THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION OF TCKS

Presented to the 1998 Phi Beta Delta Annual Conference
Cholula, Mexico

Ann Baker Cottrell
Department of Sociology
San Diego State University

Most discussions of study outside the US focus on study abroad at the college level. Scant attention is paid to Americans who receive some or all of their elementary and/or secondary education outside the US. Yet it is estimated that approximately four million Americans have studied at American schools outside the US. [1] And even more have studied in other countries' schools. This paper describes the overseas elementary and secondary school education of one group of Americans, Third Culture Kids (TCKs), and looks at how international dimensions are subsequently woven into their college and university careers. I will begin by providing some background: defining third culture and third culture kids, describing the study on which this paper is based, and briefly describing developments in provision for the overseas education of American children.

Background

Third Culture and TCKs

The term third culture was coined by John and Ruth Hill Useem "as a generic term to cover the styles of life created, shared, and learned by persons who are in the process of relating their societies, or sections thereof to each other." [2] Specific third cultures develop in different historical, national or occupational settings. For example there are: colonial third cultures and contemporary post cold war third cultures; Indian-American and Brazilian-Japanese bi-national third cultures; diplomatic, religious and business third cultures. While each has its own

[1] Estimate provided by the Americans Overseas Schools Historical Association
[2] Useem (1993). Reprinted in Cottrell and Useem (1996)

vocabulary, customs and so on, individuals acculturated in one third culture find much in common with those who have experienced other third cultures.

Third Culture Kids (TCKs) are children who spend at least some of their child and/or teen years outside their country of citizenship because of a parent's overseas employment. I say outside one's country of citizenship to remind you that there are Japanese, French and Mexican TCKs as well as Americans, the subject of this discussion. It is important to emphasize the nature of their overseas experience, for these TCKs are similar to, but significantly different from immigrants with whom they are often confused. I wish to emphasize that their parents are working abroad in representational roles; they are working outside the US for the American government, the military, churches and businesses. In addition these third culture parents are abroad on sabbaticals, as exchange teachers, working for NGOs, for the UN or the media. In other words, while living abroad these Americans are in roles which identify them as Americans and therefore to a large degree structure the nature of their involvement in their countries of residence.

The data in this paper are from an on-going study the Useems and I are doing of American adult TCKs, i.e., adults who spent some of their childhood years outside the US as dependents of an American parent working abroad. This topic is of such interest to adult TCKs that we were swamped with responses to our call for participants; in fact people called us asking to participate. This paper is based on the responses of 604 American TCKs who lived abroad in Post W.W.II third cultures. Respondents are classified into one of five parent sponsor categories: Government (e.g. foreign service, AID), Military, Missionary, Business and Other (primarily academics, but also including international organizations, NGOs, media).

Third Culture Schooling

For several centuries individuals representing one country, primarily the world's dominant nations, have lived and worked in other parts of the world, a phenomenon which has exploded since W.W.II and especially since the 1960s. Early American diplomats typically educated their children in boarding schools "at home," while the missionaries were more likely to home school their children or send them to mission boarding schools outside the US. As the number of Americans working abroad has increased, so too has the number abroad with children who want American schools near their place of work. The US government responded. In 1945 the US military forces began to open schools associated with military bases which evolved to the Department of Defense Dependents Schools (DODDS) system. Beginning 1961 the US State Department began to assist some schools in other countries in support of US government dependents' education. These schools are

independently owned and have multinational student bodies. As more people from all countries worked abroad in businesses, educational and scientific institutions those businesses, universities etc. also established schools for their international families. The number of private secular and religious schools serving expatriate families has also exploded in the last half of the 20th century. While the number of schools available grew, so did frustration over the lack of curricular consistency in these schools. This concern led, in the 1960s, to the development of the International Baccalaureate program, a common curriculum and university entry credential for geographically mobile students, which is now offered at schools in 94 different countries.[3]

The Overseas Education of American TCKs

Living Abroad

An important part of TCKs' international education comes from the experience of living in another country. Respondents in this study had lived outside the US from one to 18 years. Two-thirds were abroad six plus years and nearly one-quarter for most of their childhood -- 11 or more years; most were abroad during the important teen years [4] Most (60%) lived in more than one country outside the US, and nearly one-third had family homes or attended school in three or more different countries abroad. For many, global mobility involved not only in different countries, but completely different cultural regions as well as these two TCK histories illustrate:

15 years - Venezuela, Cuba, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Libya, US (father with oil company)

10 years - Israel, Spain, Costa Rica, Mexico, Paraguay, El Salvador, Netherlands, Norway, US. (father in Foreign Service)

A TCK's overseas experience is strongly influenced by the parent's sponsor because the sponsor largely determines where families are likely to live, how long, and how often they move.

- "Others," in this study, were most likely be short-termers (43% abroad one to two years, 70% no more than five), experiencing only one country.[5] For most in the "other" category the overseas experience was an exotic interlude in their American lives.
- Missionaries are at the other extreme in terms of time overseas; none were abroad for less than three years, while fully two-thirds lived abroad 11 plus years. However, missionaries were even more likely than the "others" to have lived in only one country; three-quarters lived in just one.

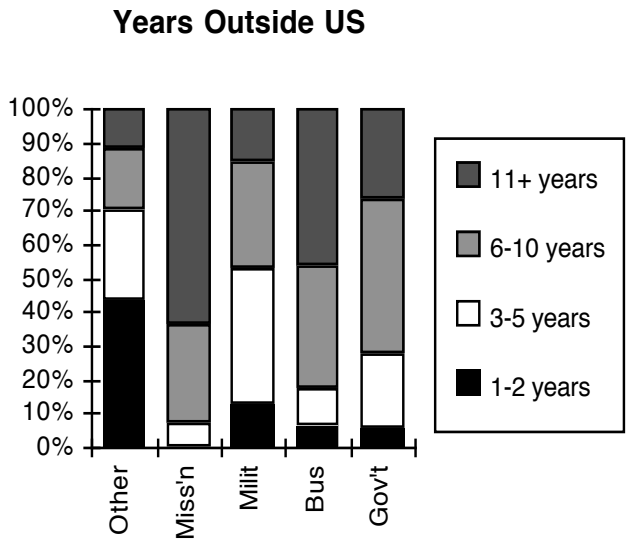
---

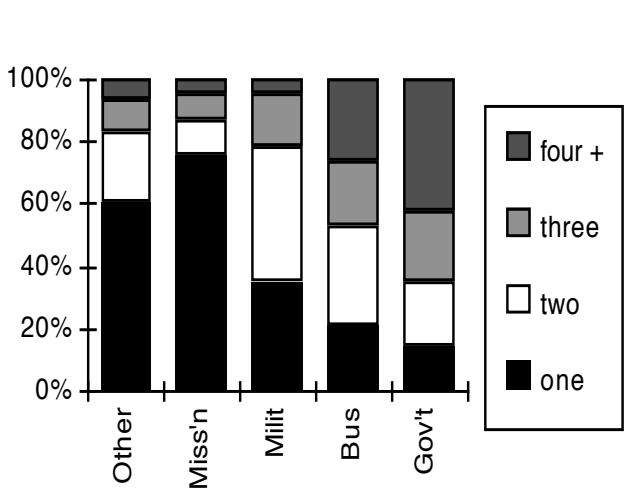
[3] see the IBO web page at www.ibo.org

[4] Distribution of sample may not accurately represent American TCKs because those who have been most affected by the experience -- those who have been abroad for many years and especially as teens-- are most likely volunteer for a study on the long term implications of a childhood overseas.

[5] The "other" category in this study has a disproportionate number of academics for whom one or two sabbatical or research tours overseas is typical. Therefore the picture of the "other" category may be misleading. Others in this sponsor category, such as families abroad with CARE or WHO had patterns more like those of business or government families.

In other words, for most of the MKs [6] in this study home was not the US. The US was someplace one heard stories about, a place one might have spent a year's furlong.

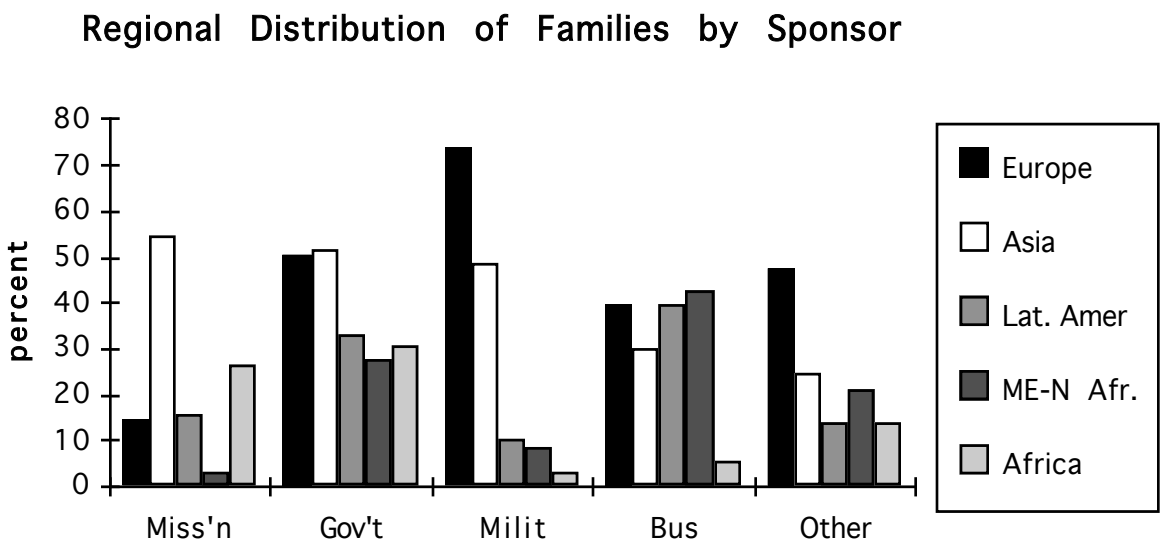




- Military families were most mobile, but not primarily overseas; 41% were abroad for three to five years -- one or two tours in one or two countries. For military brats the overseas posting/s were business as usual in a highly mobile life, although that business might be taking place in unfamiliar surroundings.
- Business families were almost as likely as missionaries to be overseas for long periods; like the missionaries 80% were abroad six years or more, but fewer for more than 11. The most evenly distributed according to the number of countries lived in, business dependents, for the most part, do not consider the US as their childhood home, but fewer identify with a single country than do missionaries.
- Government dependents, especially those in foreign service, take the prize for global mobility. Nearly three-quarters were abroad six or more years. But because State Department assignments regularly include Washington, DC, only a quarter were abroad more than 11 years. Where government dependents stand out from the other long-termers is the number of countries in which they lived or went to school outside the US; over 40% lived in four or more countries. Nearly all

[6] Terms used by the respondents to describe themselves are used in this paper. Missionary children almost universally refer to themselves as MKs (missionary kids). Military dependents often refer to themselves as "brats" e.g. "Army brats." The ubiquity of this term is seen in its use for names of organizations --"Overseas Brats" which is primarily for alumni of DoDDS schools- and books such as Truscott's *Brats* and Wertsch's *Military Brats* . While one respondent referred to himself as a "Sears Kid," such terminology is not widespread among business or other sponsor groups. There TCK is the most common term, if any is applied. A more recent term for TCKs collectively is Global Nomad, introduced by the founding of an organization with that name.

the extreme cases -- six, seven or eight countries-- were government families, and as mentioned before, these were likely to be in very different regions of the world. Government TCKs are most likely to be able to agree with sentiments such as "I feel at home everywhere and nowhere," and "where I feel most at home is where I am foreign," in contrast to the MK who probably feels most at home in Colombia or Kenya, for example.



American TCKs can be found in most countries of the world, though their experiences reflect US international involvement at their time in history.[7] The strained to non-existent relations between the US and the major Communist powers after W.W.II is reflected in the fact that almost none in this study had lived in the former USSR, and relatively few were in mainland China, home to many of our pre-W.W.II respondents. This sample is most likely to have lived in Western Europe; half (51%) lived in there at least once, reflecting America's high level of diplomatic, military, business and educational ties with that part of the world. This is especially true of military dependents. Asia is the second most common place for these TCKs (44%); missionaries and military are most likely to have lived in Asia. One in five of this sample have lived in Latin America and the same proportion in the Middle East- North Africa. Business and government families are the most likely to have lived in these regions. Again reflecting America's international involvement, these TCKs had the least experience in Africa of the major continents. Government dependents and missionary kids were by far most likely to experience that part of the world

[7] Because respondents were at least 25 in the early 1990s this represents the distribution of American families abroad between WWII and the mid 1980s; it does not reflect recent changes in the global system including the break up and opening of Soviet bloc countries, the closing of many US military bases abroad, and changing political relationships which have closed some countries to US citizens.

TCKs' overseas experiences varied not only with length and location overseas, but degree and nature of involvement in local community as well. Some were the only Americans in the area and the only Americans in the local school. In contrast, most but not all, military families lived in a microcosm of American society overseas. While many missionary families were "up country," highly involved in local communities, one MK reminds us that this is not always the case. He hoped his family would be reassigned to a village following their US furlough, but instead they lived in Quito in "a concentrated foreign presence that included the HCJB World Radio compound, Hospital Vozandes, the Alliance Academy and .. an English Fellowship Church.".[8]

Yet it is clear from the responses in this study, that even those whose lives centered on American communities and institutions abroad were not unaffected by the experience; living outside the US was an educational experience at some level. Answers to our question "what was best about living abroad" sound like those of study abroad students, indicating that much of the learning takes place outside the classroom as illustrated by the following responses: exposure to new cultures, becoming fluent in another language, living with art and history, sense of belonging to a global community, new perspective on America and its place in world, respect/tolerance for others, seeing difference as learned and political, understanding the global political arena, flexibility, confidence I can live anywhere.[9] Long termers appreciated the fact that they were part of another culture and that they know much their American peers do not, but they did not, generally, speak in terms of a learning experience. For them this was "just my normal life." Those abroad for a short time were more likely to respond in terms of a learning experience, almost an epiphany for some.

> [when we went abroad] Life went from boring, especially in school, into a kind of hyperdrive of exciting new languages, books, food, smells, faces, ideas, landscape, insects and many other possibilities. It opened my mind to being aware of how much life could offer. (M, gov, 1 yr)[10]

TCKs' formal education

While living abroad is unquestionably an educational experience, formal schooling is a defining feature of a TCK's experience. In addition to determining the form and content of one's education, school is the primary locus of activity and social interaction. School experiences of the TCKs in this study varied greatly, ranging from being the only foreigner in a host country environment to relatively encapsulated American experiences. Even in the most American school environment it was impossible not to have some experience of another place. Not only was the American school in

---

[8] Swanson (1995) p. 11

[9] See, for example, Kauffmann et. al. (1992), chapts 3 & 4 and Carlson et. al. (1990), chapter 3.

[10] Quotes will be identified as follows: sponsor (mil= military, mis= missionary, gov= government, bus= business, O=other), sex (M or F), number of years living overseas.

a foreign environment, but most, if not all schools incorporated at least some dimension of the local culture/s into academic and extra-curricular activities. Many respondents reminisced about their schools' trips to points of interest and their participation sports and other activities with host country peers.

Between them, these respondents attended 1549 schools in 115 countries, including the US, while their parents were working abroad. Most (56%) of these respondents attended two or three different schools while their parents were overseas and over one-quarter (27%) attended four or more. For many of those who attended several schools all were within a single system e.g., DoDDs, American secular or mission, if not always in a single country. This was especially true of the MKs and military dependents. For others, however, changing schools, could mean fundamental changes as they moved from one type of school to another -- differences in language of instruction, national curricula, student body, as well as different size schools (from four to several thousand). A diplomat's daughter, for example, encountered significant differences as she attended a local Spanish medium school in Argentina, a British School in China, an American Army school in Japan, an international school in Bangkok and a Church of England Girls' school in Australia

Because parents want to provide the cultural capital for their children to succeed as adults, presumably in the US, and because they hope to provide a modicum of consistency in their children's mobile lives, these American TCKs were most likely to attend some kind of American school while they were overseas.[11] "American" schools include US government sponsored schools as well as those private international schools, mission schools, Catholic, business and university sponsored schools offering an American curriculum. Let me briefly describe the schools most commonly attended by these TCKs, the DoDD, State Department Assisted and Mission sponsored schools.

The most "American" and uniform school system is the Defense Department's. These schools largely replicate not only the curriculum but the culture of an American school with an American student body. It may be tempting to assume that the State Department assisted American overseas schools also provide a somewhat self-contained American experience. The reality is that while these schools all offer an American curriculum, they vary greatly in other respects, especially student body composition. Of the schools attended by these respondents, the American school in Paris came closest to this image of an all American school; in 1981 70% of the 900+ students were

[11] Americans, of course, are not alone in this. All the non North American parents attending a UN school seminar on TCKs said they were there because they wanted to find out how to keep their children from becoming American. (Pollock, 19---)

American and only 5% French.[12] The American Community School in Lomé, Togo was also dominated by Americans (64%), but with only 11 students the school experience could not have been comparable. At the other extreme, some of the state department assisted schools are attended primarily by host national students. The International School in Trieste, a UNESCO founded school affiliated with the Institute for Theoretical Physics, had 85% host national students. Likewise, Colombians were about 90% of the nearly 1,000 students at the Columbus school in Medellin. This school, like many State Department assisted schools in Latin America, has a bi-national curriculum. Finally, the American Community schools in Beirut, Lebanon and Amman, Jordan represent another pattern; over half their 200-300 students were neither American nor host country children, but children from many other countries.

American mission schools were established to provide not only the appropriate curriculum, but also the appropriate religious instruction and environment for American MKs. Many of these schools, like the DoDDS schools, are isolated from the host population; some built in hill stations are physically isolated. Even in a large city such as Quito, Ecuador, a mission school might be quite insulated as MK Jeffrey Swanson reflects:

> We were enrolled in the Alliance Academy, a school for missionaries' children..... Life for us revolved around the school, which was almost hermetically sealed off from the surrounding community. Inside the high walls of the school compound we often passed our days without seeing a single Ecuadorian person except for a few janitors, gardeners, and Spanish teachers. Apart from one required class in Spanish all of our academic instruction was in English.".[13]

Still, even the most isolated of these mission schools were in a foreign setting and had at least some students from other countries. MK Paul Seeman felt that his school in the mountains of Pakistan provided "inter-cultural challenges *within* the insular, evangelical environment of an international and interdenominational school -- and the often limited interaction...with our host country." [14] Some mission schools have begun to redefine themselves with a more international orientation. For example, in the 1970s Kodaikanal in India became an autonomous Christian international school so by 1981 44% of its students were Indian, of various religions, and only 25% were Americans

A minority (less than 20%) of these TCKs went to at least one school which did not have an American curriculum. Most were immersed in the local culture by enrolling in a host country school. A few attended schools designed for other nationalities, e.g. a French lycée in Argentina. The pattern of host school enrollment, however, also reveals parental concern with preparation for

---

[12] Enrollment data are all for 1981 based on the ISS Directory of Overseas Schools 1981/2. While this may not accurately reflect the exact composition of schools when the older respondents were in attendance the point about diversity of schools is valid for the entire post-war period.

[13] Swanson (1995) p. 11

[14] Seeman (1996) p. 7

higher education in the US. Host country schooling was usually at the elementary level (often just kindergarten) and primarily, although not always, in English speaking countries. Those abroad for only a year or two were more likely to make use of local schools. They could see the local school experience an adventure not seriously jeopardizing college admission.

Parents who were located far from "appropriate" schools and/or were especially mobile were also faced with the decision of where to send the children for school. One solution was home schooling, typically with a correspondence program. This was most commonly used by families "in the boonies" for their children's early education, when children were in one place for a very short time, or to supplement host school curricula. Missionaries were the only sponsor group to use home schooling fairly regularly. Thirty eight percent of MKs had some home schooling and one was home schooled for all but three of ten school years outside the US.

A more common solution was boarding schools. One-third of this sample boarded at some time while their parents were working outside the US. In most cases this was a boarding school, but also included living with relatives, family friends or other mission families while attending school away from parents. Respondents boarded from three months to 12 years, primarily in secondary school. Boarding was usually outside the US, generally in the country of parents' residence, e.g. missionaries throughout the Congo sent their children to the Central School for MKs in Lubondai. However sometimes the school considered best was in a nearby country, thus Americans living all over Middle East attended the American Community School in Beirut. Other families chose a boarding school in Europe, such as the American Overseas School in Rome, usually while they were working in a less developed country. Another option was to board in the US. Seventeen percent attended schools in the US while their parents remained overseas. Most frequently in high school, this was usually the choice of a parent concerned about admission to US colleges, but occasionally it was the choice of a TCK who wanted to participate in some high school activity, wanted to graduate from a particular US high school, or who found the overseas school situation intolerable. Missionaries were by far the most likely to board; 70% had at least some boarding school experience and this is the only group with children boarding for all 12 elementary and secondary school years. Boarding has become less common as the number of overseas school options has increased. Over half (56%) of the respondents who were 55 or older had boarded at some time, compared to 22% of those 25-9. In contrast to the Japanese third culture parents, these American parents treated daughters no differently from sons when deciding on schools, whether abroad or in the US. [15]

International Dimensions of TCKs' Post-secondary Education

Effects of a TCK Background

The great majority of these TCKs did all or most of their post secondary education in the US. On the whole their background did not hurt, and probably contributed to, their extraordinarily high level of academic achievement. All but two percent in this study had some post secondary education. These respondents are four times more likely to have a BA than the US population as a whole. (81% compared to 21%)[16] and 11% have doctoral level degrees, more if those enrolled in graduate programs at the time of the study are included. In part, this high level of achievement reflects the fact of growing up in third culture families, for this is a culture of highly educated individuals. In addition, the academic preparation in overseas schools was generally considered superior. One respondent suggested that academic preparation is not the only factor in a TCK's background that could contribute to college success:

> I was better prepared as a high school student outside the US than many of the freshmen I encountered during my first year ... I was more accepting of others, I had confidence of traveling on my own (great distances), so I felt more sure of myself (bus, F, 10 yr.)

Most (73.4%) feel that their TCK background influenced some aspect of their higher education; the longer they had lived abroad the more likely they are to acknowledge this. In open ended responses they cited numerous influences. By far the most often mentioned effect of a TCK background was on field of study, cited by 85% of those who acknowledged an influence. Usually this was a decision to study something with an international slant such as international relations, anthropology, foreign languages, area studies. Thirty percent of those who had completed at least a BA had an internationally oriented major or minor at undergraduate or graduate level or both. This increases with the amount of education; 22% of those with BA had an international emphasis compared to 40% of those with advanced degrees.

Responses to a question about how their background affected their college experience give us an appreciation for the nature of this influence. As I said, the most frequently mentioned influence was on choice of major, usually something internationally relevant. The following comments, revealing interest as well as personal and ideological goals, are typical of explanations for choosing a broadly international major.

> ... courses related to language and linguistics; majored in communications because of the department's emphasis on intercultural communications which was second nature to me. (gov, M, 7 yr.)

---

[15] White (1988)

[16] *The Universal Almanac* 1994.

> ...Political science, foreign policy, international affairs. Also communication. I wanted to gain tools so I could preach to others my TCK perspective. (mis, M, 9 yr.)
>
> ..international issues. I have a tendency to empathize/care about others and society, feeling connected to the future well-being of cultures, interest in development (other, M, 3 yr.)
>
> ... anthropology in order to come to some understanding of my transnational experiences. (mis, F, 14 yr.)

Some, such as the son of overseas school teachers, chose an international major which connected them specifically to their childhood home abroad, often with a goal of returning.

> I was an archeology / Arabic major hoping to go back to the Middle East..... I feel like I owe it to myself and world to go back to Middle East and better the communication between the Middle East and the Western world (other, M, 11 yr.)

For others the connection between choice of major and their childhood overseas is less obvious. Their majors were not directly international but reflected interests developed while living abroad. One respondent majored in biology in order to go into international wildlife management. For several, an interest in medicine grew out of watching missionary doctors work in villages or generally becoming aware of the great need for medical services in less developed countries. Another

> became interested in the human services field [counseling] due to experiences abroad and having to adapt to different cultures. I've desired to help others adjust in whatever circumstances they have (mil, F, 5 yr.)

Finally, many chose majors, international or not, less for their interest in the topic than for the likelihood they could use the major to "to work abroad." Teaching, especially ESL, is high on this list, but business, economics and nursing are among other fields seen as vehicles to international employment.

The above may suggest that these students entered college firm in their decision about what to study and that they carried through with that commitment. While many did so, others changed their minds, sometimes many times, before deciding on a final area of study. Some in this study attributed their difficulty focusing, at least in part, to their mobile and culturally complex childhoods. Several, mainly MKs, attributed their difficulty choosing a field of study or making a wrong choice, to the fact that having grown up abroad and gone only to a missionary school, they had no idea of the career options available. The following quotes from an MK and a military brat represent more typical reasons for difficulty focusing.

> being bi-cultural causes one to see things differently, thus I find myself being interested in almost anything and everything. I absorb information but don't act on it because there are too

many variables. I have lots of information but few opinions. I loved being in college but changed majors frequently (mis, F, 11 yr.)

On reflection, I had no focus. Moving constantly never allowed me to focus on what I wanted in life. I loved moving, and still do but I probably would have done more if I hadn't been so mobile. (mil, F, 5 yr.)

Study Abroad

The last dimension of the international education of TCKs I'll cover is post-secondary "study abroad." My hunch is that TCKs are more likely than the general American college population to find ways to study outside the US. Here I would like to raise the question of what we mean by study abroad. I sense that in most minds it refers to students from one country doing part of their education in foreign country, usually on a student exchange, study abroad program or a sponsored program such as Fulbright or Rotary. But for some in this sample study outside the US is a continuation of life overseas. If an American decides to live at home while going to college and that home happens to be in Japan, is this "study abroad?" Is taking courses outside the US while living abroad for another reason, such as one's own or a spouse's employment, "study abroad?"

Whatever we call it, 29% of those with some post secondary education managed to do at least part of it outside the US; a few have done entire degrees abroad. Between them, these respondents have studied in 53 different countries. Consistent with the general patterns of American study abroad students, Europe was most popular. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of those who have studied outside the US had studied there. About one-quarter of those who have studied abroad did so in Latin America, and almost that many went to Asia. Nearly 10% studied in Africa or the Middle East.

Concluding Remarks

Although numbering in the millions, Third Culture Kids are a largely unrecognized group except by sponsor groups and institutions serving those groups, such as the overseas schools. The little research available on this population is sponsor specific and focuses on their overseas schooling, and in particular on their difficult period of reentry to the country of citizenship. This is the only study we know which systematically compares the overseas experiences of TCKs according to parent sponsor and explores the ways adult TCKs may incorporate these early experiences into their adult lives. This paper has focused on one small aspect of this larger study, the international education of TCKs, showing the diversity of American post war TCKs' educational experiences while their parents are living outside the US. Clearly these child/teen experiences influenced college decisions as seen in the unusually high proportion of this sample who chose internationally relevant majors and chose to pursue some post secondary study outside the US.

Bibliography

Carlson, Jerry S., Barbara B. Burn, John Useem, David Yachimowicz. 1990. *Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Cottrell, Ann Baker and Ruth Hill Useem. 1996. "Adult Third Culture Kids" pp. 22-35 in *Strangers at Home: Essays n the Effects of Living Overseas and Coming "Home" to a Strange Land,* edited by Carolyn D. Smith. Bayside, NY: Aletheia Publications

International Schools Services. 1981. *ISS Directory of Overseas Schools 1981/82*. Princeton, NJ: International Schools Services.

Kauffmann, Norman, L., Judith N. Martin and Henry D. Weaver. 1992. *Students Abroad: Strangers at Home*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc.

Pollock, David. 199---"What About the Missionary Kids and Attrition?" pp. 303-312 in *Too Valuable to Lose: Exploring the Causes and Cures of Missionary Attrition*. Edited by William D. Taylor. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.

Seeman, Paul Asbury. 1996. *Far Above the Plain: Private Profiles and Admissible Evidence from the First Forty Years of Murree Christian School, Pakistan*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library

Swanson, Jeffrey. 1995. *Echoes of the Call* . New York: Oxford University Press

The Universal Almanac 1994, edited by John W. Wright. New York: Andrews and McMeel,

Truscott, Mary R. 1989. *Brats: Children of the Military Speak Out*. New York: McClelland and Stewart; E.P. Dutton

Useem, Ruth Hill. 1993. "Third Culture Kids: Focus of Major Study." *Newslinks* Vol. 13 # 3.

Wertsch, Mary Edwards. 1991. *Military Brats: Legacies of Childhood Inside the Fortress*. New York: Harmony Books.

White, Merry. 1988. *The Japanese Overseas: Can They Go Home Again?* , Princeton, NJ. Princeton University Press