
Appendix

Appendix A: Transcription Key

ABBREVIATIONS

<L>	Laughing
<L> word or phrase said while laughing </L>	Laughing while speaking
<x>	Inaudible
Regular text	Strong emphasis by speaker

Full stops and commas were set according to the rhythm of speech. Fillers and non-lexical utterances were preserved in the original and the translations. All original interviews were translated by the author.

Appendix B: Student Directory: Who's Who?

Only those youths whose interview quotes are directly cited in the ethnography are listed here. I interviewed more students, for example from a Singaporean school, whose experiences inform my work, but as they do not appear as individuals in the book, I decided not to provide their background information.

Alex, age eighteen, was the oldest boy in the German class I visited. I interviewed Alex together with Don and Bjorn. Alex enjoyed the attention he received during the interview, which initially he equated with a journalistic interview, suggesting an impression of fame or importance. Alex was born in Germany, but later moved to Brussels with his family. After living in Brussels (where Alex attended a German school) for a few years, his parents decided to move to Shanghai for the advancement of his father's career. Alex came to Shanghai when he was almost seventeen years old. Alex, along with his best friend Don ("the girls" labeled their relationship a "bromance"), was always very involved in nightlife activities and often initiated the Friday nights out. "The boys" hung out at his place quite regularly. Alex was the only boy who had casual relationships with Chinese girls he met at the nightclubs. Alex moved back to Germany after graduation and is currently studying film.

Allen, an American, was eleven years old when I interviewed him at his British school in November, 2010. He had just arrived in Shanghai: his father had been transferred to China for work three months prior. Before his move to Shanghai, his family had spent over a year in Mexico, leaving early, however, due to what Allen referred to as "security reasons." Allen phrased every thought carefully, which, along with his school uniform (sports coat, shirt, and a tie) and his way of quietly reading while waiting for his classmates Jacob and Tamara to appear for the group interview, made him seem rather grown up. Although sharing his thoughts on moving to Shanghai in a very reflective and circumspect way, his position seemed to be one of copying his parents' stance of maintaining a positive attitude and focusing on the benefits of growing up transnationally. He emphasized that he thinks this approach is important refused to discuss any uncertainties, difficulties, or homesickness he might have felt. Instead, he stressed that he trusts his parents and their decision-making process. However, he recalled that he had gotten sick in Mexico and attributed this to the radical change of environment and the host of new impressions he was exposed to. Allen, in his analytical and calm way, embodied what I have often experienced as a typically American attitude of looking at the positive aspects

of a situation. Yet he was someone I kept wondering about because I was curious as to what really lay behind his positive attitude and whether his strategy really worked. Unfortunately, I was not able to stay in touch with Allen after leaving Shanghai.

Andrea, aged sixteen at our first encounter, is a quirky, creative student who likes to make people laugh. During my fieldwork, she had a particular reputation for partying and dancing Shanghai's nights away together with Antonia. Andrea was born in Japan, but was too young to actively remember her first years there. She started school in Germany, but when she was twelve years old, her family left for Shanghai due to her father's career. In our conversations, she recalled that the move and the first few years at her new school were quite difficult. I interviewed Andrea individually three times: in June and September of 2011 and in June of 2012, at a café in Shanghai's former French Concession. I first met her on a Friday night out. Andrea, the only one of "the girls" who attended a different class, was one of the few students who lived downtown. While it took some time for us to get to know each other, we got along very well towards the end of my stay and kept in touch after she moved back to Germany to study communications. She is currently writing her Bachelor's thesis and is looking for opportunities to pursue a Master's degree.

Antonia was sixteen when I first met her at the German school. She was born in Germany, but grew up in Shanghai. She was one of the few expat students who had been at the same school since she began her studies. Her father is German, and her mother a successful Chinese businesswoman who studied in Germany. When we talked about her relationship with the city and her experiences in China, Antonia stressed how she differed from other expatriate children who only spend, on average, a few years in China. Antonia speaks both German and Chinese at home and likes to claim that she is "Shanghainese." She is a determined young woman, who has high expectations of herself, and highly values intelligence and analytical minds. Consequently, she can sometimes appear to be abrupt and direct in her judgment of others and herself. She is generous, independent, and does not shy away from arguments. During my fieldwork, the other students sometimes called her Antonio, because they considered some of her behavior to be masculine. Antonia was a key figure in my research, not only as an informant and friend, but also as a gatekeeper. It was her invitation to join nightlife activities that led to closer contacts with many others at the German school. Her way of including me and openly stating that "Marie ist eine von uns" (Marie is one of us) significantly impacted my acceptance as a researcher and friend into her peer group and class. I have visited Antonia several times since she moved to Germany and we are still in touch. She is now studying medicine.

Arnaud was sixteen years old and enrolled at a French school in Shanghai when I met him. He was born in Belgium, after his Chinese-born parents moved there for his father's studies and career. Arnaud is a Belgian national. When he was five years old, his family moved to the outskirts of Paris. When he was nine, his family decided to move to Shanghai because of a career opportunity for his father, as well as to be closer to his sick grandfather. I received Arnaud's phone number from Matthias. Arnaud and I agreed to meet at a Starbucks downtown, where he appeared with his long, black hair tied into a ponytail, wearing head phones. After carefully studying the interview questionnaire, he answered the questions in a circumspect way. I had short conversations with him after that, whenever I ran into him at the school, and we exchanged a few messages via Facebook. I particularly enjoyed the interview with Arnaud because he was very self-reflective and openly shared the difficulties of negotiating his position as an Asian-looking teenager who had been raised in Europe by Chinese parents. He often felt that it is impossible to succeed in either of the two worlds and feared alienation from his parents, particularly his mother. Arnaud was very driven creatively: he was involved in school plays and bands, and wrote short stories. This tireless engagement seemed to help him cope with the cultural entanglements of his world. After his graduation, Arnaud moved to Canada to study music recording. We are still in touch via the web.

Bjorn, a German student, was sixteen years old at the time of our first interview. I met Bjorn because he was in one of the classes at the German school that I was allowed to audit. At first, I noticed his Bavarian accent, which was rather uncommon among the other German students in Shanghai who spoke standard German. While our origins within Germany differed, we established a connection through our similar music taste, which allowed for easier and more detailed discussions on other issues. Bjorn had just arrived in Shanghai when I was conducting my fieldwork there in the summer of 2010. He had never lived outside the small Bavarian village that he grew up in and expressed that, initially, he was against moving to China. Nonetheless, Bjorn quickly established friendships with his classmates. He even functioned as the major link between "the girls" and "the boys" in the class. Perhaps not surprisingly, Bjorn was, for this reason, one of the students I felt most comfortable talking to and became, along with Matthias, one of my key male informants. After I left, Bjorn stayed in Shanghai for another year, before he moved back to Germany, to be trained as a teacher.

Britta, from Norway, was seventeen-year-old student at a British school when she took part in a group discussion with two of her fellow students. The discussion had been organized by the school principal's assistant. She, along with her parents and younger sister Freda, had only arrived in Shanghai a couple of months prior, due to her father's career. This was her

first stay abroad. Britta found the adjustment particularly challenging in terms of academics. She followed the IB (International Baccalaureate) curriculum at her school. Switching to English-medium education and a new school system had caused her grades to drop. This worried her particularly because two years before graduation her grades would determine which college she could enter. Consequently, she was considering returning to Norway after the first term to stay with relatives or her best friend's family, in order to obtain a high school diploma with a stronger academic record. Unfortunately, I was not able to stay in touch with Britta.

Charlie was sixteen years old when I first met her. Her parents were both born in China and met in Germany during their studies at university. They eventually became German nationals and Charlie was consequently born and raised in Germany. At the age of twelve, she and her family moved to Shanghai for her fathers' career. Charlie can be described as friendly, helpful, and having a sunny disposition, but she also has a keen sense of justice and can be easily angered over unfair actions, whether committed against herself or others. Charlie took part in a group discussion with Olivia and Andrea, but I also interviewed her twice individually in September 2011 and in June 2012. During my fieldwork, I felt that she often underestimated her abilities and often needlessly worried about her high school diploma (Abitur) and whether her grades would suffice to study medicine. Charlie and I got along very well and at times even met socially, for example for shopping sprees at Shanghai's eyeglasses market. After her graduation, Charlie moved to Germany while her parents and her younger sister stayed in Shanghai. She now studies medicine and we have met several times since her move.

Don was sixteen when I first met him during class at the German school in December 2010. A few weeks later, I interviewed him along with Bjorn and Alex. Don was born in Germany to Chinese-born parents and moved to Shanghai when he was twelve. Although I did not conduct any individual interviews with him, we often ran into each other at school and met during nights out. Don and Alex were close friends and often seemed inseparable. Don was particularly interested in electronic music and was an active member of the peer group that students mostly referred to as "the boys." After graduation, he moved to Germany and is currently studying to become an engineer.

Emily, age twelve when I met her, was born in Malaysia, but left when she was too young to retain any memories of living there. When we became acquainted, Emily had already lived in Malaysia, Beijing, and Thailand. She had arrived in Shanghai one and a half years prior to the interview and attended a British school. I interviewed her with fellow students Britta and Kazuo in a group discussion in November 2010.

Freda was fifteen years old when I interviewed her with Keith and Vijay. She was from Norway, where she had lived all her life until moving to Shanghai with her parents and sister in 2010, just a few months prior to the group discussion. She was enrolled at a British school and is Britta's younger sister.

Giovanni, who was seventeen years old when we met, was a rather quiet but cheerful student at the German school. At first, we hardly spoke and all I knew about him was that he was Swiss—seemingly his defining characteristic when other students at the German school referred to him. Although I had met him at school and during the peer group's nights out—he would regularly join Bjorn, Alex, Don, Peter, and Marco—it was only during my first follow-up stay in September 2011 that we conducted an interview and I had the chance to hear his own story. Giovanni was born in Switzerland and spent his elementary school years in Istanbul, where his father was on an assignment. After returning to Switzerland for a few years, his family moved to Shanghai, a decision his father had to make within a few days of being presented with the option. Giovanni was in ninth grade at the time. At the time of the interview, Giovanni and his family had been living in Shanghai for three years and he had started his penultimate year at school. We met for a follow-up interview just after his graduation in June 2012. Giovanni planned to study economics after completing his training in the Swiss army.

Jacob, who was nine years old when we met, was the youngest student I interviewed. He took part in a group discussion in November 2010 at an international British school, one and a half years after his family's move to Shanghai. Jacob had lived in Malaysia, Beijing, and Thailand. Jacob is Emily's younger brother.

Karina, who is half-Czech, half-German, was seventeen when we met. She had come to Shanghai six months before our first interview in early 2011. Karina was born in Prague, where she lived until her fifth birthday. Her family then moved to Germany for three years, followed by a three year stay in the north of China, then moved back to her home town of Prague. In 2010, her family moved to China again, this time to Shanghai. I became acquainted with Karina at the German school. Karina, a native speaker of German and Czech and who is fluent in English and French, enjoyed studying Chinese, which she had started upon her arrival in Shanghai. However, despite her bicultural family and her former experiences with moving, Karina found her family's relocation to Shanghai difficult, because she was so far away from her family and friends in Prague. When I first met Karina, her position in class was still that of a newcomer. Karina and her classmate Lara sat next to each other at that time. When I first interviewed them, they both stated that they felt alienated from the other girls in class, who had all been in Shanghai longer than they had. Karina sensed that the school environment was highly competitive and missed the level of group support she had experienced at

her former international school in Prague. I later conducted individual interviews with Karina followed and, over time, we developed a trusting relationship in which she would share the problems moving to Shanghai had caused, as well as her holiday adventures. I learned about the bullying she had to go through in class, in particular from a few boys, and how this had led to an emotional outburst on her part, and the involvement of teachers at the school. Although the situation improved and she became friends with students from the other eleventh grade class, Karina never really became part of any of the peer groups in her own class. Whether as a cause or consequence, Karina disliked the nightlife activities that the other girls in her class would organize and, therefore, did not take part in any. During a follow-up interview a year after her arrival, in September 2011, Karina still felt homesick for her extended family and friends in Prague. We stayed in touch via email and Facebook throughout her last year in Shanghai, when I had already returned to Germany. When we met again in June 2012, she was excited to move on to Germany for her studies, hoping to rejoin old friends. She had very much withdrawn from school life, also due to health problems, and did not find the time for an interview. We are no longer in touch.

Kazuo, a sixteen-year-old Japanese boy, had moved to Shanghai one and a half years prior to the group interview with Emily and Britta, in November 2010. He had also lived in Japan and Thailand. It was the first time that he had been enrolled at an English-language school, which, at first, he considered a great challenge. He spoke English with a slight Japanese accent and answered interview questions in a very shy manner.

Keith was fourteen years old when he took part in a group discussion with Freda and Vijay in November 2010, at a British school. Keith came from Singapore and had moved to Shanghai at the age of three, due to his parents' work. He speaks Chinese fluently.

Kressi was fifteen when we first met at the German school where I was allowed to work. She was born in Germany, to Vietnamese parents with Cantonese roots, but had moved to Shanghai at an early age and seemed to have family all over the world. Like Mia, she had skipped a grade and was one of the youngest in her class. I regularly spent time with Kressi, as she gradually became part of "the girls" over the school year. I also interviewed her twice with Mia, in February and September 2011, and once individually, in June 2012. Due to her interest in fashion and arts, it was Kressi and her friend who put together the film for the awards ceremony in Berlin, where the German school received a prize for its outstanding art department. After graduation, Kressi decided to stay in Shanghai with Bjorn, whom she started dating a year prior to graduation, to take one semester of Chinese at Jiaotong University. While she originally had thought about studying event management, PR, or something related to the arts and fashion, she eventually moved to Germany to study economics.

Lara is half Dutch, half German, and was sixteen years old when we met. She had grown up in Germany until her parents announced that they would move to Shanghai in the summer of 2010. I met Lara at the German school and conducted one group interview with her and Karina, the two new girls in the class. A strong soccer player, Lara became captain of the girl's team at her school, an activity which she enjoyed. However, Lara had difficulty getting along with the girls in her grade. I quite often accompanied her during nightlife activities, where she mainly joined "the boys" peer group that her then-boyfriend Peter belonged to. On several occasions, Lara and I were the only females in the group exploring Shanghai's clubs, which was the foundation of a friendly connection. Although she was comfortable talking to me at clubs or during school breaks, Lara never conducted a second interview. Lara was very active on Facebook and managed to stay in touch with her old friends that way. When difficulties adjusting to the academic environment led to her voluntarily repeat the eleventh grade, Lara found new friends in Shanghai. By June 2012, she seemed to have finally settled into life in Shanghai. We are no longer in touch.

Marco is half-Brazilian, half-German, and was seventeen years old when we met. He grew up in Germany and spent his summers in Brazil until he moved to Shanghai one and a half years prior to the interview. Marco was enrolled at the German school and I was introduced to him during a Friday night out, by the students I usually spent time with during class. I conducted one long interview with him and his classmate and friend Peter. After that, we occasionally chatted during school outings or at nightlife venues. Marco and his family were one of the few families living in downtown Shanghai, in the former French concession. Although this made his commute to school quite long, he enjoyed his home's proximity to bars and cafés. Due to his physical distance from school, he joined an international capoeira group rather than participating in extracurricular activities at his school.

Matthias and I met at the German School in spring 2011. With his long hair and clothes related to heavy-metal culture, he looked quite different from most of the other students, which led to his nickname Metalmatze. With his in-ear headphones always dangling from the collar of his black T-shirt, he was one of the more quiet characters in school. He only began to open up when we started talking about the bands he was part of, the jam sessions he enjoyed with some of the French students, and how he was making a small income as a drum teacher. After discussing these other topics, he seemed less shy and was more willing to tell me about his Shanghai experience. Matthias turned out to be a crucial link to my meeting students from other international schools and introduced me to several of his friends. He had moved to Shanghai at the age of twelve and was—by the time I met him when he was eighteen—about to return to Germany. We frequently talked about his immediate plans: after his ini-

tial plans, which included the hope of traveling to Australia, had to be put aside and he was forced to look for a career path, he decided to join the German army for one year. His parents and sister stayed on in Shanghai and he moved to his grandparents' house in Germany. Once in the German army, however, he stayed primarily at the barracks. We stayed in touch via Facebook and I eventually visited his new home in Germany. He proudly showed me around his flat, which was located close to his grandparents' house. For a follow-up interview, Matthias also visited me for an afternoon in Heidelberg, where we discussed how he felt about moving back to Germany. At the time, he was particularly grateful for his army experience, which made his return easier by providing him with a new routine. Matthias also reconnected with old elementary school friends in his former hometown. We both returned to Shanghai for the graduation ceremony of his former classmates. After his time in the army, Matthias completed an apprenticeship and is currently making plans to study business and information technology.

Mia was fifteen when I met her and was one of the youngest students in the eleventh grade of the German school. Born in Germany, she grew up in Singapore, and then moved to Berlin before her first stay in Shanghai. After a few years there, her family relocated to Hong Kong for one year, and then returned to Shanghai. Mia remembered this return as being particularly difficult because everyone expected her to be familiar with Shanghai. However, her social environment had changed significantly during her year of absence: some friends had moved on while others had forged new friendships of which she was not part. Additionally, when she returned to Shanghai from Hong Kong, Mia skipped one grade along with her close friend Kressi. This was when I met Mia, who was friendly and open, but always seemed weighed down by the pressure of her high expectations for herself. Diligent, ambitious, and well-organized, she was always the right person to ask about class schedules or dates for school events. Mia only occasionally joined nightlife activities because, at the age of fifteen, her parents would not allow her to go out very often. With her best friend Kressi, she shared interests in fashion, arts, and design. Mia was active in the school theater group and was widely admired for her way with words—I found out why when we stayed in touch via email upon my return to Germany. Her emails were always a pleasure to read. Apart from our frequent interaction at school, dinners with “the girls,” or occasional nightlife activities, I talked to Mia about her Shanghai experience in two group interviews with Kressi in February and September 2011, as well as in an individual interview, in June 2012. She and her family returned to Germany after her graduation and Mia then began college, where she lived on her own. In 2013, feeling dissatisfied with her choice of studies, she moved back in with her family and began an internship. During an online chat, she emphasized how much she missed Shanghai and her community there. Mia thought about alternative study programs and eventually chose

to pursue architecture. When I conducted an interview with her in the summer of 2014, nine months after she had begun her course and moved to a new town, she was very happy with her decision.

Olivia was sixteen when I met her. She is from Belgium and had lived in Germany for several years before her family moved to Shanghai, in 2007. Due to her upbringing in Germany and her German education, she is fully bilingual. In Shanghai, she also attended a German-medium school. Additionally, she had Flemish class once a week after school, to be trained to write in her mother tongue. Olivia was part of “the girls” and I spent many days and nights out with her and her friends. I interviewed her once in a group setting, with Antonia and Charlie in early 2011, and conducted a further follow-up interview with her individually, in June 2012. Olivia was always friendly and supportive of my project. She knew many students from other schools and tried to help me arrange more interviews. At school, everyone admired Olivia for her beauty. She was very active on Facebook and we often exchanged messages during my time away from Shanghai. We are still in touch today. After graduation, she started studying in her parents’ hometown in Belgium.

Paul was seventeen years old when we first met. He was born in Brazil and has a Brazilian mother and a German father. He is fluent in English and Portuguese; his German, however, is only basic. Paul grew up in Brazil and the United States and moved to Shanghai six years prior to our interview in May 2011. At that time, he was just about to graduate from a private, American Christian school and was making plans to move to Germany for college. His father had already moved on to Thailand and his mother planned to follow him after Paul’s graduate ceremony. Paul was introduced to me by Matthias from the German school. The two had met through a common friend, whom Paul happened to bump into on a regular basis in different bars or nightclubs. They became friends and founded a band. Paul was interested in my research and agreed to meet for an interview at a coffee shop downtown. In August 2011, Paul moved to a German university town and enrolled at a private, English-language university. His grandparents and half-sister also live in Germany, though not in the same area. After the interview in Shanghai, I met Paul once more in person, just after Christmas 2011. We had stayed in touch via Facebook and exchanged phone numbers, planning to meet up in Germany. During our meeting, we discussed his arrival and emplacement in Germany, as well as his future plans. He completed his Bachelor’s degree in 2015.

Peter was already eighteen years old when we met. A tall boy with hair that always seemed to cover half his face, he was a student at the German school, in the same grade, but in a different class than the one I was allowed to accompany. However, he and his friend Marco spent a lot of time with the students from “my” class. As part of “the boys,” Peter went out fre-

quently and it was therefore not surprising that we got to know each other during nightlife activities. I first interviewed him with Marco, in May 2011, in a downtown café. For Peter, who was born in northern Germany, the move to Shanghai was his first and only move abroad. When the interview took place, he had lived in the city for almost four years. I met Peter again for an individual interview in June 2012, just a few days before he left for Germany right after his graduation. Peter, who always wore headphones and a beanie, was interested in young German street-wear labels and we sometimes talked about new styles we had discovered. He was also always interested in my research and student life in Germany and liked to discuss German politics. Peter became an important gatekeeper in my research during my last follow-up stay in June 2012, when he invited me to several activities. At that time, he seemed to have a particularly strong position among “the boys.” After graduation, Peter returned to the city he considers his hometown in Germany and shared a flat with Alex. He obtained a part-time student job, hoping to enroll at the city’s university. We met several times over the first few years after his move back. He finally moved to the same town Bjorn and Charlie live in, and is currently studying to become a teacher.

Tamara was twelve years old when I hosted a group discussion with her and two other students (Jacob and Allen) at an international British school. After her first move to China at the age of two, she moved back and forth between China and Singapore—her country that had issued her passport. Tamara was very talkative during the group interview. Unfortunately, I was not able to keep in touch with her.

Vijay was fourteen when he, along with Freda and Keith, took part in a group discussion I conducted at a British school. He is from India and had moved to Shanghai six months prior to the interview.

Xia is a Chinese national and was seventeen when we first met. Xia had been granted special permission by the Shanghai municipal government to attend the German school. Born in China, Xia moved to Germany with his parents when he was six years old, so his father could begin his doctoral studies. Xia therefore started his school career in Germany. After four years and one move within Germany, his parents decided to return to Shanghai. Although he had studied Chinese writing after school and on the weekends, Xia had difficulties with the local Chinese schools’ entrance tests, because the education system and its ways of testing were unfamiliar to him. His parents therefore applied for a special permit and Xia was allowed to attend the German school. Here, Xia was an academically strong student. However, his fellow students always regarded Xia as different. I conducted an individual interview with him in spring 2011 and, after that, met him on a regular basis at school, where we would occasionally chat. When I asked all under-age students to provide me with their parents’ per-

mission for interviews, I was surprised that Xia thought he could not participate; his parents were of the opinion that he did not fit the definition of students that my research targeted. The main issue was my use of the term "Third Culture Kids." I had chosen the expression because I knew that the expatriate community was familiar with it and it seemed a shortcut to explain my research agenda on expatriate youth. Xia's parents, however, did not see their son as such a hybrid "TCK," but as Chinese. I was glad when my explanation to Xia that the term can be debated and that anyone who was interested could join led his parents to consent. I discussed the politics of cultural identity and intergenerational conflicts around this issue with Xia, who was very self-reflective upon the matter, in our first interview. This conversation showed me the difficulties that can arise for students who have to negotiate between the world at home and the world at school. I conducted a second interview with Xia in June 2012. After graduation, Xia moved to Germany to study engineering.