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Simulating A Third Culture Kid Experience to Enhance Friendship Prospects in Early Interactions

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ABSTRACT

Third Culture Kids (TCK), individuals that experience high mobility and multicultural exposure in their developmental years, tend to skip small talk and begin disclosing emotional or personal information in the early stages of the relationship. The phrase *accelerated self-disclosure* will be used here on to refer to such disclosures of moderate to moderately high intimacy that occur early on in a relationship. This thesis project explored which aspects of the TCK experience affect friendship-related behavior. In Study 1, TCKs (N=50) and non-TCKs (N=47) were compared on relational mobility, residential mobility, open-mindedness, cultural empathy and their approaches to friendships. TCKs were more likely to engage in accelerated self-disclosures, and reported more relationship interest for a potential friend who brought up an intimate topic in an imagined early interaction than non-TCKs. The two samples showed significantly different perceptions of intimacy for high and low intimacy topics. TCKs were more open-minded, extraverted, had higher cultural empathy and perceived less relational mobility than non-TCKs. In Study 2, non-TCKs (N= 256) were primed for open-mindedness and rated their relationship interest for a discloser in a video task as well as in an imagined scenario. Participants exposed to an accelerated self-disclosure in a prior task were more welcoming of accelerated self-disclosures in the imagined scenario task than participants who were exposed to small talk. Findings suggest that open-mindedness, a sense of urgency about establishing relationships and a shared understanding of what early interactions entail are instrumental in the development of accelerated self-disclosures in TCKs.

Simulating A Third Culture Kid Experience to Enhance

Friendship Prospects in Early Interactions

While American society is considered to be much more open and diverse compared to other cultures (Oishi, 2010) it is generally expected that strangers begin conversations with small talk where topics are superficial, and exchange emotional or intimate personal information later in the relationship (Altman & Taylor, 1973). This pattern can allow strangers to broach personal or controversial topics slowly and carefully to gauge the listener's response, and avoid potential conflicts by sidestepping risky topics such as politics in the initial stages of a fragile, new relationship. However, this restrained approach may also mean that many opportunities to discover similarities or indicate interest in the relationship can be lost, and individuals may only get to scratch the surface of the vast fund of life experiences, knowledge and insight that the other individual has accumulated. Achieving the level of closeness that allows intimate conversations entails a lengthy process and as a result, many relationships may not develop beyond minimum intimacy as some individuals may move on to pursue other relationships rather than waiting for time to unfold.

On the other hand, fast-forwarding through small talk and beginning interactions with a potential friend at a higher level of intimacy can be advantageous as it can allow for the individuals to have meaningful interactions earlier on. The phrase *accelerated self-disclosure* will be used here on to refer to such disclosures of moderate to moderately high intimacy that occur early on in a relationship. Accelerated self-disclosure is observed in the interactions of Third Culture Kids (TCKs), individuals who have spent a significant portion of their formative years meaningfully interacting with cultures other than their own (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). This thesis project investigates the role of high residential mobility, relational mobility,

extraversion, open-mindedness and high cultural empathy in forming the pattern of disclosure observed in TCKs and whether relationship interest for an individual who engages in accelerated self-disclosure can be enhanced by simulating some of the conditions of a TCK experience.

Self-Disclosure - Liking

Early interactions are extremely important in determining whether a friendship will be pursued (Berg, 1984; Derlega, Winstead, & Greene, 2008). In the first few seconds of an interaction, we make often accurate (or self-fulfilling, as Blau, 1964 suggests) snap judgments about a person's personality, likes, dislikes and potential compatibility with us using nonverbal cues from their body language to their outfits and tone of voice (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Bahns, Crandall, Gillath & Wilmer, 2016). Equally important at this stage of relationships is the content, context and appropriateness of the verbal information exchanged (Altman & Taylor, 1973).

Self-disclosure can be conceptualized as the verbal revelation of personally relevant information to a listener (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Dindia, 2002; Laurenceau, Feldman Barrett, & Pietromonaco, 1998) and it is the product of two opposing forces that either increase disclosure, such as a need to relate, or inhibit disclosure, such as a need for privacy (Cozby, 1973). A timely, intimate self-disclosure can convey liking, trust and an interest in friendship (Worthy, Gary & Kahn, 1969), which can deepen the bond between two individuals and further their relationship. Similarities discovered between parties can effectively increase liking in line with the similarity-attraction theorem (Byrne, 1971). Conversely, an unwelcome disclosure that is too personal may not only harm the developing relationship, but even lead to the dissolution of it by burdening and making the listener uncomfortable (Cozby, 1972). This fine line between opening up to a new

friend and oversharing epitomizes the delicate balance of self-disclosures necessitated in early

stages of a relationship.

If the level of intimacy of the information revealed in a disclosure can be taken as an

index of closeness, love and trust (Jourard, 1959), it is no surprise that appropriate, reciprocal

disclosures high in intimacy increase liking between two individuals. In their review of 94

studies on self-disclosure and liking, Collins and Miller (1994) outline the main findings of

existing research in this field: 1) people choose to disclose to people they initially like, 2) self-

disclosures of higher intimacy lead to increased liking by the listener, for the discloser and 3)

self-disclosures lead to increased liking by the discloser, for the listener. Disclosures high in

intimacy can be rewarding for both the listener and the discloser and lead to positive relationship

outcomes. According to Thibaut and Kelley (1959), having another individual share one's

opinions or values is rewarding as it suggests approval from the other and is validating. The

discloser can feel understood and valued (Altman & Taylor, 1973) as well as obtaining ego-

satisfaction and catharsis through the intrinsically gratifying act of disclosing (Worthy, Gary &

Kahn, 1969). Likewise, the listener may interpret the disclosure as an indication that they are

liked and deemed to be trustworthy by the discloser (Worthy, Gary & Kahn, 1969) as well as

being indicative of the discloser's desire to further the conversation by getting the listener to

reciprocate (Jourard, 1959). Receiving a disclosure is thus socially rewarding to the listener who

will often reciprocate with his or her own disclosure and convey the same trust and liking to the

discloser (Worthy, Gary & Kahn, 1969). As such, a positive *feedback loop* (Collins & Miller,

1994) is formed and liking for either party increases with each disclosure.

The dynamics underlying the self-disclosure–liking effect are more complex than a linear

relationship in which more of liking or disclosure would translate into a direct increase in the

other. The extent to which self-disclosures lead to liking (or not) is mediated by a number of factors including the responsiveness of the listener, attributions made about the disclosure, the appropriateness and nature of the disclosure among other factors (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Berg & Archer, 1982; Chaikin & Derlega, 1974; Laurenceau, Feldman, Barrett, & Pietromonaco, 1998). Ehrlich and Graeven (1971) speculated that self-disclosures increase liking to the extent that they lead to perceptions of similarity between the parties. In other words, if disclosures do not lead the parties to perceive each other to be more similar, the parties' liking for each other will not increase.

There is some indication that highly intimate disclosures during early interactions may lead to negative relationship outcomes (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974; Cozby, 1972). For instance, Cozby (1972) demonstrated through a role playing experiment in which subjects were exposed to disclosures of varying levels of intimacy that those in the high disclosure condition had significantly more negative impressions of the disclosers. Additionally, high disclosers as well as low disclosers were rated to be "less honest" than medium disclosers. In accounting for what he described as a curvilinear relationship between self-disclosure and liking, Cozby (1972) remarked that self-disclosure is an intimacy variable much like personal space, with the possibility to come too close for comfort as well as not close enough. He drew an analogy between self-disclosure between humans and proper spacing between animals: just as another animal coming too close poses a threat for an animal, individuals may inadvertently threaten the listener's individuality and privacy by disclosing highly intimate information to them. Likewise, just as the animal being too distant to the group is a potential hazard to its membership, interacting with an individual not engaging in adequate self-disclosure may make the other individual feel like his or her company is not wanted or like they are not trusted.

Adhering to the norms governing social interactions is a critical component of the self-disclosure – liking effect (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974). The norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960) is one such factor: it is socially expected that actions (or disclosures) are reciprocated by the receiver. Self-disclosures that prompt the listener to follow with a disclosure of their own increase liking more than self-disclosures that do not elicit disclosure, while disclosures that are not reciprocated may decrease liking for the listener (Sprecher, Treger, Wondra, Hilaire, & Wallpe, 2013). One explanation of this effect is offered by the social exchange theory (Thibaut & Kelly, 1959) that likens social interactions to transactions in which an equilibrium should be maintained. Disrupting this equilibrium violates the norm of reciprocity and is avoided (Sprecher et al., 2013). Individuals that break norms by not reciprocating or reciprocating at a lower intimacy can be viewed as "cold" or "unfriendly" while those that disclose highly intimate information may be viewed as "maladjusted" (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974). Timing of self-disclosure is also dictated by social norms (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Chaikin & Derlega, 1974). Self-disclosures made later on in a single interaction lead to more attraction for the discloser (Archer & Burleson, 1979; Jones & Gordon, 1972; Wortman, Adesman, Herman, & Greenberg, 1976).

The timing and context of disclosures matters not only within particular interactions but also over the course of the relationship, and premature intimate disclosures may strike the listener as too-close, too-soon. In their social penetration theory, Altman and Taylor (1973) posit that relationships form through the process of incrementally increasing the breadth (amount) and depth (intimacy) of self-disclosures. Relationships tend to begin with interactions that are superficial, inhibited and formulaic (i.e., small talk) and individuals gradually proceed to interactions that are more fluid and intimate in nature. Risk-benefit assessments made throughout

this process ultimately shape decisions regarding whether and how fast the relationship should be continued. While individuals exchange information that is at the peripheries of their personalities such as their taste in music when they do not really know one another, they reveal and explore increasingly more private and more vulnerable areas of their respective personalities as they maintain and become closer in relationships. This increase in intimacy is reflected in the negatively accelerated rate at which relationships develop. Disclosures that are highest in intimacy are often reserved for the few individuals that are the closest to the discloser, such as longtime friends.

As individuals approach initial interactions with potential friends with vigilance, early stages of relationships tend to be more stereotypical and constrained. Altman and Taylor (1973) suggest that relationships are more susceptible to dissolution in earlier, less stable stages where individuals have not yet accumulated a supply of positive, rewarding experiences that would act as a buffer in the face of conflicts over intimate topics. While recently established relationships and long term, stable relationships are expected to be equally resistant to disagreements over non-intimate topics, a conflict over an intimate topic may disturb the relationship more so for a recent friendship than for a stable, long term friendship. The higher stakes associated with the early stages of relationships necessitate intimate topics to be broached with vigilance and both parties to be more guarded.

It is interesting to consider Newcomb's observations (1961) that in the early stages of relationships, people's perceptions of each other are distorted in a way that makes them perceive the other as more similar to themselves. Feelings of deception and disappointment resulting from discrepancies between perception and reality can be a source of conflict (Montoya, Horton, & Kirchner, 2008), and as Blau (1964) suggests, people may move on to other potential friends

upon discovery of significant disagreements. Norton, Frost and Ariely (2007) even go as far as suggesting that "familiarity breeds contempt" as the more one learns about the other, the less similar the other is perceived to be. Then, it seems that if there exists significant dissimilarity between the individuals, keeping interactions at a lower level of intimacy does not actually eliminate disagreements between individuals but merely postpones their discovery until the individuals accumulate a fund of positive experiences that would render the bond between the individuals more resistant to dissolution.

Implicit in the gradual progression of intimacy observed in social penetration theory is an assumption that the individuals have ample time to pursue the relationship and are committed to pursuing the relationship to the extent that they would invest the time to accumulate the experiences that would prevent its dissolution. Hence, individual differences and conditions like time constraints may influence the patterns of disclosure. One population that follows a different pattern of disclosure in early interactions is Third Culture Kids (TCKs), individuals who have lived in or meaningfully interacted with two or more cultural environments in their developmental years due to their parents' occupation (Gerner, Perry, Moselle, & Archbold, 1992; Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). TCKs tend to skip the lower levels of intimacy and begin self-disclosures at a higher level of intimacy (Bushong, 2013; Mortimer, 2010; Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). Understanding this pattern of disclosure necessitates a closer look at the TCK profile.

Third Culture Kids: **Overview**

The term Third Culture Kid (TCK) is defined as:

A person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK frequently builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into

the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar

background (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010, p.13).

TCKs come to experience different cultures and move frequently as a result of their

parents' occupations in the military, foreign service, international business or NGOs (Moore &

Baker, 2012; Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). The implication of the highly mobile and cross-

cultural experience coinciding with the TCK's formative years (ages 0-18) is that the TCK is

tasked with the challenge of building their identity in a multicultural, highly unpredictable, and

constantly changing environment. The term *third culture kid* was coined by John and Ruth

Useem to describe "a relating culture, a culture of linkages and networks" (Jordan, 2002, p. 226).

TCKs can be said to view the world through a dynamic amalgam of the various perspectives and

cultures that they have experienced. The many benefits of the TCK experience include

multilingualism, intellectual flexibility, social adaptability, independence and a broad worldview

(Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011; Mortimer, 2010). President Obama is often named as the

quintessential TCK for his global perspective, flexibility, and reconciliatory abilities (Dewaele &

Van Der Oudenhoven, 2009; McDonald, 2009; Reyal, 2015). On the flip side of the coin, the

TCK experience may mean that the individual grows up rootless, restless and experiences

difficulties with establishing a stable sense of self (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011; Mortimer, 2010).

The TCK experience is often referred to as paradoxical (Greenholtz & Kim, 2009; Mortimer,

2010; Pollock & Van Reken, 2010) due to the seemingly contradictory aspects of the TCK

profile, such as their desire to speed up relationships coexisting with a fear of getting too close

(Bushong, 2013, Dessing, 2012). Similarly, while one of the benefits of the TCK experience is

greater and earlier maturity than peers, TCKs also experience *delayed adolescence* and fall

behind their peers in identity formation (Mortimer, 2010, Pollock & Van Reken, 2010; Reyal, 2015).

Cross-cultural experience. The first defining feature of the TCK profile is having a cross-cultural experience (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). As a result of being exposed to, actively interacting with and learning to adjust to a number of diverse cultural environments in their formative years, many TCKs grow up as *cultural chameleons* (McCaig, 1996) who are able to shift between different cultural identities (Moore & Barker, 2012). As fitting in with a new culture necessitates an awareness of cultural norms and an understanding of what is appropriate or not in that particular society, TCKs become skillful in reading social cues and develop social skills such as adaptability that allow them to quickly establish relationships in diverse situations (Cockburn, 2002; Dewaele & Van Oudenhoven, 2009; Jordan, 2002). Through their experience with individuals from other cultures, TCKs become aware that people from other backgrounds may behave or think differently, and hold an open and unprejudiced attitude towards these people (Dessing, 2012; Dewaele & Van Oudenhoven, 2009). Having dealt with the experience of entering a new society and making cultural blunders in the initial stages of acculturation may also help TCKs be more tolerant of others' divergent or inappropriate behaviors. TCKs are culturally competent (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011) and have broad worldviews (Dewaele & Van Oudenhoven, 2009; Lam & Selmer, 2004; Mortimer, 2010).

High mobility. TCKs' highly mobile upbringing is the second defining feature of the TCK experience (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). TCKs tend to relocate frequently due to their parents' jobs. They find themselves in strikingly different social and physical environments to adapt to with each relocation, and end up repeatedly exiting and entering social networks. Over time, TCKs become highly skilled at social interactions with people from diverse backgrounds.

As these relocations often occur on short notice, TCKs end up having to learn to quickly initiate friendships. Being able to adapt and switch into the norms of those around them (Cockburn, 2002) and shift between multiple cultural identities (Moore & Barker, 2012) is essential for TCKs to effectively function and thrive in their constantly changing world. Quickly establishing friendships in whichever new environment they are thrown into is similarly important for their social well-being. The sense of urgency created by this pressure and an uncertainty about availability of social support is amplified by the fact that not only are the TCKs themselves residentially mobile, but the people around them also move frequently. Bushong (2013) reports that the student population of international schools that TCKs tend to attend have a yearly turnover rate of over 40%.

Third Culture Kids and friendships. Pollock and Van Reken (2010) suggest a five-level model for non-TCKs' interactions: 1) *superficial level* where small talk is made, 2) *still safe level* where topics are low risk, such as an exchange of vacation plans, 3) *judgmental level* where the individuals begin sharing opinions that may lead to disagreement, such as political opinions, 4) *emotional level* where feelings and intimate information begins to be exchanged, and 5) *disclosure level* where the most personal and private information is shared, such as failures and regrets. This pattern of incremental increases of intimacy over time parallels the social penetration theorem of Altman and Taylor (1973). On the other hand, TCKs follow a different pattern of disclosure than non-TCKs in which they engage in self-disclosures of higher intimacy earlier on in the relationship and remain in the moderately high levels of intimacy regardless of closeness achieved in the relationship (Bushong, 2013; Pollock & Van Reken, 2010).

TCKs skip the lower intimacy levels and disclose personal opinions or emotional information earlier on in relationships (i.e. engage in accelerated self-disclosure). TCKs live with

the knowledge that anyone could leave at any given time and calibrate their behaviors accordingly to quickly establish friendships in the limited time they have before their impending relocation (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). Propelled forward by a sense of urgency, TCKs may use accelerated self-disclosures strategically to speed up the friendship initiation process and draw on their highly developed social skills and vigilance regarding social cues and norms for smooth interactions. On the other hand, TCKs' refrainment from the most personal and intimate disclosures (level 5) can be explained by the traumatic impact of the constant change of people in TCKs' lives. Many TCKs deal with unresolved grief related to the repeated loss of relationships (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). They may avoid intimacy and emotional engagement in fear of loss and end up repeating unhealthy relationship patterns from their past in their current relationships (Choi & Luke, 2011; Choi, Bernard, & Luke, 2013; Melles & Frey, 2014).

In a way, early interactions can be thought of as testing the waters where each party makes a cost-benefit assessment to determine whether to proceed on to riskier grounds. For a non-TCK, beginning interactions with safer topics and gradually increasing levels of intimacy may appear to be the most beneficial strategy when the risks of causing disagreements or discomfort in the other party are weighed against the benefits of establishing relationships at a quicker pace. The non-TCK is less likely to feel a sense of urgency about establishing relationships, and may be less concerned with the time spent on a potential relationship that may not be as fitting to them as an alternative relationship they could instead be pursuing. Furthermore, the risks of breaching norm-breaking topics may be more substantial for the non-TCK than they would be for a TCK, who may end up having to relocate in the foreseeable future. In the same way that individuals hesitate to seek support in societies that are lower in mobility due to fears of disrupting their social network (Kim, Sherman, Ko & Taylor, 2006), non-TCKs

may take a more cautious approach to avoid potential conflicts in relationships that are more

binding than those in highly mobile societies. Playing it safe may allow non-TCKs to uphold

social norms, but it may also mean that the non-TCKs may spend a longer time pursuing a

friendship that he or she would have to dissolve later on following discoveries of clashes in

important opinions or beliefs. For TCKs, beginning testing the waters at higher levels of

intimacy by engaging in accelerated self-disclosures can afford opportunities to connect with the

listener at a deeper level and discover similarities in a shorter span of time. Engaging in

accelerated self-disclosures can allow the TCK to convey trust and interest to the listener early

on. The sense of urgency to develop and secure relationships in a limited span of time may offset

the risks of opening up to someone too quickly or having disagreements.

Three main outcomes may follow the TCKs' accelerated self-disclosure. First, if the

TCK's disclosure is reciprocated or welcomed, the TCK may continue his or her disclosures at

the same or at a higher level of intimacy. Second, if the TCK's disclosure is not reciprocated or

is met with discomfort, the TCK can recalibrate his or her disclosures to meet the listener at their

level of comfort. The interpersonal aptitude of TCKs (Cockburn, 2002; Mortimer, 2010) can

allow for norms to be bent rather than broken by allowing TCKs to pick up on verbal and

nonverbal cues of the listener and to fine-tune the balance between disclosing and withdrawing.

Gerner, Perry, Moselle and Archbold (1992) suggest that TCKs' perceptual abilities may be

more developed than non-TCKs in terms of interpreting and making correct attributions to

culturally different behavior, which can minimize misunderstandings and conflicts. If, however,

the balance is disrupted and the TCK's attempt to interact at an intimate level irrevocably

damages the potential relationship, the TCK may move on to pursue another relationship and

begin testing waters once again (third outcome). In fact, it is possible that the impending

separation with any potential friend can free the TCK from the burden of having to deal with the

aftermath and allow them to take bigger risks with what they disclose during early interactions

(Bushong, 2013). Paradoxically, the idea that relationships are temporary may both allow the

TCKs to be more open and take more initiative in establishing relationships, but also prevent

them from becoming too invested in relationships in fear of loss (Cockburn, 2002). The ease at

which TCKs end and move on from relationships may also indicate the impact of high mobility

on TCKs' approach to relationships in line with the relational disposability hypothesis which

posits that individuals that experience high residential mobility find it easier to let go of

relationships (Gillath & Keefer, 2016).

Study 1

The objectives of Study 1 were to establish the similarities and differences in self-

disclosure patterns (and related constructs) for TCKs and non-TCKs and to determine which

aspects of the TCK experience are pivotal to accelerated self-disclosures. To this end, I

compared TCKs and non-TCKs on open-mindedness, cultural empathy, residential mobility,

relational mobility, extraversion and approaches to relationships. I singled out these constructs

from the multifaceted TCK profile with the idea that the cross-cultural and highly mobile nature

of TCKs' upbringing are the two central aspects of the TCK experience (Pollock & Van Reken,

2010).

Characterizing the samples on the constructs relevant to accelerated self-disclosure

Open-mindedness and cultural empathy. In line with previous literature (Dewaele &

Van Oudenhoven, 2009) I expected that TCKs would be highly open-minded and have higher

cultural empathy compared to non-TCKs. Cultural empathy is defined as "the ability to

empathize with the feelings, thoughts, and behaviors of individuals from a different cultural

background versus an inability to do so" and open-mindedness as "an open and unprejudiced attitude toward different groups and toward different cultural norms and values" (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2001, p. 286). I hypothesized that open-mindedness and high cultural empathy would render TCKs open to disclosures from others that may lead to disagreements as well as enable them to make such disclosures with the confidence that they may be able to deal with any disagreement that arises in a positive manner.

Residential mobility. I expected that TCKs would be higher in residential mobility, which reflects the degree to which individuals move at an individual and at a societal level (Oishi, 2010).

Relational mobility. Relational mobility is defined as "the degree to which a particular society or group provides individuals with opportunities to choose relational partners based on their personal preferences" (Yuki & Schug, 2012, p. 2). The constant turnover of individuals in residentially mobile societies creates a perception that relationships are easy to enter and exit (Oishi, 2010), and in such societies high in relational mobility, intimate self-disclosure can be used as a way to strengthen and display one's investment in relationships (Schug, Yuki, & Maddux, 2010). On the other hand, intimate, sensitive disclosures may be problematic and are avoided in societies that are low in relational mobility (Yuki & Schug, 2012). Accordingly, I hypothesized that TCKs would have high relational mobility. I hypothesized that that high relational mobility may play a role in TCKs' higher risk taking and disclosure of intimate early interactions.

Extraversion. Frequent residential moves in childhood are associated with lower well-being, and this association is stronger for introverted individuals than extraverted individuals (Oishi, Krochik, Roth, & Sherman, 2012; Oishi, & Schimmack, 2010). Oishi and Schimmack

(2010) suggest that extraversion may buffer the negative impact of residential moves on social relationships by allowing individuals to establish friendships in a short span of time. Motivated by the little time they may have at their current location, TCKs may engage in *forced extraversion* (Choi, Bernard, & Luke, 2013; Pollock & Van Reken, 2010) to quickly establish friendships. I hypothesized that TCKs would be more extraverted than non-TCKs.

Approach to relationships. I collected information about TCKs' friendship initiation strategies and attitudes towards small talk and early interactions with the expectation that TCKs would express a dislike towards small talk and a wish to speed up relationships.

Documenting anticipated differences in accelerated self-disclosure

In order to explore the self-disclosure patterns of TCKs and non-TCKs, I investigated differences in how intimate participants in these two samples view and how likely they are to bring up a set of conversation topics of varying intimacy with a potential friend.

Likelihood. I expected that TCKs would report greater likelihood of bringing up moderate to moderately high intimacy topics with a potential friend (i.e. engaging in accelerated self-disclosures) than non-TCKs, and lower likelihood of bringing up low intimacy topics. I expected no difference between the two samples' reported likelihood of bringing up topics of the highest levels of intimacy with a potential friend as TCKs are known to refrain from such disclosures (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010) and non-TCKs are expected to share such information much later on in their relationships in line with the social penetration theorem of Taylor and Altman (1973).

Intimacy. I predicted that intimacy ratings would not be statistically different between the two samples and that there would be a negative correlation between intimacy and likelihood for both samples. I expected this negative correlation to be stronger for the non-TCK sample.

Documenting differential reactions to imagined scenarios of accelerated self-disclosure

I hypothesized that TCKs would be more welcoming of accelerated self-disclosures than non-TCKs and have a more positive impression of the accelerated self-discloser.

I also hypothesized that the more welcoming reaction to accelerated self-disclosures of TCKs would be correlated with the defining features of the TCK experience, such as open-mindedness, cultural empathy and a wish to speed up relationships and so on.

Method

Participants. The TCK sample was recruited by snowball sampling, beginning with targeted email and Facebook invitations based on personal contacts of the researcher and continuing through word of mouth, and through various TCK platforms on Facebook such as "Third Culture Kids Everywhere". The inclusion criterion for TCKs was having lived in a country outside of their parents' passport/native country during their developmental years (0-18) due to parents' jobs or for education in line with Pollock and Van Reken's (2010) definition of TCKs.

The non-TCK sample was comprised of adults recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, a platform that allows for the recruitment and payment of individuals for their participation in online surveys and experiments. The exclusion criterion for non-TCKs was having lived in a country outside of their parents' passport/native country in their developmental years (0-18) due to parents' jobs or for education. Participants in the TCK sample were paid $5 for their participation in the form of Amazon gift cards while non-TCK participants were paid $3.60 in compliance with the MTurk payment policies.

Six participants in the TCK sample who did not report having moved due to their parents' jobs or education between ages of 0-18, and two participants in the non-TCK sample who moved

due to their parents' jobs between ages of 0-18 were excluded from the analysis to comply with

the eligibility criteria.

Participants for Study 1 consisted of fifty individuals (N_{female} = 32, N_{male} = 17, $N_{prefer\ not\ to}$

$_{answer}$ =1) for the TCK sample and 47 individuals (N_{female} = 21, N_{male} = 26) for the non-TCK

sample. The mean age was 25.10 years (SD = 7.80) for the TCK sample and 31.83 (SD = 8.53)

for the non-TCK sample.

Twenty-eight TCKs had a single nationality, 19 TCKs had dual nationality and three

TCKs had three nationalities. In comparison, one non-TCK had dual nationality and the

remaining 46 participants had a single nationality.

The racial distribution by sample is listed in Table 1, and the list of nationalities for the

two samples can be found in Table A1, Appendix A.

Materials.

Reaction to Imagined Scenario Scale (RISS). This 10-item scale was constructed to

gauge the extent to which an individual is interested in pursuing a relationship with a new

acquaintance who brings up a certain intimate topic in an imagined scenario. This topic was

selected by the participant from a shortened version of the list of conversation topics, and was

inserted into the question texts. Items on either extremes of intimacy rankings based on the

results of an informal pilot study (N = 11) were removed from the original list, and the final list

of 12 items included items like *what home means to me* and *my political views*. I hoped that

items in the neutral to intimate range of intimacy would be more likely to be perceived as norm

breaches by some individuals and as good topics for early stages of friendships by others. On the

other hand, I expected that there would be consensus that items like *things I have done that I feel*

ashamed about would be more of a norm-breaking topic, and that *the weather* would be rated as a safe topic.

The final version of RISS included the following items: "I would be welcoming of this person", "I would feel burdened (reverse scored (R))", "I would be interested in talking to this person again", "I think it would be interesting to discuss <placeholder for intimate topic> with this potential friend", "I would like it that this person brought up <placeholder for intimate topic>", "I would be happy that we don't have to do small talk", "I would not want to talk about such an intimate topic with this person (R)", "I would be interested in being friends with such a person" and "I would not want to become friends with them (R)". The participants were asked to rate the items on a 5-point Likert Scale from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. There was a final item asking the participants to rate how negative or positive their impression of this imagined potential friend would be on a spectrum of 1 (*negative*) to 7 (*positive*). This item was standardized to a 5-point scale for analysis.

The Cronbach's Alpha for RISS was .91 for the TCK and .94 for the non-TCK sample and a factor analysis showed that the items loaded on a single dimension.

Adjectives. Adjectives provided by the participants were coded by two independent coders for positivity (1) and negativity (-1). The adjective was coded as 0 if it could not be unambiguously characterized as positive or negative, or if it was context-dependent.

Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI), Extraversion (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003). This 2-item subscale of TIPI measures extraversion by directly inquiring about it. Participants rate the extent to which they are "reserved, quiet" or "extraverted, enthusiastic" on a 7-point Likert scale from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. Spearman-Brown coefficient was $r_s = .65$ for the TCK sample (*N*=50, *p*=.00) and $r_s = .81$ for the non-TCK sample (*N*=47, *p*=.00)

(see Eisinga, Grotenhuis & Pelzer, 2013 for a comparison of Pearson correlation, Cronbach's alpha and Spearman-Brown coefficient as measures of reliability for 2-item scales).

Relational Mobility Scale (RMS), (Yuki et al., 2007). This 12-item scale measures the extent to which individuals perceive people in their immediate community as able to enter and exit relationships voluntarily. RMS is a commonly and cross-culturally used measure that includes items like "They (people in my society) have many chances to get to know other people". Participants were given the RMS and asked to rate the items on a 7-point Likert scale from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. The Cronbach's Alpha for RMS was .79 for the TCK and .94 for the non-TCK sample.

Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ), Open-Mindedness (MPQO) and Cultural Empathy (MPQCE) (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2001). The MPQ is an extensively used, multidimensional measure of multicultural effectiveness that includes the following dimensions: Cultural Empathy, Open-mindedness, Emotional Stability, Social Initiative and Flexibility. The participants of this study were given 14 items of the 18-item Cultural Empathy Subscale and 12 items of 18-item Open-mindedness Subscale and were asked to rate each item on a 7-point Likert scale from *Strongly Disagree* to *Agree.* These items included "enjoys getting to know others profoundly" and "has an idea of what is appropriate in a specific culture". MPQO yielded a Cronbach's Alpha of .71 for the TCK sample and .87 for the non-TCK sample. The Cronbach's Alpha values for the MPQCE were .81 for the TCK sample and .92 for the non-TCK sample.

Speeding Up Relationships Scale (SURS). This scale was built using a rational approach based on previous literature to directly address TCKs' approach to relationships. The participants were asked to rate 4 items on a 6-point Likert scale from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*.

These items were: "I dislike small talk", "I often wish I could speed up relationships", "When I meet someone, I would like to get to know them as quickly as possible", and "I often rush into relationships". The Cronbach's Alpha values for the TCK Relationship Scale were .75 for the TCK sample and .53 for the non-TCK sample.

   Mobility information. Participants were asked the following questions: "how many times have you moved internationally in your life?", "how many times have you moved within the same country in your life?", and "have you lived in more than one country between ages of 0-18?". Participants were also asked to list the countries they lived in between the ages of 0-18 and provide the number of years spent in that country as well as the primary purpose of the move. Participants were also asked whether they have moved countries between ages of 0-18 due to parents' jobs, marriage, education, war or natural disaster.

   Procedure. This study consisted of various questionnaires and tasks hosted on Qualtrics and took approximately 30 minutes to complete. First, participants were provided with a list of 31 conversation topics (see Table 2) and were asked to rate each item on intimacy (1 = *not at all intimate* to 5 = *very intimate*) and on how likely they are to talk to a potential friend about this topic (1 = *very unlikely* to 5 = *very likely*). The topics, presented in no particular order, ranged from intimate items such as *things I have done that I feel ashamed about* to non-intimate items such as *the weather*. The items were selected from a larger pool that included modified versions of items previously used in self-disclosure studies such as *what I look for in a friend* (Aron, Melinat, Aron, Vallone, & Bator, 1997), *my chief health concerns* (Jourard, 1959), *things I am proud of* (Miller, Berg & Archer, 1983), *my sexuality*, *whether I want to travel the world* (Raphael & Dohrenwend, 1987), *my views on drinking* and *my feelings about raising children*

(Jourard, 1958), and items generated by the investigator, such as *what home means to me* and

what I am thankful for.

Participants then provided the most intimate topic that they would talk to a potential

friend about that was not included in the study and rated this topic on intimacy (1 = *not at all*

intimate to 5 = *very intimate*).

Participants were then asked to select from a list of moderate to moderately high intimacy

topics a topic they personally would perceive to be surprising to have brought up in conversation

by a potential friend. Afterwards, participants were prompted to imagine an interaction in which

a potential friend engaged in accelerated self-disclosure in an early interaction on the particular

topic they had previously selected. I expected this individually tailored approach would allow for

more pronounced reactions about the imagined scenario. Participants were asked to rate their

relationship interest for this imagined potential friend using the Reaction to Imagined Scenario

Scale. Following the Reaction to Imagined Scenario Scale, participants were asked to provide

three adjectives they would use to describe this person.

Participants were then given the Extraversion subscale of the Ten Item Personality

Inventory (Gosling, Rentfrow & Swann, 2003), the Relational Mobility Scale (Yuki et al., 2007),

the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2001), Speeding

Up Relationships Scale, and various questions regarding demographic information and previous

mobility. This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Wellesley College.

Results and Discussion

Characteristics of the Samples. One-way ANOVAs were conducted to compare TCKs

and non-TCKs on open-mindedness (MPQO), cultural empathy (MPQCE), international and

within country residential mobility (average number of moves), relational mobility (RMS),

approach to relationships (SURS) (Table 3 for descriptive statistics and Figure 1 for an illustration).

Open-mindedness and cultural empathy. The hypotheses that TCKs would be more open-minded and have higher cultural empathy than non-TCKs were supported. TCKs (*M*=6.02, *SD*=.49) scored significantly higher than non-TCKs (*M*=5.12, *SD*=.87) on open-mindedness, *F*(1,95)=39.60, *p* =.00. Similarly, TCKs (*M*=5.74, *SD*=.59) scored higher than non-TCKs (*M*=5.37, *SD*=.88) on cultural empathy, *F*(1,95)=5.83, *p* =.02, replicating Dewaele and Van Oudenhoven's findings (2009).

Residential mobility. The hypothesis that TCKs would be higher in residential mobility than non-TCKs was supported for international moves, but not for within-country moves. TCKs (*M*=4.96, *SD*=3.30) reported significantly higher international moves than non-TCKs (*M*=.09, *SD*=.48), *F*(1,94) =94.68, *p*=.00. It is possible that TCKs' high international mobility exposes them to different cultures, customs and perspectives, and is instrumental in their open-mindedness and high cultural empathy. In addition, TCKs may build and strengthen their social skills through the practice they get from having to establish new relationships in each environment. No difference was found between the number of within-country moves of TCKs (*M*=3.04, *SD*=4.05) and non-TCKs (*M*=3.14, *SD*=2.06), *F*(1,95)=1.28, *p*=.89.

Relational mobility. I hypothesized that TCKs would score higher in relational mobility given their highly mobile lifestyle, their reputation as individuals who easily and quickly establish friendships as well as their "risky" approach to friendships in which they skip the low intimacy topics and begin interacting at highly intimate levels (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). Contrary to my predictions, TCKs (*M*=4.44, *SD*=.86) were lower than non-TCKs in relational mobility (*M*=5.11, *SD*=1.06), *F*(1,94) = 11.51 *p* =.00). In other words, it appears that TCKs feel

less able to move in and out of relationships voluntarily than non-TCKs. The explanation of this

finding hinges on the word *voluntary*. TCKs may be more adept at adapting to new environments

and quickly establishing friendships, but at the core of this ability lies necessity rather than

preference. TCKs tend to have little say over their mobility as children and end up exiting and

entering new social environments as a consequence of external factors such as reassignments of

parents to other locations. This pattern of frequent and abrupt moves is often replicated in

adulthood, and many TCKs report restlessness (Melles & Frey, 2014).

Extraversion. As predicted, TCKs (*M*=4.50, *SD*=1.38) scored significantly higher on

extraversion than non-TCKs (*M*=3.15, *SD*=1.64), *F*(1,95)=19.36, *p*=.00.

Approach to relationships. A one-way ANOVA showed that TCKs (*M*=3.91, *SD*=.91)

scored significantly higher than non-TCKs (*M*=2.71, *SD*=1.01) on SURS, *F*(1,94)=37.19, *p*=.00.

This finding supports the hypothesis that TCKs show a dislike towards small talk and prefer to

speed up relationships.

Self-disclosure patterns

Intimacy and Likelihood Ratings. One-way ANOVAs were conducted to compare how

intimate the two samples rated the conversation topics and how likely participants were to bring

up the topics in conversation with a potential friend (Table 2).

Contrary to predictions, there were statistically significant differences in how intimate the

topics were rated by participants in the two samples. TCKs appear to have a much more

constricted range for intimacy ratings (1.78 to 3.90) than non-TCKs (.98 to 4.51). The

relationship between intimacy and likelihood for each topic as well as the range of intimacy is

illustrated by sample in Figures 2 and 3. The differences of intimacy ratings between the two

samples appear to be most pronounced for topics at either end of intimacy, such as *the weather,*

my likes and dislikes in music and *whether I have siblings* at the low end of intimacy, and *life decisions I regret, things I have done that I feel ashamed about* and *my shortcomings as a person* at the high end of intimacy. It appears that TCKs perceive small talk topics as more intimate than non-TCKs, and view personal topics as less intimate than non-TCKs.

When a one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the intimacy ratings participants gave for the most intimate topic they would talk to a potential friend about that had not been included in this study, no significant difference between TCKs (*M*=4.13, *SD*=.84) and non-TCKs (*M*=4.05, *SD*=.84) was found, *F*(1,90)=.18, *p*=.67. If the mean intimacy ratings for this question reflects a subjective upper line for intimacy that participants are not willing to cross, it is interesting to observe that the mean intimacy ratings for all 31 topics investigated in this study fall below this upper line for TCKs. The three highest intimacy topics for non-TCKs were *life decisions I regret* (*M*=4.51, *SD*=.93), *things I have done that I feel ashamed about* (M=4.49, SD=1.00) and *my shortcomings as a person* (*M*=4.21, *SD*=1.08). In comparison, the three highest intimacy topics were my *health concerns* (*M*=3.90, *SD*=1.09), *things I have done that I feel ashamed about* (*M*=3.84, *SD*=1.38), and *what home means to me* (*M*=3.74, *SD*=1.08) for TCKs. *Home* appears to be a topic that is particularly salient for TCKs who often feel rootless and struggle to find a sense of belonging (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011). As hypothesized, both TCKs and non-TCKs reported low likelihood that they would bring up with a potential friend topics highest in intimacy such as *things I have done that I feel ashamed about* and *my fears*. Given that TCKs are reluctant to share highly intimate information even with close friends due to a fear of loss (Bushong, 2013; Pollock & Van Reken, 2010), it is not surprising that TCKs would be guarded about such intimate topics with potential friends.

TCKs reported lower likelihood than non-TCKs for small talk topics, such as *the weather*, *my favorite ways of spending time* and *my likes and dislikes in music*. An examination of Table 2 reveals that these topics are amongst the lowest intimacy items for both samples, and supports the hypothesis that TCKs would skip (or at least show willingness to skip) lower intimacy topics and begin interactions at a higher intimacy level.

The hypothesis that TCKs would report higher likelihood that they would bring up moderate to moderately high intimacy topics with a potential friend (engage in accelerated self-disclosure) compared to non-TCKs was also supported. While there was no statistically significant difference between how intimate TCKs and non-TCKs viewed topics like *my views on social welfare, my political views, my opinions about religion* and *my views on immigration*, TCKs were markedly more likely to talk to potential friends about these moderately intimate topics (range of intimacy for TCKs: 2.64 – 3.40; range of intimacy for non-TCKs: 2.66 – 3.16). TCKs similarly reported significantly greater likelihood than non-TCKs for topics such as *my goals for the future, my sexuality* and *my romantic relationships* (range of intimacy for TCKs: 2.70 – 3.56; range of intimacy for non-TCKs: 2.68 – 4.04).

A regression analysis was conducted at the level of conversation topic, with sample and mean intimacy ratings as predictors of mean likelihood ratings. Intimacy significantly predicted likelihood that a topic would be brought up in a conversation with a potential friend collapsing across sample type, $b= -.83$, $SE=.07$, $p=.00$. This model accounts for 81% of the variance in the data set ($R^2=.81$, $F(3,58)=81.86$, $p=.00$)), and supports the hypothesis that the relationship between intimacy and likelihood would be negative for both samples. The hypothesis that the negative correlation would be stronger for the TCK sample was not supported as there was no significant interaction between sample type and intimacy ($b= -.08$, $SE=.12$, $p=.51$).

Reactions to imagined scenario of accelerated self-disclosure

  Relationship Interest for Accelerated Self-Discloser. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of sample type on relationship interest, $F(1,94)= 5.94$, $p=.02$. TCKs' ($M=3.47$, $SD=.72$) reported relationship interest for the accelerated self-discloser was significantly higher than non-TCKs' ($M=3.08$, $SD=.85$). Similarly, a one-way ANOVA revealed that TCKs ($M=.45$, $SD=.88$) provided more positive adjectives than non-TCKs ($M=.29$, $SD=.91$), $F(1,271)= 2.30$, $p=.13$. While the difference between the two samples was not statistically significant, the p value approached significance. In addition, TCKs provided highly colorful and emotionally charged phrases to describe the accelerated self-discloser, such as *effortless*, *amazing*, *beautiful*, *dear*, *family*, *marvelous*, *meaningful*, *noble*, and *one-of-a-kind* (see Table A2 in Appendix A for full lists of adjectives provided). For both samples, *open* and *honest* were the most commonly used adjectives.

  Taken together with TCKs' significantly higher ratings on SURS indicating their dislike of small talk and wish to speed up relationships, these findings support the hypothesis that TCKs would be more welcoming of a potential friend who brings up intimate topics early on in a relationship. TCKs overall had a more positive impression and were welcoming of the individual who engaged in accelerated self-disclosure in the imagined scenario than non-TCKs. These findings indicate clear differences in how TCKs and non-TCKs approach early interactions and in how welcoming these two groups are of intimate conversations with a potential friend.

  Constructs affecting relationship interest for accelerated self-discloser. Pearson correlations were conducted to test the hypothesis that welcoming reactions to accelerated self-disclosures would be correlated with the defining features of the TCK experience (Table 4).

  Relational mobility was negatively correlated with relationship interest in the non-TCK

sample (r=-.34, p=.02). There was no correlation between relational mobility and relationship interest in the TCK sample (r=.00, p=.98). This finding can be explained the idea that the more choice individuals have in relationships, the more selective they can be in terms of similarity (Bahns, Pickett, & Crandall, 2012; Schug, Yuki, Horikawa, & Takemura, 2009). The likelihood ratings discussed above as well as the scores on SURS indicate that non-TCKs show a preference towards low intimacy, low risk topics for early interactions in line with the social penetration theorem (Taylor & Altman, 1973) and that they do not feel a sense of urgency to establish relationships. The dissimilarity between the gradual approach non-TCKs prefer to take in early interactions and the accelerated self-discloser in the imagined scenario may prompt the non-TCK that there may be significant dissimilarity between them and the discloser, and that they may be better off pursuing another relationship.

Within-country residential mobility, cultural empathy and extraversion were unrelated to relationship interest in both samples.

Number of international moves was negatively correlated with relationship interest in the TCK sample (r=-.41, p=.00). This finding is consistent with the idea that while TCKs are open to accelerated self-disclosures (topics of moderate to moderately high intimacy), they are reluctant to engage in interactions of the highest level of intimacy even with close friends (Bushong, 2013). It is likely that the more TCKs move internationally, the more friendships they end up having to leave behind, and the more ingrained their defense mechanisms for preventing loss and grief become. Hence, TCKs who report the highest international mobility are likely to be the most cautious when it comes to high intimacy in relationships. It can be said that a topic that is "surprising" is one that resides outside of one's comfort zone, and while the boundaries of this zone is permeable for non-TCKs (as they are willing to eventually share highly intimate

information with close friends), the traumatic impact of frequent international moves renders

topics such as *life decisions I regret* off-limits for TCKs.

Scores on the Speeding up Relationships Scale were positively correlated with

relationship interest in the TCK sample ($r=.46$, $p=.00$) and in the non-TCK sample ($r=.36$, $p=.01$).

The more individuals wish to speed up relationships, the more welcoming they will be towards

an individual that engages in accelerated self-disclosure.

Open-mindedness and relationship interest were positively correlated in the non-TCK

sample ($r=.29$, $p=.05$) but not in the TCK sample ($r=.15$, $p=.32$). It appears that there was not

enough variation in open-mindedness scores of the TCK sample (variance = .24) to show the

correlation between these variables compared to the non-TCK sample (variance=.76). As

discussed above, TCKs are significantly more open-minded than non-TCKs. Taken together with

this information, the significant correlation between open-mindedness and relationship interest

for non-TCKs indicates that a sufficient amount of open-mindedness is needed to be welcoming

of accelerated self-disclosures. TCKs can be said to be above this threshold of open-mindedness

such that further increases in open-mindedness does not influence relationship interest. On the

other hand, for non-TCKs who are below this threshold of open-mindedness, relationship interest

for a potential friend engaging in accelerated self-disclosure increases as the non-TCKs become

more open-minded.

If this is the case, it should be possible to increase non-TCKs' relationship interest by

manipulating their level of open-mindedness to mimic that of TCKs. This hypothesis is tested in

Study 2 using an open-mindedness prime.

Study 2

Study 2 aimed to answer the question "do non-TCKs become more welcoming of

accelerated self-disclosure when they are primed to be more open-minded?" To this end,

participants were experimentally primed for open-mindedness and completed two tasks in which they rated their relationship interest for an individual. The first task involved viewing a video of two new acquaintances engaging in accelerated self-disclosure or small talk. The second task was a replication of the imagined scenario task from Study 1.

Task 1 (video task): Effects of intimacy and open-mindedness on relationship interest

Given the lower ratings by non-TCKs for the accelerated self-discloser in the imaginary scenario in Study 1, I expected that participants in low intimacy conditions would indicate higher relationship interest for the discloser than participants in high intimacy conditions. I hypothesized that while there would be no main effect for open-mindedness, there would be an interaction between open-mindedness and intimacy level such that open-mindedness would reduce the difference between preference for high and low intimacy conversations by increasing relationship interest in high intimacy conditions.

Task 2 (imagined scenario task): Documenting differential reactions to imagined scenarios of accelerated self-disclosure

I hypothesized that there would be a main effect for open-mindedness such that those exposed to the open-mindedness prime would be more welcoming of accelerated self-disclosures than those in the control condition. Unlike in the video task which had two levels for intimacy, all participants were asked to imagine a scenario in which high intimacy topics were discussed between potential friends.

Method

Participants and Design. 322 adults (N_{female}=121, N_{male}=199, $N_{missing}$=1) were recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Participants were paid $1.80 in compliance with the MTurk payment policies.

The exclusion criterion was having lived in a country outside of their parents' passport/native country in their developmental years (0-18). Participants who reported living in more than one country between ages of 0-18 (N=31) were excluded from analysis (N=31). Similarly, participants who spent less than 5 minutes (N=20) or over 30 minutes (N=12) on the task as well as participants who did not comply with the task instructions (N=3) were excluded from analysis. After these participants were filtered out, participants for Study 2 consisted of (N = 256; N_{female} = 92, N_{male} = 163, $N_{missing}$=1). The mean age was 34.23 years (SD = 9.97).

The racial distribution is listed in Table 5. Two-hundred-forty-six participants had a single nationality, 7 participants had dual nationality and 1 participant had 3 nationalities ($N_{missing}$=2) (see Table A3 for list of countries).

The experiment used a 2 (prime type: open-mindedness, control) x 2 (level of intimacy: low, high) between-subjects design with random assignment to conditions.

Materials.

Prime task. Half of the participants were asked to read a text aimed at priming open-mindedness (Appendix B) and the remaining half read a control text (Appendix C). The open-mindedness prime text was a blog post about how the definition of "normal" differs in different contexts and cultures while the control text talked about population statistics in different countries and continents. The texts used the same country names and were approximately of same length.

Participants in the open-mindedness group were asked to imagine a scenario with a positive outcome in which an individual experiences a mismatch (of opinion, expectation, customs and so on) and write a few sentences about how this mismatch was overcome.

Participants in the control group were asked to write whatever they could remember from the text.

To test the effectiveness of the prime, a pilot study of 63 participants was run as a manipulation check. Participants who spent less than a minute on the task were removed from the sample ($N=5$). While not statistically different, participants in the open-mindedness condition ($N= 22$, $M=4.98$, $SD=1.11$) rated higher on the MPQ Open-mindedness measure than participants in the control group ($N=36$; $M=4.69$, $SD=1.64$), $t(56)=.75$, $p=.46$.

Stimuli. The video clip participants viewed was an interaction between two new acquaintances discussing either high intimacy or low intimacy topics. The interaction in the high intimacy video included self-disclosures about *romantic relationships*, *political views* and *opinions about religion,* while the low intimacy video interaction was about *the weather*, *likes and dislikes in music* and *whether I have siblings*. The high intimacy topics were selected as topics that both TCKs and non-TCKs rated as quite intimate but that the TCKs were more likely to bring up in conversation based on the findings of Study 1. On the other hand, the low intimacy topics were selected on the basis of being rated as low in intimacy and high in likelihood of being brought up in conversation by both samples. *Weather* was included as a low intimacy topic despite low to moderate intimacy ratings given by TCKs as it is a topic that epitomizes small talk.

An effort was made to keep confounds to a minimum by controlling various aspects of the scripts such as the outline, the context of the two conversations, the number of words, and the level of reciprocity of the listener, as well as various aspects of the video clips such as the length, body language and facial expressions, how close the individuals in the video sat and so on. The video scripts can be found in Appendix D and E.

Procedure. Following the informed consent, each participant was asked to read a blog

post and completed a brief task regarding the text they read. Then, they viewed a video clip,

completed a modified form of the RISS which asked about their relationship interest for one of

the two individuals in the video (see Appendix F) and provided three adjectives to describe this

person.

The participants were also asked to select amongst *their political views*, *their opinions*

about religion and *their romantic relationships* a topic that would be surprising if it was brought

up by a potential friend. They then indicated their relationship interest for this person in the

imaginary scenario by filling out the RISS, which incorporated into the items the topic of the

participant's choice. After the RISS, participants provided three adjectives to describe this person.

Participants were also asked various questions about their previous mobility and demographics.

Overall, the study took approximately 15 minutes to complete and was hosted on Qualtrics. This

study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Wellesley College.

Results and Discussion

A two-way between-subjects ANOVA (intimacy of video x prime) was conducted for the

RISS scores for the video task (Table 6). There was a main effect of intimacy ($F(1,254)=8.11$,

$p=.01$) such that participants who viewed the low intimacy video ($N=131$, $M=4.16$, $SD=.52$)

reported greater relationship interest than participants who viewed the high intimacy video

($N=123$, $M=3.95$, $SD=.64$). There was no main effect of the prime ($F(1,254)=.42$, $p=.52$). The

interaction of intimacy and prime approached significance ($F(1,254)=2.54$, $p=.11$). While not

significant, the prime led to increases in RISS scores for the participants in the low intimacy

video condition (control: $M=4.07$, $SD=.56$; prime: $M=4.23$, $SD=.46$). On the other hand, RISS

scores for participants in the high intimacy video condition were not influenced by the prime (control: *M*=3.99, *SD*=.56; prime: *M*=3.92, *SD*=.71).

It is possible that the topics in the high intimacy video were too intimate and lead to negative reactions which the open-mindedness prime was not strong enough to mitigate. A differential dropout rate of participants in the high intimacy condition being more likely to withdraw from the study can be taken as another indication of strong negative reactions to the high intimacy video. Given the slight increase in RISS scores in the open-mindedness condition for the low intimacy video, it is possible that there would have been an increase in RISS scores if less intimate topics had been used in the stimuli, such as *my goals for the future* and *my views on social welfare*.

A 2-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted on the adjectives participants used to describe the individual in the video. Adjectives were coded for positivity (1) and negativity (0) and the total score (sum of the three adjectives generated) was used for analysis. The interaction of intimacy and prime approached significance ($F(1,321)$=3.55, *p*=.06) such that participants in the prime condition (*M*=2.70 , *SD*=.60) who watched the low intimacy video scored higher than controls (*M*=2.48 , *SD*=.75), and participants in the prime condition (*M*=2.51 , *SD*=.94) who watched the high intimacy video scored lower than controls (*M*=2.62 , *SD*=.76). There was no main effect of intimacy ($F(1,321)$=.07, *p*=.79) or of prime ($F(1,321)$=.43, *p*=.52).

The imagined scenario task followed the prime or control text and the video task. The mean scores are illustrated in Table 6. A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of prime on relationship interest ($F(1,254)$=.34, *p*=.56), and the hypothesis that individuals who were exposed to the open-mindedness prime (*N*=122, *M*=2.94, *SD*=.86) would be more

welcoming of accelerated self-disclosures than individuals in the control condition (*N*=133, *M*=2.88, *SD*=.79) was not supported.

An unexpected pattern emerged in the RISS scores for the imagined scenario task upon further analysis. A two-way between-subjects ANOVA revealed a significant effect of the intimacy of the video viewed prior to the imagined scenario task (*F*(1,255)=8.97, *p*=.00)) such that participants who had viewed the high intimacy video (*N*=123, *M*=3.07, *SD*=.79) gave higher RISS ratings in the imagined scenario task than participants who had viewed the low intimacy video (*N*=132, *M*=2.76, *SD*=.83). There was no main effect of the prime (*F*(1,255)=.40, *p*=.53) nor an interaction, *F*(1,255)=1.59, *p*=.21). However, participants in the open-mindedness condition who had previously viewed the low intimacy video (*N*=65, *M*=2.86, *SD*=.87) showed greater relationship interest than participants in the control condition who had viewed the low intimacy video (*N*=67, *M*=2.66, *SD*=.78). This pattern supports the above stated-idea that the open-mindedness prime may have been effective with more moderate intimate topics.

It appears that while the open-mindedness prime was ineffective in increasing relationship interest in either task, the high intimacy video in the prior task modelled a high intimacy early interaction and allowed participants to gain a new understanding of what early interactions can entail. The high intimacy video exposed participants to an interaction in which intimate information about religious opinions, political beliefs and romantic relationships were discussed by potential friends in a respectful and positive manner. These participants, having experienced an example of such an interaction, had a less negative reaction to the accelerated self-disclosure in the imagined scenario task. On the other hand, participants in the low intimacy condition viewed an ordinary interaction between two potential friends (*their likes and dislikes in music, whether they have siblings, the weather*). Given that intimate disclosures are often

reserved for close friends, it is possible that these participants had no such reference point when faced with the task of imagining a highly intimate interaction between potential friends on *religion*, *political views* or *romantic relationships*.

For the imagined scenario, a 2-way between-subjects ANOVA on the positivity score for adjectives generated revealed a significant main effect of intimacy ($F(1,321)=15.68$, $p=.00$) such that participants who had viewed the high intimacy video in the previous video task ($M=1.32$, $SD=.1.22$) provided more positive adjectives than the participants who had viewed the low intimacy video in the previous task ($M=.82$, $SD=1.07$). There was no main effect of prime ($F(1,321)=.08$, $p=.77$) and no interaction ($F(1,321)=.02$, $p=.90$).

Looking across the RISS scores for the two tasks with the caveats that the two tasks are not fully independent and that the effects of the videos watched carried on to the imagined scenario task, there was an overall decrease in RISS scores in the imagined scenario task compared to the video task (Table 6). The imagined scenario provided little information about the discloser as the only information participants had about the discloser was that they were a potential friend who brought up intimate topics in an early interaction. Conversely, the video task afforded much more information to the participant about the discloser from the discloser's opinions on the topics discussed, to the way they talked and dressed, and the participants indicated their relationship interest for a particular individual who had appeared in the video. In other words, the video task put a face to the accelerated self-discloser. Hence, there was an overall decrease in RISS scores when the medium of the task was changed from video to imagination.

The decrease in RISS scores was more substantial for the participants who had viewed the low intimacy video ($M=1.40$, $SD=.93$) than the high intimacy video ($M=.89$, $SD=.84$), which

can be explained by the difference in levels of intimacy in the two tasks and the priming effect of the high intimacy video. There were two levels of intimacy in the video task (low, high) while all participants in the imagined scenario task were asked to imagine an exchange of highly intimate information (*their opinions on religion, their political views, their romantic relationships*). Hence, when confronted with an imagined interaction high in intimacy, participants in the high intimacy video condition had already been exposed to such an interaction and had an idea about what this imagined interaction could entail. Participants in the low intimacy video condition who did not have such a reference point reacted much more negatively to the accelerated self-discloser in the imagined scenario.

General Discussion

Findings of Study 1 give empirical support to existing literature about TCKs' self-disclosure patterns as well as illustrating differences between how TCKs and non-TCKs approach early interactions. Research on TCKs is limited and to my knowledge, the present study is the first to investigate the relationship between various aspects of the TCK experience such as open-mindedness and cultural empathy in the context of self-disclosure patterns in early interactions. A better understanding of the consequences of a highly mobile and multicultural lifestyle is invaluable in our quickly globalizing world, and future research should investigate which aspects of the TCK experience can be capitalized on to enhance the early interactions of non-TCKs. While it may seem contradictory to turn to TCKs' relationship experiences when relationships remain as one of the biggest challenges for TCKs, it should be remembered that the TCK experience itself is one of paradoxes. Existing research indicates that TCKs are, in general, very successful in initial interactions with people from diverse backgrounds and that they are able to quickly establish many fulfilling relationships. The interpersonal difficulties they face

tend to arise in the long term when high mobility or defense mechanisms developed in fear of loss factor into relationships.

For many non-TCKs, discussing highly intimate topics with a potential friend may be, at best, a novel experience, and at worst, a deviant act that breaks the norms of social interaction. On the other hand, such experiences may not be just preferred but also commonplace for TCKs. Greenholtz and Kim (2009) note that TCKs tend to move from one TCK bubble to another. Given TCKs' well-established dislike towards small talk, these bubbles may facilitate well-received opportunities to have fast-paced, intimate interactions. One possible explanation of the present findings is that TCKs acquire a *schema* for accelerated self-disclosures through their repertoire of high intimacy early interactions, and refer to this schema when a potential friend engages in accelerated self-disclosure. Schemas are cognitive structures of past experience and knowledge that can guide and help make sense of future experience (Baldwin, 1992). *Relational schemas* in particular develop through encounters with similar patterns of interaction over time, and provide a framework which situates *the self* and *the other* in the interaction as well as providing an *interpersonal script* as a guide for exchange of information (Baldwin, 1992). Hence, TCKs' higher relationship interest for the accelerated self-discloser is made possible by their high open-mindedness, and is facilitated by their potentially overlapping schemas for accelerated self-disclosure. Furthermore, TCKs' preference for other TCKs (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010) may be in part due to the appeal of a shared understanding about what early interactions can constitute, and about the constraints surrounding relationships in the highly mobile world of TCKs. The relationship between two TCKs may more comfortably and quickly be initiated at a higher intimacy level. Both parties approaching the friendship with the idea that it may soon be dissolved can allow for a lower commitment relationship that may be dissolved without much

conflict. In contrast, as findings from Study 1 illustrate, non-TCKs are much less likely to bring up topics high in intimacy in an early interaction, and follow the gradual process of social penetration (Altman & Taylor, 1973). As such, non-TCKs may lack a schema for accelerated self-disclosures, and are taken aback when confronted with a high intimacy disclosure. This negative reaction to accelerated self-disclosures is illustrated in the imagined scenario task (Study 2) for participants who viewed the low intimacy video for the previous task. Strikingly, individuals who had previously been exposed to an accelerated self-disclosure were significantly more open and welcoming to subsequent accelerated self-disclosures than individuals who had been exposed to small talk. While it would be unreasonable to suggest that the participants developed a schema through a single exposure to an accelerated self-disclosure, or that the positive influence of this exposure would be long-lasting, this finding illustrates the power of interactions with dissimilar others.

A final consideration is the role and importance of similarity in friendship formation of TCKs. As individuals from all around the world and from a myriad of life experiences TCKs are hardly birds of a feather, but it is undeniable that they flock together. Indeed, TCKs find it easier to become friends and establish connections with other TCKs despite the diverse experience of each TCK (Choi, Bernard, & Luke, 2013; Greenholtz & Kim, 2009; Pollock & Van Reken, 2010). It is possible that TCKs' open-mindedness and vast fund of experiences with people from other backgrounds mediate the importance of similarity in friendship formation, permitting a favorable balance between similarity and dissimilarity to be struck in relationships between TCKs. Individuals need to be dissimilar to some extent to be able to use each other as a resource, and in line with a self-expansion model which "posits a fundamental motivation to expand potential efficacy (the resources, perspectives, and identities available to help achieve one's

goals)" (Aron, Steele & Kashdan, 2006, p. 388), a more dissimilar other can offer the individual

more opportunity for self-expansion. The dissimilarity between two TCKs can create ample

opportunities for the maximum exchange of resources such as perspectives and knowledge.

Furthermore, if the TCK views the relationship as a temporary bond, a compatible friend who

can help satisfy needs for the time being may be more desirable than friend who is similar. Choi,

Bernard and Luke (2013) found that TCKs prefer *functionally connected* friendships that value

the friend as a resource to learn from and challenge oneself over *emotionally connected*

friendships in which the friend is seen as a nurturer who provides warmth, support and validation.

The particulars of similarity-attraction and the friendship choices of TCKs are beyond the scope

of this investigation, but an interesting extension to the present study would be to explore Bahns,

Pickett, and Crandall's (2012) notion that more diverse environments foster less diverse

friendships in the TCK context where individuals are highly diverse, have multicultural and

mobile lifestyles and value diversity.

Limitations

Various limitations should be kept in mind when considering the present findings. First, it

should be noted that this study primarily relies on self-reports. People may be inaccurate in their

reports on cognitive processes (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977), and self-reports are not only

susceptible to response biases but are also constrained by the level of awareness of participants.

Future studies should endeavor to utilize behavioral measures.

Intimacy in interpersonal relationships is a dynamic process that is dependent on a

myriad of factors, including the attributions made by the listener and the reciprocity effect

(Altman & Taylor, 1973; Miller, Berg and Archer, 1983). The present studies remove all

contribution of such factors to liking as in neither the scenario task nor the video task the

participant is able to reciprocate or attribute the disclosure to their personal traits. The imagined

nature of the interaction with the potential friend means that each participant is conjuring up a

unique narrative for the scenario based on what they think such an interaction can entail. This

narrative is likely to be shaped by previous experiences, if any, and by preexisting biases. Hence,

there likely exists great variation in what participants base their relationship interest on.

Furthermore, the topics presented to the participants to select from as a surprising topic were not

controlled for valence. It is possible that participants who chose topics such as *my fears* and *my*

shortcomings may have in part reacted to the negative valence of the topics compared to

participants who chose topics such as *what makes me the person I am.* These potential confounds

were targeted in Study 2 through the use of video stimuli. However, while the use of the video

increases authenticity, it is still the case that many factors that contribute to liking for the

discloser are removed. It is possible that the relationship interest and liking that the participants

report of the discloser is less "of" the discloser but more of the actual content that was shared and

whether this content is to the liking of the listener. Future studies can employ a more ecological

approach by having participants actually interact with a bogus stranger rather than react to a

recording, or could utilize role-playing set-up.

Conclusion

The findings of this study suggest that open-mindedness, a sense of urgency about

establishing relationships and a shared understanding of what early interactions entail are

instrumental in the development of accelerated self-disclosures in TCKs.

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Table 1

Percentages of race/ethnicity by sample (Study 1)

	TCK sample	Non-TCK sample
Asian American	-	2.1
East Asian	2.0	2.1
South Asian	6.1	-
South East Asian	4.1	2.1
Biracial	4.1	-
African American	-	6.4
African Continent	4.1	-
Hispanic - Central American	2.0	-
Latina/ Latino	10.2	2.1
White/ Caucasian	57.1	85.1
Prefer not to answer	4.1	-
Missing	6.1	-
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 2
Combined intimacy and likelihood ratings

	Non-TCKs (*N*=47)				TCKs (*N*=50)			
	Intimacy		Likelihood		Intimacy		Likelihood	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
The weather	**.98**	**.15**	**4.61**	**.77**	**1.78**	**1.28**	**4.08**	**1.12**
My likes and dislikes in music	**1.34**	**.76**	**4.28**	**.97**	**2.28**	**1.18**	**3.70**	**.97**
Whether I have siblings	**1.43**	**.83**	4.23	.94	**2.06**	**1.39**	4.24	.80
Whether I want to travel the world	1.51	.88	4.09	.97	1.94	1.36	4.43	.71
Places where I have worked	**1.68**	**.98**	3.85	1.02	**2.30**	**1.33**	3.68	.89
My views on drinking	1.83	.92	3.28	1.16	2.04	.99	3.62	.83
Traditions in my culture	**1.94**	**1.07**	3.49	1.08	**2.46**	**1.23**	3.50	1.04
My favorite ways of spending time	**1.94**	**.94**	**4.34**	**.82**	**2.46**	**1.27**	**3.90**	**.86**
How I feel about my work/studies	**2.02**	**.90**	3.89	.79	**2.62**	**1.29**	4.14	.86
Things I am proud of	**2.53**	**2.02**	**3.72**	**.93**	**3.02**	**1.19**	**3.24**	**1.00**
What I am thankful for	2.62	1.21	3.38	.97	3.00	1.11	3.30	1.02
My views on immigration	2.64	1.31	**2.72**	**1.17**	2.80	1.28	**3.58**	**1.23**
My views on social welfare	2.66	1.22	**2.64**	**1.15**	2.64	1.21	**3.52**	**1.13**
My goals for the future	2.68	.96	**3.45**	**.93**	2.70	1.13	**3.80**	**.70**
What home means to me	**2.74**	**1.28**	3.19	1.08	**3.74**	**1.08**	3.22	1.17
My quirks	2.77	1.05	3.28	.93	2.98	1.19	3.44	.95
Whom I most admire or resent	2.83	1.00	3.26	1.01	3.02	1.22	3.12	1.13
My feelings about raising children	2.94	1.15	2.68	1.20	3.26	1.18	3.04	1.05
What I look for in a friend	2.94	1.17	2.96	1.20	3.38	1.09	2.74	1.07
Advice I would give to my younger self	3.00	1.12	2.74	1.09	3.14	1.03	3.10	1.07
My political views	3.00	1.16	**2.72**	**1.10**	3.06	1.20	**3.36**	**1.19**
What is important to me in life	3.06	1.13	3.30	.87	3.28	.97	3.54	.84
My opinions about religion	3.17	1.45	**2.53**	**1.32**	3.40	1.20	**3.10**	**1.30**
What makes me the person I am	3.28	1.25	2.77	1.07	3.60	1.43	3.04	1.09
My health concerns	3.64	1.36	2.13	1.06	3.90	1.09	2.52	1.34
My sexuality	3.68	1.43	**2.36**	**1.21**	3.22	1.43	**3.20**	**1.07**
My romantic relationships	**4.04**	**1.00**	**2.26**	**.97**	**3.56**	**1.07**	**3.06**	**1.25**
My fears	**4.04**	**1.06**	2.00	.93	**3.42**	**1.33**	2.20	.93
My shortcomings as a person	**4.21**	**1.08**	**1.76**	**.90**	**3.42**	**1.31**	**2.28**	**.90**
Things I have done that I feel ashamed about	**4.49**	**1.00**	1.63	.71	**3.84**	**1.38**	1.70	.89
Life decisions I regret	**4.51**	**.93**	**1.57**	**.93**	**3.52**	**1.33**	**2.00**	**.90**

Note 1. Conversations topics are arranged in ascending order of intimacy ratings for the non-TCK sample.

Note 2. Significant differences are bolded and are shaded (in blue for intimacy and in orange for likelihood).

Note 3. Mean and standard deviations are for 5-point Likert scales ranging from 1=*not intimate* to 5= *very intimate* for intimacy and 1=*very unlikely* to 5= *very likely* for likelihood.

Table 3
Comparison of samples on constructs

	TCK			Non-TCK				
	M	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*F*	*p*
RISS	**3.47**	**.72**	49	**3.08**	**.85**	44	**5.94**	**.02**
Relational Mobility	**4.44**	**.86**	49	**5.11**	**1.06**	44	**11.51**	**.00**
Open-mindedness	**6.02**	**.49**	50	**5.12**	**.87**	44	**39.60**	**.00**
Cultural Empathy	**5.74**	**.59**	50	**5.37**	**.88**	44	**5.83**	**.02**
Extraversion	**4.50**	**1.38**	50	**3.15**	**1.64**	44	**19.36**	**.00**
SURS	**3.91**	**.91**	50	**2.71**	**1.01**	44	**37.19**	**.00**
International moves	**4.96**	**3.30**	50	**.09**	**.48**	43	**94.68**	**.00**
Within-country moves	3.04	4.05	50	3.14	2.06	44	1.28	.89

Note 1. Significant differences are bolded.
Note 2. Extraversion, Relational Mobility, Open-mindedness and Cultural Empathy were rated on a 7-point Likert scales from 1=*strongly disagree* to 7= *strongly agree.* RISS (Reaction to Imagined Scenario Scale) was rated on a 5-point scale from 1=*strongly disagree* to 5= *strongly agree* and SURS (Speeding Up Relationships Scale) was rated on a 6-point scale.

Table 4

Correlations with relationship interest

| Scale | Relationship interest | | | | | | | | |
| | TCK | | | Non-TCK | | | Combined sample | | |
	r	p	N	r	p	N	r	p	N
1. Relational Mobility	.00	.98	49	**-.34**	**.02**	47	**-.26**	**.01**	96
2. Open-mindedness	.15	.32	49	**.29**	**.05**	47	**.33.**	**.00**	96
3. Cultural Empathy	.10	.50	49	.17	.25	47	.20	.06	96
4. Extraversion	-.02	.88	49	-.16	.29	47	.02	.89	96
5. SURS	**.46**	**.00**	49	**.36**	**.01**	47	**.46**	**.00**	96
6. Number of international moves	**-.41**	**.00**	49	.02	.90	46	-.01	.94	95
7. Number of within-country moves	.05	.75	49	-.17	.28	44	-.03	.79	93

Note. Significant differences are bolded.

Table 5
Percentages of race/ethnicity (Study 2)

	Percentage
Asian American	2.3
East Asian	1.6
South Asian	2.7
South East Asian	1.6
Biracial	.4
African American	6.3
African Continent	.4
Hispanic - Central American	.8
Latina/ Latino	3.5
Native American/Native Alaskan/American Indian	.4
White/ Caucasian	78.1
Other	.4
Prefer not to answer	.8
Missing	.4
Total	100.0

Table 6
Reaction to Imagined Scenario Scale (RISS) scores by condition and task

	Study Condition							
	Low intimacy video				High intimacy video			
	Control		Prime		Control		Prime	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
RISS - Video task	4.08	.56	4.24	.46	3.99	.56	3.92	.71
RISS - Imagined scenario task	2.66	.78	2.86	.87	3.10	.75	3.03	.84
Reduction in RISS scores following the imagined scenario	1.41	.87	1.38	.99	.89	.77	.88	.94

Note. Mean and standard deviations are for 5-point Likert scales ranging from 1=*strongly disagree* to 5= *strongly agree*.

Figure 1: Comparison of TCKs and non-TCKs on related constructs
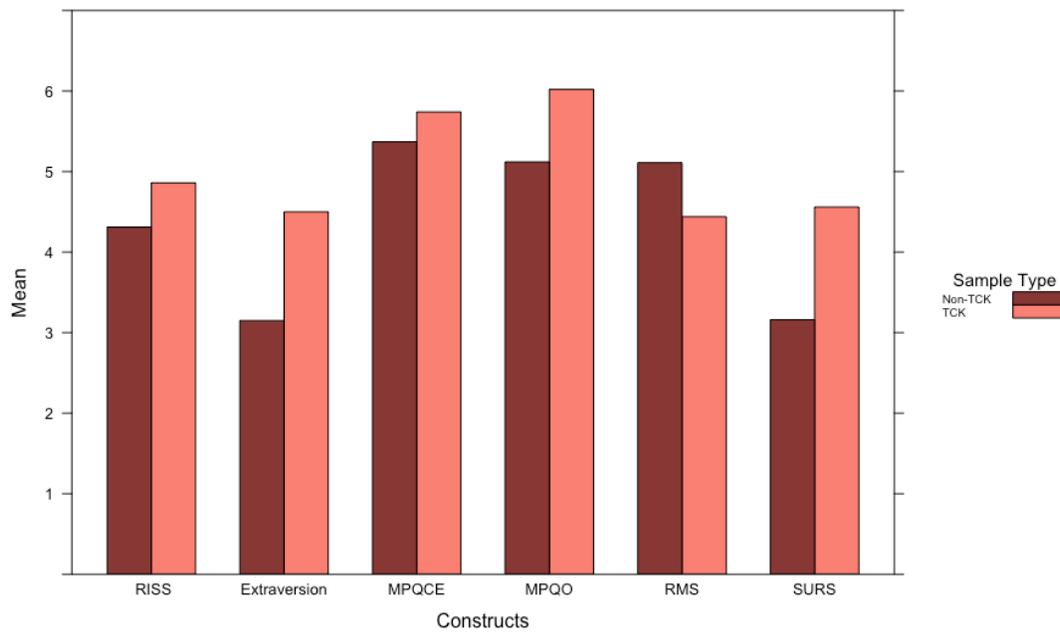
Note. Variables were standardized to a 7-point scale for visual presentation purposes.

Figure 2: Intimacy - likelihood trend for TCKs
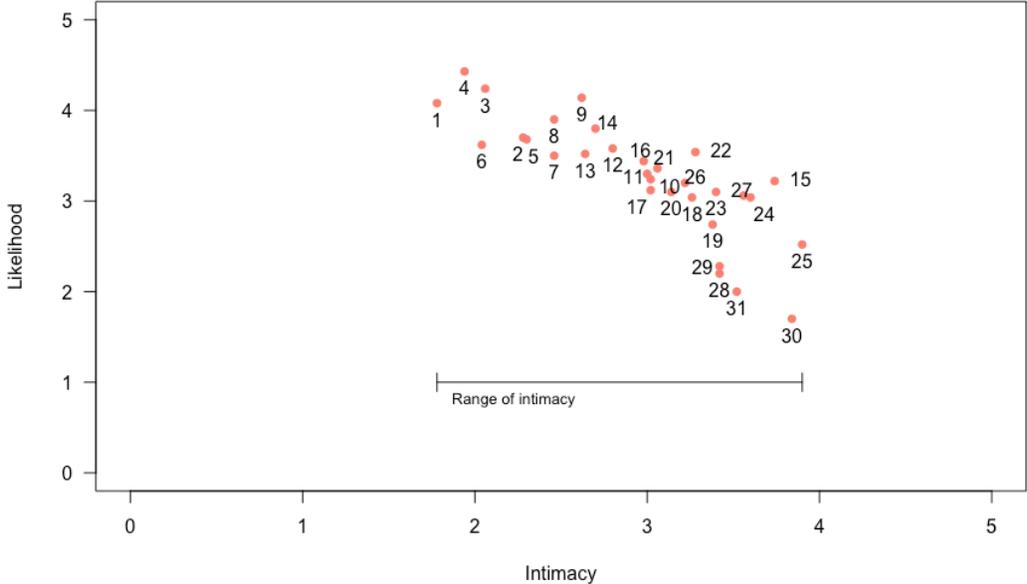
Figure 3: Intimacy-likelihood trend for non-TCKs
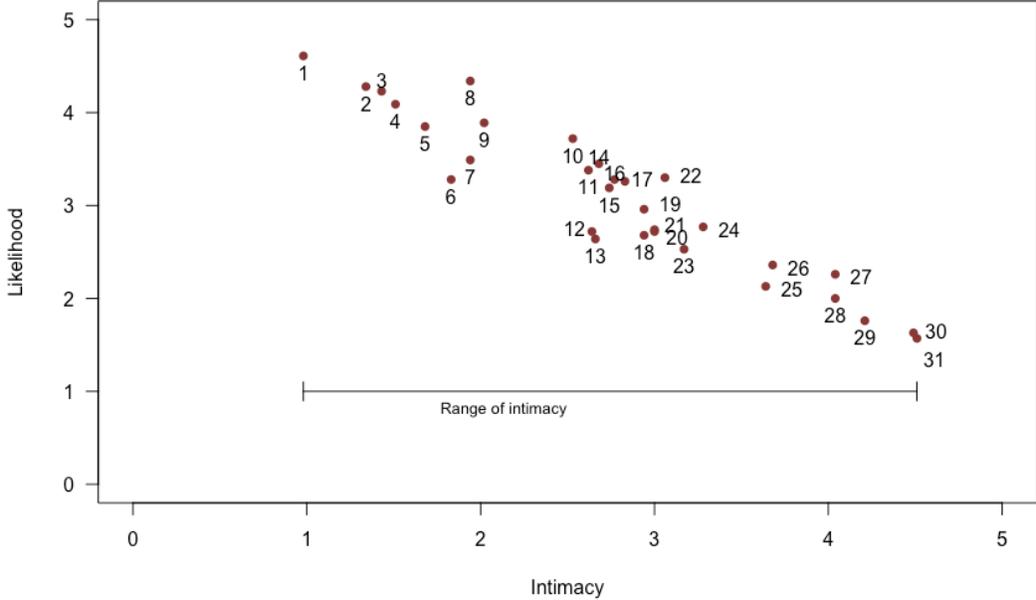
Note: Each dot represents a conversation topic plotted with the coordinates (x,y) = (intimacy rating, likelihood rating). Topics: 1. *The weather*, 2. *My likes and dislikes in music*, 3. *Whether I have siblings*, 4. *Whether I want to travel the world*, 5. *Places where I have worked*, 6. *My views on drinking*, 7. *Traditions in my culture*, 8. *My favorite ways of spending time*, 9. *How I feel about my work/studies*, 10. *Things I am proud of*, 11. *What I am thankful for*, 12. *My views on immigration*, 13. *My views on social welfare*, 14. *My goals for the future*, 15. *What home means to me*, 16. *My quirks*, 17. *Whom I most admire or resent*, 18. *My feelings about raising children*, 19. *What I look for in a friend*, 20. *Advice I would give to my younger self*, 21. *My political views*,

22. *What is important to me in life*, 23. *My opinions about religion*, 24. *What makes me the person I am*, 25. *My health concerns*, 26. *My sexuality*, 27. *My romantic relationships,* 28. *My fears,* 29. *My shortcomings as a person,* 30. *Things I have done that I feel ashamed about*, 31. *Life decisions I regret.*

Appendix A

Table A1:
Number of individuals holding a nationality of the given country in each sample in Study 1

	TCK sample	Non-TCK sample
Algeria	1	-
Australia	1	-
Bangladesh	3	-
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	-
Denmark	1	-
Canada	2	-
China	1	-
Finland	1	-
France	3	-
Haiti	1	-
India	4	-
Ireland	1	-
Italy	2	-
Malaysia	1	-
Mexico	8	-
Nepal	1	-
Netherlands	2	-
New Zealand	1	-
Norway	1	-
Paraguay	1	-
Philippines	1	-
Singapore	1	-
Sierra Leone	2	-
South Korea	2	-
Spain	1	-
Switzerland	4	-
Taiwan	1	-
Thailand	1	-
Trinidad and Tobago	1	-
UK	7	1
USA	23	43

Table A2

Comparison of adjectives provided by TCKs and non-TCKs

	Non-TCKs (*N*=47)			TCKs (*N*=48)	
	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
open	17	12.1	open	15	10.6
honest	12	8.5	honest	6	4.3
interesting	5	3.5	interesting	5	3.5
forthcoming	4	2.8	dependable	4	2.8
trusting	4	2.8	brave	3	2.1
brave	3	2.1	friendly	3	2.1
inappropriate	3	2.1	self-centered	3	2.1
weird	3	2.1	trusting	3	2.1
aggressive	2	1.4	worried	3	2.1
awkward	2	1.4	awkward	2	1.4
caring	2	1.4	careless	2	1.4
communicative	2	1.4	comfortable	2	1.4
concerned	2	1.4	connected	2	1.4
confident	2	1.4	effortless	2	1.4
emotional	2	1.4	encouraging	2	1.4
extroverted	2	1.4	needy	2	1.4
friendly	2	1.4	odd	2	1.4
insecure	2	1.4	sad	2	1.4
intrusive	2	1.4	unafraid	2	1.4
thoughtful	2	1.4	(potentially) oblivious	1	.7
unfiltered	2	1.4	accepting	1	.7
unusual	2	1.4	amazing	1	.7
abrupt	1	.7	annoying	1	.7
ambitious	1	.7	appreciated	1	.7
angry	1	.7	ballsy	1	.7
anxious	1	.7	beautiful	1	.7
blabby	1	.7	blunt	1	.7
bold	1	.7	brash	1	.7
brazen	1	.7	candid	1	.7
caring	1	.7	charismatic	1	.7
compassionated	1	.7	cheerful	1	.7
creepy	1	.7	comforting	1	.7
depressing	1	.7	comical	1	.7
direct	1	.7	confident	1	.7
dumb	2	1.4	dauntless	1	.7
engaging	1	.7	dear	1	.7
flexible	1	.7	depressing	1	.7
foolish	1	.7	desperate	1	.7
forward	1	.7	devoted	1	.7
frank	1	.7	different	1	.7
good natured	1	.7	disproportionate	1	.7

gullible	1	.7	emotional	1	.7
humble	1	.7	enjoyable	1	.7
ignorant	1	.7	extraordinary	1	.7
insensitive	1	.7	fabulous	1	.7
introspective	1	.7	familiarity	1	.7
loud	1	.7	family	1	.7
meek	1	.7	forthcoming	1	.7
needy	1	.7	frank	1	.7
nosey	1	.7	funnest	1	.7
obtuse	1	.7	grateful	1	.7
opinionated	1	.7	grounded	1	.7
outgoing	1	.7	inappropriate	1	.7
passive	1	.7	insecure	1	.7
pessimistic	1	.7	irreplaceable	1	.7
problematic	1	.7	kind	1	.7
pushy	1	.7	lost	1	.7
realistic	1	.7	marvelous	1	.7
reflective	1	.7	mature	1	.7
relaxed	1	.7	meaningful	1	.7
self-aware	1	.7	noble	1	.7
selfish	1	.7	off-putting	1	.7
sensitive	1	.7	one-of-a-kind	1	.7
shares too much	1	.7	opinionated	1	.7
sincere	1	.7	overbearing	1	.7
smart	1	.7	over-sharer	1	.7
socially awkward	1	.7	pensive	1	.7
straightforward	1	.7	personal	1	.7
strange	1	.7	priceless	1	.7
stupid	1	.7	protective	1	.7
surprised	1	.7	pushy	1	.7
surprising	1	.7	realistic	1	.7
timid	1	.7	receptive	1	.7
transparent	1	.7	risky	1	.7
trusting	1	.7	secure	1	.7
unabashed	1	.7	self-aware	1	.7
unadjusted	1	.7	strange	1	.7
unattractive	1	.7	strong	1	.7
uncomfortable	1	.7	tactless	1	.7
uninhibited	1	.7	thoughtful	1	.7
unique	1	.7	trustworthy	1	.7
upfront	1	.7	understandable	1	.7
warm	1	.7	unreserved	1	.7
			wanting help	1	.7
			welcoming	1	.7
			well	1	.7
Missing	0	0	Missing	9	6.4

Total	140	100	Total	139	100

Table A3:

Number of individuals holding a nationality of the given country in Study 2

Bahamas	1
Brazil	1
Canada	5
Colombia	1
Costa Rica	1
France	1
India	9
Kenya	1
Lithuania	1
Netherlands	1
Pakistan	1
Poland	1
Slovakia	1
South Korea	1
Trinidad and Tobago	1
United Kingdom	1
United States of America	228
Venezuela	1

Appendix B

Open-mindedness Prime text

What is "normal" and who determines the benchmark for it? If we define "normal" as what the majority does, then China and India should be our benchmark. For many, normal is what we are personally accustomed to. For you, having cereal in the morning, driving on the right and nodding to show agreement may be "normal".

We don't often think about how other people have different expectations of others' behaviors. It may then be surprising that your neighbor eats soup in the morning, that in countries including the UK, Tanzania and Japan, the "right" side of the road is the left side and that nodding upwards once means "no" in Greece. All these divergent behaviors are normal in their context.

People hold different opinions, have different likes and dislikes, and behave differently in the same situation. We may have beliefs set in stone, but so do other people. When there is a mismatch of our personal "normal" and that of people around us, our attitude determines the success of our interactions. It may be confusing to go in for a handshake and get a hug instead, but the awkwardness is likely to disappear as you fall into conversation. A little bit of flexibility goes a long way in building bridges. After all, different doesn't necessarily mean wrong. More often than not, it means different.

In light of the blog post you just read, imagine as strongly as you can a scenario with a positive outcome in which an individual is met with such a mismatch and overcomes the mismatch. The mismatch could be of opinion, behavior, expectations, customs and so on.

Use the field below to describe in a few sentences or bullet points the characters in the scenario, the nature of the mismatch and how it was handled positively.

Appendix C

Control text

The most populated continent in the world is Asia with over 4 billion individuals. Almost 60% of the world resides in Asia. Asia is also home to the two most populated countries in the world China and India as well as highly populated countries like Japan. The second most populated continent is Africa with over 1 billion individuals. Given that the world population is approximately 7 billion, one seventh of these individuals live in Africa. One highly populated country is Tanzania, the 24th most populated country.

The third most populated continent in the world is Europe with around 800 million individuals. One highly populated country is the UK, the 21st most populated country in the world. Europe is also home to countries that are not as densely populated, such as Greece with a population of around 10,800,000. Europe is followed by North America, which is followed by South America. Together, the Americas make up around 13.5% of the world's population.

The least populated continent in the world is Australia, a continent made up of Australia and New Zealand. Australia is the 53rd most populated country in the world. The remaining continent, Antarctica is commonly omitted from population counts given the weather conditions. The world population has almost tripled since 1950 and is expected to grow by 5% in the next 50 years.

In light of the blog post you just read, think use the field below to write down what you can remember about the content of the post in a few sentences or bullet points. You can include rankings, statistics, country names and so on.

Appendix D

Stimulus script - High intimacy

Claire: Hi, Lea right? We met last week at Jake's?

Lea: Oh hi! Yes, it's great seeing you again, Claire. Come sit. (takes out headphones)

Claire: I was just grabbing a book when I saw you sitting here so I thought I'd just come say hi. How have you been?

Lea: Just a sec. (Lea gets a text, checks and makes upset face)

Claire: What's up?

Lea: It's my boyfriend - he's from Tavikstan.

Claire: That's in Central Asia, isn't it?

Lea: Yes, it borders Kazakhstan. I don't know if you've heard on the news but they're having a referendum about the flag next month. It's been a bit of a mess.

Claire: What's going on?

Lea: Long story short, the Tavikstan flag has three stars. The first two represents the two major religions and the third acknowledges the rest of the population – those who follow other religions and so on. Some people want the third star removed.

Claire: That is quite tricky. What does your boyfriend think?

Lea: Well, he's been quite stressed about this actually. He wants the star to stay. He says the third star's a physical reminder of the country's fundamental principles: unity in diversity - everyone has a space, everyone is free.

Claire: How about you?

Lea: It's not my own country, but from what I've heard and read about it, I agree with him.

Claire: But then again, if a supposedly uniting symbol has become a divisive one, how much sense is there in keeping it? It seems a bit ironic.

Lea: That's a good point. I hadn't thought about that. (thinks for a few seconds) Ah, wait. Some other country had held a referendum for changing its flag just a few years ago right?

Claire: Yeah, I think it was New Zealand.

Lea: Right! That one ended up with a no vote I think - but I guess we'll see what happens.

Claire: Yeah - hey, do you want to grab coffee sometime?

Lea: Yeah - I was going to get some now, want to join?

Claire: Sure, let me just grab my bag!

Appendix E

Stimulus script - Low intimacy

Claire: Hi, Lea right? We met last week at Jake's?

Lea: Oh hi! Yes, it's great seeing you again, Claire. Come sit. (takes out headphones)

Claire: I was just grabbing a book when I saw you sitting here so I thought I'd just come say hi. How have you been?

Lea: Great, and you?

Claire: Good, good. It's been lovely these last few days now that it stopped snowing.

Lea: I know right. No more snow to shovel!

Claire: (points at headphones) What were you listening to?

Lea: A song by AB5, I don't know if you've heard of them.

Claire: That's a soft rock band, isn't it? My roommate in freshman year listened to them.

Lea: Yes, they've been around for a while apparently, and they just released their fourth album. My brother Tom recommended them to me.

Claire: Cool! How many siblings do you have?

Lea: We're three siblings. Tom's five years older than me, we also have a younger sister. Our music tastes are usually pretty different, but Tom's been telling me to check AB5 out for so long, so I was giving it a go. He's a big fan of the two vocalists. He goes on and on about how well they harmonize.

Claire: That's what my roommate used to say. So what's the verdict – do you like them?

Lea: Well, I tend to prefer fast tempo songs, and all three of the songs I've listened to so far have been a bit slow for my taste. I like the lyrics though.

Claire: What kind of music do you normally listen to then?

Lea: (thinks for a few seconds) Well, I listen to a bit of everything I guess. As long as it has a fast beat.

Claire: Maybe you should check out their earlier albums. You might find something you'll like.

Lea: Yeah, I probably should.

Claire: Hey, do you want to grab coffee sometime?

Lea: Yeah - I was going to get some now, want to join?

Claire: Sure, let me just grab my bag!

Appendix F

Video Task RISS

People often decide whether they want to become friends with a person or not in the first few social interactions they have with a person. Depending on how we good we feel about the conversations we have with a new acquaintance, we may seek to become friends with them or not.

Think about the interaction you just viewed and imagine that you were in Claire's place (Claire is the one who walks up to Lea) and consider Lea as a potential friend. Rate how positive or negative your impression would be of Lea based on the interaction you just viewed.

Negative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Positive

Think about the interaction you just viewed between Claire and Lea. Imagine that you were in Claire's place (Claire is the one who walks up to Lea) and consider Lea a potential friend. Rate how well the statements below apply to you based on the interaction you just viewed:

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

I would be welcome the topics Lea brought up.

I would feel burdened.

I would be interested in talking to a person like Lea again.

I think it would be interesting to discuss such topics with a potential friend.

If I was the one talking to Lea, I would like her choice of topics.

I would like it if a potential friend brought up such topics.

I would not want to talk about such topics with a potential friend.

I would be interested in being friends with a person like Lea.

I would not want to become friends with a person like Lea.