

TCK Beyond the Anglosphere: a Case Study in a Rabat International School

By _____

with

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for MOM, with love.

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¹ In this paper, the name of the school has been concealed to preserve a semblance of confidentiality.

Author's Note

The reader should be aware that this paper approaches its subject material not from the foundation of a particular discipline, but from the foundational material of a particular body of scholarship, specifically that which deals with Third Culture Kids. As such, its methodology and academic underpinnings are interdisciplinary, and not phrased entirely like other works in anthropology of migration. To aid the hardened academic in reading, I have included a glossary of terms common to Third Culture Scholarship. I have chosen to work from this vantage point for two reasons, both practical and idealistic.

On the practical level, the terms associated with “Third Culture” have gained some popularity within the English speaking international education community, and working with widely understood terms within the Anglophone international education community renders any findings slightly more immediately relevant. Additionally, these terms help contextualize the paper as part of an attempt to push the community in the direction of researching Third Culture’s salience among speakers of languages other than English.

Academically, rooting a paper in any body of scholarship is roughly equivalent to rooting it in a disciplinary cannon, as a discipline is simply a body of scholarship given an official approval and a department budget. Choosing an ideologically rather than methodically based body of scholarship contributes to the normalization of interdisciplinary scholarship. In order to acknowledge the benefits of rooting an academic discussion within a particular disciplinary perspective, and garner some of these benefits for the paper without reinforcing the system of disciplinary boundaries, I have included an explanatory glossary, which contextualizes Third Culture scholarship through the lens of traditional anthropological theory.

Due to a low quantity of data, this paper is concluding as more of an experimental thrust and an attempt to inspire further scholarship than a conclusive answer to questions posed by its scholarly ancestors. It is my hope that if recorded carefully enough, half-successes also lead to the furthering of human understanding.

Abstract

Third Culture Kids² are a group raised in multiple cultures, whose common worldview as a result of repeated cultural change becomes a “Third Culture” in and of itself.

Third culture is frequently characterized as an example of heterogeneous people forming a single “tribe” (Pollock and Van Reken 2009; Tanu 2013; Facilionce 2013). International Schools in Morocco are particularly heterogeneous, because not only do many students come from many places, and speak many languages, but also these schools contain many local students, who may not share their classmate’s mobility. Two classes are issued surveys at one international school in Rabat² to pilot assessment methods for dissonances in self-classified identities across expatriate experience. The speaking of French or Arabic in addition to English is found to be loosely correlated with better adjustment to Rabat, and a more singular identity, respectively.

This result may be due to French and Arabic granting better access to Moroccan culture than English alone. It may also be due to local students, who speak Arabic and French, self-reporting well-adjusted identities despite attending an English-language school. More research is required before asserting universality or causality.

² This group is also known to academic and popular literature as global nomads, organizational migrants, transnationals, transnational youth, cultural chameleons.

Glossary of Terms from Third Culture Scholarship

Third Culture: A hypothetical globe spanning culture of expatriatism, which does not reference geography, nationality, or language, but is a common worldview based on a common phenomenological experience of repeated migration.

TCK: Someone who spent a significant but incomplete portion of their identity-forming years outside their parent's country. This term is most applicable to children who move repeatedly before repatriating to their passport culture. Common examples are the children of military, missionary, or international educator families. They are modeled as adapting to a hypothetical international "Third Culture" of expatriatism itself.

Expatriate: A migrant who migrates formally for a fixed length of time.

ATCK: The Third Culture Kid which has now grown into an Adult Third Culture Kid.

CCK: Someone who, as a child, moves from one culture to another, but not in the context of repeated dislocation or an expatriate community. They are similar to Third Culture Kids in many ways, but do not acclimate to an abstract Third Culture, instead flowing between one culture and the other. Examples are one-time migrants, border-dwellers, and minorities within a larger community.

TCA: The Third Culture Adult, who does not move as a child, but acculturates to expatriatism in their adult life. They are considered an essential constituency of Third Culture, but are modeled as immigrants to it, rather than from it, because they typically retain the stable identities they grew up with throughout their expatriate career.

CCA: Cross Cultural Adults, and grown CCKs, share cosmopolitanisms with ATCKs and TCAs, but typically have a single stable identity shaped by reconciling their cross cultural experiences.

Examples include children of immigrants who describe themselves in one consistent hyphenated identity.

Sending Institution: The organization which is responsible for the placement of parents in the Host Country.

Passport Nationality: The Nationality of a TCK as indicated on their passport, as opposed to their birthplace or self-identified homeland. Often this refers to the most powerful passport, if they are citizens of multiple countries, as passport power profoundly affects the migrant's experience and aspirations.

Host Culture: Usually refers to the Nation (and by implication, national culture) in which the TCK currently resides.

A note on "Culture": As can be seen by the loose use of terms of art in the above examples, Anthropologists have only recently become involved with Third Culture scholarship. As a result, the body of literature has been criticized for over casual use of the term of art "culture". This is a fair criticism, as the individuals underneath the label of Third Culture have such diverse worldviews, experiences, and behavior that globally, TCKs are often an unsatisfactorily incoherent analytic group (Tanu 2014). Because of this fact, it is likely much of Anthropological theory would reject the term "culture" being applied to all the subjects of TCK scholarship. Marvin Harris would likely reject the whole body of work for basing its studies on self-reported worldviews in lieu of common behaviors. However, many of the concerns central to TCK scholarship are cherished in the anthropological tradition, such as the importance of liminal space in maintaining a society (Turner 1969). And celebrated Anthropologists have embraced unknowns, individual experiences, and storytelling as the essence of Anthropology (Geertz 1973). In considering this fact, this paper examines the degree of similarity between individuals

with varying degrees of TCK traits, considering the group not a singular analytic group, but rather a diverse and flexible identity, with many dissents and occurrences yet to discover. “Third Culture” is more in the tradition of Lewis’ *Culture of Poverty* than Harris’ *Rise of Anthropological Theory*.

Literature Review

Anglophone temporary expatriates share a system of symbolic interpretations of people societies, and inter-societal contact irrespective of their particular host culture(s) during their time abroad. This common experience is more profound among those who experienced cultural transition as children.

Contemporary scholarship has documented this phenomenon extending beyond the anecdotal, observing de-territorialized identities among communities of expatriates of many backgrounds, across the globe (Pollock and Van Reken 13). Expatriates have been found to identify with each other even when their passports (first culture), and the host countries that have shaped them (second cultures) are completely different. The common ground which facilitates this connection is therefore known as Third Culture, the culture of globetrotting expatriates which transcends any particular local experience. With migration increasing since the advent of mass air transit, scholarship has come to document this de-territorialized Third Culture. The children who spend their formative years in expatriate's compounds and changing cultural contexts bond even more closely to Third Culture, and are known in the literature as TCK, or Third Culture Kids.

Identity offers a means to express whom individuals and groups believe is "someone like us." More specifically, the behavior of identifying serves as an observable indicator of a cultural presence underwriting it. It is because of this that identity has been the primary handle by which social psychologists have examined Third Culture Kids. The salience of TCK as a personal identity is primarily observed through difficult relationships with the idea of home (Facilione 2013).

Third Culture scholarship purports to document this pan-ethnic, de-territorialized identity. Processes characteristic of globalization have formed other international identities as well, from diaspora's children to the rooted cosmopolitanism of the business elite. Each of these groups is represented as correlating with distinct characteristics both in behavior and worldview (Rauwerda 2012). Even so, these distinct groups identify with Third Culture Kids (Pollock and Van Reken 2009). Like Third Culture Kids themselves, the groups share few experiences, but in identifying with TCK, betray a common factor. Many of these groups, such as rooted cosmopolitans, who are often identified with TCK, have stable ideas of home (Rauwerda 2012). This deliberate embracing of de-territorialized, nonethnic, and pan-linguistic identity makes for a complicated ethnographic space, to say the least, and the placement of productive boundaries between form units of analysis among the globally mobile continues to be an interesting debate throughout the literature.

“Third Culture,” as a term, was first coined by the Useems, a wife-and-husband team of sociologists studying an American expatriate compound in India during the 1950s (Rauwerda 2012). They argued that the culture among those expatriates was neither American, Indian, or a hybrid of the two, but rather should be properly considered a third culture of its own. Thus was born the term “Third Culture Kids,” children raised in expatriate communities, which Ruth Useem went on to study for much of the rest of her career (Pollock and van Reken 2009). With the advent of mass air transit, the number of children raised expat increased dramatically, and the academic community experimented with words like “global nomad” and “Transculturals” to describe them (Fail 2004). David Pollock and Ruth Van Reken published *Growing Up Among Worlds*, which became the primary inspiration for the rest of scholarship on these children, and

ensured the term Third Culture Kid, and its acronym, TCK, a place in the academic imagination (Rauwerda 2012). Van Reken went on to found FIGT, the primary organization of Third Culture Kids, which continues to promote research in this globally mobile community (Pollock and van Reken 2009).

Growing Up Among Worlds and subsequent publications model TCKs as possessing several traits associated with their upbringing, which are, as with the constituents of other groups modeled as a “culture,” not universal, but rather mythologized tendencies and expected worldviews codified into a source of identity. The most salient of these are compromised sense of belonging, reverse culture shock, marginal self-identity, high degree of adaptability, and early attention to context and flexibility (Fail 2004).

Third culture is frequently characterized as an example of heterogeneous people forming a single “tribe” (Pollock and Van Reken 2009; Tanu 2013; Facilience 2013). This is an alluring model for our polarized times, as it not only asserts that people of difference can tolerate each other’s differences, even celebrate them, but actually define their sense of belonging in dialogue that privileges difference over sameness in their identity (Facilience 2013).

Because of this diversity-forward model, and a high population density of TCKs themselves, International Schools in the English-speaking world took interest in the term Third Culture Kid. Concerned about facilitating positive growth and reducing the harms of dislocation, many teach Third Culture in the classroom or as supplemental material (Tanu 2013). This leads to the fairly recent situation of students being taught to consciously embrace Third Culture as an identity. This unusual situation is further complicated by the fact that many international schools

also have local students, who are taught to identify with global pluralism, and as such may operate in school as globally mobile elite, but return home to a more stable cultural context.

However, the assertion that Third Culture can act as a model for cohesive pluralism has been challenged on the basis that third culture is mostly studied in context of Westerners (Cotrell 2011; Tanu 2008), either due to dominance of global capitalism in international schools, or by virtue of linguistic competency in European language (Tanu 2014; Warinowski 2011).

Warinowski's theories draw attention to the psychological needs of migrants, a well-researched field in its own right, which highlights fairly stark differences between the needs of migrants who share their new host culture's language and those that have yet to learn it.

Geography poses a difficulty particular to defining an ethnographic space in which to explore TCK as its shared geography is one of change rather than location. Each individual's global-local relations are particular to them and rarely duplicated in another individual (Pollock and Van Reken 2009). This is particularly true in light of the fact that changing conditions in a culture, at a place, within the sending organization, or the age of the migrant individual will dramatically change their symbolic associations with and narrative explanations of, any particular migratory experience (Rauwerda 2012).

Third culture has been studied in international schools and the "big four" of organizational migrants: military, missionary, diplomacy, and corporate temporary migrants individually or with their families, relocated by an internationally powerful organization. Therefore, study of non-Anglophone TCK's helps fill gaps in this debate. This has been proposed by other scholars (McDonald 2010; Tanu 2013; Cotrell 2011; Warinowski 2011). Each of these scholars select more focused projects relating to one construction of Third Culture and

one space concurrently marginal to academic discussion, for example, a single international school in Jakarta.

The new millennium saw TCK identity spread among the internationally mobile Anglophone community much faster than previous decades, and soon readers pointed out that the majority of those traits belong to people who internalize *cross-cultural* interaction early on, as opposed to merely individuals conforming to the strict definition of Third Culture (Pollock and Van Reken 2009; Cottrell 2011). This claiming of Third-Culture-ness by cross-cultural individuals led to a new edition recognizing the validity of their mutual identification (Pollock and Van Reken 2009). Later scholars adopted a more expansive view of Third culture beyond the “traditional organizational migrants” expanding their unit of analysis to those which identified as third culture by virtue of international mobility, repeated dislocation, or immersive experience with third culture as experienced by those living on bases (McDonald 2010; Cotrell 2011; Pollock and Van Reken 2009; Rauwerda 2012; Tanu 2013).

This expanding beyond “organizational migrants,” made ever more obvious the need to expand study of third culture beyond the “big four” regardless of their status as a “petri dish” in order to examine how global and universal the Third Culture Kid experience actually is (Pollock and Van Reken 2009; Lucassen and Smit 2016: 2). As these definitions have expanded, the role of liminality has increased in the literature. Cross Culturals, TCKs, and the most traditional of the organizational migrants all claim some liminality³ in their explanations of their experiences. When this betweenness or absence comes to define a person, their sense of self is referred to as negative identity.

³ These assertions sometimes should be technically classified as liminoid.

These betweenness-based identities tend to be psychologically maladaptive, unless the individual is exposed to language that contextualizes their experience into a community. Most scholars position the phrase, “Third Culture Kid” as an adaptive neologism that legitimizes dislocation and becomes part of that contextualizing language. Meneses introduces a sociological view of linguistic identity fragmentation into Third Culture Scholarship. In the specific case of TCKs, linguistic identity fragmentation is adaptive, as proficiency in multiple languages allows for easy expression of internal cultural conflict and multiple formative identities (2011). The community of liminal space is the most commonly invoked proof of community among the ethnographic subjects themselves, who frequently cite such places as airports as their most essential home.

Anne Cotrell was one of the early pioneers of non-Anglophone TCKs direction. By synthesizing Japanese literature on Japanese nationals raised abroad, *kikokushijos*, and the Anglophone literature on Third Culture, she found that *kikokushijos* are more widely studied and understood within their passport country, and that *kikokushijos* have similar experiences of repatriation, but have more trouble reconciling their difference from their peers than TCKs (Cotrell 2011). Supporting the proposition that these two groups share a common culture, to the extent of implying a common self-identity, Cotrell proceeds with her stated task of explaining differences. She concludes that the explanatory variables for the discrepancy in experience are degree of language mastery, and the level of individualism in the Passport culture. The greater an individual’s mastery of their passport language, the more accepted they will be upon return, and the more individualistic the culture, the less obvious cultural differences will be. Her work began the academic conversation interrogating systematic linguistic and cultural differences among Third Culture individuals (Kano Podolsky 2004). Since that time, research into the shared traits

of *kikokushijos* and TCKs has continued, mostly in the tradition of affirming common experience (Kano Podolsky 2004; Tanu 2015). There is some English-language dissent based on the fact that the two groups have somewhat different expectations of treatment both at home and abroad, due to the language's inherent impregnation with international hegemonies (Tanu 2014).

Cotrell's research was added to the appendix of Van Reken and Pollock's work for the new edition of 2009, prompting further attention at FIGT, and research in that direction (Pollock and Van Reken 2009). Anne Cotrell now heads the research arm of Families In Global Transition, a leading TCK organization.

One of the next language-specific cases of Third Culture to be studied was Finns in International Schools. Warinowski demonstrates that although many aspects of the return experience are held in common, the Finnish expat's experience in international schools can be profoundly different, largely due to the fact that very few international schools have programming in Finnish, and very few Finnish children have proficiency in English (Warinowski 2011). This discrepancy of experience may challenge Pollock and Van Reken's view that the profundity of common experience in foreignness and return forges a common culture among all expatriates (Warinowski 2011).

The most recent work on Third Culture identity across language is being done by Danau Tanu, who ethnographs international schools in Jakarta, Indonesia. Her work is especially important because it takes place in a context where the majority of the students in the international school are nonwhite, and do not speak English at home (Tanu 2008). Her work therefore takes place in a context where the ethnographic subjects themselves are in a position to explain how the term "Third Culture" and "International" as used in English applies to them and articulate their own experience of manufacturing identity in the context of a shift which both

linguistic and geopolitical (Tanu 2013). Menes' 2011 research could serve as a mediator between the semi-competing theses of Pollock and Van Reken, Cottrell, and those of Warinowski and Tanu. Language proficiency is not only a gateway to comfortable social relations and group bonding, but to the establishment of internally stable identity/ies.

Of these researchers, Van Reken, Pollock, Cotrell, Facilonce, and McDonald take the view that Third Culture Kids are a single, albeit extremely heterogeneous, analytic unit. "It is our difference which unites us," explains Facilonce's Anglophone subject (2013: 41). This is seen as similar to how the people of a particular geopolitical state can be studied as one unit, though they are very diverse (Pollock and Van Reken 2009). This explanation may be at odds with the characterization of Third Culture Kids as a "cultural group."

Warinowski and Tanu both express skepticism with this notion, pointing to the disparities of power between speakers of colonial languages and other globally mobile populations, which leads to very different life experiences, and in some cases amounts to oppression (Warinowski 2011; Tanu 2013). Tanu contends that nation is not necessarily an appropriate model for cultural study in any case (Tanu 2013).

Of these analyses, there are just a few published in anthropological journals. No writing in anthropological journals has yet done a comparison of symbolism used by TCKs with disparate experiences (Meneses 2011). Nor has any anthropologist applied particular theorists to the phenomenon of TCK identity, language-homogenous or otherwise (Facilonce 2013).

Danau Tanu's publications demonstrate that there is interest, at least in the Australian anthropological community, in determining how universal the phenomenon of Third culture is. In light of this fact, this paper attempts to continue the conversation on third culture's salience outside the Anglosphere with a small study of an appropriately liminal cultural space, at once

within, and outside the Anglosphere, an English-language International School in Rabat,
Morocco.

Rabat as a Fieldwork Site

The fieldwork for this paper takes place in Rabat, Morocco, the capital city of a multilingual, highly studied country. Morocco as a nation, being historically allied with America, has been the subject of numerous work of Anthropology in English (Dwyer 1982). Therefore, it is not necessary to contextualize Morocco in general here.

Morocco as a whole has seen a great deal of emigration in the latter half of the twentieth century and depends economically on return and remissions from those migrants (McMurray 2001). In recent years, Morocco has also experienced immigration. As a result, Morocco has developed transnationalisms which could be regarded as Moroccan popular culture, even in nonmigratory populations (McMurray 2001). These include widespread awareness of global politics, widespread ambition to migrate, and pride in polyglottalism (McMurray 2001). It is also worth noting that Islam itself, arguably the most important cornerstone of “Moroccan” identity, is itself a transnationalism, (Munson 1991).

Rabat is a coastal city of about half a million, in which most of the population is functional in multiple languages, some subset of Darija (Moroccan Arabic), French, FusHa (Classical Arabic), Amazight, or Spanish (Dwyer 1982). Each of these languages has its own connotations and subtext. The connotations of each are different because of the origin of the language, its stereotypical content or situational usage, and the populations within Morocco associated with its correct speech. Moroccans of all levels of education are aware of these connotations and respond to them (Crawford and Newcombe 2013). As a result, when one has an idea in Rabat, the language you chose to speak it in can carry as much meaning as the words themselves.

French has been argued to be the most charged language in contemporary Morocco (Crawford and Newcombe 2013). Required in school as the language of instruction, yet still associated with colonialism, well-spoken French carries with it the connotation of wealth and education, though it is commonly and casually spoken and understood through Rabat. It is not unheard of for Moroccans to speak French exclusively to project an image of power (Crawford and Newcombe 2013). It is also not unheard of for Moroccans to look down on exclusive French speakers for abandoning heritage (Dwyer 1982). Even among the vast majority who mix French and Darija even to the sentence level throughout their daily life, French can still be leveraged as a power instrument through assessing another's accent and pronunciation (Crawford and Newcombe 2013). Even though it is charged, French remains a default language of daily transaction, used to communicate specifics in banking, telephone plans, and medicine, and to advertise a restaurant's daily special.

English is associated with newer power, such as global commerce and the internet. It is the language of the young educated, and many who reject everyday use of French use English with their Darija. This may be because they still want to retain the mystique of association international business power and linguistic mobility. In neighboring Salé, where public education, and thus French pronunciation, is less gentile, English is more commonly heard in the street than Rabat. English is also the language of popular American music, and many learn it through the radio and music videos. Parents concerned with upward mobility for their children may want to expose them to the English language more, as English is sometimes seen as the up-and-coming language, granting access to global wealth.

FusHa, or Classical Arabic, is also a language displaying status and education, but it is linked more with traditional status markers like Religious schooling or the monarchy than

commerce. It is a common written language throughout North Africa and the Middle East, so it is sometimes visible in signs or spoken by migrants, but overwhelmingly it is used in everyday life to communicate religious expressions, such as blessings, extreme thanks, or quoting the holy Quran.

Darija is the common tongue of Rabat and is the most common way to express everyday ideas, such as the greeting of friends or the purchase of bread. It is also the primary language heard on the street. Despite this, it is not taught in school, and as such perceptions about it vary widely. Some look down on it, to the point of characterizing it as less than a language. Some feel that because its vocabulary is not as precise or technical as French, it is inappropriate for complex or serious work, such as medicine (Crawford and Newcombe 2013). In any case, while many people are proud to speak Darija, speaking Darija alone can be a social liability.

In these ways, and others not covered here, language choice itself conveys meaning, semi-independently of words, and the acquisition of language can be modeled as an acquisition of capital, both social and economic.

The International School in Context

While it is important to understand the surrounds of an International School, the cultural environment of an International School is unique, as an intentionally transnational space embedded within, and in some models in opposition to, the norms of its locality (Tanu 2013). For this reason, it is important to touch on the cultural atmosphere of international schools in general, and the specific culture of the individual international school studied. Each school is unusually considered unique, and the loss of a home culture upon graduation from a longtime International School home is discussed in canonical scholarship (Pollock and Van Reken 2009).

Anglophone International Schools now often teach the concept of Third Culture and Third Culture Kids to their students, in order to better serve the needs of transitioning students and the perpetually mobile in the postcolonial world (Tanu 2013). This is purported to help TCKs adjust to repeated moves and feel a sense of stability (Pollock and Van Reken 2009). This stability is drawn by identifying with the larger Third Culture which is hypothetically shared by international schools, rather than a culturally unique individual school.

This is further complicated by the fact that, in the developing world, a significant proportion of the student population is local, placed in the international school in order to ensure they grow up with facility in a particular language, or the prestige that comes from an education from one of the former colonial powers (Tanu 2010).

In many cases, these local students actually provide the majority of the funding for the school, as they tend to be drawn from particularly wealthy local families (Tanu 2014). Even so, the school is by design geared towards the needs of the migratory students, because that is what

the local families declared they desired by joining an explicitly ‘international’ school (Tanu 2013). Research shows that these schools’ claims to promote a high degree of cultural competence are effective (Straffon 2003). These local students metaphorically migrate between the Third Culture world of mobility and ex-patriotism, and their local world with their families at home (Pollock 2009). Often this is accompanied by switching language as well. This can lead to detachment from local peers, or more fierce identification with them, as they grow up negotiating these competing worlds, keenly aware, in age appropriate idiom, of the global power dynamic this represents (Tanu 2014). So, the question arises: When their curriculum includes Third Culture, to what degree are these local students Third Culture Kids?

Tanu’s research suggests that answers for each individual fall along a spectrum, and in the individuality-affirming environment of a typical twenty-first century international school, this question is less important than the observation that language choice empowers students to participate in constructing hegemony in microcosm within the school (Tanu 2013). She suggests that the most important units of difference between intercultural mobile students are the languages they understand, and the languages they chose to speak (Tanu 2013). Of course, Race, Religion, and other less choice based identifiers constitute important factors as well, but are often distorted by the individual international school’s culture, inconsistent with they’re accepted global idiom (Tanu 2010). For example, Tanu documented children at an international school in Jakarta Indonesia, being referred to as ‘white,’ despite having dark skin, because of the ways in which they dressed and spoke English (Tanu 2013).

Methodology

Although the subject of TCK scholarship is repeated child migration, few papers work with children, for obvious ethical and procedural reasons. This leaves the literature open to hindsight bias, in which researchers find different answers about the past than they would have had the research been done in real time. This leaves the possibility that what it means to be a Third Culture Kid changes dramatically over the course of a childhood, as does the accompanying needs and identities. For this reason, it is important to test methods for research that can be ethically administered in real time, at various stages of migration. This need parallels other subfields of contemporary migration scholarship, which study transitions as they happen.

For this reason, the primary research for this paper is achieved through questionnaire, as a minimally invasive, maximally replicable form of research. A questionnaire is further appropriate for research in international schools because it mimics ordinary life in the academic setting, in which a teacher hands students worksheets to complete. For this reason, it has a low degree of risk and a high degree of environmental validity (Glasow 2005).

The particular questions featured on the distributed questionnaire are loosely inspired by interviews conducted with TCKs by previous scholars, and the Intercultural Development Inventory, a popular test which was previously used to assess Cross Cultural Competence of students in international schools (Pollock van Reken 2009; Straffon 2003).

In this way, it was the intention not to put too sharp focus in the survey itself on TCK issues themselves, because if that was the only subject, and it was worded in the familiar language of their studies on TCK, the local students would surely recognize it and conclude that

their opinions were desired less than strict-definition TCKs. For this reason, the order of questions and the relevance of each's content was mixed.

The questions are mostly worded as open-ended, with space to write responses, so that the students may report anything they like, which leads to occasional misunderstandings, but is absolutely necessary when interviewing teenagers on the complexity of their belonging and lives. Multiple choice answers would lead to many misleading answers and eliminate the possibility of the unexpected.

The survey questions appeared in English, French, Classical Arabic, and Darija, in order to reduce the privilege assigned to English in completing the assignment, and allow the student the choice of which language they would like to represent themselves in.

Because of translating and back translating, and the need to adequately represent ideas in Darija, the wording in English had to be quite lay and non-technical. This allowed for freer, more idiomatically valid translation to other languages. To have age relevance, the surveys were first translated from English by an approximate peer, a twenty-four-year-old trilingual Rabati man from a multicultural household. These translations were then checked and corrected by another, college educated young man, and a somewhat older woman, to ensure representation of multiple translation idioms.

It is not the answers themselves which are intended to be of much value, but rather, the way in which they chose to answer, and what cognitive categories those answers betray.

In this way, it is the hope of this paper that the next scholar can borrow this questionnaire's desire to moderate Anglophone privilege when studying TCK identity and collect responses which display the tools TCKs use to think about their belonging, in real time, as they form their identities and roles.

Method

On a Tuesday afternoon, questionnaires were dropped off with two teachers for two classes of students at The International School. These instructions were written on the board:

Hello. This paper is going to be used for a class project. Please do not write your name. If you are okay with helping me, please reply to all these questions honestly, in every language you can. There are no incorrect answers. Thank you.

These questions, appearing approximately in French, Classical Arabic, and Darija were asked:

- 1) What group of people is most similar to you? Why?
- 2) Is there a correct way to clean a house? _____
- 3) Is there a correct way to speak? _____
- 4) Are your friends the same as you? Why? _____

- 5) Where is Home? _____
- 6) What is your favourite food? _____
- 7) Is Rabat a good place for Migrants?
- 8) Does Morocco need more immigrants? Are Immigrants good for Morocco?
- 9) Do you visit the place your family comes from?
- 10) Is there a place you feel like you belong? Where is it?
- 11) Is there a place in society where you feel your family is normal?

12) Did you notice the questions are not quite the same in the other languages?

And now, Demographics:

13) Where were you born?

14) How old are you?

15) What Grade are you in?

16) Where have you lived?

17) How many schools have you studied in?

18) What is your favorite language?

19) Where is your father from?

20) How many Languages do you speak? Which ones?

21) Where is your mother from?

22) How many years have you been going to this school?

23) When did you learn each language?

24) Where do you want to live when you grow up?

25) What job do you want to have?

26) How many people live in your house?

27) How many times have you moved?

The traditional order of Demographic questions, followed by questions of research topic, is inverted here so as to reduce the impact of father and mother's birthplace on self-report of belonging and identity. Seemingly duplicate questions about home, belonging, and family normalcy respectively are intended to tease out differences between identity, belonging,

individual and family/community, the confounding of which Warinowski expresses concern over (2011).

Unfortunately, though some indicated that their favorite language was Arabic or Darija, no one chose to answer in these languages, and nearly everyone completed the questionnaire in English. This could be due to a translation problem, or the fact that the school day itself is English-speaking time, and it was simply easier to complete written assignments in English. Answers in French were translated by me and checked by a generous and intelligent staff member at CCCL. Only three students answered in French, and two of those indicated that English was their favourite language, but chose to additionally answer in French. These duplicate results were not different from the English ones and are too small a sample size to be demographically relevant. For consistency, the English translation of the single remaining French answers is included in the following analysis.

Questions which were rejected in the post-analysis for being low quality, uninformative, or widely misunderstood are omitted from the results as listed in the body. For clarity's sake, the original numbering system is used in both the body and the appendix, leading to question four being addressed directly after question one. A full copy of all answers is located in the appendix.

The answers to each question tended to cluster into roughly three similar categories of answers, which I will explain with examples below. The results are presented in this format

(number of responses in category): (name of category) e.g. (quotes or paraphrases representing the category)

Quotation marks (“”) are used to indicate where wording has been transcribed directly from the original responses to the questionnaire.

Results

Question One: What Group of People is most similar to you?

7 respondents: offered answers that are usually linked to TCK identity though invoking of international travel as a bond, e.g. “other diplomat’s kids” or “students in international schools”

6 respondents: “Family” or “friends,” offering justifications like “everyone is changing all the time, and we have similar influences” or “we grew up together”

5 Respondents: “People who share my interests” e.g. People interested in “sports”; or “Food lovers”; “hard-working students”

4 respondents: “Muslims” e.g. “because we share values” “because I’m Muslim”

3 respondents: “Moroccans” e.g. “because I can relate to them” and “because we are from the same country”

2 respondents: “White girls” e.g. “because they all act the same” or “because they act most similar to me⁴”

2 respondents: “Indians” e.g. “because I’m Indian”

1 respondent: “No one”

1 respondent: “Depends”

The variety in these responses is to be expected with such a general question. It is interesting to note how few, relatively, invoked a national paradigm.

Question Four: Are Your Friends the same as you?

⁴ It is interesting and possibly important to note that both of these responses used the Third person, instead of the first.

13: Maybe. E.g. “We are all unique” “our personalities are alike but our upbringing differs”

11: No. E.g. “No, but we all have North African origins” “We share different beliefs and enjoy different activities, but our personalities are parallel” “introverts” “that would be boring”

8: Yes. E.g. “Arabs” “because they have traveled the world” “gamers”

Overall, these responses showed shrewdness and nuance in considering the idea of sameness, and many referred back to or reevaluated the criteria they chose in question one.

Question Five: Where is home?

8: Rabat

7: Specific other place e.g. “Bahrain” “my country” “Kinetra” “Fez”

5: Transnational locale e.g. “Wherever I live” “Pizza hut” “wherever my dog is”

4: Own House

3 Family

3 Abstract definition e.g. “Home is within you” “Where you can thrive”

2 School

1 Morocco

There is a relatively high proportion of specific locales here, higher than one could be led to believe from early TCK scholarship. Respondents who invoke the national paradigm primarily identify with somewhere outside Morocco. “Kenitra” and “Fez” are not included with Morocco because the phenomenon of claiming a home in your entire country is very different from claiming a home in a specific city while you live elsewhere. TCKs are reputed to favour transnational locales, school, and abstractions, and it may be worthy of further research that some local students also answered in those categories. Some of the answers are a little absurdist,

which should not be construed as making the data valueless or skewing the survey, but rather as wittily acknowledging they know what I'm trying to get at and see it as somehow silly. Irony is an age appropriate and valid means of self-expression.

Question Seven: Is Rabat a good place for Migrants?

16: Yes

3: Maybe

12: No

What was most interesting is that two of these responses, "it can be for a person who can easily amuse and entertain themselves without going out. Not for me." And, slightly less explicitly, "yes, exposed to culture, nature, easy to travel," make the most sense if the subject interpreted the question as referring to them. Most of the rest of the responses, particularly the "no"s, seemed to refer primarily to Sub-Saharan.

Question Eight: Does Morocco need more migrants? Are migrants good for Morocco?

12 Yes: e.g. "because it brings diversity to Morocco" "Depends {Economy=yes political=no cultural=yes}"

9 No e.g. "we already have a lot and many poor people as well"

5 yes and no e.g. "Morocco doesn't necessarily need more migrants, but they could be good for Morocco to develop."

In addition to representing common views in Rabat, these responses exhibited more thoughtfulness than other responses. Despite not asking directly for reasons, most answers provided them, often distinguishing between different dimensions of good and society.

Question Nine: Have you visited the place where your family comes from?

32: yes

2: no

Although this question was interpreted by some to refer to ancestry, and others to mean current location of relatives, almost everyone said “yes.” Moroccan students tended to interpret this question to refer to a village, although some specified “Rabat” or “I live in it!” in their diversity, these answers indicate students model their origins in different ways, but represent themselves as having seen their place of origin.

Question Ten: Do you have a place you feel you belong? Where is it?

3: Family

8: Specific Other Place

5: Transnational

3: House,

4: Rabat,

4: Morocco,

3: No

Similar responses as to question five appeared here.

Question Eleven: Is there a Place where your family is Normal?

23: Yes

7: No

This question was designed to bring perceptions about family into the study, because as Warinowski noted, the individual is privileged as the main unit of analysis in TCK scholarship, despite the fact that for child migrants, the family is a more appropriate unit of analysis (2011). Unfortunately, this question may not dig deep enough when situated in context, because this question had the highest rate of one word answers or nonresponse of any of the belonging-focused questions. This seems to indicate the question is difficult to understand or answer. Anne Cottrell predicts that students whose parents come from collectivist cultures will tend to be more self-conscious about their family's abnormality (2011). Conforming to this prediction, the Japanese Passport-nationality student had the most to say: "In Japan we are different and abroad we are foreigners."

These results demonstrate the diversity of ways in which students make sense of their intercultural lives. Whether a local or migratory student, they show creativity and thoughtfulness in reflecting on belonging.

Now that the diversity of results has been represented, this paper proceeds to compare the variables to each other in terms of how strongly one each trait and answer is associated with each other. One method is through finding the correlations P , of the set of the answers to the questionnaire. This is given by the formula:

$$P_{xy} = SS_{xy} / \sqrt{(SS_{xx} * SS_{yy})}$$

Where P_{xy} refers to the matrix of correlation coefficients r ,

corresponding to survey responses XY .

In order to change qualitative variables such as "I feel at home in Rabat" into quantitative variables that can be manipulated by equation, I have assigned a number, either one or zero, to

each qualitative answer. One indicates that the answer represents an answer associated with a high degree of Third Culture salience, and zero indicates an answer which, in context, is considered less indicative of this. In reminding the reader of which traits will be evaluated as high Third Culture salience, I quote the literature review:

The most salient of these are compromised sense of belonging, reverse culture shock, marginal self-identity, high degree of adaptability, and early attention to context and flexibility (Fail 2004).

Binary representation of qualitative answers is, in this context, superior to assigning a degree because it removes the researcher from the position of being an ultimate arbitrator, free to classify the subjects' thoughts based on only a few words of information. The binary option makes extremely clear the absurdity of drawing any firm conclusions from this data and makes no assertion to be able to understand the thoughts behind a particular answer.

When reading the following matrix of correlations, it is essential to keep in mind that the sample size is too small and the questionnaire too brief to seriously understand the realities of the subjects. Such are the challenges of anthropology-at-arm's-length, which in this case was an ethical necessity. This survey is intended to pilot a method, demonstrating feasibility of grasping the complexity of globalized ethnography, and suggesting through technique directions future research may want to take and pitfalls it may wish to avoid as we learn to better understand the phenomenology of childhood repeat migration.

The table is read by locating two variables on the horizontal and vertical axis and tracing the table to the intersection of the corresponding row and column, respectively. For example, the correlation between [Speaks French] and [Friends Are Similar to Me] is given by cell 14A, [-0.325]. This indicated that speaking French is, very weakly, inversely correlated with the

belief that the respondents' friends are similar to themselves. This in no way indicates that Speaking French is responsible for this correlation, or even that a French speaker is less likely than a speaker of another language to view their friends as similar to themselves.

The closer the correlation is to 1, the stronger the correlation is. Positive numbers indicate that the two traits occur in the same individuals more often than not, while negative numbers indicate that the traits more often than not occur in different individuals. The bold words [**TCK 1**] within a header cell indicates a qualitative answer relating to belonging has been converted into a binary answer classifying it as either a stereotypically TCK answer or not, in which case an TCK-hypothesis confirming answer is assigned the number 1⁵. When dealing with questions of TCK identity, the closer a number is to one, the stronger the relationship to statements classified as indicative of TCK identity. The header has been copied into the top of each page to ease reading. The last page is the bottom right corner of the table, the last seven columns containing only blank cells above row [friends same as you?]. It has been moved to make reading the table easier.

⁵ To see which answers became which numbers, refer to the appendix.

	Verge 15 <i>Speaks French</i>	Speaks Darija <i>Speaks Darija</i>	English <i>as first language</i>	French <i>as first language</i>	Darija <i>as first language</i>	Other <i>first language</i>	<i>only in Rabat</i> <i>Yes 0, no 1</i>	GRADE <i>LEVEL</i>	SCHOOLS	YEARS IN <i>The International School</i>	Geller 36 <i># TIMES MOVED</i>	Who is <i>Similar</i>	Fr <i>as No</i>
aks nch	1.000												
aks ija	0.297	1.000											
aks lish first guage	-0.329	-0.401	1.000										
aks nch first guage	0.140	-0.050	-0.376	1.000									
aks ija as rst guage	0.380	0.609	-0.410	0.143	1.000								
aks er as a t guage	-0.417	-0.244	0.223	-0.108	-0.354	1.000							

<i>nn1</i>	<i>Speaks French</i>	<i>Speaks Darija</i>	<i>English as first language</i>	<i>French as first language</i>	<i>Darija as first language</i>	<i>Other first language</i>	<i>Lived only in Rabat Yes 0, no 1</i>	<i>GRADE LEVEL</i>	<i>SCHOOLS</i>	<i>YEARS IN The International School</i>	<i># TIMES MOVED</i>	<i>Who is Similar TCK 1</i>	<i>Friend you: TCK</i>
only in Yes 0,	-0.397	-0.599	0.318	-0.049	-0.611	0.234	1.000						
DE IL	0.222	0.025	0.000	-0.149	-0.040	0.131	0.040	1.000					
SCHOOLS	-0.053	-0.585	0.201	0.175	-0.405	0.230	0.459	0.155	1.000				
YEARS IN International School	0.283	0.485	-0.169	-0.008	0.404	-0.315	-0.404	0.311	-0.713	1.000			
TIMES MOVED	-0.253	-0.717	0.432	0.054	-0.607	0.054	0.527	0.097	0.580	-0.420	1.000		
Who is Similar TCK 1	0.225	-0.047	-0.168	0.006	0.047	0.006	0.077	0.077	0.071	0.086	-0.037	1.000	

	<i>Speaks French</i>	<i>Speaks Darija</i>	<i>English as first language</i>	<i>French as first language</i>	<i>Darija as first language</i>	<i>Other first language</i>	<i>Lived only in Rabat Yes 0, no 1</i>	<i>GRADE LEVEL</i>	<i>SCHOOLS</i>	<i>YEARS IN The International School</i>	<i># TIMES MOVED</i>	<i>Who is Similar TCK 1</i>	<i>Friendship TCK</i>
Is as No or 1	-0.325	-0.286	0.220	0.039	-0.087	0.147	0.350	-0.147	0.327	-0.210	0.087	0.053	1.00
...TCK? no 0	-0.030	-0.375	0.313	-0.030	-0.267	-0.170	0.522	-0.055	0.304	-0.153	0.430	0.243	0.23
E in ? Yes 0	-0.301	-0.453	0.209	-0.072	-0.332	0.237	0.473	0.149	0.250	-0.191	0.354	0.015	0.32
...t good grants? Yes 1	-0.142	-0.075	0.042	0.300	-0.093	0.192	0.049	-0.079	0.223	-0.303	0.147	-0.062	-0.01
...eco need nts? no 1,	-0.181	0.056	0.176	0.322	-0.077	0.047	0.130	-0.315	-0.113	0.053	-0.094	-0.111	0.20
...g TCK 1, other	-0.309	-0.318	0.423	-0.378	-0.310	0.318	0.474	0.310	0.363	-0.219	0.251	0.145	0.30
...y normal where no 0	-0.307	-0.041	0.376	-0.410	-0.231	-0.089	0.208	0.032	0.046	0.113	0.175	0.000	-0.01

<i>Column 1</i>	<i>Friends as you? No or TCK 1</i>	<i>Home TCK? Yes 1 no 0</i>	<i>HOME in Rabat? Yes 0 no 1</i>	<i>Rabat good for migrants? No 0 Yes 1</i>	<i>Morocco need migrants? no 0, yes 1,</i>	<i>Belong TCK NTAS 1, other 0</i>	<i>Family normal somewhere no 1, yes 0</i>
Friends as you? No or TCK 1	1.000						
Home TCK? Yes 1 no 0	0.232	1.000					
HOME in Rabat? Yes 0 no 1	0.320	0.448	1.000				
Rabat good for migrants? No 0 Yes 1	-0.060	0.300	0.099	1.000			
Morocco need migrants? no 0, yes 1,	-0.203	0.049	0.127	0.183	1.000		
Belong TCK NTAS 1, other 0	-0.302	0.508	0.378	0.063	0.188	1.000	
Family normal somewhere no 1, yes 0	-0.020	0.309	0.158	-0.203	-0.083	0.200	1.000

Analysis

The correlations above are overwhelmingly weak. As expected, nothing is strong enough to disprove a null hypothesis. The strongest negative correlation is an inverse relationship between number of times one's family has moved and the subject speaking Darija. The strongest positive correlations are between knowing a language and it being the subject's first. The second strongest is a weak, but not extremely weak correlation between a TCK-indicative answer to having a place the subject belongs, and a TCK-indicative answer to where the subject calls home. This is not surprising or conclusive, but at least confirms that the method used to label one response TCK-indicative or not was likely internally consistent.

Concerns/Flaws

The flaws with this sample are many, from the inadvisability of using quantitative analytics on small sample sizes to translation errors. This is why it is imperative the reader interpret this as a pilot study to be corrected and reimagined by a future researcher.

Firstly, the questions themselves are not rigorously chosen. The IDI Cross Cultural Competency Test on which some questions were based has been shown to be deeply flawed, lacking predictiveness, environmental validity, and concordant validity (Matsumoto, and Hwang 2013). This calls into question the relevance of any question inspired by it.

In order to be representative of International Education in Rabat, this study needed more than one school and a much greater linguistic diversity of students. The fact that it is but one school undermines this paper's ability to claim it provides information about in Rabat, as the individual culture of any one school or class may vary widely.

Also, the fact that almost all the surveys were answered in English indicates that there was either not enough time provided to the students, or not enough incentive to complete the survey.

Another failing of the questionnaire is that it does not contain a question about passport nationality, which is essential to understanding an individual's migratory power. Similarly, it failed to ask whether each student self-identified as a local or an international student, or both. This would certainly be an important part of their identity, as school administrators brought up the dichotomy more than once in interviews.

Conclusion

Because this is a pilot study, all conclusions are tentative. However, in the course of this research it has been demonstrated that language plays a profound role in a child, particularly a child student's experience of international culture. Rabat, the capital of Morocco, is modeled as an excellent location for field work on language, identity and power in international education, because the linguistic variables are well studied. A survey method for teasing out deliberately complex identities is piloted, finding that a great deal of time is needed, and multiple language answers. Nevertheless, the information drawn from the survey suggests that most answers associated with salience of Third Culture Kid identity are only very loosely correlated with language, or even the number of times a respondent has moved.

Because of the small sample size, this study cannot draw conclusions, but the results tentatively suggest that TCK identity salience may not be influenced heavily by language, at least in the context of Rabat. If future researchers confirmed this finding, it would challenge Tanu's assertion the power dynamics embedded in language and race are central to whether or not an individual forms a TCK identity. It would also challenge Cottrell's assertion that TCK identity is broadly applicable across internationally mobile childhood, suggesting instead that there is some non-demographic feature within an individual which determines the level to which they internalize a TCK identity.

Future researchers may now refine this method and combine more in-depth fieldwork with questionnaires to tease out the importance of language to Third Culture identity, and by extension, examine the possibility of a globe united not just in difference, but by diversity.

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Appendix I: Student Feedback on Survey

In the body of the paper I omitted two survey questions irrelevant to the results:

What are things I could have done better? What are problems with the survey?

Because the questionnaire deals with sensitive topics such as personal identity and homesickness, and also contains finite language and finite time to explain, it is ethically imperative to give the research subject a space in which to talk back to the researcher. This is intended both to test for possible problems with research methods, and to empower the studied to take their voice into their own hands as much as possible, leaving the researcher vulnerable to the subject as the subject has been to the researcher.

For safety and comfort, critics can speak back from a position of absolute anonymity, without even individuating numbers. Positive feedback is not included here.

“I don’t understand what it asks for me (a local student)”

“I have no idea what to say about immigrants in Morocco”

“Hire someone who speaks French to do the French parts and a person who speaks Arabic to do the Arabic ☺”

“Not enough about culture”

“Some questions are very weird”

“Questionnaire is too broad- could be interpreted many ways”

“Number 11 doesn’t make sense”

“Be more specific”

“There should be more languages available”

“I wish it had been more than yes/no questions”

Appendix II:

Results Matrices

See below

Verge 15

24 I'm very Diverse	y	y
White girls, because they act most similar to me	y	y
31 people interested in sports	y	y
32 people who grew up with me	y	y
29/	/	/
41 North Africa	no	no
40 depends	many ways: equally correct	no (maybe politely)
39 Moroccans as I can relate to them	y	y
35 Other diplomat's kids, probably People that have the same religion and beliefs and people that grew up with them	no	sort of
37 family/friends	no	n
26 White girls, because they all act the same	no	yes
27 other students spending lives in international school	no	n
Those placed in a situation similar to mine, where they travel due to their parent's job	n	no
36 People from the same culture/religion	n	n
34 Muslims	n	y
33 My friends and family growing up	y	y
38/ My family, hardworking academic students, adventurous, sense of humour types of groups, my family because they raised me with their morals, ethics, manners	n	y/n
Movie lovers, artists, food lovers, compassionate people, a different but good sense of humour	y	n
9 people interested in sports who play video games	n	y
21 only group of friends because I used to see them very often	n	y
The people of what country I am living in as I intend to adapt to their cultural norms and standards	n	n
11 Moroccan people because we're from the same country	no	yes
14 Indians I'm Indian	no	no
19/	n	n
20/	no	n
17 morocco and international people	n	y
I know few people who I am similar to. My family	no	yes
8/ People interested in sports, current events	n	y
18/	no	y
We are constantly changing based on what we consume and who's around us so probably my brothers and parents because I'm around them and close to them, but even then, we're not that similar.	y	y and no

Geller 49

Relatively Speaking, we are all similar in a way	my house
They act similarly but we look different	Wherever my dog is
some of them, but every human being is different sometimes	where my family is: currently Morocco Fam & MOR Home is where in with you Oww home let me come home *music notation*
/	/
no, but we all have north African origins	Morocco, my house
Yes, as I pick my friends y, Arabs	Bahrain Ketama
kind of, we have similar senses of humour but we're from different places and walks of life	wherever im living at the time
many similarities, many differences	Rabat
not necessarily ish- because I surround myself with different types of people	where my family is where my dog is a place where I feel
no, I don't like to restrict myself to a specific set of ideas	emotionally, physically and spiritually satisfied
yes, because they have traveled around the world	where I live at the moment
common interests	where school is
no, we complement each other	
yes, in society we could be considered identical, but our personalities differ	Morocco
not really, no one is the same	wherever family is
We share different beliefs and enjoy different activities, but our personalities are somewhat parallel.	Oahu, Hawaii
absolutely not. They are all like I described in question 1, but some are introverts while I see myself as an extrovert.	I used to think Virginia... I don't know anymore
y "gamers" "like sports"	a place of safety
y because we believe the same things	my house in rabat
no, that would make for boring conversation	I don't know
yes, because we can relate to each other	Rabat
no, everyone is brought up differently and not the same	India
no, because every single person is different	Rabat
n	wherever I live
y	Where you feel comfortable
They are not, because they are less ambitious, take their work less seriously, and are somewhat scared of the world	wherever I can thrive- so my own personal home, and school
not really, each one is different	Fez
no, because not every has to be the same	where you are comfortable at
y	rabat
no. They just aren't. We think differently. Some of our opinions and actions are similar but our perspectives and the way we approach life is unique	at my house here in Rabat along with my family

izza	Consider how many we have, the answer must be yes *laughing emoji* better than where they came from so yes	I think we have enough immigrants	No need to visit, because I am from here, and so is my family	Yes, with my family
asta		Don't know	Every Summer	America; with my friends; at school generally everywhere, wherever my family is. Germany sometimes MOR
izza	/	/	y	/
asta	/	/	y	/
hicken	y	no, except people that can work and are useful	y	Mor
rac and cheese	n	no,	y	y, Bahrain
McDonalds	n	n	y	my house
chka	sure	maybe, depending of economic sense y no, because we already have a lot and many poor people as well		school, maybe, but not really
ushi	no		from time to time	yes, my house
isagna	Yes, considering the number of migrants we have here	/	y	y, Mor
izza	no	I don't think so	yes,	yes, pizza hut
izza	no, they tend to be mistreated unless they hold a high position	yes, to help the development of society	I have visited the south oof morocco	yes, surrounded by friends an family no particular place, although the people im with affect it
apanese	/	/	yes, every summer	
ny country's he place I've lived in Longest- mirates	y	yes, and it is good because the mentality is close minded	n	no
ice and Beef izza	Chicken no, quality of life is not good for people who cannot sustain themselves and their family	n Morocco doesn't necessarily need more migrants, but they could be good for morocco to develop.	n, yes	y, Abu Dhabi, Emirates
asta, Chine=ese, Mexican food. also ushi	y	Immigrants help the economy increase. They can also bring aid to the country.	I live in it y	Rabat at home
uesadilla	it can be for a person who can easily amuse and entertain themselves without going out. Not for me.	yes	I already have, but I would like to go to china where I was born	Hawaii/China
pple pie	yes, exposed to culture, nature, easy to travel	/	every year. sometimes, when we're homesick, visiting family	I feel like I belong back in Virginia yes, where I can interact with people over the internet
ushi	y	y/n	y	Rabat
moked salmon	It depends on where you are from originally and your economic status	no but the culture towards migrants yes, because it brings diversity to morocco	yes 1-2 a year, India, Denmark, USA	A soccer field. It is the one thing I can access anywhere in the world
McDonalds	yes		yes	Rabat
ried Chicken	Not really. Lots of language complications	perhaps, it'll make it more diverse	yes, every year or so	Vancouver, Canada
ushi	yes	yes	yes	yes, Rabat
o not have one n arabic) Tagine deyal Dejjaj	kind of yes	I don't know don't need it because there is already yes	yes	/ Bowmika
one	yes, fairly open community	yes, more biodiversity, more knowledge, more outside investment I think Morocco is good for the moment with immigrants, it is hard to handle immigrants if you don't have the infrastructure	yes	yes, my own home country
ousCous lachs	No, because we are not very developed to welcome immigrants yes	yes	yes, of course, Fez yes, of course!	Fez, Morocco or Orlando, Florida nope
alian	no	yes. Depends {Economy=yes political=no cultural=yes}	yes	Miami

					I don't know but I think it depends on the person. Based on the people I've met, those who don't like it here say it's because the school is bad and Morocco is not developed. Sometimes there is ignorance and some people happen to meet Moroccans who call all sAians "Ehinius", and stretch their eyes.	I don't know enough about the subject, but yes, I think immigrants are good for Morocco-More diversity, more space for influence and change and open-mindedness					with my family- the cheesy answer. But I also feel like I belong when people have the same sense of humour as me.
	ondant au chocolat avec glace a la anille										
24	Yes		Rabat	16	Yes, because all of the mistakes, unfortunately.	South Africa, US, France, UAE, Cyprus, Oman,	11Here	3 schools	Cantonese	Morocco and France	
30	America	No	France	16		Morocco, Norway, Belgium, Germany,	11Morocco		6English	France	
31	/	no	Germany	17		Morocco	11Morocco		4German/English	Germany	
32	/	/	MOR	17		Rabat, Paris, D.C., Aix-en-Provence, Marseille,	11Rabat		1/	Mor	
29	/	no	France	16		Virginia	11Virginia		9En	France	
41	Mor	y	France	17		Mor	11Mor		4fr	Mor	
40	/	y	Jordan	16		Bahrain, Mor,	11Bahrain, Mor,		4/	Jordan	
39	n	y	rabat	17		Rabat	11Rabat		2Darija	Mor	
					in my country of origin, maybe	Bangladesh, India, Myanmar,	11USA, Morocco		8English/Bengali	Bangladesh	
37	/	no	Rabat	18		Rabat	11Rabat		1Darija	Mor	
					yes, bad spelling in French	Laayoune	11Mor		7French	Meknes	
26	/		Laayoune	17		Mor	11Mor		7French	Meknes	
27	yes	no	Virginia	16		planet earth	11planet earth		8English	Tunisia	
						London, Rabat,	11Casablanca		1English	Casablanca	
28	yes	y	Casablanca	16		Casablanca, Japan, Argentina, Tanzania, Gabon, France,	11Casablanca		1English	Casablanca	
					no, because in Japan we are different and abroad we are foreigners	Fukuoka, Japan	11Mor		9English	Japan	
16		y	Fukuoka, Japan	16		Mor	11Mor		9English	Japan	
36	n	y	Syria	17		Syria, Spain, Syria,	11Morocco		3English	Syria	
34	Everywhere	/	Beirut	6		Emirates, Rabat	11Emirates, Rabat		4Arabic	Lebanon	
						Orlando, Florida, USA	11Rabat		1English	Morocco	
33	yes	y	Rabat	17		Rabat	11Rabat		1English	Morocco	
38	home	y	Rabat	17		Rabat	11Rabat		1English	morocco	
10	Hawaii/Chile	y	china	16		Mexica, Qatar	10Mexico, Qatar		2Spanish	Chie	
					I can't describe my family as normal mom wants me to stay here, I want to leave.						
9	Not really.	yes,	Virginia	15		Virginia + Rabat	10Virginia + Rabat		2English	North Carolina	
21	/	/	Canada	16		morocco	10morocco		3French	Canada	
5	anywhere	no	Canada	16		Rabat	10Rabat		2French	Morocco	
						Manilla, Philippines, Manchester NH, Amman Jordan, Fairfax Virginia,	10Rabat				
11	n	no	US	10	Elliot hospital, Manchester, NH, 15 years, 6 months	Singapore, Abu	10Singapore, Abu		5English	New Delhi, India (birthplace, US citizen)	

						Dhabi, UAE, Rabat Morocco		
14	yes	no	/	/	/	here	/	Italian /
12	yes	no		South Korea, Seoul	16	10Morocco	7English	India
19	yes	yes		Canada, Montreal	16	10morocco	6French	Morocco
20	/	/		Sierra Leon	15	10Mali, Morocco	3English	Italy
17	yes	/		Rabat	16	10Rabat	2Spanish	Morocco
7	middle to higher class	yes		Rabat	16	10Morocco only	4English (easiest)	Morocco
8	/	no		Orlando, Florida, USA	16	10Morocco	2English	Morocco
18	/	y		London	16	10Rabat	4Arabic	Kuwait
4	/	yup		Rabat	16	10Rabat only	3English	Fez
6	We are normal everywhere	I didn't have them		Morocco	16	10Morocco	5-Apruglier, but meh	Morocco

English, French, Arabic	Morocco, FR	12childhood	UK	childhood	5	2
English, French, Spanish	USA, CA	Baby (EN, Fr) 3grade 7,8, 11 SP	USA or Southern Africa	Wildlife vet, Pro Soccer player	36 or 7	
German, English, Spanish	ger	2childhood	/	/	5?	
English, French, Arabic	Mor	12baby	Mor	/	30	1
English, French, Spanish	Fr	0.5/	/	/	3	9
Amazight, French, Arabic, English	Tunisia	baby: Amazight, French 6-Arabic 314-English	Holland	good salary and interesting	5	1
English, Arabic, French	Jordan	2childhood	London	/	3once	
French, English, Darija, Arabic	Mor	13kid	Mor	business man	3	0
Bengali, English, Hindi, French and Spanish	Bangladesh	less than a year	home school surroundings	maybe USA	/	5
French, Darija, English	Mor	14baby	morocco	/	5	0
Auee, French, Arabic, English	Laayoune	French since 4 English 2 years Zago	/	/	/	4

English, French	Tunisia		1elementary	New York	/		4	4
English, French, Arabic	Fez		13English 3	Arabic 1 French 2 USA or Southern Africa	/		6	2
English, Japanese, French, English	Japan		2	Japanese: Japan, English: Tanzania, Spanish: Argentina,	US or Japan	/	6	5
Arabic, English, Spanish	Syria		7	childhood	Europe	office job	4	3
English, Arabic, French	Greece/Lebanon		3	childhood	Emirates	Cardiovascular surgeon	8	1
French, Arabic, English	Morocco and Russia		13	English at 4	USA, then back to Rabat	Economics or Engineering related	3	6
English, Polish, French, Arabic	Poland		13	school and home	USA	Doctor	3	0
English, Spanish	Hawaii		4/		Hawaii	astronomer	3	3
English, French, Arabic	Salé, Morocco		8	childhood	U.S., Seattle or D.C.	lawyer	4	4
French, English, soon a little Spanish	Canada		3	childhood	English at school, French from Germany, Finland, Canada	/	5	6
French, English, Arabic	Morocco		2	always	Morocco	/	3	0
2.5 English, Mandarin, Spanish	Chicago, Illinois, Danish citizen		2	Spanish	LA or New York	Lawyer	4	6
/	/	/	/	home: Hindi, Serbia: India-English Hindi	Rabat	soccer player	/	/
English, Hindi	India	4 months			Vancouver, Canada	Software engineer	3	6
French, English, Moroccan	Morocco	Almost 2		in Canada	Canada	/	2	2
English, French Italian	Guinea		6	childhood	/	/	4	2
Arabic, French, English	Morocco	3 years		Arabic at birth, French after, English 4th grade morocco	/	good		3
French, English, Arabic	Morocco		6	ago at Ras	/	entrepreneur	8	0
Spanish, English, French, Arabic	Morocco	3 years		Morocco	U.S. or Spain	business man	6 (good)	2
English, Arabic, Spanish	Kuwait	Continuing my 1st		English and Arabic as a child	Kuwait	embassy or Real Estate	6	2
Arabic, French, English	Marrakesh		6	young age	Miami	Lawyer	well	never
Arabic (Fusha), French, English / Darija	Morocco		6	English-5th grade elsewhere	where I feel comfortable, whether that's here or elsewhere	/	8	1

Appendix III

Results Modified to Quantifiable form

Questionnaire Number	Speaks French	Speaks Darija	Speaks English as a first language	Speaks French as a first language	Speaks Darija as a first language	Speaks other as a first language	Lived only in Rabat Yes 0, no 1	GRADE LEVEL	#SCHOOLS	YEARS IN The International School	#TIMES MOVED	Who is Similar to TCK 1	Friends as you? No or TCK 1	Home TCK? Yes 1 no 0	HOME in Rabat? Yes 0 no 1	Rabat good for migrants? No 0 Yes 1	Morocco need migrants? no 0, yes 1,	Belonging TCK NTA S1, other 0	Family normal somewhere no 1, yes 0
24	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	11	3	12	2	1	0.5	1	0	1	0	0	0
30	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	11	6	3	7	0	0.5	1	1	1	0.5	0	0
31	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	11	4	2	5	0	0.5	0	1			1	
32	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	11	1	12	1	1	0.5	0	1			0	
29	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	11	9	0.5	9			1	1	1			
41	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	11	4	3	1	0	0.5	0	0	1	0	0	0
40	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	11	4	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
39	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	11	2	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
35	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	11	8	0	5	1	0.5	1	1	1	0.5	1	0
37	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	11	1	14	0	0	0.5	0	1	0	0	0	0
26	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	11	7	2	4	0	0.5	0	1	1		0	
27	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	11	8	1	4	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
28	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	11	1	13	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
16	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	11	9	2	5	1	1	1	1			1	1
36	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	11	3	7	3	0	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	11	4	3	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.5	0	0
33	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	11	1	13	6	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	11	1	13	0	0.5	0	1	1	1	0	0
10	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	10	2	4	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
9	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	10	2	8	4	0	0.5	1	1	0	1	0	1
21	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	10	3	3	6	0	0	1	1	1		0	
5	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	10	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5	0	0
11	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	10	5	2	6	1	1	1	1	0.5	0	0	1
14	/	/	/	/	/	/	0	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
12	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	10	7	0	6	0	1	0	1	0	0.5	0	0
19	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	10	6	1	2		0.5	0	0	1	1	0	0
20	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	10	3	6	2		1	1	1	0.5	0.5		
17	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	10	2	3	3	1	0	1	1	1	0		0
7	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	10	4	6	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
8	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	10	2	3	2		1	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	10	4	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	10	3	6	0		0	0	0	0	1	0	
6	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	10	/	6	1	1	1	0	0	0.5	1	0	0
13	1	0	0	1	0	0		/	/	/	/	1	0.5	/		0	1		0

Appendix IV: Questionnaire as issued to students

CONSENT FORM

1. Brief description of the purpose of this study

The purpose of this study is toUnderstand better how International School Students in Rabat feel about “Home.”

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2. Rights Notice

In an endeavor to uphold the ethical standards of all SIT ISP proposals, this study has been reviewed and approved by a Local Review Board or SIT Institutional Review Board. If at any time, you feel that you are at risk or exposed to unreasonable harm, you may terminate and stop the interview. Please take some time to carefully read the statements provided below.

a. Privacy-all information you present in this interview may be recorded and safeguarded. If you do not want the information recorded, you need to let the interviewer know.

b. Anonymity-all names in this study will be kept anonymous unless the participant chooses otherwise.

c. Confidentiality-all names will remain completely confidential and fully protected by the interviewer. By signing below, you give the interviewer full responsibility to uphold this contract and its contents. The interviewer will also sign a copy of this contract and give it to the participant.

Participant’s name printed

Participant’s signature and date

- 1) What group of people is most similar to you, Why?

- 2) Is there a correct way to clean a house? _____
- 3) Is there a correct way to speak? _____
- 4) Are your friends the same as you? Why? _____

- 5) Where is Home? _____

- 6) What is your favourite food? _____

- 7) Is Rabat a good place for migrants?

- 8) Does Morocco need more immigrants? Are immigrants good for Morocco?

- 9) Do you visit the place that you or your family comes from?

- 10) Is there a place where you feel like you belong? Where is it?

- 11) Is there a place in society where you feel that your family is normal?

- 12) Did you notice the questions are not quite the same in the other languages?

13) This is your space to tell me what is wrong with this questionnaire. Any other questions you wish had been asked, or asked differently? Is there an idea that doesn't translate well?

And now, Demographics:

13) Where were you born?

14) How old are you?

15) What Grade are you in?

16) Where have you lived?

17) How many schools have you studied in?

18) What is your favorite language?

19) Where is your father from?

20) How many Languages do you speak? Which ones?

21) Where is your mother from?

22) How many years have you been going to this school?

23) When did you learn each language?

24) Where do you want to live when you grow up?

25) What job do you want to have?

26) How people live in your house?

27) How many times have you moved?

- 1) Quels sont les gens qui te ressemblent où de ton genre?
- 2) Quel est le bon moyen pour nettoyer la maison?
- 3) Y a-t-elle meilleure façon de parler?
- 4) Est-ce que tes amis te ressemblent? Et pourquoi?
- 5) Où est ta patrie? Où tu es né?
- 6) Ton plat préféré?
- 7) Est-ce que Rabat une ville idéale pour y vivre un immigré?
- 8) Est-ce que le Maroc a besoin d'autres immigrants?
- 9) Ton pays d'origine te manque?
- 10) Tu te sens aliéné?
- 11) Est-ce que ta famille te sent intégré et faisant partie de la communauté .?

Démographie:

- 12) As tu des préférences en termes d'appartenance vis à vis d'une communauté?
- 13) Où tu es né?
- 14) Quel âge a tu?
- 15) Quel est ton niveau d'étude?
- 16) Les écoles où tu as étudié?
- 17) Ta langue préférée?
- 18) De quelle région est ton père?
- 19) Les langues que tu parles?
- 20) Combien d'années tu as étudié en cette école?
- 21) De quelle ville est ta mère?
- 22) Où tu as appris tous ces langues ?
- 23) Où tu veux vivre quand tu seras grand?
- 24) Que veux tu devenir quand tu seras grand?
- 25) Combien de personnes vivent dans ta maison?
- 26) Combien de fois tu as déménagé?

- 1) شكون هما الناس لي كيشبهوك او فراب ليك؟
- 2) واش كاينه شي طريقة مزياته باش تنظف المنزل ؟
- 3) واش كاينه طريقة مزيانة للهضرة
- 4) واش صحابك بحالك؟ وعلاش؟
- 5) فين هي بلادك؟ و فين تولدت؟
- 6) الماكلة لي كتبغي؟
- 7) واش الرباط مدينه مزياته لمهاجر يعيش فيها؟
- 8) واش المغرب مزال محتاج لمهاجرين واحدا خرين؟
- 9) واش تحشتي بلادك؟
- 10) واش كتخس براسك غريب هنا؟
- 11) واش باين ليك راك ولقتي وصبحتي من هذه البلاد؟
- 12) واش تبيان كاين شي بلاصه ولا مجتمع حسن تقدر تولي منو؟

- 13) فين تولدتي؟
- 14) شحال عمرك؟
- 15) فين واصل في القرايه؟
- 16) المدرسات لي قرיתי فيها؟
- 17) اللغة لي كتبغي؟
- 18) من اين بلاصه باباك؟
- 19) اللغات لي كتهضر بها؟
- 20) شحال من عام قرיתי هنا؟ في هاد المدرسة؟
- 21) من اين مدينه ماماك؟
- 22) فين تعلمتي كل هد اللغات؟
- 23) فين بغيتي تعيش مين تكبر؟
- 24) شنو بغيتي تكون مين تكبر؟
- 25) شحال من واحد كيسكن في دارك؟
- 26) شحال من مرة رحلتي؟

- (1) اي فئة من الناس تُشبهك اكثر؟
- (2) اي فئة من الناس تُشبهك اكثر أو الاقرب اليك؟
- (3) هل هنالك طريقة صحيحة لتنظيف المنزل؟
- (4) هل هنالك طريقة افضل للتكلم؟
- (5) هل اصدقائك مثلك؟ لماذا؟
- (6) أين هو وطنك؟ (مسقط رأسك؟)
- (7) هل اجرباط مكان جيد ججغبس كمحاجر؟
- (8) هل بح تاج آل غرب إلى مهاجرين أحرين؟
- (9) هل تشتاي الى بلدك الأم؟ [ام] هل تشتاي ب الغربية ها؟
- (10) هل هناك مكان مجتمع قد تننبا اليص؟
- (11) هل عطن أنك تتأ علم او تنتمي اليص؟

12) طَعَامُكَ المفضل؟

التركيبة السكانية:

13) أين وُلدت؟

14) كم عمرك؟

15) ما هو مستواك الدراسي؟ مستواك الدرما هو مستواك الدراسي؟

16) الاماكن التي سكنت فيها؟

17) عدد المدارس التي درست فيها؟

18) لغتك المفضلة؟

19) من أي منطقة أبوك؟

20) اللغات التي، تتكلم بها؟

21) كم سنة تدرس؟ هنا؟ (في هذه المدرسة)

22) من أي مدينة أمك؟

23) أين تعلمت كل لغة؟

24) أين تريد أن تعيش عندما تكبر؟

25) ماذا تريد أن تكون عندما تكبر؟

26) كم شخصا يعيش في منزلك؟

27) كم عدد المرات إنتقلت من منزل لآخر؟