

should inform the public and the policymakers about societal or educational issues that should not be ignored.

Unlike bias, *adverse impact* exists if there is a discrepancy in the passing rates for two different groups, regardless of the explanation of this discrepancy. Adverse impact can exist even if the test is not biased and the gaps in performance are expected or reasonably explained. Explanation notwithstanding, failure to detect and reduce adverse impact with respect to any licensing or certification exam administered in the United States could result in substantial negative social and legal implications for test administrators. In fact, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC), which oversees all employment tests, mandates that the passing rate of the minority or focal group must be at least 80 percent of the passing rate of the majority or reference group.

Test developers go to great lengths at every stage in the test development and administration process to avoid bias in testing, starting with accurately and precisely defining the test content, using item writers from diverse backgrounds, and pilot testing the items before they are used in an operational setting. Test items are evaluated by independent panels of people specifically looking for whatever could offer a disadvantage against a particular group of test takers. This work takes place before the test is administered. After test administration, the statistical analyses are performed to identify DIF items and then evaluate whether these items are, in fact, biased against a particular group.

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THIRD CULTURE KIDS

The term *Third Culture Kids* (TCKs, or, in the singular, TCK) refers to children who grow up or spend a significant portion of their developmental years living in a culture outside of the parents' country of origin and typically their country of birth. American sociologist and anthropologist Ruth Hill Useem coined the term in the 1950s. Useem, her husband, and their children lived in India for one year, returned to the United States, and, five years later, returned to India again. In her first trip to India, she studied the roles that Indians who had traveled abroad for higher education were playing in Indian society. In her second trip five years later, she went to study the experience of Americans and their children living in India. She observed the special circumstances in which children of Americans living abroad grew up. Not fully American, as they had spent significant formative years abroad, and not Indian either, these children had a third identity based upon the fact that they had accompanied their parents abroad but, unlike their parents, lacked strong experiences in their home country (Useem, 1999).

Since Useem first used the term *Third Culture Kids*, its popularity has grown significantly, and its meaning has broadened. Originally, Useem used the term to apply to American children who were largely living lives in or centered on American compounds. For Americans, the United States' major global role after World War II and during the Cold War, including its large military presence in Europe, Japan, and Korea, meant that many American children grew up in and around military bases. The more active diplomatic role of the United States led to increases in children growing up in embassy communities. Since then, the term has been applied broadly to any children, not just Americans, who

spend much or all of their childhood living outside of their passport country (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). With increasingly global economic interdependence of countries around the world, characterized by the term *globalization*, parents from many different countries of origin were stationed or posted around the world, and they took their children with them.

Role of Schools

First Culture refers to the culture of the country of one's passports. *Second Culture* is the culture of the place or places where the children grew up; that is, where their parents were working. The concept *Third Culture* is the idea that children with a cultural identity that is neither of their passport country nor the country where they grew up. As with any shared cultural identity, TCKs tend to bond quickly with other TCKs, even if from different passport countries, than they do with peers from their passport countries.

Schools are especially important sites of the formation of Third Culture identity. When families traveled abroad, a central concern was their children's education. In the case of American children of U.S. service members, when significant numbers of children were in one area as a consequence of their parents' posting, the Department of Defense Dependent Schools (DoDDS) would usually open a DoDDS school. In many cases, however, an insufficient, permanent population of school-aged American children was present for DoDDS to open a school. If an English-speaking international school existed in the area, American children would attend it. Typically at these international schools were children from many different countries all sharing a common Third Culture experience, living outside the country of their passport. Unlike typical parents of TCKs, these children had not spent their formative developmental years living in their home culture. This situation means that at times TCKs have some difficulty connecting culturally with their parents, who are firmly psychologically anchored in their home culture.

Though TCKs have some difficulty connecting culturally with their parents, they nevertheless form very strong bonds with parents (Eakin, 1998). Parents unquestionably see themselves as American or

Korean or Russian, whereas the children are searching for an identity. In part, they find this identity with other children who share this common experience, which is at their school. Even then, for TCKs, determining an identity can be challenging (Grimshaw & Sears, 2008).

Research Findings Related to TCKs

The questions of TCKs and the lifelong impact of the experience constitute a growing research field. This growth is in part because the number of TCKs is increasing as the intensity of globalization accelerates. The terms *Third Culture Adults* or *Third Culture Individuals* have also come into use, recognizing the fact that many former TCKs are now grown, and researchers want to know about their adult lives and perspectives. The issue of TCKs is also growing because the growing number of individuals of prominence, such as President Barack Obama, grew up as a TCK (Straughan, 2009).

TCKs and Cultural Competence

TCKs have certain qualities that are considered benefits. TCKs typically attend international schools, where English is usually the language of instruction. As a result, almost all TCKs speak English well, often perfectly. Given the highly transitional way of life, most TCKs move often. Their friends do as well. Thus, an additional benefit is that they have a network of friends around the world. With contemporary electronic communications and electronic social networking media, TCKs often remain connected to their friends wherever they go. From their direct experience living outside of their country of passport, from friendships around the world, and from ongoing social connections in later life, TCKs have, above all else, an expanded worldview (Pollack & Van Reken, 2009). These international experiences prepare TCKs to navigate cultural differences and to accept diversity. TCKs also have many characteristics in common with gifted children, especially broader knowledge as a result of their travel outside of their passport country (Sheard, 2008). TCKs also are more culturally accepting, are satisfied living abroad, wish to maintain geographically mobile lives, are more interested in travel, are more open to learning other languages, and are more interested in future international careers than

non-TCKs, indicating TCK's high cultural competence (Gerner & Perry, 2000; Gerner, Perry, Moselle, & Archbold, 1992).

As an examination of gender differences reveals, female TCKs tend to have better peer relationships, accept more readily other cultures, be more interested in travel, be more open to learning other languages, be more interested in future international careers, and have less racial/cultural stereotypes than male TCKs, indicating higher levels of female TCKs' cultural competence than male TCKs (Gerner & Perry, 2000).

TCKs and Prejudice

TCKs' lower level of prejudice is associated with the number of countries in which they have lived. A study (Melles & Schwartz, 2013) found that levels of affective prejudicial attitudes (i.e., personal comfort with interracial interaction) in adult TCKs (aged between eighteen and eighty) are predicted by the number of countries lived abroad, but not by number of years spent abroad. Moving to a new culture requires TCKs to learn new cultural norms, values, and culturally bound attitudes and stereotypes against other cultures, which lose meaning by moving later to another culture. These moves might reduce prejudice. The findings of Melles and Schwartz (2013) also indicate the importance of exposure to multiple different groups rather than a prolonged exposure to one different group.

Levels of cognitive prejudicial attitudes (i.e., cognitive attitudes toward racial diversity) in adult TCKs are predicted neither by the number of countries lived abroad, nor by the number of years spent abroad. This finding indicates that TCKs' contacts with cultural diversity, and thus their prejudicial attitudes, are based on personal interaction and involvement rather than cognitive-based, distanced opinions (Melles & Schwartz, 2013).

Adult TCKs' age, with no gender difference, is negatively associated with cognitive prejudicial attitudes, affective prejudicial attitudes, and social dominance orientation (i.e., the extent to which one desires that one's in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups), indicating that the older adult TCKs are, the more prejudicial attitudes they have (Melles & Schwartz, 2013). These findings might indicate that time (i.e., number of years) by itself

does not influence individuals' cognitive, affective, and social development through cultural experiences. Rather, their involvement in the local culture, personality, age, parents' attitudes and behavior, and policies of the sponsoring agency are important (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001).

American adult TCKs reported higher levels of cognitive prejudicial attitudes and social dominance orientation than non-American adult TCKs. This finding might be due to racial tensions that have been present in America since its foundation, which is consistent with another study's (Hochschild & Lang, 2011) finding that American citizens report a stronger desire to exclude others than other citizens. No difference exists between American TCKs and non-American TCKs in affective prejudicial attitudes, indicating that the third-culture experience might equalize these original differences (Melles & Schwartz, 2013). Increasing contacts between individuals and groups and providing individuals with contacts with various different groups, both internationally and between cultural groups within a country, might help reduce their racial or prejudicial attitudes. International exchange programs, study abroad programs, associations for cohesion, and contact with all kinds of people, regardless of ethnic, racial, or national backgrounds, may also help (Melles & Schwartz, 2013).

TCKs and Diversity

TCKs represent an atypical form of diversity. Most often today, the term *diversity* refers to external features of a person: their race, ethnicity, gender, culture, religion, or language. Less often, diversity refers to the diversity of opinions, which people from any culture can experience. TCKs represent another type of diversity based primarily on the idea that TCKs have a very different type of relationship to the dominant culture.

Pollock and Van Reken (2009) argued that most people have a cultural identity in relationship to the surrounding culture. Many people are mirrors: they look like others in their culture and think like them. Others are foreigners: they look different from those surrounding them and think differently. Two other categories are hybrids. Hidden immigrants are those who look like the people around them but think differently. Finally, adopted people look

different from those around them but think like the dominant culture. Something unique to the experience of TCKs is that, at a time that they are going through tremendous development and formation of identity, they pass through all four of these different types, sometimes multiple times. The psychological impact of these multiple shifts can be challenging as TCKs often have difficulty finding a true identity or center (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009).

A case study (Greenholtz & Kim, 2009) examining the paradox that TCKs are cultural hybrids that seem at home in any cultural context but feel at home only among others with similar cultural history was confirmed. Although TCKs are surrounded by people from different cultural backgrounds, their shared cultural experiences can be stronger than their differences as TCKs have a distinctive profile, which might result in a worldview orientation that is simultaneously ethnocentric and ethno-relative (Greenholtz & Kim, 2009). This finding indicates that they perceive intercultural competence, yet at the same time TCKs also can, when not immersed in the local culture, perceive a lack of comfort in being among local kids who are noncultural hybrids. Although previous literature insists on the mutual exclusivity of ethnocentric and ethno-relative worldviews, TCKs' possible worldview orientation that is simultaneously ethnocentric and ethnorelative indicates their overseas experiences as living in a cultural bubble surrounded by other TCKs with limited interactions with members of the local culture (Greenholtz & Kim, 2009). Thus, even if TCKs' geographical location changes every few years from one culture to another, the immediate cultural environments within which their daily experiences take place can remain similar and ethnocentric.

TCKs and Reentry Programs

The mobile expatriate experience creates both disadvantages and advantages for TCKs. Some evidence exists to suggest that TCKs have trouble transitioning to college and adult life (Hervey, 2009). TCKs can also be criticized for having divided loyalties to different countries (Pollack & Van Reken, 2009).

A crucial component of the TCK experience is frequent transitions, as they move from one location to another with their parents. The high frequency of

moves means that TCKs have an intensified experience of transition (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). Among other elements, loss and grief are a central part of all transitions. TCKs move to a location, form friendships with other TCKs at school, and then move on to another location. Sometimes these moves occur abruptly, due to political instability or simply because a parent was abruptly transferred. Whether sudden or with some advance expectation, each transition is disorienting and involves grief over loss, which TCKs often have trouble processing. The implications of frequent transitions and high frequency of grief and unresolved grief are not yet fully understood (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009).

Research has shown that TCKs experience challenges when they reenter their own culture and that attending reentry programs can improve their psychological well-being (Davis, Suarez, Crawford, & Rehfuss, 2013). TCKs exhibit lower levels of psychological well-being upon repatriation to the passport country, including higher levels of anxiety, depression, and stress (in this order of strength), compared to non-TCKs, which is consistent with a lot of previous research (Davis et al., 2013). These findings indicate that TCKs need emotional and social support when they enter another culture. Female TCKs exhibit even lower levels of psychological well-being upon initial repatriation than male TCKs, which is consistent with previous research in that females in general report higher levels of depression than males during significant life transitions (Davis et al., 2013).

Although TCKs feel more depressed, more anxious, and more stressed than their peers, upon completing their reentry programs, they show the same level or lower levels of stress, depression, and anxiety (in this order of strength of the change). Female TCKs report greater improvement in psychological well-being than males at the conclusion of the reentry program, though they still report lower levels of psychological well-being than males do. This finding indicates that female TCKs need greater emotional and social support than males do upon their entry to another culture (Davis et al., 2013).

Successful features of the reentry programs include narrative therapy, small groups led by a counselor, individual appointments with a counselor, peer-led gender groups, and opportunities to

share TCKs' life stories. These reentry interventions allow for TCKs to be willing to talk and readily open up in a nonjudgmental and safe environment that promises confidentiality and does not give pressure for them to move toward healing if they feel unready (Davis et al., 2013).

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TOKENISM

Tokenism is the policy or practice of granting only perfunctory concessions or accommodations, particularly to minority groups. The experience of this phenomenon can have a negative impact on minority persons by creating a feeling of being marginalized or stereotyped. The person in the minority witnesses the false attempt by majority organizations or persons to offer them opportunities that in most cases are unequal to the opportunities received by majority members.

The practice of tokenism has resulted in majority-dominated organizations hiring just a few persons from underrepresented gender or racial groups as a sign of good faith or compliance with employment rules or affirmative action laws. Tokenism is pejoratively called *window dressing*, a term that indicates the organization is not devoted to the equal opportunity of all its members, but rather is interested in ensuring a sufficient headcount in the organization that includes a few underrepresented members among the majority.

Rosabeth Moss Kanter's 1977 book, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, identified the powerful impact of group composition on group processes. Her work presented a theory of tokenism based on gender-imbalanced groups using results from a