, the sedentary lifestyle still seems to represent the norm for the informants, against which the mobile self is contrasted and mirrored. The discourses are dominated by the informants' efforts to make sense of their own experiences in contrast to the presumed normality—the self-understandings are negotiated between the ''normal as expected'' and the ''normal as experienced''.

6.7. Connecting… – on belonging

This section, answering research question number 3, illustrates how the informants relate to their origins, both nominal and emotional, and to the places they live in. As discussed earlier, probably the most difficult aspect highly mobile individuals need to deal with is the feeling of belonging. In most societies, a sedentary lifestyle is still the norm and dislocation usually forms only a temporary disruption to it. From this viewpoint, hypermobility can be perceived as confusing and peculiar. However, it is within these sedentary frameworks that the informants need to negotiate and make sense of their relationship with place. One aspect that characterizes most informants is the feeling of disconnectedness. This is most often experienced in relation to the local society and its people, especially in the presence of a language barrier. Most hypermobile children attend international schools and despite the increasing efforts to extend their engagements to the local society (e.g. Meyer 2015), international schools remain relatively insular units, like small universes of their own, where the most basic needs of their students are met, from the academic aspects to the social networks to the afterschool activities. Besides the possible language courses and occasional "cultural visits", the students' contacts with the local societies may be limited. This may make it challenging for the mobile youths to stay attuned to the latest trends and behaviors that the local youths embrace, or to follow the news and the actualities that take place in the surrounding society. However, if the informants feel disconnected from and are not always on track about the local tendencies, they may know even less about their "official" countries. All informants have a dual national heritage from their parents and many of them are internationally mobile in the second or third generation. In the contemporary world, still steered by methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002), the nominal memberships create pressure to "know" one's place and its languages, which, however, is not the case for many informants, as they may have never lived in these places. As discussed in Publication III, sometimes this type of forced "flag hailing" creates awkward and embarrassing situations if the youths are requested to represent "their" country on different occasions. They may also choose to operate on the margins of social groups in order to avoid vulnerability and obliviousness in unknown social situations (Purnell & Hoban 2014). According to the findings of the present study, the informants' connectedness to their places of residence or of birth also seems relatively weak. Nevertheless, they do have emotions and even patriotic feelings towards certain places, although these may have nothing to do with the child's nominal memberships. These zones of connectedness are discussed in the following.

International mobility and the biologically rooted needs for stability and security (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007) form the complex intersection in which

the informants need to navigate. The youths' needs for stability and security are further increased by the uncertainty related to the frequent relocations and the ambiguity of the family's future plans. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007, p. 34) argue that the experience of uncertainty motivates people to find local niches in which they try to find security, safety, and certainty. This psychological phenomenon is also evidenced in the results of this study: the informants have a need to demarcate a physical place as "theirs", in order to establish a feeling of control and continuity and to feel belonging to a greater entity than their immediate families only. However, these places may not necessarily be related to the informants' nominal memberships in any way. Rather, they are emotional imageries and patriotic feelings towards certain places or communities that hold powerful meanings for the informants. For example, Ana tries to makes sense of her profound attachment to Argentina, a country where she has never lived: *"I fe- I feel Argentinian and I say I'm Argentinian and I don't have the passport, so if I had the passport I would be like 'yey, now I'm officially Argentinian!' (laughs) (...) I really don't know (laughs). It's very strange cause I never lived there [Argentina], but it's just very... like... it's just my place (laughs). I don't know why. I really don't know why."* Ana's connectedness to Argentina may stem from the narratives she has heard about her grandmother's emigration after World War II from Italy to Argentina, where she found a new beginning and established a new life overseas. Ana's mother grew up in Argentina until she met her Peruvian husband and started an international lifestyle following his job assignments. Ana's emotional attachment to Argentina is empowered by these family narratives that she associates with her own autobiographical history. Ana was born "en route" in Switzerland, but seems to have appropriated her mother's affiliation and grown up within this nostalgia nourished by the yearly visits to Argentina and the Argentinian on-line radio and TV shows that she follows daily. Ana's feelings are quite typical for people living in diaspora (e.g. Hall, 1990), where the individual maintains certain traditions and customs from the "homeland" and cherishes the ideas of an eventual return: *"Even though I want to study fashion design and I should stay in Europe, but I just, I miss it [Argentina] so much that I just have to go back".* Talking about "going back" to a place where she has never lived reveals how Ana has internalized Argentina as her "homeland". Ana's desire to see Argentina as her home provides a response to many challenges in her life: focusing attention on one specific place out of a multitude of options is a way for her to reduce the stress related to changes. Focusing on Argentina also helps Ana make sense of her subjective locus in her family's global itinerary. And finally, directing her attention onto one place helps her control the uncertainty aspect in her life, which is in keeping with Hermans & Dimaggio's (2007, p. 40) argument:

> *A primary way of responding to the experiences of insecurity and uncertainty is to seek reaffirmation by drawing closer to any localized group that is seen as capable of reducing uncertainty and insecurity. (…) Whereas for many individuals feeling at home in a family, neighborhood, workplace, or religious group may be a self-evident part of their life situation, for other people, particularly immigrants, refugees, and those living in diaspora, homes have to be actively created.*

In a similar way to Ana, Ryan is drawn to his Columbian roots – being American-Columbian is an important facet of his self-understanding. Countless stories about the country and the Columbian part of family have marked his childhood. For Ryan, it feels important to strengthen the connection he has for the land of his ancestors: *"I wanna explore my Columbian roots, I wanna go to Columbia, maybe live in Columbia, I wanna, just, go through it all and see, see what there's about it."* As Ana and Ryan's cases demonstrate, the sense of connectedness and identification can be constructed through trans-generationally narrated stories. Narratives of the shared past provide understanding and perspective on one's life events and of who one is. They may be particularly critical for the child's developing sense of self in adolescence (Bohanek, Marin, Fivush & Duke, 2006). Hypermobility creates a context where the mundane communities the child is member of change repeatedly. Therefore, belonging to an established entity, albeit an abstract one, and acknowledging one's own locus in the family genealogy can hold a lot of meaning for the mobile youths. The family history with its narratives connects the mobile children to larger bodies than their immediate families, providing them with an important sense of continuity, connectedness and belonging. Max has lived in many countries, and although China is the place where Max sees himself in the future, at an emotional level he feels connected to Norway, the country of his paternal ancestors:

> *I wanna, I wanna live in Norway (…) I suppose because my dad is from Norway, but I, I just want to live in Norway… and I've always wanted to live in Norway. (…) He alw- he talked about Norway, a lot. I always want him to talk about Norway and his family from Norway (…) And he talks about his great-uncle, who owned a mountain… and very, very rich. He was the- not lord, it wasn't that long ago, but he was like the big, rich man of that area… And then all the (Max's family name) were very rich. (…) The id- it's just things like that, that we owned a mountain and all of us lived there… and if your search (name) into Google, every person you'll find is related to me. (…) There's only one (name) family in the world.*

This excerpt illustrates Max's underlying need for the experience of being grounded in a long, durable tradition, a theme common for many informants. The family narratives may provide an important "niche" or an identity anchor in the absence of those communities that are normally "given" at birth and that are maintained by regular routines, structures and traditions in the daily life. On the one hand, linking himself to his Norwegian family helps Max to overcome his feelings of otherness regarding his New Zealander compatriots as discussed earlier. On the other hand, resorting to the family narrative of wealthy ancestors makes him gain a sense of dignity and equity regarding the "expat children" in international schools whom he does not relate to: as mentioned earlier, son of two teachers, Max feels economically inferior to his fellow students ("*It was an international school. So it was mainly... uhm... rich people (...) yeah, these... that community")*. Family narratives seem to be central in the mobile child's feeling of connectedness. They offer a possibility for the child to create a "homeland" where identities, imageries and future plans can be placed and where the experience of belonging could finally be felt.

If the informants' connectedness to places is not straightforward, the perceived connectedness to people is even less so. Due to the solitary nature of the families' international trajectories, the immediate family often becomes an inward-looking unit wherein most experiences and emotions around moving are shared. Although the relationships may be conflicting, there is normally a sense of solidarity between siblings; they are often the only peer connections that extend to the new place of residence and with whom one shares the most radical life changes. In the best case, siblings may provide a sort of protective bridge between the old and the new. Most informants' narratives are charged with notions of their siblings. They figure as the stable, safety-providing elements that are present at home and often at school, too. Joanna talks about her sister as one of the few people who understands what she is going through: *"Uh, the first person I think of is my sister, because we've been going through this all these years (...) and so... we kinda have, I don't know what she said to you, but I kinda feel that she feels the same way as me, uh, about the moves (tiny voice)".* As Joanna's excerpt displays, the experiences between siblings may be shared, but not necessarily verbalized. In this case the peer support remains at an imagined level, nevertheless stipulating a feeling of safety.

However, with the exception of a few informants like Enzo, who feels very grounded in his large Italian family, the relationships with the extended family seem to be rather aloof. Although relatives and family houses do provide a feeling of continuity and an important source of childhood narratives—mostly

because family gatherings and holidays are often photographed[1] and thus the significance of the memories of these events is enhanced in the autobiographical remembering—the actual connectedness to cousins, aunts and uncles seems to be rather weak for most informants. According to the informants, this is due to several reasons: first, because the moments spent together get less and less frequent towards young adulthood (holidays spent on camps/more independently); second, because the grandparents that kept the family together may have passed away breaking the annual traditions of getting together; and third, because the differences in the worldviews and lifestyles (sedentary vs. international) between the self and the extended family members may become increasingly substantial with age.

Finally, because local ties are often scarce in the new domicile (e.g. Meyer 2015), the everyday lives of the informants revolve, to a large extent, around home and school. Most informants of this study, like the majority of internationally mobile children in general, attend international schools that are accustomed to diversity and high student turnover. Mobility and transnationality are common and normalized features within the multinational student bodies. Although all international schools are different, there are enough similarities between them to facilitate the adjustment of the newcomer. The common aspects and the international ethos (Publication IV) provide a feeling of continuity, which has an important role in supporting the re-integration of the mobile child. Indeed, it is within these networks and contexts that most informants experience a degree of familiarity and of what it feels like to be a "local". Most informants recognize the other mobile students in terms of shared experiences and mutual understanding in this regard. However, they may not necessarily *identify* with the members of this borderless, itinerant community, held loosely together by the global network of international schools. Even though the students may be locals in the same school milieu, their histories and backgrounds offer enough disparity for internal segregation. According to the informants, there is a certain hierarchy within the international schools and the students seem to be well aware to which category they and the others belong. The so-called "Lifers" (Meyer 2015) or the local nationals seem to be placed at the lowest level in the eyes of the informants. Vanessa explains: "*What bothers me when you say you're from nowhere, but you actually do have a home and you've only one nationality*

[1] It needs to be noted that in most cases, the photographs are taken by others: members of the family, friends or professional photographers. There is always some power play involved in the photography. For example, the photos in the family album often speak about the values and events that the cameraman or the album maker find meaningful or that they assume being meaningful for the rest of the family (Savolainen 2009, 212).

and you've only ever lived in one place. Because I feel, like I'm actually from, you know, nowhere, and when people say who actually have their both parents from the same place, always lived in this country, speak the language, like 100% this country and that they're from nowhere, it makes me feel like "really, you're from nowhere?" Like Vanessa's excerpt illustrates, the more complexity one's identity contains, the better status one earns within the international school's community. To have *"really interesting backgrounds"*, according to Vanessa, means having parents from different origins, speaking several languages and above all, experience of living in different countries—the greater the differences between the countries of residence, the better. In this light, Max explains why he does not relate to the students that have moved within one continent only: *"For a lot of people this is their second place of living, or they've never lived outside Europe. Europe and China are quite different. And see, that was the thing for me, it was uh, New Zealand, Philip, Philippines and I don't think you can get more different from New Zealand than China and I don't think you can get more different from China to the Philippines. So it was just the complete changes and all of these phases and it was the same for most of the kids in China, like (name) had lived in Kuwait and he had moved from Kuwait to China. But here, in Europe, it's not really, that much, it's not really that much of an international school. Because there's- though there's still a lots of nationalities... uh, a quite a lot of them are just different parts of Europe."* Here Max asserts that it is not the moving per se that matters, but the quality of challenges, experiences and the *"complete changes"* one faces when relocating. According to Max and most other informants, exposure to difference leads to increased levels of awareness and understanding, in other words to an amplified social capital that seems to be valued and appreciated as the outcome and "reward" of the international lifestyle amongst the international youth. It is also this mutually recognized social capital that seems to create a zone of connectedness for the youth in the same milieu: "*[In China] we all had similar experiences, we all had moved from country to country to country and then settled here. And.... because well, we all had the same television and we were all interested in the same things, we all had things to relate to each other" (Max).* The informants' hierarchical conceptions of "true internationalism" are well aligned with Ossman's studies on serial migrants (2004), who wish to distinguish themselves from the host nationals, as well as the "ordinary migrants" or "casual travellers" (p. 117). In their stories, mobility itself is valued as an individual achievement, amplified by different struggles, skills and performances accomplished on the way (ibid).

Like Max, Michael feels different from the other international students in terms of his family's wealth, but also because of his religious upbringing that has impacted his life in many ways, for example in the form of homeschooling until teenage: "*I don't know, I don't really feel like, in a sense of what's gone in my*

life, I don't feel like I've connected to many people my age, at least, uh. People in (US state) they, there was a lot of d- there were a lot of differences there, uh, in a way we were brought up, in the way we lived, uh, and here [intl. school in Prague] it's the same, uh, kind of on the other side of that, (...) Uh, but we're still, I still feel like I don't, like I can connect with people, but I'm not from the same background, uh, so..." Michael is conscious of his biographical similarity to the other mobile youths and of his nominal connection to his American compatriots; however, he seems to feel inherently different from anyone he has ever met. The discrepancy between his self-understandings "I as international", "I as Seventh-day Adventist", "I as American" and "I as a member of my family" makes it challenging for Michael to think he could find someone who would understand his multiple *position repertoire* (Hermans 2012). Feeling different and out-of-place seems to have become a fundamental part of his self-image. Michael appears to respond to the heightened level of uncertainty by dreaming about conforming to a powerful external position—the US military—to which his other positions or identifications would be subordinated: *"I've always been drawn towards the military, since probably when I was 5. (...) I think the structure and the patriotism and the ideals and uh, even down to the leadership and things like that. (...) and there, there's, there's a brotherhood alo-along with the military, so..."* Focusing his thoughts and actions (boy-scouts, bb-gun practice) onto this one clear objective Michael is probably able to reduce the burden of uncertainty (Hermans 2012, p. 15) and to secure a sense of belonging to a group that he feels shares the same ideals as him in a safely limited frame of reference. Serving in the military may also feel like a safe and somewhat familiar option for Michael when he thinks about his future as independent from his family: on the one hand, he would keep on traveling and moving like he has done so far *("I... would like to be in Afghanistan. Or, possibly uh, in somewhere like Syria.")* and on the other hand, the military troops would serve as a surrogate, tight-knit family like his own has been so far (*"there's brotherhood along with the military").*

6.8 International schools as agents in transmitting values and worldviews

This section, answering research question number 4, discusses the role of international education, more specifically the role of international schools, as a powerful agent in the construction of worldviews and the identities of their student bodies. Most internationally mobile children, including the informants of this study, attend international schools that are set to cater for an international

student body. Whereas the very first international schools were founded to educate the children of the employees of the United Nations (Dugonjić 2013), of diplomats and of missionaries, today most international school students consist of the children of expatriate professionals (Hayden 2011). Mobility is one of the features shared by many students in international schools, so the student turnover rates are typically high. It is however noteworthy that the fastest growing student group in international schools is comprised of children of the wealthy local families who are attracted by the presumed benefits of international education and the edge created by the diversity of the international student body (e.g. Mackenzie 2009). As the informants in my study spend most of their formative years within these institutions, and as the school environment is a significant factor in the identity and worldview construction, it felt important to explore the kind of internationality and values sets that are promoted within international schools. The findings of the small case study revealed many convergences in the ways "international" was translated and endorsed in the two schools studied, despite their rather remarkable differences. This strengthened the conclusions of earlier studies (e.g. Tamatea 2007) that although the emphasis may be put on different aspects of "internationalism" and the organizational practices may vary from on school to another, the general value sets and objectives put forth by international schools are relatively similar worldwide.

International schools usually have very strong institutional values that emphasize global citizenship and global awareness (Hayden & Thompson 2016; Hobson & Silova 2014; Tamatea, 2007). These are often vigorously integrated in their educational practices and as discussed in Publication IV, they evidently impact the values and the worldview development of the students. The school's institutional habitus, i.e. the values, attitudes and assumptions embedded in the school's ethos, objectives and practices indirectly impacts also the students' self-understandings through the promotion of certain virtues that international education is presumed to develop and foster in children. The institutional habitus influences the students' thinking of what is considered as "international", accepted and desired within the school. As the emphasis and the "specialty" differs from one international school to another, the mobile students who change schools regularly may be exposed to many different understandings of "international" during their formative years.

As discussed earlier, the common aspects found in different international schools provide a feeling of continuity and enable many new pupils to feel familiar in the new school, which eases the post-relocation adjustment in general. These familiar aspects, together with the presence of other hypermobile children within international schools, form a sort of a reassuring "niche", in which hypermobile children may find familiarity and safety and where they usually master the "savoir-être" and know how to "play the game". As evidenced in the

previous chapters, most informants of this study recognize the advantages of the international school environment and acknowledge the importance of being able to be with other students who "live what they live". Especially the hypermobile children, for whom the international schools' student bodies often represent one of the few communities they feel they have a "true" membership of, seem to adopt and embrace the "global citizenship rhetoric" inherent in international education as part of their self-understanding. Adolescence is a phase of life during which the youths intensively explore and question their worldviews and parental value sets (Helve 2016), and search for models of identification (Phinney 1990). For this purpose, the idea of global citizenship seems to offer an attractive and a noble point of identification with its well-defined values-sets and descriptions.

7.

Conclusions

Remember thy stories, for in them are life[1]

This study set out to explore the lived experiences of eight youths who have spent most of their childhood moving from one place to another because of their parent's profession. The aim of the present research was to expand the understanding of the hitherto understudied socio-emotional aspects related to the moves by examining how the youths make sense of the changes, and the processes of social and emotional dis- and re-engagement they experience upon each move. In addition, the objective was also to explore how the youths' international life trajectories – set within wider societal contexts dominated by national norms and hegemonies – influence their developing worldviews.

The main goal of the current study was to provide an answer to the question *How do children relocating with their families experience hypermobility?* The research was based on one-to-one semi-structured interviews and the use of photographs and a life-grid as supplementary tools to enrich and facilitate the discussion between the informant and the researcher. The youths' experiences were approached from interdisciplinary perspectives using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis as the methodological and analytical framework for the study. With respect to the uniqueness of each informant's account, this study explored both the commonalities and the disparities between their experiences in order to draw a broader picture of the ways hypermobility is experienced by children.

Four master themes emerged in the analysis as the predominant topics regarding the youths' accounts of their experiences of hypermobility. Despite each theme having only one title, it is noteworthy that a theme does not look identical for all informants, but the way it is evidenced across different inform-

[1] Ten Commandments for Third Culture Kids by Marilyn Gardner https://communicatingacrossboundariesblog.com

ants varies. The first master theme entitled *"Life settings: select "international" – On hypermobile childhood"* discloses the ways the informants make sense of their life characterized by internationality and mobility. The second master theme *"Press restart and play – On coping with moving and change"* reveals the strategies the informants more or less consciously deploy to cope with the major life changes and to reduce the psychological strain related to the different phases of the moving process. The third master theme *"The mobile me – On identity and worldviews"* discloses the multiple ways in which hypermobility shapes the informants' sense of self, identifications, and worldviews. And finally, the fourth master theme *"Connecting... – On belonging"* reveals how the informants' feelings of connectedness and disconnectedness are negotiated.

While the individual accounts in their respective contexts were analyzed and discussed in more detail in the Findings section, this overview considers the convergences of the informants' experiences at the group level. The main findings are discussed in the light of the research questions while also taking into account the wider societal contexts in which the informants' experiences take place. The findings of this study add to a growing body of literature on international mobility by providing an in-depth examination of children's experiences of hypermobility at the time these experiences are unfolding. Taken together, the findings enhance the current understanding of what it is like to grow up in the midst of international relocations in a world predominantly defined by sedentary norms and majority. Although based on a small sample of informants, this study should prove to be particularly valuable to parents who are considering or already pursuing an international career and for educators who work in schools with a high student turnover.

7.1 On studying youth identities

With respect to the first research question (How to approach youths' identities and experiences analytically and methodologically in research in ways that minimize essentialism and categorization?), the informants of this study were not studied through any loaded category, but as unique individuals sharing a common experience. They were approached with methods and tools that endeavored to yield power and voice from the researcher to the informants to the extent it is possible. Each account was analyzed first as a case study before setting it as a part of the whole at the group level. Further, the informants' identities and experiences were examined from different angles by deploying ideas from Brubaker and Cooper (2000) and Hermans (2001, 2003, 2012) that helped the researcher to analyze and understand how the informants negotiate

and understand their different positions, identifications and feelings of connectedness, each from their unique stance. The findings of this study support the critique of category-based identity studies by demonstrating the variety and complexity of identifications and self-understandings of the mobile youth, provided that they are given the opportunity to describe the self in their own terms and criteria, instead of being studied through narrow categories loaded with presuppositions and assigned by the researcher.

7.2 On hypermobile childhood

Regarding the second research question (How do internationally mobile youth make sense of their experiences of moving and internationality?), it was found that moving and internationality are integral parts of the informants' lives and for most of them the only familiar way of life. Most informants acknowledge the atypical nature of their life course, but are proud of their international trajectories in comparison to the sedentary majority. In addition to the advantages involved, such as new experiences and learning, moving also entails change and challenges related to the limited time frames within which everyday lives need to be constructed and re-constructed upon each move. Consequently, the informants' relationships and engagements are stamped by feelings of ephemerality, which is a source of grief and frustration for most informants. However, moving can also be experienced as a relief, as a new beginning if the adjustment in the current place of residence proves difficult.

Despite the increasing numbers of internationally mobile families, a hypermobile childhood is still a rather marginal and an unknown phenomenon. The transnational nature of the mobile children's biographies and the ways it impacts their identity negotiations are easily ignored by the non-mobile peers, adults and educators. The mere acknowledgement of these youths having "lived abroad" does not suffice, because most informants have spent their whole life in different countries. Indeed, "abroad" is a notion that derives from its antonym "domestic" and makes sense only when contrasted with the notion of "home country". However, in this study, only a few informants could pinpoint a home country—living "abroad" is the only reality most of them know. Metaphorically speaking, international mobility is a sort of *default setting* in their lives. Yet, it is noteworthy that for most informants, sedentary lifestyle still seems to represent the norm, against which their mobile self is contrasted and mirrored. Although moving and ephemerality are familiar notions for the informants and the elements with which they operate, many of them seem to think that "normal" life is non-mobile and closely linked to one geographical place. This is further

strengthened by the prevailing societal hegemonies that uphold ideologies of a "normal" life, oppose the national and the international and set the question of home and belonging on central stage regarding the individual's affiliations (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002). Albeit international, the informants' experiences are still located inside (changing) national frames. Their efforts to position themselves within and across these frames produce feelings of otherness and set preconditions for their subjective experiences and negotiations of membership. Against this backdrop, it is logical that the informants' accounts are dominated by their efforts to make sense of their own experiences in contrast with the presumed "normality". The contrasts and this mirroring create a framework within which their self-understandings are negotiated between the "normal as expected" and the "normal as experienced".

7.3 On coping with moving and change

Because of their families' mobility, the informants of this study live in a challenging intersection of two conflicting realities; on the one hand, they experience a lack of agency and powerlessness regarding the major decisions concerning their everyday lives. On the other hand, a lot of agency is needed to face the abundance of requirements upon each move. In other words, the informants are expected to accept the move, to disengage with the known and the familiar and to re-engage and reconstruct their lives in the new place of residence. To do this, the informants make use of different strategies they have consciously or unconsciously developed through their experiences to lessen the stress and challenges related to the moves. While some informants create a psychological schema of the moving phases that they can follow in the same way one plays a board game, others cope with the moves by dreaming and making clear plans for the future when they will be free to decide for themselves. Most informants resort to the positive rhetoric surrounding internationalization to empower themselves and to compensate for the possible losses and grief the move implies. The feelings of loyalty and solidarity many informants have for their parents are closely related to this positive rhetoric, mostly due to the parents' reclaimed efforts to offer a privileged life and provide important social capital for their children. The parents' arguments are typically based on the positive internationalization rhetoric and used to alleviate the possible guilt they feel for uprooting their children in a repeated fashion (Mclachlan 2007). Although for some informants it is difficult, most attempt to accept the international life as a gift from their parents, which seems to help them accept and cope with the moves.

As the youths have no real authority to decide about the moves, the meanings the youths ascribe to their mobility become central to their well-being. Despite living "differently", the informants seem proud of their experiences and recognize the values that are associated with internationalization. Many of them think that their experiences of different cultures, countries and people provide important social capital that can be valuable for their personal development and for their future as adults. These aspects are also promoted and highlighted by their parents, by the education received in the international schools they attend and more generally by the media and the public discourses around internationalization. The informants are aware of the positive aspects related to their experiences of internationality and most of them have integrated these as part of their self-image. The positive rhetoric surrounding internationalism and "global citizenship" seems to offer constructive points of identification for the mobile children and partly compensate for the emotional challenges they need to face repeatedly because of their families' mobility. In accordance with Pollock & Van Reken's (2009) argument that TCKs may not want to express their pain because they don't want to "negate" the only way of life they have known, most informants in my study had an automatic reflex to emphasize the positive rhetoric related to moving. This shows the extent to which their sense-making is influenced by the current discourses associated with internationalization. However, what they repeat as evidence does not always reflect what they really feel and think about their internationality. The informants' discourses also reveal the other side of the coin, which is grounded in the feelings of loss and otherness in relation to the non-mobile majority. Longing for long-lasting friendships and permanent communities that the informants consider as "normal" aspects of life is powerfully present in their discourses at a deeper emotional level. Not to have childhood friends is seen as one of the major drawbacks related to mobility along with the feeling of disconnectedness to larger communities than their immediate families. In this sense, the informants' life experiences put forth a curious double movement of both geographical openness and social closure (Wagner 1998).

7.4 On identity

Regarding the third research question (How does international mobility impact the youths' sense of self and of membership?) it was found that in addition to integrating the positive rhetoric surrounding internationalization as a part of their self-understanding, the informants' self-understandings are also impacted by their diverse trajectories and their mixed parental heritage. These specifi-

cities make them consider themselves as different from the sedentary others, including their relatives and the local students at the schools they attend and give them an additional edge in comparison to the other "international" youths. The more diversity one has experienced, the higher the "status" and the profile amongst other international youths seem to become. This positively impacts the way the informants position themselves regarding their peers, although the self-ascribed "internationalism" does not necessarily mean they would enjoy the moving. However, it is important to note that hypermobility as a factor for higher status is limited to international school environments only, as the set-up is often the opposite in schools dominated by non-mobile students. This is a fact that deserves careful attention when the parents choose a school for their children before each move.

The findings of this study seem to be consistent with those of earlier studies on mobile childhood regarding the fact that the nominal memberships of the informants do not define their identifications and subjective senses of membership (Hayden & Nette 2007; Fail et al 2004). On the contrary, most informants seem to think nationality is just an empty label, like a necessary tool for traveling: integration and attachment demand time and exposure, which are often limited for the informants in this study. Many informants have not lived long or at all in their passport countries and feel awkward when they need to "officially" represent a nation they do not really know, like if they were not fully entitled to its membership. These feelings stem from the societal hegemonies dominated by methodological nationalism that assumes that individuals "originate" from a specific nation state and are therefore shaped by its culture and national identity (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002). Curiously, for some informants obtaining the nationality of a country that is meaningful for them seems extremely important, as if nationality would offer a seal for their sense of membership and belonging and make these officially valid.

On the one hand, the findings of this study support Walters & Auton-Cuff's (2009) idea that mobile individuals often define themselves as *what they are not,* especially in relation to their non-mobile peers. On the other hand, the informants had no difficulties in declaring *what they are* by attributing to themselves qualities related to their interests, their way of life, their personality or their memberships. This may indicate that it is the curiosity of the (sedentary) others and the omnipresence of the question "where are your from" that make identity and belonging become a problem for the mobile youth, because the question "where are you from" is more often than not used as equivalent to the question "who are you?" Since in the context of this study the informants had the opportunity to tell their life entire story and all the details they desired without the need to demarcate "an identity", the problem of belonging and identity did not need to surface.

It is clear, though, that at the time of the interviews, the informants' self-understandings were in the early stages of their making. In fact, it is probable that for many informants the interview provided the first chance to reflect consciously on their self-understandings and identifications. In line with Kraus who postulates that "telling is the doing of identity" (2006, p. 107), the informants' discourses revealed an on-going dialogue between the different I-positions they embraced (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007) and the play of the different voices they were accustomed to using (for example that of the child, that of the emerging adult, that of the "global citizen" or the one used by their parents). The informants' interpretations of their experiences made visible the on-going negotiation between the different voices and positions in their minds. It is of high importance for the educators and other adults dealing with youths to understand the problem related to asking the (mobile) youths to pinpoint and isolate any specific aspects of their identity. According to the findings of this study, the youths' self-understandings are not composed of clear-cut memberships, but form a *multivoiced* ensemble where the self-understandings are constantly negotiated and re-evaluated according to the contexts and the interlocutors. The multilayered nature of the mobile youths' family backgrounds, affiliations and trajectories add another level to these negotiations. Instead of making them choose a flag or a symbol, they should be given the opportunity to integrate into their self-understanding the different positions they have taken up in response to their various experiences: these experiences play an integral part of what they have become. The youth use their life trajectories and the borders defining these to "make themselves and to tell the story of their lives" (Ossman 2013, p. 14).

In line with this postulation, Sears (2011) suggests that narrative is the way individuals with complex life trajectories create a coherent image of the self. She argues: "Narrative is strongly indicated as a mechanism that unifies the multiple social, cultural and linguistic experiences to which participants have been exposed, and is used as the means whereby they offer an account of themselves to others" (p. 84). Regarding education, this study highlights the necessity of viewing the students' identities as a narrative and to allow them to present themselves as exhaustively or minimally as they desire using the terminology they consider adequate. This study postulates that all "identity" is experience and it is this experience where one "is from" (Selasi 2014). In order to understand the (hypermobile) youths' position in the world, it is thus suggested to replace the simplifying questions "Where are you from?" or "Where were you born?" that overlook the mobile youths' multiple experiences and self-understandings, by the question "Where did you grow up?" that opens a space for an exhaustive biographical narrative and conveys more information about the individual than questions on any specific membership.

7.5 On belonging

As the locus of control regarding the life changes is external, feelings of powerlessness and uncertainty are present and urge the informants to search for niches that provide for them feelings of safety and continuity. According to their accounts, the informants' affiliations with different communities are scarce, or at least limited to a few years at a time. Many of them also claim to have a rather distant relationship with their relatives. Also most old friendships seem to continue only at the level of memories and imagination. However, although their attachment to places and communities is not as straightforward as for most sedentary people, the informants are not lacking loyalty or attachment. In accordance with Ossman's study on serial migrants (2004), the findings of this study revealed solid loyalties to the parents, siblings, and to those friendships that have survived the geographical and temporal distance. Commitment can also be related to personal ideologies or imageries, such as faith/spirituality or certain interests or hobbies that can be maintained from one move to another.

Many informants also have emotions and even patriotic feelings towards certain places that hold powerful meanings for them. These meanings create a sense of connectedness, a strongly felt subjective attachment to a place that may have nothing to do with the informant's nominal memberships. For some informants, the feelings of belonging seem to originate from the nostalgia their parents or grandparents are feeling. The children easily adopt this nostalgia, which is maintained and nourished by positive imageries and narratives anchored in this specific place and further reinforced by visits thereto.

All the elements mentioned above, social, spiritual or material – in which important meanings are embedded – seem to protect the child from the strain caused by relocations by providing a sense of continuity and control and offering a safe "space" to return to. Any element that is important for the child and whose meaning can be held within despite the geographical location can be considered as a "niche" (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007). The "niche" provides the child with feelings of safety and stability that are, in a sense, a counterforce for the uncertainty triggered by hypermobility. The parents need to understand that it is of critical importance for the mobile children to be able to maintain an emotional and active connection to their personal "niches", whatever these may be.

Whilst the informants' "niches" vary greatly from one informant to the other, at the group level there are commonalities in the ways the sense of belonging is constructed. Just as identity is built on and around the stories of the self, the sense of connectedness seems to be strongly grounded in narratives, and the role of (trans-generationally) narrated family stories is particularly highlighted.

As it is complicated for the informants to position themselves within a *narrative of a nation* (Hall 1999) and because their everyday settings and communities change repeatedly, the awareness of belonging to a larger entity than the immediate family can be extremely significant and empowering. Family narratives that connect the children to a chain of generations seem to provide them with an opportunity to feel continuity, connectedness and belonging. This seems to hold true even if the youths had never met these relatives or ancestors or visited the places where the narratives take place. In fact, it is suggested that each time younger and older people of the family engage in conversation, they actively participate in the promotion and development of joint values and constructions of relevant knowledge (Meyer 2016). These findings are consistent with those of Bohanek et al. (2006) who argue that family narratives that illuminate the shared past are significant for the youths' sense of self, both as individuals and as members of a family. They explain: "Narratives provide understanding, evaluation, and perspective on the events of our lives. Through narrative interactions about the shared past, parents help shape children's understanding of who they were, who they are now, and presumably who they will be in the future" (p. 50). This is particularly relevant in the contexts of hypermobility when permanent communities surrounding the family are limited and transitory and where the family unit is exposed to special circumstances and dynamics. However, Bohanek et al. note that the way the narratives are shared with the family is significant. Instead of eliciting individual, separate narratives from each family member or imposing single-perspective stories as a "family" narrative that the children have to adopt, the children should feel they are a part of a continuous, cohesive narrative in which different perspectives are integrated into a coherent family story, including those of the children, and when all perspectives are recognized as important and valid (2006, p. 48).

Another source of the informants' sense of membership and closely related to family narratives seem to be customs and traditions, i.e. the specific ways things are done or celebrated in a particular place or within a particular community form. Most informants evoke in their autobiographical narratives certain family traditions that are maintained and repeated regularly throughout the years with the same people in the same place, for example Christmases or birthdays at grandparents' homes or in a holiday house. Along with the family narratives, the yearly traditions and routines seemed to be important and protective factors in a hypermobile childhood context providing continuity and anchors for the children's sense of belonging. In this manner, the family traditions constitute an important intangible heritage the parents and the grandparents can transmit for the children.

It is, however, noteworthy that the traditions and customs are typically associated with the family or the extended family only, and seem to be independ-

ent of broader national and cultural affiliations. Therefore, the school celebrations highlighting national and cultural traditions, albeit typically embraced by the parent community, do not always resonate with the children's actual attachments and feelings of membership (more about school-wide events and the sense of membership see Niemi 2016). Instead of making oversimplified assumptions of the (mobile) youths' sense of belonging on the basis of their nominal memberships, it is therefore suggested the following question should be preferred: "Where or whom do you feel connected to?" that provides freedom for subjectively constructed affiliations.

7.6 On international education and worldviews

The fourth research question in this study sought to observe the role of international schools in transmitting certain values, worldviews and identities to their student bodies. While the temporary weakening of social capital usually involved in "traditional" immigration is often alleviated by the support found in the immigrants' own "ethnic" or religious communities (Putnam 2009), hypermobility, as discussed in the above section, often involves a distance or absence of stable, value-transmitting communities1. Because the school usually embodies the only accessible community that the child can enter upon each relocation, the school context becomes remarkably central in the value learning and worldview development trajectories of the mobile children. Most hypermobile children, like six of the eight informants in this study, attend international schools that were established to cater for the needs of the internationally moving families. These schools are special in the sense that due to the high student turnover, mobility is accepted and normalized (cf. minority-faith pupils in denominational vs. secular schools, Kuusisto 2011) and diversity, multilingualism and "internationalism" are regarded as positive values.

The findings of this study suggest that international schools are powerful agents in shaping the worldviews, the self-understandings and the sense of membership of mobile children. The role of international schools is emphasized for two reasons: first, the findings of this study are in agreement with the previous studies that postulate that instead of places or nominal memberships, most mobile children feel connected to other children with similar experiences (e.g.

[1] Interestingly, according to a study on mobile children (Walters & Auton-Cuff 2009), spirituality, i.e. being a believer – despite the lack of actual access to denominational communities – may give a sense of stability and protect the child in stressful situations, such as transitions to a new place.

Bagnall 2014; Sears 2011; Walters & Auton-Cuff 2009; Fail et al 2004), although they do not necessarily identify with the other internationally mobile students. The lack of identification is due to the differences linked to their personalities, their family's faith, wealth, or social status, and the "richness" of their international experiences or the lack thereof. Despite these differences, the informants acknowledge that their life trajectories are fully recognized and validated only within international schools' communities. In addition, the common aspects, ethos and values sets found in international schools seem to provide the informants with a feeling of continuity, which has an important role in supporting the integration of the newcomer, comparable to the diaspora community's role in immigration. Integration in this context, however, needs to be considered as *integration in the school community and ethos* more than as integration to the host society, which, as earlier research has stated, may remain somewhat distant for the mobile children during their stay (Meyer 2015). Within international schools an imagined diaspora community is created, wherein "[identity] has many different ways of 'being at home' – since it conceives of individuals as capable of drawing on different maps of meaning, and of locating themselves in different imaginary geographies at one and the same time – but is not tied to one, particular place" (Hall 1995, p. 207). Despite the individual feelings of (dis) connectedness and the high student turnover rates, the international school communities represent places where internationally mobile children may feel local and understood. An international school's student community can offer important anchors for their sense of belonging and identification, in other words "niches" (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007) of safety and continuity. This conclusion further strengthens the importance of the choice of school regarding mobile children and validates the international school as a favorable environment for them regarding their social and emotional well-being and possibilities for constructive, positive identity development.

Second, the role of international schools is highlighted as significant in terms of the mobile youths' value and worldview development. Through their institutional habitus (i.e. the school's ethos and institutional practices, discussed in Publication IV) the schools are promoting certain value-sets and ideals that are fundamental in international education. Institutional habitus conveys messages about the attitudes, virtues, conduct and knowledge that are regarded as legitimate and preferred within the institution and that are consequently solicited and accredited. All these elements are powerfully promoting certain visions of the world and thus contributing to the value and worldview construction of the students therein. This is relevant, because as previous research suggests, many young people are ready to commit themselves to aligning their lifestyle with a certain worldview (Helve 2016). This was also evidenced in this study, which suggests that the positive rhetoric surrounding internationalization and

global citizenship, omnipresent in international schools, has a major impact on the informants' worldviews and the way they see and position themselves in wider contexts. The findings demonstrate that the attributes linked to "global citizens" – considered as the ultimate outcome of international education and cosmopolitanism – are adopted by the informants and integrated as part of their self-images and social capital. All informants considered that their international experiences help them develop an *expanded* worldview, which for them means awareness, open-mindedness and understanding of diversity. The sedentary "others", in turn, they often define as closed-minded, isolated and ignorant people living in a "bubble" and sharing a very limited vision of the world.

It is important to reflect on the idea of an *expanded worldview* in terms of social capital of the hypermobile youth. The youths' social capital, constructed in the midst of internationalism, is certainly valuable in theory, but in practice what does the title "global citizen" contribute to the individual other than a rather abstract point of identification? While the informants and other students in international schools may be more knowledgeable and "aware" when encountering diversity within the international school communities and later within the international professional communities, it is important to consider whether their international education and experiences actually prepare them to encounter *the other* in terms of social class, education and worldviews? International school students, who mostly dwell in their own educated, middle-class milieus, may understand the differences and standpoints of people like themselves. But can they really relate to the diversities outside their own milieu? Questioning the goals of international education Tate (2016) asks: "How [do] international schools prepare students to face a world in which there is a disjunction between the "ideals" underpinning their education and ambient realities?" (p. 24). This dilemma arises from the fact that most students in international schools, including the informants, may in general be more aware and have greater sensitivity regarding some global, macro-level matters than their sedentary peers. However, they have little or no knowledge of the micro-level issues surrounding them, of the local realities, histories, politics, causalities etc. that the sedentary youth are in general more familiar with. Helve (2016) highlights young people's social capital as a determinant factor in the legal, political and social relationship the youth have with the society (p.13). However, in the case of hypermobile youths who often dwell at the margins of societies during their formative years, the relationship with the society often remains obscure and their civic involvement weak. Dewey (1956) points out: "From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experiences he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning at school. That is the isola-

tion of the school, its isolation from life" (p. 75-76). The questions of the future hover around these young global citizens: is their social capital attuned to understanding notions of civic engagement and responsibility, voting and local politics? Hypermobile youths may "think global" but are they adequately equipped to "act local"? In adulthood, where can they find the contexts and the realities that resonate with their childhood experiences and that international education has prepared them for? So much emphasis and value is put on the "intercultural competencies" the hypermobile children are thought to develop during their international trajectories that the obvious question arises: how can hypermobile youths make use of their social capital, and the societies they are in, in that respect? As adults, will all their childhood efforts be recognized and redeemed the way they expect and hope for? And most importantly, will they be "tolerant", "respectful" and "open-minded" towards all types of diversities outside their own milieu?

* * *

An examination of the hypermobile youths' experiences is particularly timely and relevant today, as the waves of nationalism and the "strengthening of national values" are washing the shores of many nations (e.g. Hosking 2016; Eger & Valdez 2015). In the aftermath of the French presidential elections in May 2017 a nationalistic political leader declared that henceforth the French people would be divided into "patriots" and "globalists" according to their vote either for the nationalist right-wing candidate Le Pen or the pro-European candidate Macron (LeMonde 2017). This is an interesting statement in the context of this study, because more than anything, it contrasts the national with the international and excludes the aspects of international-mindedness, pluralism and border-crossing from the feelings of love and loyalty for one's homeland. Obviously, national identity that exceeds the local, religious, and ideologist identities can at its best be a positive, unifying and constructive force, for example regarding the nations affected by civil war. However, national identity and patriotism should not be built upon ideas of a common enemy (e.g. minorities or immigrants within a nation, the EU, or a religion and its adherents). The heightened calls for nationalism and closed borders urgently necessitate more awareness about the diverse ways of being and belonging in societies and communities, which is what this study attempts to do. The informants' experiences distract the rather limited patriot-globalist dichotomy by presenting novel ways of residing and connecting within and across national borders.

However, in the current situation it is important to consider the implications hypermobility can have on a larger, societal scale: where can these youths with mixed national heritages and international itineraries position themselves

in the midst of closing borders and the increasing tendencies to divide people into "indigenous" and the "others" (e.g. Tervonen 2014)? Given the resurgence of national myths talking about "homogeneous" communities and painting fallacious, but appealing portraits of the "true" people of the nation who have "always been there and to whom belongs the land" (cf. *Narrative of the Nation*, Hall 1999; see also Tervonen 2014 refuting these illusions) will these itinerant youths even be given a legitimate place within societies or will they become some sort of "floating amorphs" (Imre 2004, p.2) occupying the indefinite spaces between tourism, immigration and citizenry?

This study's findings emphasize the importance of narratives in the hypermobile childhood context for two reasons: first, as the way to understand the self, and second, as the way to construct a sense of belonging. Although history has witnessed continuous human migration throughout the times that has shaped the societies and their demographics in multiple ways (Eurekalert 2017), the itinerants' stories have remained and still remain in the margins of most books on human history and of current-day discussions. A sustained, grand narrative for these "global citizens" is yet to be created. Meanwhile, in the absence of meaningful examples of models and traditions in intergenerational lifestyle, the hypermobile children's autobiographical narratives continue to run parallel to the main discourses and hegemonies.

7.7 Turning the gaze beyond this study

Although this study makes a rather distinct division between mobile and sedentary people, in reality the dichotomy is evidently much more complex and imprecise. Many of the so called sedentary people experience at least some type of mobility at one point of their lives and most mobile people experience periods of geographical stability during their life course. Further, children's hypermobility is not always international, but can also occur within a country and for several reasons (Kivijärvi & Peltola 2016). In addition, in the digital age, one can be extremely mobile virtually and an active member of various virtual communities, whilst the actual (unchanging) place of residence may hold very little personal significance. Independent of residential limitations and time zones, different online communities and spheres provide for youths an access to alternative cultural spaces out of their physical reach (Hannaford 2015) and are important in terms of formation of autonomy, identity and agency (Mesch 2012). According to a recent study on the digital literacies of TCKs (Hannaford 2015), these spheres (e.g. different discussion or gaming forums) seem to be especially meaningful for the hypermobile youths as they provide sites

of togetherness and belonging and supply spaces of stability and constancy. After all, the understanding of the notion of mobility is deeply subjective. It may be more pronounced for those who have experienced fewer changes in their lives than for those that have moved since their childhood, i.e. for whom mobility is a "default setting" in life. Perhaps the main difference lays in the way "normal" is perceived. Whereas some people feel safe and "at home" in a monocultural, sedentary tradition, for the others the personal comfort zone is rooted in cosmopolitanism and movement (e.g. Désilets 2015). The sense-making and the experiences of the eight hypermobile youths examined in this study exemplify a way to be in the world that takes place "beyond the sedentarist and nomadic conceptualizations of place and movement" (Scheller & Urry 2006, 214).

This particular way of life, created in change and movement, is an inspiring source for further research. The youths who have grown up in the midst of mobility and for whom movement has been a significant, yet an imposed aspect in life, experience a critical shift when entering the more self-determining adult world. To step out of the family bubble that, for the most, has previously surrounded them upon the moves and to have the opportunity to decide more or less independently about one's direction and place of residence represent major changes in the hypermobile youths' life parameters. Future research could focus on the important milestones in the life narrative of individuals with hypermobile childhoods, namely, the choice of place for secondary studies (with 20- to 25-year-old informants), becoming a parent (with 30- to 40-year-old informants) and the choice of place of retirement and of burial (with 60+ year-old informants). It can be thought that upon these milestones the individual is faced by an abundance of options with several critical decisions to make in terms of language, place, values and networks. Some possible research questions in a future study could therefore be the following: What kind of itinerary is chosen by hypermobile youths when moving suddenly becomes voluntary in adulthood? Which are the voices and the positions in the individual's mind that dominate these choices? How much substance does the positive rhetoric surrounding internationalization still bear in adulthood? How much value do Places have in the hypermobile individual's meaning-making and decisions – will movement still characterize their way of life or will they find a place within the sedentary traditions?

Another line of study could examine the sense-making of the parents of hypermobile children. The findings of this study suggest that the parents seem to resort to the positive rhetoric surrounding internationalization in their reasoning and discussions with their children. The parents are at the forefront of the changes taking place in the family and the first witnesses of their children's reactions before, during and after the moves. What kinds of meanings do the

parents ascribe to their family's internationalization and how do they translate these in their education? How do the parents cope and deal with their children's emotions caused by the repeated re- and disengagement? In both possible lines of research, I would be interested in using interpretative phenomenological analysis as the methodological and analytical framework and continue working with relatively small groups of informants.

References

Abdallah-Pretceille, M. (2013). *L'éducation interculturelle*. Paris: Puf. Que sais-je?

Almond, B. (2010). Education for tolerance: cultural difference and family values. *Journal of Moral Education*, 39(2), 131–143.

Appiah, K. A. (2005). The Ethics of Identity. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Appiah, K. A. (1997). Cosmopolitan patriots. *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3), 617–639.

Bagnall, N. (2012). National or global: The mutable concepts of identity and home for international school students. *Prospects,* 42, 177-190.

Bagnall, Nigel (2014). A Member of that Team: International School Students and their Need to Belong. Daphne Hobson & Iveta Silova (eds*.), Globalizing Minds: Rhetoric and Realities in International Schools.* Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 99—115.

Banks, J. A. (1998). The lives and values of researchers: implications for educating citizens in a multicultural society. *Educational Researcher,* 27(7), 4–17.

Banks, M. (2001). Visual Methods in Social Research. London: Sage.

Banks, J. A. (2006). Cultural Diversity and Education. Foundations, Curriculum, and Teaching. 5th Ed.. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

Banks, J. A. (2010). Multicultural education: Characteristics and goals. Banks, J. A. & McGee Banks, C. A. (eds.), *Multicultural education. Issues and perspectives*. 3–29. Seventh edition. Wiley.

Barbour, R. (2007). *Doing Focus Groups*. London: Sage.

Bauman, Z. (1996). From pilgrim to tourist: or a Short History of Identity. Hall, S & du Gay, P. (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity.* London: Sage, 18–36.

Bauman, Z. (2004). *Identity: Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, U. (2011). Multiculturalism or Cosmopolitanism: How Can We Describe and Understand the Diversity of the World? *Social Sciences in China*, *XXXXII*(4), 52–58.

Benjamin, S. & Dervin, F. (eds.) (2015). *Migration, Diversity and Education. Beyond Third Culture Kids.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bohanek, J. G., Marin, K. A., Fivush, R. & Duke, M. P. (2006). Family Narrative Interaction and Children's Sense of Self. *Family Process,* 45(1), 39–54.

Bonebright, D. A. (2010). Adult third culture kids: HRD challenges and opportunities. *Human Resource Development International,* 13(3), 351–359.

Brocki, J. M. & Wearden, A., J. (2006). A critical evaluation of the use of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) in health psychology. *Psychology and Health,* 21(1), 87–108.

Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond "identity". *Theory and Society,* 29(1), 1–47. doi:10.1023/A:1007068714468.

Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and Interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4–5), 585–614.

Bunnell, T. (2016). International Schooling: Implications of the changing growth pattern. Hayden, M. & Thompson, J. (eds.) (2016). *International Schools. Current issues and future prospects.* Oxford Studies in Comparative Education. Southampton: Symposium Books, 215–235.

Byrnes, H. F. & Miller, B. A. (2012). The Relationship between Neighborhood Characteristics and Effective Parenting Behaviors: The Role of Social Support. *Journal of Family Issues,* 33(12), 1658–1687.

Calhoun, C. (2002). The class consciousness of frequent travelers: toward a critique of actually existing cosmopolitanism. *The South Atlantic Quarterly 101.4,* 869–897.

Čeginskas, V. (2010). Being 'the strange one' or 'like everybody else': school education and the negotiation of multilingual identity. *International Journal of Multilingualism,* 7(3), 211–224.

Census (2011). UK Office for National Statistics. Available: http://www.ons. gov.uk/ons/taxonomy/index.html?nscl=People+and+Places

Cohen, S.A. & Gössling, S. (2015). A darker side of hypermobility. *Environment and Planning,* 47, 1661–1679.

COE (2006). Council of Europe. Religious diversity and intercultural education: a reference book for schools. CDED 14. Provisional Edition.

COE (2010). Council of Europe. Intercultural city: governance and policies for diverse communities. A report on Joint action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Retrieved from: www.coe.int/interculturalcities

Constantine, N.A., Benard, B., & Diaz, M. (1999). Measuring Protective Factors and Resilience Traits in Youth: The Healthy Kids Resilience Assessment. Paper presented at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Society for Prevention Research, New Orleans, LA.

Denscombe, M. (2010). *The Good Research Guide for small-scale social research projects.* 4th Edition. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Dervin, F. (2013). Researching identity and interculturality: Moving away from methodological nationalism for good? R. Machart, C. B. Lim, S. N. Lim & E. Yamato (eds.). *Intersecting Identities and Interculturality: Discourse and Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 1–29.

Dervin, F. (2010). Researching Identity and Interculturality: From Methodological Nationalism, via Transnationalism, to Mixed Intersubjectivity. Conference Paper presented at *International Conference on Languages and Identity*. Kuala Lumpur.

Dervin, F. (2011). Cultural identity, representation and Othering. Jackson, J. (dir.). *Routledge Handbook of Intercultural Communication.* London: Routledge, 181–194.

Dervin, F. & Ljalikova, A. (eds.). (2008). Regards sur les mondes hypermobiles. Mythes et réalités. Paris: l'Harmattan.

Désilets, G. (2015). 'Third Culture Kids' as Serial Migrants' Children. Benjamin, S. & Dervin, F. (eds.). (2015). *Migration, Diversity and Education. Beyond Third Culture Kids.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 143–162.

Dessing, J. (2013). An interpretative phenomenological analysis of the experiences of adult third culture kid and their experience of friendships. Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 74(5)–B(E).

Dewey, J. (1956). *School and society.* London: Phoenix.

Dugonjić, L. (2014) "A miniature League of Nations": inquiry into the social origins of the International School, 1924–1930, *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education,* 50(1–2), 138–150.

Eger, M. & Valdez, S. (2015). Neo-Nationalism in Western Europe. *European Sociological Review,* 31(1), 115–130.

Elliot, B. J. (2005). *Using Narrative in Social Research: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London: Sage.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity. Youth and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc.

EurekAlert (2017). Genomics tracks migration from lost empires to modern cities. Available: https://eurekalert.org/pub_releases/2017-05/esoh-gtm052417.php

Expat Research (2017). Available: http://expatresearch.com/families/

Fail, H., Thompson, J., & Walker, G. (2004). Belonging, identity and Third Culture Kids: Life histories of former international school students. *Journal of Research in International Education,* 3(3), 319–338.

Finlay, L. (2009). Debating phenomenological research methods. *Phenomenology & Practice,* 3(1), 6–25.

Finlay, L. (2014). Engaging Phenomenological Analysis, *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 11:2, 121–141.

Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2012). Ethical Principles. Available : http://www.tenk.fi/en/ethical-review-human-sciences/ethical-principles

Gal, D. G., & King-Calnek, J. (2014). A glimpse into the making of global minds. D. Hobson & I. Silova (Eds.), *Globalizing minds: Rhetoric and realities in international schools* Charlotte: Information Age, 115–136.

Gillespie, A., Howarth, C. S. & Cornish, F. (2012). Four problems for researchers using social categories. *Culture Psychology,* 18(3), 391–402.

Giorgi, A. (2010). Phenomenology and the practice of science. *Existential Analysis,* 21(1), 3–22.

Grote, J. Y. (2015). NatioNILism: The Space of Nation-Less Belonging. Benjamin, S & Dervin, F. (eds.). (2015). *Migration, Diversity and Education: Beyond Third Culture Kids.* London: Palgrave Macmillan. 102–120.

Guilherme, M., Glaser, E. & Garcia, M del Carmen Méndez (eds.) (2010). *The intercultural dynamics of multicultural working.* Bristol: Multilingual matters.

Habermas, T. & Bluck, S. (2000). Getting a life: The emergence of the life story in adolescence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126(5), 748–769.

Hahl, K. (2016). Interculturality and English as a lingua franca: internationalizing teacher education. Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki.

Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. J. Rutherford (ed.). *Identity.* London: Lawrence & Wishart, 222–237.

Hall, S. (1995). New cultures for old. Massey, D. & Jess, P. (eds.). *A Place in the World?* New York: Oxford University Press, 176–213.

Hall, S. (1999). *Identiteetti.* Tampere:Vastapaino.

Halkola, U. (2009). Mitä valokuvaterapia on? Halkola, U., Mannermaa, L, Koffert, T. & Koulu, L. (eds.). *Valokuvan terapeuttinen voima.* Helsinki: Duodecim, 13–22.

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies,* 17(1), 13–26.

Haslberger, A., Hippler, T. & Brewster, C. (2015). Another look at family adjustment. Mäkelä, L. & Suutari, V. (eds.). *Work and family interface in the international career contexts.* Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 53–70

Hayden, M. (2011) Transnational spaces of education: the growth of the international school sector. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 9(2), 211–224.

Hayden, M. & Thompson, J. (1998) International education: perceptions of teachers in international schools, *International Review of Education,* 44(5–6), 549–568.

Hayden, M. & Thompson, J. (2016) (eds.). *International Schools. Current issues and future prospects.* Oxford Studies in Comparative Education. Southampton: Symposium Books.

Hefferon, K. & Gil-Rodriguez, E. (2011). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. *The psychologist,* 24(10), 756–759.

Helve, H. (2005). Borders and Possibilities in Youth Research – a longitudinal study of the world views of young people. Helve, H. (ed.). *Mixed Methods in Youth Research.* Helsinki: Finnish Youth Research Network, 57–81.

Helve, H. (2016). A longitudinal perspective on worldviews, values and identities. *Journal of Religious Education*, a special issue on worldviews and identities. DOI 10.1007/s40839-016-0021-5

Hermans, H. J. M. (2001). The dialogical self: Toward a theory of personal and cultural Positioning. *Culture & Psychology,* 7, 243–281.

Hermans, H. J. M. (2003). The construction and reconstruction of a dialogical self. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology,* 16, 89–130.

Hermans, H. J. M., & Dimaggio, G. (2007). Self, identity, and globalization in times of uncertainty: A dialogical analysis. *Review of General Psychology,* 11, 31–61.

Hermans, H. J. M. (2012). Dialogical Self Theory and the Increasing Multiplicity of I-positions in a Globalizing Society: An Introduction. H. J. M. Hermans (Ed.), *Applications of Dialogical Self Theory. New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 137*, 1–21.

Hobson, D. P. & Silova, I. (2014a). The pedagogy and politics of global citizenship in international schools: setting the context. Hobson, D. P. & Silova, I. (eds). *Globalizing minds. Rhetoric and realities in international schools*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 3–14.

Hobson, D. P. & Silova, I. (2014b). By way of conclusion. Hobson, D. P. & Silova, I. (eds). *Globalizing minds. Rhetoric and realities in international schools*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 305–397.

Hobson, D. P. & Silova, I. (eds) (2014). *Globalizing minds. Rhetoric and realities in international schools*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

Hochschild, A.R. (2003). *The Managed Heart. Commercialization of Human Feeling*. London: University of California Press.

Hoersting, R. C. & Jenkins, S. R. (2010). No place to call home: Cultural Homelessness, self-esteem and cross-cultural identities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 35(1), 17–30.

Hoogland, A. I. (2015). Continuity of change: The dynamic of beliefs, values, and the aging experience. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 32, 32–39.

Hosking, G. (2016). Why has nationalism revived in Europe? *Nations and Nationalism,* 22(2), 210–221.

Imre, R. (2004). Transnationalism and migrations: Re-ascribing meanings. Conference paper presented at the 2nd Global Conference on Interculturalism, Meaning & Identity. December 2004, Vienna, Austria.

International Baccalaureat (IB) (2015a). Learner Profile. Available: www.ibo.org

International Baccalaureat (IB) (2015b). Mission statement. Available : www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/mission/

Jackson, R. (2006). Religious and cultural diversity: Some key concepts. In the report of Council of Europe: *Religious diversity and intercultural education: A reference book for schools*. CDED 14. Provisional Edition, 21–29.

Kannisto, Päivi (2016). Extreme mobilities: Challenging the concept of 'travel'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 57, 220—233.

Kivijärvi, A. & Peltola, M. (eds.) (2016). *Nuorten elinolot 2016 vuosikirja.* Helsinki: Finnish Youth Research Network.

Koltko-Rivera, M. E. (2014). The psychology of worldviews. *Review of General Psychology,* 8(1), 3–58.

Kraus, W. (2006). The Narrative Negotiation of Identity and Belonging. *Narrative Inquiry,* 16(1), 103–111.

Kuusisto, A. (2011). *Growing up in Affiliation with a Religious Community. A Case Study of Seventh-day Adventist Youth in Finland*. Munster: Waxmann.

Kuusisto, A. & Lamminmäki-Vartia, S. (2012). Moral foundation of the kindergarten teacher's educational approach: Self-reflection facilitated educator response to pluralism in educational context. *Education Research International*, 2012, 1–13.

Kärki, I. (2015). Uusliberalismia vai ei?: Suomalaista perusopetusta koskevien koulutuspoliittisten kasvatus- ja opetustavoitteiden arvot vuosina 1994–2012 Shalom Schwartzin arvoteorian valossa. Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki.

Layne, H. (2016). *"Contact Zones" in Finnish intercultural education.* Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki.

Lazarova, M., McNulty, Y. & Semeniuk, M. (2015). Expatriate family narratives on international mobility: key characteristics of the successful moveable family. Mäkelä, L. & Suutari, V. (eds.). *Work and family interface in the international career contexts. Switzerland*: Springer International Publishing, 29–51

Le Bigre, N. (2015). Talking about "Home": Immigrant narratives as context for TCKs. Benjamin Saija & Dervin Fred (eds.), *Migration, Diversity and Education: Beyond Third Culture Kids.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 121–142.

Lemonde (2017). Newspaper article. Interview of Nicolas Bay, Secretary General of the National Front on 8.5.2017. Available: www.lemonde.fr/election-presidentielle-2017/live/2017/05/08/en-direct-le- jour-d-apres-l-election-d-emmanuel-macron-a-la-presidence_5124016_4854003.html

Liamputtong, P. (2011). *Focus Group Methodology*. *Principles and Practice*. London: Sage.

Mackenzie, P. (2009). The attraction of international schools for Japanese parents living in Japan. *Journal of research in international education,* 8(3), 326–348.

Madison, G. A. (2009). *The end of belonging. Untold stories of leaving home and the psychology of global relocation*. London: Greg A. Madison, PhD.

McCaig, N. M. (1996). Understanding Global Nomads. Carolyn D. Smith (Ed.), *Strangers at Home.* Bayside, NY: Aletheia.

McCaig, N. M. (2007). Growing up with a world view. Appeared first in *Foreign Service Journal, September 1994*, 32-41. Revised on-line March 2007.

McLachlan D. A. (2007). Global nomads in an international school. Families in transition. *Journal of research in international education,* 6(2), 233–249.

McNulty, Y. (2012). 'Being dumped in to sink or swim': an empirical study of organizational support for the trailing spouse. *Human Resource Development International,* 15(4), 417–434.

McNulty, Y. (2015). Till stress do us part: the causes and consequences of expatriate divorce. *Journal of Global Mobility*, 3(2), 106–136.

Mesch, G.S. (2012). Technology and Youth. *New Directions for Youth Development,* 135, 97–105.

Meyer, C. (2016). Transgenerational Culture Transfer as Social Constructions in Intergenerational Relationships. *Childhood, Youth and Migration,* 12, 223–242.

Meyer, H. (2015). Boundaries and the Restriction of Mobility within International School Communities: a Case Study from Germany. Benjamin Saija & Dervin Fred, *Migration, Diversity and Education: Beyond Third Culture Kids.* 59–83. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mesoudi, A., Magid, K. & Hussain, D. (2016). How do people become W.E.I.R.D.? Migration reveals the cultural transmission mechanisms underlying variation in psychological processes. *PLoS ONE,* 11(1): e0147162. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0147162

Monrad, M. (2013). On a scale of one to five, who are you? Mixed methods in identity research. *Acta Sociologica*, 56(4), 347–360. doi:10.1177/0001699313481368

Moore, A. M. & Barker, G. G. (2012). Confused or multicultural: Third culture individuals' cultural identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 36, 553–562.

Myllyniemi S. (ed.). (2015). *Arjen jäljillä. Finnish Youth Barometer 2015.* Verkkojulkaisuja (Nuorisotutkimusseura) ISSN 1799-9227, no. 93.

Mäkelä, K. (2010). Alaikäisiä koskevan yhteiskunta- ja käyttäytymistieteellisen tutkimuksen eettinen ennakkosäätely. Lagström, H., Pösö, T., Rutanen, N. & Vehkalahti, K. (eds.). *Lasten ja nuorten tutkimuksen etiikka.* Helsinki: Nuoristotutkimusverkosto/Nuorisotutkimusseura, Julkaisuja 101. 67–88.

Mäkelä, L. & Suutari, V. (2015). (eds.). *Work and family interface in the international career contexts.* Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Navarrete, V. & Jenkins, S.R. (2011). Cultural Homelessness, multiminority status, ethnic identity development, and self-esteem. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 35(6), 791–804.

Nette, J. & Hayden, M. (2007). Globally mobile children: the sense of belonging. *Educational Studies,* 33(4), 435–444.

Niemi, P-M. (2016). Creating A Sense of Membership in Basic Education: The contributions of Schoolwide Events. Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki.

Ossman, S. (2004). Studies in serial migration. *International Migration*, 42(4), 111–121.

Ossman, S. (2013). *Moving Matters: Paths of Serial Migration.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Parry, O., Thomson, C. & Fowkes, G. (1999). Life Course Data Collection: Qualitative Interviewing using the Life Grid. *Sociological Research Online, 4*(2).

Pascoe, R. (2006). *Raising global nomads: Parenting abroad in an on-demand world*. Expatriate Press Limited.

Pearce, R. & Cambridge J. (2008). Challenging assumptions about international education research. *International Schools Journal,* 27(2), 9–15.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research. *American Psychological Association. Psychological Bulletin,* 108(3), 499–514.

Pieterse, J. (1994). Globalization as Hybridization. *International Sociology,* 9(2), 161–184.

Pietkiewicz, I. & Smith, J. A. (2012). Praktycny przewodnik interpretacyjnej analizy fenomenologicznej w badaniach jakosciowych w psychologii. *Czasopismo Psychologiczne* 18(2), 361–369. (Translated in English).

Pollock , D. C. & Van Reken, R. E. (2009). *Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among Worlds.* Revised Edition. Boston: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Poulter, S., Riitaoja, A.-L., & Kuusisto, A. (2015). Thinking multicultural education 'otherwise'– from a secularist construction towards a plurality of epistemologies and worldviews. *Globalisation, Societies and Education.* DOI:10. 1080/14767724.2014.989964.

Purnell, L. & Hoban, E. (2014). The lived experiences of Third Culture Kids transitioning into university life in Australia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 41, 80–90.

Putnam, R. D. (2009). Diversity, social capital, and immigrant integration: Introductory remarks. *National Civic Review Spring,* 98(1), 3–5.

Rantala, T. & Kuusisto, A. (2013). Examining the researcher's position through its interaction with methodological and ethical particularities or religion and gender. Tirri, K. & Kuusisto, E. (eds.). *Interaction in educational domains*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 63–73.

Reay, D., David, M. & Ball, S. (2001) 'Making a difference?' Institutional habituses and higher education choice, *Sociological Research Online,* 5(4). Available: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/5/4/reay.html

Reich, K. H. & Oser, F. K. (1994). Knowing why I know better: children's and youth's explanations of their worldview changes. *Journal of research on adolescence,* 4(1), 151–173.

Reid, K., Flowers, P. & Larkin, M. (2005). Exploring lived experience. *The Psychologist,* 18(1), 20–23.

Rizvi, F. (2009). Global Mobility and the Challenges of Educational Research and Policy. *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* 108(2), 268–289.

Robertson, M. (2004). Self, 'Home' and Growing-Up. Robertson, M. & Williams, M. (eds.). *Young People, Leisure and Place: Cross Cultural Perspectives.* New York: Nova Science Publisher, 21–34.

Savolainen, M. (2009). Voimauttava valokuva. Halkola, U., Mannermaa, L, Koffert, T. & Koulu, L. (eds.). *Valokuvan terapeuttinen voima*. Helsinki: Duodecim, 211–228.

Schaetti, B. & Ramsey, S. (1999). The expatriate family: Practicing practical leadership. Available at: http://www.transition-dynamics.com/expatfamily.html

Schaetti, B. & Ramsay, S. (2006). *The Global Nomad Experience: living in liminality.*

Schaetti, B. F & Ramsey S. (2006). *The global nomad experience: living in liminality*. (Original publication Mobility 20, 1999). The Crestone Institute: Designing Environments for Innovation.

Scheller, M. & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning,* 38, 207–226

Sears, C. (2011). Integrating Multiple Identities: Narrative in the formation and maintenance of the self in international school students. *Journal of Research in International Education,* (10)1, 71–86.

Selasi, T. (2014). Our passports don't define us. Ted talk at TEDGlobal 2014. Available: http://www.ted.com/talks/taiye_selasi_don_t_ask_where_i_m_from_ask_where_i_m_a_local?utm_campaign=social&utm_medium=referral&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_content=talk&utm_term=humanities#t-947 777

Selmer, J. (2014). Self-initiated expatriates: An exploratory study of adjustment of adult third culture kids vs. adult mono-culture kids. *Cross Cultural Management,* 21(4), 422–436.

Sen, A. (2009). The Fog of Identity. *Politics, Philosophy, Economics,* 8(3), 285–288.

Shinebourne, P. (2011). The Theoretical Underpinnings of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). *Existential Analysis* 22(1), 16–31.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P. & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. Theory, Method and Research*. London: Sage.

Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2008). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. Smith J. A. (ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. London: Sage, 53–80.

Soini, K. & Birkeland, I. (2014). Exploring the scientific discourse on cultural sustainability. *Geoforum,* 51*,* 213–223.

Sweetman, P. (2009). Revealing habitus, illuminating practice: Bourdieu, photography and visual methods. *The Sociological review,* 57(3), 491–511.

Sutherland, I. E., Price, D. & Harris, D. (2014). Where is global citizenship? How international schools are fulfilling their mission. Hobson, D. P. & Silova, I. (eds). *Globalizing minds. Rhetoric and realities in international schools*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 35-50.

Tabor, A. S., Milfront, T. L. & Ward, C. (2015). International Migration Decision-Making and Destination Selection Among Skilled Migrants. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 9(1), 28–41.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrated theory of intergroup conflict. W. G. Austin & S. Worchel. (eds.). *The social psychology of intergroup relations.* Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.

Tamatea, L. (2007) Paradoxical inscriptions of global subjects: critical discourse analysis of international schools' websites in the Asia–Pacific Region. *Critical Studies in Education,* 49(2), 157–170.

Tannenbaum, M. & Tseng, J. (2015) Which one is Ithaca? Multilingualism and sense of identity among Third Culture Kids. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, (12)3, 276–297.

Tanu, D. (2015). Toward an Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Diversity of "Third Culture Kids". Benjamin, S & Dervin, F. (eds.). *Migration, Diversity and Education: Beyond Third Culture Kids.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 13–35.

Tappan, M. B. (1997). Interpretive psychology: stories, circles, and understanding lived experience. *Journal of Social Issues,* 53(4), 645–656.

Tate, N. (2016). What are international schools for? Hayden, M. & Thompson, J. (eds.). *International Schools. Current issues and future prospects.* Oxford Studies in Comparative Education. Southampton: Symposium Books, 17–36.

Tervonen, M. (2014). Historiankirjoitus ja myytti yhden kulttuurin Suomesta. Markkola, P. Snellman, H. & Östman, A-C. (eds.). *Kotiseutu ja Kansakunta. Miten suomalaista historiaa on rakennettu.* Helsinki:Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 137–162.

Triebel, C. (2015). Non-Place Kids? Marc Augé's Non-Place and Third Culture Kids. Benjamin, S & Dervin, F. (eds.). *Migration, Diversity and Education: Beyond Third Culture Kids.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 87–101.

UN (2013). United Nations department of Economic and Social Affaires. World migration in figures. Available: http://www.oecd.org/migration/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf

Useem, R. H., & Downie, R. D. (1976). Third culture kids. *Today's Education*, 65(3), 103–105.

van Manen, M. (2007). 'Phenomenology of practice', *Phenomenology & Practice*, 1, 11–30.

van Manen, M. (1996). Phenomenological Pedagogy and the Questions of Meaning. D. Vandenberg (ed.) *Phenomenology and Educational Discourse*. Durban: Heinemann Higher and Further Education, 39–64.

van Manen, M. (2011). *The hermeneutic reduction: openness*, Retrieved from : http://www.phenomenologyonline.com/inquiry/methodology/reductio/hermeneutic-reduction/

Vidal, C. (2008) What is a worldview? Van Belle, H. & Van der Veken, J. (eds.), *Nieuwheid denken. De wetenschappen en het creatieve aspect van de werkelijkheid*. Acco: Leuven, 71–86. (translated from Dutch).

Vidich, A. J. (1991). Social theory and the substantive problems of sociology. *International Journal of Politics Culture and Society*, 4(4), 517–534.

Vidich, A. J. (1988). The values and morality of scientists: Some unresolved problems. *International Journal of Politics Culture and Society*, 1(3), 471–486.

Vivero, V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1999). The existential hazards of the multicultural individual: Defining and understanding "cultural homelessness". *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 5, 6–26.

Wagner, A. C. (1998). Les nouvelles élites de la mondialisation. Une immigration dorée en France. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Walters, K. A. & Auton-Cuff, F. P. (2009). A story to tell: the identity development of women growing up as third culture kids. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture,* 12(7), 755–772.

Warinowski, A. (2012). *Maailmalle yhtenä, takaisin toisena? Suomalaisten ekspatriaattiperheiden lapset kulttuurisissa siirtymissä*. Doctoral dissertation. Institute of Migration, Turku.

Wilson, S., Cunningham-Burley, S. Bancroft, A., Backett-Milburn, K. & Masters, H. (2007). Young people, biographical narratives and the life grid: young people's accounts of parental substance use. *Qualitative Research,* 7(1), 135–151.

Wimmer, A. & Glick-Schiller, N. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond. Nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks* 2(4), 301–334.

Xian, K., Chico, E., Lambouths III, D.L., Brittian, A.S & Schwartz, S.J. (2015). Identity Development in Adolescence: Implications for Youth Policy and Practice. Edmond P. Bowers, G. John Geldhof, Sara K. Johnson, Lacey J. Hilliard, Rachel M. Hershberg, Jacqueline V. Lerner, Richard M. Lerner. (eds.). *Promoting positive youth development: Lessons from the 4-H study*. London: Springer International Publishing, 187–208.

Appendices

Table 5. Sub-themes and informant quotes for the Master theme "Life settings: select *international*"

Sub-themes + informant quotes	Note number in the original transcript
1. LIFE SETTINGS: SELECT "INTERNATIONAL"	
• **Moving as a part of life**	
Vanessa: I've visited over 30 countries already you know, and I'm, like I keep counting because I have a map and I keep adding places (laughter).	58
Enzo: I always, I remember… there's always a difference between traveling and moving, yeah, I guess to the question 'what would you like to be called' I don't think traveler would be the best, cause when someone tells traveling, uh, it's like, trips I had in Paris and in London, in Berlin and, and places like these come to mind.. But, like, moving to Czech Republic was not traveling. So it was like more… like life.	139
Ryan: I moved around a lot for someone my age,	10
Joanna: When you move every few years like that it's just part of your life.	165
Julie: I like traveling for the vacation but I don't like traveling definitely to say bye to everyone.	161
Ana: I always know that, I stay three years in Peru and then five years abroad, so I know that we're gonna move, but I don't know exactly where.	72
Max: There were plans to leave for Singapore this year (…) but we're no longer leaving to Singapore. (…) We might still be going somewhere, but it's possible that we'll stay another year. … I'd be a bit sad, leaving, but not actually that much.	106
• **Ephemerality and uncertainty**	
Max: I lived there for 4 years, which was the longest amount of time I had lived in one place.	25
Michael: 2 years, 3 years, it's more than enough time to just travel to a place, but not enough time to really live in a place, which I don't really like, because I always feel like it's not quite enough time to get settled, but it's too much time to just, you know, go and leave without unpacking the boxes...	160
Enzo: This school has many students that come and leave after two years, so it's just friends coming and and going, so… it's fine. It brings new stuff	79
Ana: I guess I will never have that like friend that I've been friends with since we were really young.	41:2
Julie: But I don't know when I'm going to... I don't know when we're going to leave…	95
Vanessa: you make friends and they may be really really good friends and then they'll leave. And it's really hard to keep contact even with the internet, you know, it's hard to keep contact and so it never happens.	43:2
Ryan: Me and him we've just grown together in four years, grown to… tighter and tighter, the best friends and I miss him so much, he's visiting this summer.	155

• **Locus of control**	
Vanessa: Mmm, they always leave, I mean my dad always leaves for (…) cause we've always lived, we've always uh, moved to places where... because of his work.	20
Ryan: So, we had, we had a feeling that we were gonna move.	178
Michael: We stay there for the certain amount of years and then we'll move.	10
Julie: But it it is my father, what my the work of my father's says (…) it's not… we don't, we don't decide, they decide	100
Max: My dad once again decided "let's move somewhere else" and we moved to China	21
Enzo: We were in a restaurant, (…) and uh, they just told us 'we have news, we are moving to Prague'. And and my brother goes 'yes!' and I would go, I started crying (laughs).	36
Ana: I think it's just... it might be a thing of like, luck, depending where you move and what people you find there and how well you adjust to the place…	2
• **Relocation as an end**	
Enzo: I, I started crying and I was really sad cause I had like close friends in Italy.	31
Michael: It didn't really sink it while I was there, that I was going leaving, so, so it was kind of hard again.	112
Julie: And and, the thing is that I didn't know that we would uh, go... so definitely.	29
Max: I was not happy about this, about the move from China to the Czech Republic, at all. Because it was, it was, I had all these friends, I was popular (…) So I had the most, I settled in.	102
Joanna: exciting and daunting at the same time, because (…) new friends, but at the same time you're leaving all the friends behind, so it was… sad.	54
• **Relocation as a relief**	
Max: Uh, this one [move.], I was fine. I was 'oh, ok, cool, that's good.	105
Ana: it's a bit better now, but I can't wait to graduate and then I can leave.	97
Joanna: The three years in France weren't really uh my cup of cake (…) Uh once I came here [Prg], it's… bit kind of a liberation.	36
Julie: I cant' wait to go somewhere else --- I'm obliged to leave one day (laughter), can't stay here!	95
Michael: When we moved back to the States I realized, it was a big blessing.	103

Table 6. Sub-themes and informant quotes for the Master theme "Press restart and play—coping strategies for moving"

Sub-themes + informant quotes	Note no.
2. PRESS RESTART AND PLAY-COPING STRATEGIES FOR MOVING	
• **Focus on the meta level**	
Max: So if someone's from some small town in Britain, ok, that's interesting, but if he's lived in America and Czech Republic and Germany, his opinion is somehow more intelligent.	176
Joanna: I wasn't paying attention to the beauty and (. . .) what the (. . .) move can be.	189
Vanessa: Well, aside from like, being open-minded and everything and just, not just, I think having experienced so many different cultures, you're more, you're more accepting.	53:2
Ryan: Because moving around, especially to different countries, you get to meet tons of different people and see and experience different cultures and just, just, that's gonna help me a lot in life, cause it's, it helps me see a different perspective on other people and stuff.	25
Julie: That was a. . . tough for me, but uh, before I didn't like it, but now I know that we. . . (sigh) we learn new things and we... see new beautiful things [with a monotonous voice] and so it's, it's uh, fine, to move, but, even if you're the new girl (sad laughter) all the time. . .	49
Michael: I went to school with kids who had never been outside of the States, who had never been on a plane uh, and uh, some of them hadn't been across the state (. . .) uh, it was. . . it was really different, uh. So I think in the end, moving around was good.	104
• **Focus on solidarity**	
Ryan: I'm very, appreciate all the work he's done for us, it's, aww, he works, he works so hard. When he retires, when I'm older, I definitely owe him.	02
Enzo: I always remember that my parents used to say 'be thankful because you travel a lot'.	129
Enzo: uh, if I think about it [own children], I'm I'm pretty sure that if they had exactly what I have, it would be nice (laughs).	142
Joanna: Even although France, the three years in France were hard, it... it kinda maybe changed me, of course, but it, it didn't change the fact that uh. . . that I, I, I love my family.	341
Vanessa: my parents have always been there, and my brothers.	120
Michael: I feel like I try to do things right, and I think that was also the way I was brought up.	213
Ana: S: [in the future] it doesn't bother you to live far away from them [parents]? A: no (laughs), to tell the truth, no (laughs).	102

• **Focus on the moving rationale**	
Ryan: When you move somewhere, it might take a while but you're gonna get friends and stuff like that.	226
Enzo: Not much [changed after the move to Prague], because I, I still Skype with my cousins and uh and and my uncles and stuff, we Skype, so nothing really changed and I I made new friends and I guess it's normal. (. . .) I just got not used to it, I, I think I haven't got used to it, because I used to have friends here, and moved here and got new friends, so it's kind of a routine that I learned how to deal with.	77
Enzo: I never remember the actual moving, I always remember a memory of.. house in Italy, then I'm in Czech Republic, then I'm in (city in Italy), then again Italy, and and they're all memories that are different, but still have something in common. Wh-which is my family and and the same things happen, so so it's like.., places are different but the people aren't, so.. It certainly would have made a difference if it was with different people, so.. you know. . .	136
Joanna: I'm gonna be angry and everything, but once you're there, it's actually interesting (. . .) and so I'm happy to have been there. But it's always like that.	349
Michael: And throughout being in Prague I 've tried to keep in mind that I am (laughter) gonna be moving again in... just, just over a year and a half, so uh. . .	127
• **Focus on future**	
Joanna: But then when I get my job and when I have the money, when I can do it, I guess I'll just have to move, or something, because I just can't, I don't see myself staying in one place all the time, it's just like so boring.	174
Enzo: I plan on traveling when, when, when I get older (. . .) do lots of traveling.	143
Ryan: But I definitely gotta go back and visit friends in the States, cause they're part of my life that I thought was really important.	236
Vanessa: I wanna go to Florida specifically because it's the most Hispanic and sort of Latino culture over there and I wanna keep the dual- or bilingual, sort of, living (. . .) I wanna be in a place where, like, people speak another language.	117:2
Max: I don't really know what I want to be, but (. . .) I know what I don't want to be. (. . .) I don't want to be dragged into the family, the family tradition of being a teacher. (. . .) So I wanna be something else.	180
Max: I don't think I'll end up in the, in the diplomatic path (. . .) I think it would be kind of hard on the family (. . .) I do think that I will go into the military (. . .) It's always been interesting to me (. . .) the structure and the patriotism and the ideals.	158
Ana: Oh, I've kind of decided that I don't ever wanna move again after that, like after I decide to settle in one place, but I don't know. Life is a bit crazy, so. . . (. . .) I might end up moving again, but I don't really want to. I just want to stay in one place.	128

Table 7. Sub-themes and informant quotes for the Master theme “The Mobile me”

Sub-themes + informant quotes	Note no.
3. THE MOBILE ME	
• **Self as International**	
Ryan: I moved around a lot (. . .) that’s a big part of my life (. . .) I don’t know... just getting to know different people, from different cultures from around the world, it’s just, uh, I want that to be part of it.	255
Enzo: So, I guess traveling is what would describe me the best.	132
Ana: Well, when I first came from Italy, it was like ‘whoa, you come from Italy, that’s so cool’, but for me it was... normal (. . .) (laughter) it wasn’t anything really special	32
Joanna: I don’t see my life in the future just staying in one place as hermits. (. . .) Maybe I could stay like, five, five six years somewhere, but I need to move, I need to, I don’t know, I just feel like, I don’t know.	169
Julie: Yeah, always the new kid. . .	46
Vanessa: What bothers me when you say you’re from nowhere, but you actually do have a home and you’ve only one nationality and you’ve only ever lived in one place. Because I feel, like I’m actually from, you know, nowhere, and when people say who actually have their both parents from the same place, always lived in this country, speak the language, like 100% this country and that they’re from nowhere, it makes me feel like “really, you’re from nowhere?” (sarcastic laughter).	36:2
Vanessa: the difference I see is mostly with language, I think. I feel a difference when someone only speaks English, that’s when I feel- I don’t know why, but it’s a fee- it’s like (sighs), it’s in the ability to, to understand more things, like if you speak more languages you can understand more things, even, just because you have like a double vocabulary, sort of, so it’s like coming from two different sources or three even.	96:2

• **The Others and Me as the Other**	
Vanessa: Whether you go to France or the States, they have this, like they're in this bubble and you can really feel it if you've never been, if you've been moving around, you can feel when you go to a certain place how isolated they are and how they only know, like, about themselves and how little they know about the world. And that's really annoying (laughter).	35:2
Vanessa: I didn't wanna move to the States where it's like, uhm, state in the States where they're like really like, as I said, sort of ignorant and isolated.	115:2
Vanessa: My cousins and all that they all have like, you know, a best friend that they've been and they go to their house all the time, you know they have like history with them, they've grown up with them, they have family friends they're always with and it's sort of, yeah. We don't really have that.	46
Max: I also feel like I have to be careful of what I talk about in New Zealand, because I have got many a mean look when I talk about my month in Turkey and then I will, 'ah, I went to China for a few weeks and then I was Vietnam' and they're like 'uh, ok, you wanna' (pulls a face) (. . .) because they have just stayed in NZ S: yeah yeah. So you feel there's a gap- Max: oh yeah, there's a gap, yeah, because I have been to all these places and they haven't. And so I. . . so that's one of the reasons I don't really like talking to New Zealanders.	119
Ryan: Like in America, the kids were really, how do you say, really. . . irritating, like they're really annoying (. . .) cause they just think America is America and that's it. And there's nothing else out there and they're just like 'oh yeah, I don't like this place, uh, or, America is the best and blah blah blah blah	27
Enzo: In Italy, none of our friends used to travel like we did.	130
Ana: for example, one that I always think about is that they [sedentary children] maybe have, like, the same friends since they were really really young, and I don't have that because since I've lived in different countries you kind of lose contact with people that you were friends with when you were younger. So I, I guess I will never have that like friend that I've been friends with since we were really young. And it's kind of sad in a way. For me at least.	27:2
Julie: I think I'm not like the others.. (. . .) I'm not like the others for them.	
Joanna: People that don't live what we live, don't understand. Aren't open-minded. They're just 'yeah, ok, you're not doing what you're supposed to be doing' –thing, 'you're odd, you're not like us', right. 'you're dirt', essentially, and so. . . there.	92 232

• **The Both-And-reality**	
Ana: mmm, a bit crazy (laughs), so people usually say when I tell them all my family story… (laughs), because my mom is from one place and my dad is from another place and I was born in another place and I've lived in other places, I don't know... I guess because of that.	81
Ana: I would just see one place more like home, but instead I see two places and then I like one of the places more than the other one – so it is kind of strange cause I don't like saying in front of my dad that I like Argentina more cause he'll feel a bit offended I guess.	43:2
Vanessa: I'm both French and American, I actually do feel that but, I don't, but the country itself I, I don't, I don't connect with the other American people and or other French people, I only connect with other people who don't really have like, who don't really [pretend?] to any country because if they come from a certain, I feel like the American culture is not really my culture and in France is not... I still have some aspects of that, but if I'm in the States I feel French if I'm in the, in France I feel American, because I don't, I feel like I'm nowhere really, like, feels like it's home.	9:2
Joanna: I'm maybe French-American, but sometimes I feel that I'm so much more than that (…) I don't wanna be mean by saying that a little but, just being French seems kinda plain or just being American seems kinda plain… but, I don't know, it's just... I'm not French, I'm not American, I'm both.	284
Ryan: But like when I'm back in America, people are like oh, I'm 'just American', that's it, but I'm like I'm American and Columbian and they're like 'oh, that's so cool, that's cool' and but when I came here it was completely different. People were all different mixes, like maybe Puerto-Rican and Czech or some unique mix and I thought it was really cool and like, to see that I think it was really cool.	132
Michael: There were a lot of differences there, uh, in a way we were brought up, in the way we lived, uh, and here it's the same, uh, kind of on the other side of that (…) Like I can connect with people, but I'm not from the same background, uh, so...	182

Table 8. Sub-themes and informant quotes for "Connecting… the emotional zones of connectedness"

Sub-themes + informant quotes	Note no.
4. CONNECTING... THE EMOTIONAL ZONES OF CONNECTEDNESS	
• **Disconnectedness**	
Vanessa: They [cousins] were able to relate to one place, you know, feel like it's home whenever I go back and stuff, but I don't really have that. Yeah.	37:2
Vanessa: If you're from a country that you really like belong to, then you know a lot about the country and you probably know a lot about the culture. For example, if someone asks me something about France, like I would have no idea. (...) Cause if you have two, like [countries], and you're not living in either of them, you don't know any of the inside, You feel you can't explain people about your country as well, because you are not part of the country anymore. So yeah. So like if a teacher goes like 'you're French, what's it like in France?' I'm like I don't know [with an embarrassed voice].	102:2
Michael: But even here… it's like... I've realized again that all of these kids, are international kids, they've lived in a lot of countries, uh, but even so I've had a, I've had a different life that they had. Like, uh, like I'm being a little bit stereotypical, but it seems like (?) of the kids who go to international schools, uh, and are living in another country, most of them… come from wealthy families, or more wealthy families, uh, but... my family (laughter) my dad started out a contractor...	129
Max: uh, it was an international school. So it was mainly... uhm… rich people (…) yeah, these… that community.	16
Joanna: I feel French in the sense that I speak French, I go to the French schools, I read French books, I love French literature (…) but I don't feel French (…) that's a part of me I don't really like and I just can't refuse it, cause it's just me.	211
Ana: My grandparents, uh, left, uh, Italy after the world war II to go to Argentina and my mom was born there, so she doesn't feel totally Argentinian, either, but I do. But I don't feel Italian, I even lived there, but I don't, I just don't feel from there.	16:2
Ana: I haven't really found that many friends… and just living in a place where I can't speak the language and I can't communicate and I can't just.. I don't know, it's just hard (…) and it's not really nice to feel like that for like five years (laughs a bit).	98
Max: the rest of my family enjoys being with everyone else and being in big family gatherings, but me and dad don't really (…) now the one that my dad likes is no longer there (…) we just decided not to visit [NZ] anymore.	55

• **Connectedness**	
Vanessa: I like being in another country, like, I like being in Czech Republic, it's not really home, but, I like it, because it's weird when I go into a country and everyone can understand me and, yeah, I've gotten used no one really understanding, so… yeah.	9:2
Vanessa: But there's people like us who, like, have two different nationalities to begin with and then are living in a third place and that's a Third Culture kid.	16:2
Ana: Oh, I feel really happy! (laughter) Well, anyone that speaks Spanish, I just feel really happy! (laughter) (…) yeah, uh, it's just, I don't know. I'm just different when I speak Spanish to when I speak English	55
Max: I'm more so related to the people in China, because though this school is an international school, I would say that (name of school) was a lot more international, because it was in China, and so... I don't know what he would call China, but it was far away from where most expats would live (…) and so there was Vietnamese people, Chinese people, Korean people, we had... things like, 60 something nationalities and there was 1500 students. (…) we all had similar experiences, we all had moved from country to country to country and then settled here. And.... because well, we all had the same television and we were all interested in the same things, we all had things to relate to each other.	130
Max: yeah, it's uh, definitely the school I miss the most, I don't miss China that much.	39
Joanna: uh the first person I think of is my sister, because we've been going through this all these years (…) and so... we kinda have, I don't know what she said to you, but I kinda feel that she feels the same way as me, uh, about the moves (tiny voice), but uh, … it's uh.. well, of course we're close cause we're sisters. If I'm close to someone is, right now I'm thinking of (friend), cause she, she's moved a lot also, she's been to Africa, she's been to a lot of places I'd liked to go (…) and uh, she understands… people, people who have mov- in France people couldn't understand.	217
Enzo: it was always us 3 together, me and my brother and my cousin.	112
Ryan: Uh, when I think of home, it's somewhere where I can go when I need help… like it's not just that not (US State), it's just usually the United States, cause I know when I go there, I can, there's people there that are there for me (…) I know that home is where I feel safe and I can go to people if I need them and I can help them out if, I can trust them, there's a lot of people back home that I can trust and go there if I need help and, and well, so that's what I think of home about, and definitely where I was born that really helps, that's home, but…	223
Ryan: I loved it, like, so far I've been loving it here, it's like the best school, like everyone we talk to here, before I moved, they recommended this school, cause say said it's such a family, very close, everyone's so close and how everyone is, there's not a lot of people in our school, like maybe 150, and that, that's really good cause I get to know everyone, it get more friends to interact with and just, and like the programs there clubs and everything, it's really really good.	16
Michael: I don't know if I have ever connected with a place, but, I, I feel comfortable, at least, in the States, more than I do outside the States (…) I feel like I can, I can just, I can walk anywhere and I can judge the people and I can judge the the situations and the places- (…) Yeah, there's, there's more instincts, my instincts can kind of, help me out, in the States, instead of here [Prague] where I'm kind of… clueless.	209

• **Idealized points of identification**	
Max: I wanna, I wanna live in Norway (...) I suppose because my dad is from Norway, but I, I just want to live in Norway... and I've always wanted to live in Norway. (...) He alw- he talked about Norway, a lot. I always want him to talk about Norway and his family from Norway.	182
Max: The id- it's just things like that, that we owned a mountain and all of us lived there... and if your search (name) into Google, every person you'll find is related to me. (...) There's only one (name) family in the world.	186
Ana: I fe- I feel Argentinian and I say I'm Argentinian and I don't have the passport, so if I had the passport I would be like 'yey, now I'm officially Argentinian!' (laughs) (...) I really don't know (laughs). It's very strange cause I never lived there [Argentina], but it's just very... like.. it's just my place (laughs). I don't know why. I really don't know why.	55
Enzo: oh, it was all my cousins, I've lots of memories from them (...) oh, uh, I remember all, all the moments that we spent together, it was, it was lots of fun, outside and in the terrace where we used to sleep every night, uh, lots of fun.	111
Enzo: It's the place where I've done most things in my life (...) I think the two most important are the countryside and the house in Italy.	127
Joanna: America's always been something, I want, some place I wanna live later on.	20
Michael: I've always been drawn towards the military, since probably when I was 5. (...) I think the structure and the patriotism and the ideals and uh, even down to the leadership and things like that. (...) and there, there's, there's a brotherhood alo-along with the military, so...	163
Michael: I'd say I'm fairly patriotic, uh, towards the US.	184
Ryan: if I become fluent in Spanish, definitely wanna explore my Columbian roots, I wanna go to Columbia, visit Columbia, maybe live in Columbia, I wanna, just, go through it all and see, see what there's about it.	120
Julie: I would have my hair like that and be like that and be so uh, serious, to be a lawyer like that, (...) she's [talking about herself] a, a woman, who don't like to be wrong (laughs) and she, really, if somebody's really mean, she can get them back, or somebody needs help, she can help her, or yeah, I can be nice, when the person is nice, and mean when the person's mean.	159

Original publications

(I) Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). Analytical and methodological considerations for the use of social categories in identity research. *International Journal of Bias, Identity and Diversities in Education*, 1(1), 13–27.

(II) Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). Kansainvälisyys oletusasetuksena elämässä. M. Peltola, M & A. Kivijärvi (toim.), *Lapset ja nuoret muuttoliikkeessä – Nuorten elinolot 2016 vuosikirja*. Nuorisotutkimusverkoston julkaisusarja 185. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusseura, 79–90.

Originally published in Finnish and translated into English: Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). Internationality as a default setting in life. M. Peltola & A. Kivijärvi (eds.), *The mobility of Children and Youth – Yearbook of youths' living conditions 2016*. Helsinki: Finnish Youth Research Network, 79–90.

(III) Benjamin, S. & Kuusisto, A. (2016). 'Identity is experience—my experience is where I'm from'. Towards a wider understanding of worldview pluralism in educational settings. *Journal of Religious Education*, 63(2), 51–64. First published online in May 2016.

(IV) Benjamin, S. & Alemanji, A. (2017). "That makes us very unique." A closer look at the institutional habitus of two international schools in Finland and France. T. Itkonen & F. Dervin (eds.), *Silent partners in Multicultural Education*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 93–116.

* * *

The original publications have been reproduced with the kind permission of the copyright holders.