Advances in Immigrant Family Research

Radosveta Dimitrova
Michael Bender
Fons van de Vijver *Editors*

Global Perspectives on Well-Being in Immigrant Families

Springer

Advances in Immigrant Family Research

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Global Perspectives on Well-Being in Immigrant Families

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Foreword

Global Perspectives on Well-Being in Immigrant Families edited by Radosveta Dimitrova, Michael Bender, and Fons van de Vijver from Tilburg University in the Netherlands is a very timely contribution to the literature. It brings together two lines of research that receive tremendous and increasing attention in multiple disciplines over the last years: immigration and well-being. Immigration is a phenomenon that is addressed by disciplines such as psychology, social work, sociology, history, geography, law, political science, and others. Well-being is addressed by disciplines such as philosophy, psychology, theology, sociology, economics, and others. However, both topics are rarely brought together and illuminated from different disciplinary perspectives, geographical backgrounds, and multiple research questions. For a long time migration has been regarded solely as a condition of risk and research efforts concentrated on malfunctioning and problem behavior related to migration. Research concerning well-being has two parental traditions: on the one hand there large scale studies on subjective well-being and happiness by psychologists like Ed Diener and economists like Bruno Frey; on the other hand, well-being has been discussed in the context of the concept of salutogenesis as proposed by Aaron Antonovsky that concentrated on the identification of personal factors that support health and well-being. In this tradition, well-being is primarily related to psychic functioning and thus concentrated on intrapersonal conditions like personality characteristics. The present volume is documenting a shift in attention towards a resource oriented view on migration as laying ground for an individual's well-being. Crucial to this perspective is that individuals who do best to maintain their cultural origins, e.g., in terms of language and traditions—or—from the other side of the coin—that individuals who try to assimilate, i.e., indulge in a new culture completely without maintaining their roots expose themselves to multiple risks. The basic contextual embeddedness of well-being is further documented in different personal and social achievements of different generations. The first generation of migrants, i.e., the individuals who migrate in a new country after having spent their early and formative years in another cultural context, do better in the USA, whereas they do worse than the second generation e.g., in Germany. Thus, the so called immigration paradox is specific to the receiving country and may be other, so far unknown contextual parameters. The reason for this paradox as well as for the country specific appearance is far from being understood. This volume offers some stimulating papers on this issue that hopefully inspire much more research that is badly needed.

Migration is a very complex phenomenon since individuals, families, and groups migrate from one place to another from very different reasons, with different preparedness and different expectations. There is not one category of people—migrants—but an array of individuals with different degrees of formal education, different economic situations, different interests, different aspirations in different stages of their lives coming into quantitatively and qualitatively different social networks with different infrastructures in societies with different and multiple attitudes towards the newcomers. The present volume helps differentiate migration and migrants in these respects by offering a multitude of chapters that take these complexities into account focusing on families, i.e., parents and their children. The chapters are authored by an impressive range of scholars from different parts of the world, including many grossly understudied contexts, in terms of authors as well as in terms of participants in the empirical research programs.

The editors of this volume claim themselves in the introductory chapter that the premise of this book is to provide the reader with a better understanding of the conditions under which immigrant parents and their children adapt for the better or worse to their new culture while taking into account their cultural maintenance as well as mediating/moderating contributions of family and community factors." (p. 2). This premise is highly achieved with 14 very interesting chapters that offer new conceptual, methodological, and empirical insights. The book is introduced with a chapter by the editors and a concluding chapter by David Sam. The book is a must for all students of family migration. It should also be a must for policy makers and stakeholders in the field of the development of prevention and intervention programs. The editors themselves conclude in their introductory chapter that "the findings presented in this book outline several key issues for future policy and practice“ (p. 7). The knowledge presented in this book may inform preventive programs and form the bases for intervention in multiple contexts. The book should also help to increase cultural sensitivity of practitioners. As a future goal of this kind of endeavor, I would also like to see more interaction and cooperation between researchers and practitioners, informing research as well as practical application. An alliance of multicultural perspectives would certainly help refining global as well as local policies.

The editors of the book have their academic home in one of the most fruitful and productive research laboratories on migration and acculturation on a global scale under the leadership of Fons van de Vijver. *Global Perspectives on Well-Being in Immigrant Families* certainly deserves a very open reception from the scientific community, practitioners, and policy makers. I hope that it will become the first standard volume on migration and well-being.

University of Osnabrück, Germany Heidi Keller

Contents

Introduction: Well-Being in Families in the Diaspora 1
Radosveta Dimitrova, Michael Bender, and Fons J. R. van de Vijver

Part I Family Relations, Acculturation, and Well-Being of Immigrant Children and Parents in North and Central America

Acculturation, Acculturative Stress, and Cultural Mismatch and Their Influences on Immigrant Children and Adolescents' Well-Being 11
Lauren Rogers-Sirin, Patrice Ryce, and Selcuk R. Sirin

Tridimensional (3D) Acculturation: Culture and Adaptation of Black Caribbean Immigrants in the USA 31
Gail M. Ferguson and Marc H. Bornstein

Part II Parenting, Social Development, and Psychological Well-Being of Immigrant Children and Parents in Asia and Africa

Immigrant Children's Schooling and Family Processes in Japan: Trends, Challenges, and Implications 55
Yoko Yamamoto

Rural-to-Urban Migrant Children's Behaviors and Adaptation Within Migration Social Contexts in China 75
Bin-Bin Chen

Connectedness and Psychological Well-Being Among Adolescents of Immigrant Background in Kenya 95
Amina Abubakar, Fons J. R. van de Vijver, Lubna Mazrui,
Margaret Murugami, and Josephine Arasa

Part III Attachment Patterns, Acculturation Orientations, and Well-Being of Immigrant Children and Parents in North and South Europe

The Importance of Religiosity and Cultural Maintenance for Self-Esteem: The Case of Second-Generation Turkish–Dutch Adolescents 115
Michael Bender and Iren Yeresyan

Ethnic-Racial Socialisation in the UK: The Use of Egalitarianism Parenting in Explaining Meanings of Race and Ethnicity in Non-Immigrant White and British South Asian Families 135
Humera Iqbal

Put in Context: Adolescents' Experiences of and Reactions to Parental Peer Management 151
Ylva Svensson

Parental Linguistic Adjustment or Social Status: What is More Important for Sociolinguistic Adjustment in Migrant Children in Ireland? 171
Ela Polek and Margaret Coen

Civic and Political Engagement Among Ethnic Minority and Immigrant Youth 189
Dimitra Pachi and Martyn Barrett

Identity Management Strategies, Perceived Discrimination, and Well-Being Among Young Immigrants in Spain 213
Magdalena Bobowik, Nekane Basabe, and Darío Páez

Contextual Influences on Subjective Well-Being of Young Ethnic Minority Russians in Estonia 235
Larissa Kus

Parent and Peer Attachment and Psychosocial Adjustment of Chinese Immigrant Adolescents in Italy 259
Fiorenzo Laghi, Susanna Pallini, Roberto Baiocco, and Radosveta Dimitrova

Well-Being of Immigrant Children and Their Parents: Evidence from Albanian and Serbian Families in Italy 275
Radosveta Dimitrova and Athanasios Chasiotis

Parenting Practices and Attachment as Predictors of Life Satisfaction of Mainstream Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch Adolescents 291
Itziar Alonso-Arbiol, Amina Abubakar, and Fons J. R. Van de Vijver

Immigrant Families in a Global Context: Challenges and Future Directions 311
David L. Sam

Index 321

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Introduction: Well-Being in Families in the Diaspora

Radosveta Dimitrova, Michael Bender, and Fons J. R. van de Vijver

Introduction

The rise in scope and significance of international migration is currently one of the greatest issues in many developed countries, where immigrants have moved to find better employment opportunities, improved living standards, and safer political conditions. The increased numbers of immigrants across the globe has led to heated debates about assimilation and public discussion on immigration (Levels et al. 2008). Therefore, international migration substantially affects both sending and receiving societies, and is followed by unprecedented social and economic challenges. These challenges have led to an increased attention for the psychological implications of immigration in the fields of developmental, educational, clinical, and cross-cultural psychology, which can be considered an overdue development in the European context. As a result, there has been a considerable expansion of studies on immigrant communities in both traditional immigrant societies (the USA, Canada, Australia) and in European states that have witnessed massive immigrant flows only in recent decades. Good examples of this fruitful interest are several special issues devoted to immigrant families and children, such as *Child Development* (Crosnoe and Fuligni 2012), *Human Development* (Garcia Coll 2012), *Psychosocial Intervention* (Perkins et al. 2011), *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (Van Oudenhoven et al. 2006), *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* (Gorodzeisky and Semyonov 2011), *Journal of Family Psychology* (Chuang and

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Gielen 2009), and *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* (Strohmeier and Schmitt-Rodermund 2008).

These studies have the potential to refine global and local policies on immigration by addressing well-being and adjustment of immigrant families and ways of enhancing these. Indeed, questions about well-being and acculturation of immigrant families and children within their receiving societies are critically important to ensure benign conditions for this increasingly growing population in many countries around the globe; such studies are helpful to distinguish fact and fiction, opinion and fact in the discourse on multiculturalism in Western countries. Families represent the primary social context in which acculturation issues are negotiated, and thus, are prone to increased intergenerational conflicts and negative parent–child relationships. Therefore, we need to focus on the family as a key context of healthy psychological development to better understand its protective factors for children and youth.

Understanding contemporary immigration is a challenging task because of the complexity of the topic—which is evident in many of the gaps in the current literature. It is widely acknowledged that the process of acculturation has an important influence on an individual's adjustment and well-being (Garcia Coll and Marks 2011). Despite much variation in all factors involved (i.e., in acculturation conditions, orientations, and outcomes; Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2009), there are important distinctions that need to be explicitly explored as they can provide greater clarity to both worse (*migration morbidity*) and better (*selective migration*) outcomes of immigrants compared with nonimmigrants. Recent findings suggest that despite socioeconomic disadvantages, immigrants show higher levels of adjustment than the native-born population (the so-called "immigrant paradox"). On the basis of empirical investigation of factors contributing to positive outcomes and/or protecting against the impact of stressful experiences for families and children, it is of critical importance to arrive at lessons that can be translated into applicable interventions.

To address these issues, new approaches and innovative empirical investigations are required. The premise of this book is therefore to provide the reader with a better understanding of the conditions under which immigrant parents and their children adapt for the better or worse to their new culture while taking into account their cultural maintenance, as well as mediating/moderating contributions of family and community factors. In doing so, the contributions in this book address two major themes: (1) how do immigrant families and their children cope with the demands of the new country in relation to psychological well-being, adjustment, and cultural maintenance; and (2) can we identify cultural and contextual factors that will contribute to their well-being in the migratory transition to ensure successful outcomes for children and youth. Specific subquestions within these two themes regard the issue of the complexity and variety of well-being outcomes, since there seem to be both dysfunctional and healthy effects in immigrant populations. We address the question of type of the relationship between immigration and adjustment outcomes by identifying different perspectives in explaining differences in adjustment outcomes in immigrant and minority populations, for example the process of stressful migration (selective migration) and the healthy migrant effects (immigrant paradox). An additional question regards the impact of moderating factors that may inform patterns and variations in adaptation of immigrant families. We were particularly interested in providing insight into the moderating effects of important context variables in affecting well-being of immigrants, such as acculturation orientations, immigration policies of the society of settlement, societal attitudes of the receiving country, and intergroup context for immigrants that are of central importance, fostering possibilities of advancement, successful adjustment, and enhanced well-being of immigrant families.

The book features contributions across an array of geographic areas with focal populations ranging from children to young adults. It includes many international scholars who provide a multidimensional view of immigrant families from different cultures, perspectives, and contexts of analyses. In doing so, the present book provides new empirical data in a broader cultural perspective of children, parents, and families, including diverse cultural contexts across Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. It also contains immense heterogeneity and cultural diversity of immigrant populations, with chapters on Arab and Asian groups in Africa to Muslim Turkish–Dutch youth in the Netherlands, Albanian, Serbian, and Chinese groups in Italy, Russians in Estonia, Bangladeshi and Pakistani in the UK, Jamaicans in the USA, and many more. Most of the contributions present empirical studies on unique and often understudied groups, which are complemented by three chapters offering reviews on immigrant groups in the UK, China, and Japan. The consideration of different acculturation domains in such newly and scarcely studied immigrant groups also reveals the applicability and limitations of current acculturation theories and practices across different receiving societies—a necessary means of arriving at more generalizable conclusions.

In the next section we describe how each chapter relates and contributes, not only to a comparative international understanding of well-being and acculturation of immigrants, but also to a multidisciplinary approach of research on immigrant communities and the basic questions of the book.

Overview of the Book

The first section of the book comprises two chapters devoted to family relations, acculturation, and well-being of immigrant children and parents in North and Central America. The chapter by *Rogers-Sirin, Ryce, and Sirin* deals with acculturative stress affecting immigrant families in the USA in terms of school experiences and mental health outcomes. The authors present findings from the Longitudinal Immigrant Families and Teachers Study (LIFTS) and the New York City Academic and Social Engagement Study (NYCASES) based on multigenerational, multiethnic samples across the USA. Findings highlight the role of risk and protective factors against mental health symptoms for immigrant youth. Internalizing symptoms decrease over time and social support and ethnic identity serve as protective factors against the development of mental health symptoms. The authors also suggest that family involvement within their children's school is linked to how teachers perceive immigrant parents' education-related values. When teachers see greater value differences with parents, they appear to see those parents as having different education-related beliefs. School-based family involvement appears as a predictive factor for teacher perceptions of immigrant youth's behaviors such that teachers rate children of more involved parents as having fewer externalizing behaviors.

The second chapter by *Ferguson and Bornstein* examines how Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA experience tridimensional (3D) acculturation owing to their exposure to three relevant cultures: mainstream European–American culture, African–American culture, and their heritage Caribbean culture. Using a variable-centered and person-centered approach on a sample of Jamaican immigrant adolescents and parents in the USA, the authors show that tricultural integration is the most common acculturation status, and youth are generally well adjusted compared with their nonimmigrant US and Jamaican peers. However, triculturalism appears to be more advantageous than biculturalism for some immigrant youth (girls) and in some domains (behavioral), where assimilation is disadvantageous. The authors argue that a 3D perspective provides a new perspective and adds depth to our understanding of acculturation for some immigrants, particularly minority immigrants settled in multicultural societies.

The second section of the book deals with parenting, social development, and well-being of immigrant children and parents in Asia and Africa. The leading chapter by *Yamamoto* reviews available survey data on educational experiences of immigrant children in Japan, showing that as in other nations, Japan has faced educational challenges associated with immigrants for the last few decades. The author suggests that fundamental issues in the Japanese context concern the legal arrangement, social climate, and educational structure that designate immigrant children as "*gaijin*" (foreigners). A large academic gap between Japanese and immigrant students suggests an unequal distribution of educational opportunities across groups. Immigrant students' cultural and language backgrounds also create challenges to their academic success in an egalitarian-oriented educational system that ignores their diversity, which can result in bullying experiences for these students at Japanese schools.

The chapter by *Chen* is the only one in the book on domestic immigration. It contributes to better understanding of children's social development in the context of domestic migration assumed to take place primarily for economic reasons, including rural to urban migration for industrial employment in China. In his review, the author outlines two influential factors on rural-to-urban migrant children's social development in terms of externalizing and internalizing problems, and prosocial behaviors. One regards interactional characteristics in the peer group such as social discrimination, exclusion, withdrawal, and aggression. The second concerns sociocultural contextual characteristics in urban cities owing to receiving policies for the migrant population.

The chapter by *Abubakar and van de Vijver* examines the influence of parent and peer attachment, sense of school belonging, religious and ethnic identity on psychological well-being of Arab and Asian adolescents in Kenya. The authors found that

Arab–Kenyans showed significantly higher scores on sense of school and ethnic belonging and girls scored higher on peer attachment compared with boys. In addition, adolescents high on connectedness were also high on psychological well-being. Although for both Arab and Asian groups the strength of relationship between connectedness and psychological well-being was invariant, there were differences in the underlying structure, with maternal attachment having an especially salient role in shaping the mental health of girls compared with boys.

The third section of the book deals with attachment, acculturation orientations, and well-being of immigrant groups in North and South Europe. The first chapter is authored by *Bender and Yeresyan*. It examines the importance of religiosity and cultural maintenance for self-esteem in a sample of second-generation Turkish–Dutch adolescents. Drawing on traditional frameworks on acculturation and religiosity, the authors show that adolescents who experience a mismatch between their acculturation orientation and religiosity hold a lower self-esteem.

Iqbal's chapter explores the ethnic-racial socialization strategy of egalitarianism (with its emphasis on individual qualities over ethnic and racial group membership), employed by second-generation British–Indian and British–Pakistani mothers living in the UK. Reviewing the current literature on egalitarianism and presenting new qualitative data, she concludes that immigrant parents use egalitarianism as protective parenting tool to prevent experiences of discrimination for their children and ensure cultural maintenance in the next generation. She also argues that such parenting strategies are core elements in ensuring psychological well-being, adjustment, and adaption of immigrant children.

Using a longitudinal sample of immigrant and nonimmigrant youth from both privileged and disadvantaged neighborhoods in Sweden, *Svensson* examines adolescents' experiences related to the way parents influence their peer relations. By discussing contextual influences on how families handle youth autonomy and attempt to monitor their children, the author demonstrates that immigrant parents in disadvantaged neighborhoods tend to monitor their children's peer relations at a higher degree than nonimmigrant parents from less disadvantaged contexts.

The fourth contribution to the section (*Polek and Coen*) investigates the importance of parental linguistic adjustment and social status in affecting sociolinguistic adjustment in immigrant children in Ireland. Drawing from a large-scale longitudinal study "Growing up in Ireland," the authors argue that the effect of parental linguistic acculturation on child sociolinguistic adjustment is fully mediated by family socioeconomic status. Indeed, parental linguistic adjustment predicts the socioeconomic status of the household, which in turn, affects child sociolinguistic adjustment.

The chapter by *Pachi and Barrett* focuses on civic and political engagement amongst Bangladeshi and Congolese immigrant youth in London. In a series of interviews with youth, parents, and teachers, the authors identify how these youth and their significant others perceive cultural and institutional factors related to their political participation. They further argue that civic and political engagement have the potential to provide a range of benefits for immigrant youth by enhancing their integration into the mainstream society, and development of attitudes, skills, and knowledge that aid them professionally and socially.

Bobowik, Basabe, and Páez's chapter explores identity management strategies and perceived discrimination as predictors of well-being among young immigrants from Bolivia, Colombia, Morocco, Romania, and Sub-Saharan African countries, living in Spain. Coping strategies were found to mitigate detrimental effects of perceived discrimination on psychological functioning, whereas specific identity management mechanisms served as a buffer for well-being across different ethnicities. For example, Colombians benefited from both individual-level and group-level favorable social identity comparisons, whereas Romanians maintain their well-being through personal and group mobilization. African and especially Moroccan immigrants were most vulnerable to the consequences of lack of coping resources for their psychological well-being.

Next, the chapter by *Kus* explores adaptation and identity struggles of Russian youth in the Estonian context of power reversal between the former dominant group (Russians) and the oppressed group (Estonians). She employs quantitative and qualitative methods in three studies over different time periods in examining determinants of subjective well-being of Russian youth. The author suggests that societal changes during the last decades in Estonia, in which the country became independent after the collapse of the former Soviet Union, have resulted in socioeconomic disadvantages and less well-being of Russian youth compared with Estonian mainstreamers.

The chapter by *Laghi, Baiocco, Pallini, and Dimitrova* addresses parent and peer attachment related to psychological and sociocultural adjustment of Asian immigrant adolescents in Italy. More specifically, it examines the immigrant paradox by investigating the influence of attachment on adjustment in Chinese youth, who are relatively recent immigrant group characterized by strong ethnic enclaves and cohesive community. Compared with native Italian adolescents, immigrants showed stronger attachment relationships and school adjustment, and lower negative functioning.

The next contribution, by *Dimitrova and Chasiotis*, addresses the immigrant paradox in Albanian and Serbian groups in Italy. The authors find that immigrant children reported higher levels of social adjustment than mainstream children, whereas both immigrant parents showed more depression and lower self-esteem than Italian nonimmigrant parents. They argue that Albanian and Serbian children display positive adjustment to the host country, whereas their parents show signs of undergoing stressful migration experience.

The section concludes with a chapter by *Alonso-Arbiol, Abubakar, and van de Vijver* that addresses the influence of parenting on attachment and well-being of Moroccan–Dutch immigrant youth in the Netherlands. They find that parenting practices varied with gender and age of the adolescent. High levels of parental affection and monitoring were associated with better youth outcomes, whereas strict parenting was associated with poor mental health, less secure attachment, and more problem behaviors.

The book is closed by a commentary chapter by *Sam*, who is one of the most important and knowledgeable international experts on psychological issues related to acculturation and immigration. In his final remarks, Sam provides insightful avenues for re-directing research attention on several key areas to have a more global and comprehensive understanding of immigrant families around the world. Most notably there is need to direct more research efforts into the study of perception of immigrant parents' experiences to their children's acculturation patterns, intergenerational differences, factors and conditions that affect change, or account for types of outcomes, preferably in experimental designs. As Sam points out, the major contribution of this book is the inclusion of acculturation studies of immigrant families in a variety of countries and cultures, because acculturation research needs to move beyond comparative approaches and assume a more cross-comparative perspective.

Conclusions

The contributions presented here illustrate the ways that the immigration process, on the one hand, and context and attitudes toward immigrants, on the other hand, influence not only individual-level characteristics and well-being of immigrant groups but also structural characteristics of receiving societies and their native populations. Together, these contributions provide the reader with an advanced and up-to-date understanding of the processes and conditions under which immigrant families in multiple contexts adapt to their new culture, including the most salient cultural and contextual factors involved in mediating well-being of children and parents. Therefore, in an era of increased global migration, more comparative studies of causes and consequences of immigration on families and their children similar to the findings presented here, are needed. In light of the potential implications of immigration for ethnic conflict and maladjustment of immigrant parents and children, this is an important area of investigation, for both pure research and policy. The breadth of topics and diversity of the chapters in this book help to move toward an understanding of the processes behind both positive and negative outcomes in immigrant families, including policy practices that need to be integrated in global thinking about international migration. As most of the contributions remind us, we will need to build more productive alliances with community members, social organizations, and policy makers to translate theories and research results into effective interventions. The findings presented in this book outline several key issues for future policy and practice. First, even when taking into consideration that results are often mixed, there is ample evidence that in many areas immigrant families face a greater risk for problems than mainstream families. We need to implement this knowledge to inform preventive interventions. Second, the investigation of immigrant families needs to move away from a deficit-based perspective toward an understanding of the processes leading to positive outcomes including, but not limited to preventive practices that might allow for early intervention, increase cultural sensitivity among practitioners, school stuff and researchers, and focus on well-being of immigrant parents and their children across the globe. Immigrant families often show high coping skills and much resilience. By moving from a deficit perspective to a strength perspective, we may gather more insight in how we mobilize resources in immigrant families and communities better.

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Part I

Family Relations, Acculturation, and Well-Being of Immigrant Children and Parents in North and Central America

Acculturation, Acculturative Stress, and Cultural Mismatch and Their Influences on Immigrant Children and Adolescents' Well-Being

Lauren Rogers-Sirin, Patrice Ryce, and Selcuk R. Sirin

Immigration is a life changing cultural transition that involves dealing with a variety of challenges having mental health implications. Multiple preimmigration circumstances and postimmigration conditions affect how migration is experienced, as do unique individual, family, and cultural factors. Without considering these factors, those who work with immigrants and those who conduct research with immigrants may at best fail to understand the psychological needs of the people they are working with, and at worst pathologize their experiences, perpetuating stereotypes, and/or contribute to feelings of alienation. In this chapter, we will first provide an overview of acculturation processes affecting immigrants to the USA and how acculturative stress can affect immigrant families, in terms of experiences in school and mental health outcomes. In the second section, we will present findings from two separate studies we conducted to illustrate the role of acculturation in the lives of children and adolescents. We conclude by describing how longitudinal research can improve our information about the mental health needs of immigrant families, and areas that should be focused on in future studies. We also talk about how our findings on the relations between acculturative stress and mental health can inform mental health practitioners, and our findings on cultural mismatch can inform teachers and school administrators.

There are approximately 39.9 million immigrants in the USA today. Children with immigrant parents represent 24% of school-age children (Migration Policy Institute 2011). Of these children, 77% are second-generation immigrants (children born in the USA to immigrant parents), and 23% are first-generation immigrants (children born outside of the USA to immigrant parents) (Mather 2009). Immigrant families represent a wide variety of socioeconomic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds and often face multiple challenges attempting to navigate the educational

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system in the USA, including xenophobia and discrimination (American Psychological Association 2012). While many immigrant families are able to successfully navigate these challenges, others struggle with mental health difficulties as a result of the difficulties and stressors associated with immigrating and adapting to a new culture. These families have complex clinical needs that are underexamined in the clinical and empirical literature. Accordingly, more research is needed on immigrant populations to begin to understand their mental health needs.

Acculturation is a complex process of change on various levels including individual, family, and cultural (Berry 2002). Acculturation should not be conceptualized as a unidirectional process in which immigrants assimilate into their adopted country, whereas the host culture remains the same (Berry 2002). Although society generally conceptualizes mental health at the individual level, family, community, and cultural level factors also deeply affect personal mental health. Thus, to understand mental health needs among immigrant youth, one must understand the intersecting contexts within which they learn, play, find support, and develop identity. The two studies described in part two of this chapter strive to meet this goal. The Longitudinal Immigrant Families and Teachers Study (LIFTS) examines the context of schools, and how cultural mismatch can affect teachers' perceptions of and judgments regarding immigrant children and their parents, while the New York Academic and Social Engagement Study (NYCASES) examines how various intersecting contextual factors impact immigrant adolescents' mental health over time.

Acculturative Stress

The negative impact of acculturation stressors on mental health among children of immigrants has been demonstrated in a variety of studies (Fine and Sirin 2007; García Coll and Marks 2009; LaFromboise et al. 1993). For this reason, understanding the role of acculturation in the lives of immigrants is an essential component to understanding the overall psychological health and well-being of this population.

Acculturation can be a stressful experience for a variety of reasons and the term *acculturative stress* is commonly used to refer to the unique stressors of immigration (for a thorough review, see Berry 2006). A variety of factors may contribute to acculturative stress, including the conditions within which one lived before immigrating, the motivation for immigrating (Organista et al. 2002), the separation of families, which has been linked to distress among immigrant children, involves temporarily disrupting families if one adult immigrates before the rest of the family in order to get established (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). Whether or not one enters with documentation is also a factor affecting mental health. Lacking legal status is very stressful and frightening for immigrants (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). Undocumented citizens are thus particularly at risk for a number of mental health symptoms.

Upon entering the USA, a new host of potential stressors arise. Expectations about life in the USA may be quite different from the actual experience and the path to a safe and comfortable life may be more elusive, creating disappointment and discouragement (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). Many immigrants end up in poverty-stricken urban neighborhoods, and the intersection of acculturative stress and economic stress creates unique mental health risks for urban immigrants (Organista 2007; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001).

The attitudes that immigrants encounter upon entering the USA are also a potential source of mental health distress. New immigrants may experience discrimination, stereotypes, and prejudice because of racism, antiimmigrant attitudes, or a combination of both. Attitudes toward immigrants in the USA have fluctuated over the years, but are currently quite negative (Deaux 2006). Different immigrant groups encounter different forms and degrees of discrimination owing to current stereotypes about various racial and ethnic groups. Deaux (2006), for example, found that US citizens' views about various immigrant groups varied, with Mexicans viewed the most negatively, followed by Dominicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans. Research has also found that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have higher rates of depression than Cubans (Organista et al. 2002), and although these studies were not linking depression to experiences of prejudice, other studies have demonstrated increased depression among Latinos who experience discrimination (Gee et al. 2006).

Much less is known about attitudes toward African immigrants because ethnicity and race become immediately conflated upon entering the USA. African immigrants are seen as "Black" in mainstream US culture, and this racial identification is more significant to systems of discrimination in the USA than is country, or continent (or island nation), or origin (Organista et al. 2002). The institutional barriers that Black people, in the USA, face are well documented and include systematic injustice in the legal system (Grimmett et al. 2009; Williams 1992), inequality in schools (Gordon et al. 2000), and economic injustice (McNeil 2000). The effects of racism against Black Americans are also well documented and are associated with depression, suicidality, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress disorder (Grimmett et al. 2009; Utsey and Constantine 2008).

Asian immigrants also struggle with stereotypes and discrimination, but the myth of the model minority often conceals the concerns of this population (Singh 2009; Sue and Sue 2003). The term "model minority" refers to the commonly held idea that Asians accept US mainstream ideals more quickly than other immigrant groups, and are thus more easily accepted into US mainstream culture (Sue and Sue 2003). The reality, however, is that Asian immigrants have faced discrimination throughout the history of the USA and their struggles are often rendered invisible due to the assumption that they do not face discrimination or acculturative stress (Singh 2009). When they internalize this stereotype, Asian immigrant youth may have difficulty identifying the ways that racism and discrimination have affected them (Singh 2009; Sue and Sue 2003).

Another source of acculturative stress that has received quite a bit of attention is intergenerational conflict caused by differing degrees of acculturation between parents and children. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) developed a four-part model of acculturation that is specific to the dynamics between immigrant parents and children.

Dissonant acculturation occurs when children master language and US cultural norms and disconnect from ethnic culture more rapidly than their parents. Consonant acculturation occurs when parents and children acculturate to US culture, and disconnect from ethnic origin culture, at the same pace. Selective acculturation occurs when both parents and children maintain healthy connections to both cultures. Portes and Rumbaut's longitudinal study of second-generation immigrants (2001) demonstrates that dissonant acculturation diminishes parents' ability to act as protectors and authorities in their children's lives, and this in turn is associated with increased mental health risk. The selective pattern has the most positive outcomes, in part because immigrant families in this pattern were better able to cope with discrimination by maintaining support within their families and ethnic communities. These findings demonstrate the importance of examining generational cultural differences in understanding immigrant mental health. Thus, the NYCASES study investigates generational differences and the effects on mental health outcomes in depth.

Not only can the degree to which different generations identify with ethnic and US culture vary, but these processes can also vary within an individual. Phinney et al. (2001) postulated that immigrant ethnic identity development may involve two parallel dimensions: *ethnic identity*, which refers to the maintenance of a sense of belonging with one's heritage culture and the continuance of that culture's values and practices, and *national identity*, which refers to the adoption of the host culture's values and practices and the development of a sense of belonging among the mainstream culture. In studying this two-dimensional model, they found that the relationship between these constructs varied between immigrant groups and country to which one immigrated. Their results point to the necessity of studying the role that both ethnic and national (in this case, the USA) identity play in understanding adolescent mental health across different immigrant groups.

Research has demonstrated that both ethnic identity and US identity are important influences on mental health among immigrants. Strong ethnic identity is associated with more positive mental health outcomes (Phinney et al. 2001; Smith and Silva 2011). Roberts et al. (1999), in a study with a large immigrant sample including many ethnic groups, found that strong ethnic identity was associated with more positive self-esteem, better coping skills, and more optimism, and low levels of ethnic identity were associated with depression and loneliness. This is not a uniform finding, however, and the degree to which ethnic identity predicts positive mental health outcomes varies between ethnic groups. Research has found that for Asian immigrants, ethnic identity is associated with positive mental health outcomes (Lim et al. 2011). The research with Latino immigrants, on the other hand, has been less clear. Some studies have demonstrated that ethnic identity is a protective factor against mental health symptoms (Umaña-Taylor and Updegraff 2007), whereas others have not uncovered a relationship between these constructs (Huynh and Fuligni 2010). Among African Americans, ethnic identity has been found to protect against internalizing and externalizing mental health symptoms, and is associated with lower levels of parental aggression (Smith et al. 2008).

There is less research on the relationship between US identity and mental health among immigrants (Sirin et al. 2008), but research has investigated the link between assimilation to US culture and mental health. Although assimilation to US culture is not synonymous with US identity, this body of research can help build hypotheses about the role US identity plays in determining immigrant mental health. While some studies have found that higher assimilation is related to more positive mental health outcomes (Phinney et al. 1992), other research has found that higher levels of assimilation are associated with negative mental health outcomes (Lee et al. 2000; Yoon et al. 2011). Understanding US identity or ethnic identity in isolation, however, cannot yield as thorough a picture as studying how these aspects of identity relate to each other and to an individual's mental health. Studying both ethnic and US identity as separate but related constructs allows researchers to explore the concept of bicultural identity.

Research has found that a bicultural identity, in which one feels connected to both culture of origin and adoptive culture, is associated with positive mental health outcomes (Phinney and Ong 2007). Research has used bilingualism as an indicator of biculturalism, and has linked this attribute to higher self-esteem and lower rates of depression (Benet-Martinez and Haritatos 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) proposed the construct "Bicultural Identity Integration" (BII) as a way of describing the extent to which bicultural individuals feel the ethnic and mainstream aspects of their identity are compatible rather than difficult to integrate. In researching BII, they found it is associated with lower neuroticism and cultural isolation. Thus, a strong, bicultural identity appears to protect against acculturative stress and some of the negative mental health outcomes associated with it.

The two studies described later, focus on these various sources of acculturative stress and the potential impact they may have on immigrant children and adolescents. The first study explored attitudes toward immigrant children and their families within school systems, focusing on how teachers' perceptions of cultural differences between themselves and immigrant families can lead to judgments that could harm immigrant children's experiences in schools. The second study is a longitudinal investigation of urban, immigrant adolescents and various acculturation-related variables that affect mental health.

Perceptions of Immigrant Children and Their Families in Schools: Results from Longitudinal Immigrant Families and Teachers Study

Today, approximately one-quarter of children in the USA under the age of 10 come from immigrant families (Migration Policy Institute 2011). For bicultural children and their families, cultural differences between their families and the schools can be a major source of acculturative stress. According to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (1986), home and school are two important influences on the development of school-age children. The interactions between home and school contexts form a mesosystem and positive interactions between these contexts can positively affect children's development. On the other hand, interactions with school personnel can be a source of stress for immigrant families, as their practices and beliefs about schooling may conflict with expectations from their child's school (Clabaugh 2000). Differences between the beliefs of the child's home culture and those of the child's school culture create a state known by a variety of terms, including "cultural incongruence" (Sirin et al. 2009), "cultural discontinuity" (Delpit 2006), and "cultural mismatch" (García Coll and Magnuson 2000). These terms all refer to difficulties that arise when, significant differences exist between a student's home culture and school culture, leading to situations where teachers can "easily misread students' aptitudes, intents, or abilities as a result of the difference in styles of language use and interactional patterns" (Delpit 2006, p. 167). Differences in values have also been demonstrated to affect teachers' perceptions of parents and students. Lasky (2000), for example, found that teachers expressed more comfort with parents whom they perceived as having similar values about education to their own. Similarly, in a study of low-income kindergarteners, Hauser-Cram et al. (2003) found that kindergarten teachers who saw more value-differences with parents had lower mathematics and literacy expectations for their children, even after controlling for an objective measure of academic achievement. These studies were not conducted with immigrant families, and there is an unfortunate lack of research examining the implications of cultural mismatch for immigrant families. Teachers in the USA often use Western cultural standards to define normative behavior in immigrant children (García Coll and Magnusson 2000). Consequently, immigrant families who have different beliefs about education than their child's school may experience challenges when attempting to navigate their child's school (Delgado-Gaitan 1991; Raeff et al. 2000). One important domain in which teachers and immigrant families may differ in their beliefs about education is in the area of school-based family involvement. American culture considers active family involvement to be a necessary contributor to students' school success (Sheldon 2002). Research has linked greater school-based family involvement to greater teacher ratings of student academic achievement (Lee and Bowen 2006), emotional regulation, and academic behavior skills (Hill and Craft 2003), and school engagement (Hughes and Kwok 2007; Izzo et al. 1999). The bulk of research on family involvement, however, has not focused on immigrant families or cultural differences in family involvement.

The few empirical studies on this topic have found that immigrant families can differ from teachers and nonimmigrant families in their involvement practices and beliefs. For example, research has shown that Chinese immigrant parents use more formal teaching methods for mathematics at home (e.g., using mathematics workbooks and setting aside time during the day to practice their mathematics skills) than White parents (Huntsinger and Jose 2009). In addition, White parents have been found to engage in more managerial parental involvement in school (e.g., checking their child's homework), whereas Chinese parents have been found to engage in more structural parental involvement at home (e.g., purchasing extra workbooks or outside materials for their child) (Chao 2000). In addition, a study of high-performing Latino-majority high schools found that Latino immigrant parents hold more informal definitions of family involvement, viewing it as a variety of unofficial, home-based activities. In contrast, teachers held more formal definitions of family involvement, including participation in official, organized school events and opportunities (Scribner et al. 1999). Although prior research has demonstrated how immigrant families may differ in their beliefs about education, little is known about how school-based family involvement among immigrant families predicts children's academic and behavioral well-being. Consequently, the LIFTS was developed to fill this gap in the literature.

Findings from the Longitudinal Immigrant Families and Teachers Study

LIFTS was designed to examine how characteristics of immigrant families influence teacher perceptions of their children's academic achievement and behavioral problems over time. Data were collected once a year over the course of 3 years from teachers and immigrant parents of students in first, second, and third grade. Data were collected from parents and teachers in suburban New Jersey public schools as well as Islamic schools in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. A growing segment of private, religious education in the USA is provided by private Islamic schools. Between 1999 and 2006, the number of students enrolled in private, Islamic schools increased over 40 % from 18,000 to over 26,000 (United States Department of Education 2008). This study did not examine differences between ethnic groups, utilizing a sample of immigrant students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. The cultural mismatch between teachers and immigrant families was the focus, rather than the experiences of specific ethnic groups.

Externalizing behavior problems were assessed using the rule-breaking behavior and aggressive behavior subscales of the teacher report form (TRF) (Achenbach and Rescorla 2001). School-based family involvement and teacher perceptions of value differences with families were separately assessed by teacher-report measures developed by the *MacArthur Network on Successful Pathways through Middle Childhood* (John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation 2000). Teachers rated the degree to which the child's parent(s) were involved in school, and the degree to which they considered their education-related values to be similar or different from those of the child's parent(s) with regard to (a) discipline, (b) parents' role in a child's education, and the teaching of (c) mathematics, (d) literacy, and (e) writing.

Cross-sectional work with LIFTS data found that first grade teachers who perceived greater value differences with parents had lower mathematics and literacy expectations for their children and rated their children as having more behavioral problems (Sirin et al. 2009). Thus, teachers' perceptions of the similarity or difference between their own education-related values and those of parents predict how they view students' academic and behavioral competence. Additional cross-sectional analyses also found that less school-based family involvement in first grade predicted higher teacher ratings of value differences with parents (Ryce 2012). Thus, teachers who perceived immigrant families as less involved in their child's schooling also saw greater value differences with these parents. This result indicates that teachers may use school-based family involvement as a way of evaluating parents' education-related values. When parents are more involved, teachers see their values as more similar, but when parents are less involved, teachers see their values as more disparate. Although this is not inherently problematic, when taken in combination with our findings that teacher perceptions of value differences also predicted teacher expectations and value differences, this demonstrates that these value differences may lead to negative educational outcomes for children. Furthermore, this finding aligns with the assertion that the United States schooling system is dominated by Western cultural values, which promote active and consistent school-based involvement of parents. However, immigrant parents may not originate from countries that ascribe to that belief, may have less opportunity to demonstrate involvement because of other life demands, or may be less involved owing to language barriers. Any of these factors may lead to less school-based family involvement than is expected by teachers in the USA.

Expanding upon this study, longitudinal analyses were conducted to examine the relations among teacher perceptions of value differences with immigrant families, teacher externalizing behavior ratings (rule-breaking and aggressive), teacher academic expectations, and school-based family involvement from first through third grade (Ryce 2012). Longitudinal analyses demonstrated that when parents' school-based involvement increased over time, teachers perceived their children as having fewer rule-breaking and aggressive behaviors and had greater literacy and mathematics expectations. This significant finding remained after controlling for the effects of school type as well as student ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender. In addition, parental value differences moderated the relation between school-based family involvement and mathematics and literacy expectations. Specifically, the relation between school-based family involvement and teacher expectations was only significant for high parental value differences families. For low parental value differences families, school-based family involvement was unrelated to teacher expectations.

These findings extend previous research regarding school-based family involvement with nonimmigrant samples. Cross-sectional studies have found that school-based family involvement predicts socioemotional adjustment for the general population (Hill and Craft 2003; Izzo et al. 1999). The current study assessed school-based family involvement among immigrant families over 3 years of data collection. As family involvement can change from year to year based on changing circumstances in parents' lives, the current study was able to dynamically capture how teachers' ratings of children's externalizing behaviors and their academic expectations can fluctuate based on yearly changes in parents' school-based involvement. Research has linked elevated levels of externalizing behaviors to long-term consequences, including lower levels of behavioral adjustment, interpersonal conflict, crime, psychiatric disturbance, and substance abuse in adolescence and adulthood (Englund et al. 2008; Moffitt et al. 2002). In addition, research has also found that teacher expectations can predict students' academic well-being, above and beyond the effects of their objective performance (Kuklinski and Weinstein 2001). For children of immigrants, greater school-based involvement may serve as a protective factor against externalizing behavior problems as well as low teacher expectations. This appears to be particularly true for children of parents who teachers perceive as having different beliefs about education from themselves. Thus, although education-related value differences between teachers and parents can put students at risk for increased teacher perceptions of behavioral problems and decreased teacher expectations, this risk may be reduced if these parents exhibit greater involvement in their child's schooling.

Findings from the New York City Academic and Social Engagement Study

NYCASES is a longitudinal study designed to understand educational and mental health trajectories of urban youth in general, and immigrant origin urban youth in particular. We recruited more than 500, 10th grade students from 14 New York City high schools for a 3-year longitudinal study. NYCASES employed mixed methods of surveys, semistructured interviews and map drawing methodology for data collection (see Rogers-Sirin and Gupta 2012; Sirin et al. 2013). This database provides a unique opportunity to examine some of the complex relations between acculturation and mental health outcomes for immigrant origin youth with longitudinal data. First, a disproportionate number of immigrants to the USA live in urban settings. By focusing on an urban immigrant population, this analysis provides an opportunity to examine how the strengths and stressors of urban life intersect with the opportunities and stressors of immigrating to affect mental health. Second, by enabling longitudinal analyses, this dataset provides insight into how developmental processes that are prominent during adolescence, in particular acculturation and acculturative stress, relate to mental health. Finally, the longitudinal nature of this study allows for a more rounded understanding of how mental health changes for urban immigrant youth during an important phase of life—high school.

Measures

In NYCASES, we assessed mental health symptoms using the internalizing subscale of the youth self report (YSR) (Achenbach 1991). This scale is designed to measure three key components of mental health: withdrawn symptoms, somatic symptoms, and anxious/depressed symptoms. The withdrawn/depressed subscale has eight items such as "I keep from getting involved with others" and "There is very little that I enjoy." The somatic complaints subscale has nine items such as "I feel overtired without reason" and "I get headaches." Lastly, the authors modified the anxious/depressed subscale to include 11 items such as “I feel that no one loves me” and “I am afraid of going to school.” Although these domains are related, each represents a unique set of mental health symptoms and as such, following Achenbach’s guidelines (1991), we explored developmental trajectories of each domain separately for the current analysis.

Acculturative stress was assessed using a modified, ten-item version of the Societal, Attitudinal, Familial, and Environmental (SAFE)—Revised Short Form (Mena et al. 1987). Participants responded to items assessing their experience of negative stressors associated with acculturation (e.g., “It bothers me that family members I am close to do not understand my new American values”) using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*not at all stressful*) to 4 (*very stressful*). Cronbach’s alpha values ranged from 0.75 to 0.84 for the 3 years of data collection.

Social supports were assessed using a measure developed based on a structured interview protocol developed for the *Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study* (LISA) and administered to 400 immigrant origin youth (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008). Participants responded to 15 items that assessed their perceptions of support from their social network (e.g., “Are there people who you can talk to about your feelings?”) using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*definitely not*) to 4 (*definitely yes*). Data for these analyses were drawn from the second year of data collection ($\alpha = 0.90$).

Ethnic identification was assessed using the private collective self-esteem and importance to identity subscales of the collective self-esteem scale-race (CSE-R) (Luhtanen and Crocker 1992). Items from these subscales assessed the extent to which respondents feel that they belong to their ethnic group (e.g., “In general, I’m glad to be a member of my racial/ethnic group.”) and the importance of their race/ethnicity to their self-concept (e.g., “In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self-image”). Cronbach’s alpha levels ranged from 0.75 to 0.78 for the three waves of data collection.

A parallel form of the CSE-R, adapted by Sirin and Fine (2008), was used to assess US identification. This scale was developed to identify the degree to which respondents identified with the mainstream US culture and its importance to the respondent’s identity (e.g., “The American society I belong to is an important reflection of who I am”). Cronbach’s alpha values ranged from 0.72 to 0.80 for the three waves of data collection.

Results

Change Over Time in Internalizing Mental Health Symptoms A key finding of the NYCASES immigrant sample analysis was that internalizing mental health symptoms decline significantly over time. In Sirin et al. (2012), we found that, overall, the three components of mental health symptoms we explored—withdrawn/depressed, anxious/depressed, and somatic symptoms—decreased over time between 10th and 12th grade, although in different patterns. We found that a linear model fits best for withdrawn/depressed symptoms. Specifically, withdrawn/depressed symptoms decreased between each time of measurement, $\beta = -0.06$, $p < 0.001$. Alternatively, a quadratic model fits best for anxious/depressed ($\beta = 0.06$, $p < 0.01$) and somatic symptoms ($\beta = 0.06$, $p < 0.01$), with both following a curved pattern wherein symptoms decreased, plateaued, and then began to rise again by the third wave of data. Combined, this set of findings highlights an overall improvement in mental health symptoms over the course of high school, although it is an improvement subject to some variation and the possibility of a rebound effect toward the end of the high school years. While anxious/depressed and somatic symptoms start to increase again toward 12th grade, they do not increase back to the 10th grade levels.

Exploring these results points to an important distinction between our findings and other studies of general (i.e., nonimmigrant) samples. In fact, several studies not specific to immigrants have found that depression rates increase during adolescence (Hankin et al. 1998; Radloff 1991), whereas in our sample depression decreased. For example, studies by Radloff (1991) and Hankin et al. (1998) both demonstrated that rates of depression begin rising during the teen years; Radloff (1991) found a rise between ages 13 and 18, whereas Hankin et al. (1998) found a rise between ages 15 and 18. Research specific to immigrant populations, however, has yielded results similar to the present study. For example, Smokowski et al. (2010) conducted a study with Latino youth and found that internalizing symptoms declined over a 2-year period during the early years of high school. Smokowski et al. (2010) did not find the same curved pattern observed with our data (the authors did not specify whether they tested a quadratic term in their modeling) and this is likely because of several important differences in sampling and methodology. Smowkowski et al.'s sample included only Latino youth and collected data at four points over a 2-year period. Our study included an ethnically diverse sample of urban residing immigrants and collected data in three waves over 3 years. In addition, all students were in 10th grade at the first data collection point, whereas in Smokowski et al.'s study, there was no set starting age or grade. Despite these differences, both of these two studies point to an overall improvement in immigrant youth's mental health symptoms during adolescence.

Generation Status, Acculturative Stress, and Mental Health Symptoms The mental health outcomes also varied based on generation status and gender (Sirin et al. 2012). We found that first-generation youth experienced higher levels of withdrawn/depressed symptoms $F(1, 266) = 4.36$, $p < 0.05$, than second-generation youth. In addition, first-generation youth also reported greater acculturative stress than second-generation youth, $F(1, 265) = 39.15$, $p < 0.001$. These findings are important because they contrast with a growing body of literature that has found that second-generation immigrants tend to fare worse than first-generation immigrants on a variety of outcomes. This trend, referred to as the "immigrant paradox" has focused primarily on physical health symptoms, externalizing mental health symptoms, risk behaviors, and academic outcomes (see García Coll and Marks 2011 for an overview of this literature). Our work, however, is one of the few studies that examined mental health with a nonclinical sample. Our finding that first-generation immigrants experience higher levels of anxious and depressive symptoms and higher levels of acculturative stress indicate that the stressors experienced by first-generation immigrants such as coping with loss, major life disruptions, and learning a new culture and language may have a more significant effect on internalizing mental health symptoms than do the challenges facing subsequent generations. The acculturating challenges that second-generation immigrants experience, according to previous research, appear to have a greater impact on educational and health outcomes. Continuing research will help clarify this hypothesis.

Acculturative Stress, Social Supports, and Mental Health Symptoms Another major finding from the NYCASES study was that longitudinal analyses showed that acculturative stress significantly altered the trajectories of internalizing mental health symptoms over time (Sirin et al. 2012). Over time, as acculturative stress increased, withdrawn/depressed ($\beta = 0.05$, $p < 0.001$), somatic ($\beta = 0.07$, $p < 0.001$), and anxious/depressed symptoms ($\beta = 0.10$, $p < 0.001$) increased. These findings demonstrate that acculturative stress is a key developmental factor that has important implications for mental health symptoms among immigrant populations (Gil et al. 1994; Hovey 2000; Smokowski and Bacallao 2007). What this finding means for those who serve immigrant youth, including clinicians, teachers, and researchers, is that the mental health of immigrant youth cannot be fully understood without carefully attending to the sources of acculturative stress.

In a separate set of analyses with our sample of first and second-generation youth (Sirin et al. 2012), we also explored whether available social support networks could serve as a buffer against the negative role of acculturative stress. The results showed that the more positive social support the adolescents in our sample had, the fewer withdrawn/depressed ($\beta = -0.15$, $p < 0.001$) and anxious/depressed symptoms ($\beta = -0.07$, $p < 0.01$) they reported in 10th grade. In addition, social supports significantly moderated the relation between acculturative stress and anxious/depressed symptoms. Specifically, the relation between acculturative stress and anxious/depressed symptoms was significantly stronger for participants who reported lower amounts of social supports ($Z = 8.11$, $p < 0.01$), in comparison with those who reported higher amounts of social supports ($Z = 4.68$, $p < 0.01$). Thus, social supports appeared to act as a proactive factor that buffered against the negative effects of acculturative stress on anxious/depressed symptoms. However, social supports did not significantly buffer the influence of acculturative stress for withdrawn/depressed or somatic symptoms.

Acculturation and Mental Health Symptoms In addition to acculturative stress, we also explored the role of acculturation in the form of one's identification with home and host cultures, or in the context of our study, ethnic and US identification (Rogers-Sirin and Gupta 2012). Given potential ethnic variation in acculturation as highlighted in the introduction section, we focused on two of the larger ethnic groups in our sample: Asian and Latino youth. The results of a growth curve analysis on two components of acculturation show that for both Asian and Latino youth, ethnic identity and US identification demonstrated quadratic change over time. Specifically, while ethnic identity ($\beta = -0.19$, $p = 0.002$), and US identification

($\beta = -0.13$, $p = 0.05$) increased significantly from 10th to 11th grades, both began to decline from 11th to 12th grades over the 3 years of data collection. These results align with developmental theory, which posits that adolescence is a time when youth began to deeply engage in their search for their ethnic identity (Berry et al. 2006; Fuligni 2001). Our finding that ethnic and US identity decreased from 11th to 12th grades can also be explained by developmental theory. According to Phinney (1992) identity exploration is most intense during early adolescence, and then stabilizes during later adolescence (French et al. 2000; Phinney 1992).

Next, we explored the influence of youth's US and ethnic identification on mental health symptoms (Rogers-Sirin and Gupta 2012). US identification was unrelated to internalizing mental health symptoms for Asian and Latino youth. However, ethnic identity served as a protective factor such that higher levels of ethnic identification were associated with lower levels of withdrawn/depressed symptoms ($\beta = -0.04$, $p = 0.04$). In addition, higher levels of ethnic identity also protected against somatic complaints, but this relation was moderated by ethnicity ($\beta = 0.06$, $p = 0.05$). Specifically, greater ethnic identity predicted fewer somatic complaints for Asian youth population ($p = 0.002$) but not Latino youth ($p = 0.62$). These results demonstrate that ethnic identity is a valuable part of mental health for immigrant populations, but the impact of ethnic identification on various mental health outcomes will vary by ethnic group.

One potential explanation for this nuanced finding may lie in the differences between the experiences of these two immigrant communities in the USA. Asian immigrants often encounter the "model minority" stereotype (Fong 1998), and they also tend to have higher SES and educational attainment than many other immigrant groups. The model minority stereotype, combined with potential social capital that they bring to the new country, can make Asian youth feel that their struggles are invisible (Sue 2010), though this feeling may not be associated with a negative view of the USA. On the other hand, Latino immigrants are faced with an altogether different set of circumstances, including negative stereotypes (Deaux 2006; Finch et al. 2000) and economic disadvantage (Dovidio et al. 2010). As a result of these important distinctions between the two groups, it is plausible to argue that adopting a US identity is a difficult experience for Latinos, which could explain why it does not act as a protective factor against withdrawn/depressed symptoms. As these explanations are purely speculative, further research should explore the reasons behind these observed differences.

Conclusions

Immigrant urban youth are increasing in numbers and face a variety of unique stressors. We know very little, however, about the mental health needs of this vulnerable, and yet resilient population. The NYCASES and LIFTS studies, by working with multigenerational, multiethnic group samples, shed light on factors that heighten the risk for, or protect against, mental health symptoms over time. Specifically, NY-

CASES found that internalizing mental health symptoms were found to decrease over time. In addition, first-generation youth were found to report higher levels of withdrawn/depressed symptoms and acculturative stress. Increases in acculturative stress over time were also found to predict increases internalizing symptoms. However, the NYCASES data also demonstrated that social supports and ethnic identity may serve as protective factors against the development of internalizing mental health symptoms. Specifically, greater social supports predicted fewer withdrawn/depressed and anxious/depressed symptoms. In addition, the relation between acculturative stress and anxious/depressed symptoms was significantly weaker for youth who reported greater social supports. Also, greater ethnic identity predicted fewer withdrawn/depressed symptoms for both Asian and Latino youth as well as fewer somatic complaints for Asian youth.

The NYCASES data demonstrate that acculturative stress may put urban immigrant youth at risk for mental health symptoms during the high school years. Although mental health symptoms decrease over time, demonstrating resiliency within the urban immigrant population, the presence of acculturative stress increases vulnerability to mental health symptoms. First-generation immigrants are particularly vulnerable to acculturative stress and this appears to put them at heightened risk for mental health symptoms. This is an important finding given the limited access to quality mental health care and treatment for immigrant urban populations (US Department of Health and Human Services 2001). Professionals who work with urban immigrant youth, such as teachers, mental health clinicians, social workers, and health care professionals, will be better able to meet the needs of these students if they are aware of the effects of acculturative stress, and focus their interventions toward reducing sources of stress at a systemic level (such as helping families identify sources of support, creating school programs that help immigrant students master language, and learn more about how US schools/culture operate, or foster social relationships). At the individual level, professionals should be looking for ways to empower students to cope effectively with acculturative stress as they navigate through high school.

The NYCASES data also highlight the role ethnic identity may play in protecting against mental health symptoms. Thus, ethnic identity may aid in this type of effort to help students cope with acculturative stress. As described, ethnic identity protects Asian and Latino youth from withdrawn/depressed symptoms and Asian youth from somatic complaints. Previous publications have suggested that the worldviews of Asian and more Western societies may differ in that those of Asian descent tend to experience mind and body as a whole. This leads to greater likelihood of expressing physical comfort when experiencing psychological distress (Kalibatseva and Leong 2011; Lu et al. 2010). While less connection to Asian culture can lead to psychological distress, this may be experienced as both somatic and psychological symptoms (Lu et al. 2010). In contrast, Latin America has been heavily influenced by more Western norms owing to colonialism, potentially leading to more incorporation of Western views of mental health. However, as this hypothesis mainly stems from speculation, further research is needed on this topic to determine whether our finding is unique to our urban, North Eastern population or holds across the USA.

However, these variations do demonstrate the importance of exploring ways to foster healthy ethnic and US identity for immigrant youth, with a nuanced awareness of the reality that ethnic identity mean different things to different populations, and affect different populations in different ways.

The finding that social support protects against mental health symptoms also provides important information for professionals. Putting strong support networks in place for urban immigrant youth is likely to be a particularly effective form of intervention. Mental health practitioners can be a source of social support, but in addition they should help immigrant youth identify other sources of support, or even create sources of support. Interventions could include increasing family connections with family therapy, developing friend networks through groups or clubs, and directing clients to community services and social opportunities. Research suggests that network-building interventions are more likely to be beneficial if immigrant youth are supported in building social connections that reflect the family's culture of origin, not just the adopted culture (Zhou and Kim 2006).

Findings from the LIFTS also provide many important findings regarding the behavioral well-being of children of immigrants in elementary schools. First, our data indicate that school-based family involvement is linked to how teachers perceive immigrant parents' education-related values. When teachers see greater value differences with parents, they appear to see those parents as having different education-related beliefs than themselves. Although this finding in itself is not inherently negative, previous research with LIFTS and other samples has found how value differences can negatively affect teachers' perceptions of parents (e.g., Lasky 2003) as well as their perceptions of students' academic achievement (Hauser-Cram et al. 2003) and behavioral well-being (Sirin et al. 2009). Thus, teachers may perceive value differences as harmful to students' well-being in school. Findings from LIFTS also demonstrate the importance of school-based family involvement in predicting teacher perceptions of children of immigrants' behavioral well-being over time. Specifically, teachers rate children of more involved parents as having fewer externalizing behaviors.

The LIFTS findings can impact interventions at both the teacher and family level. At the family level, professionals working with immigrant families could provide culturally appropriate and relevant ways to encourage the involvement of immigrant families in their child's school. Family engagement with teachers and other school staff may allow children to adjust more easily to school activities. Thus, schools should institute programs to help immigrant families feel comfortable, willing, and able to engage in school-based involvement, so that their children can reap the benefits of such involvement in their schooling. In addition, the study's findings highlight the importance of training teachers to work effectively with immigrant parents, particularly those whose cultural beliefs about education differ from their own. The processes that lead to discriminatory behavior are often out of the conscious awareness of the perpetrator (Sue 2010), so increasing awareness will allow teachers to consider more carefully their assumptions about students and engage in a more thorough, thoughtful, less biased evaluation of their students. Schools should train and support teachers in understanding how beliefs about family involvement may differ among cultures, particularly for immigrant families, in order to create effective school–parent partnerships and avoid the stigma and bias that can arise from teachers' misunderstanding of the intentions and values of immigrant parents.

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Tridimensional (3D) Acculturation: Culture and Adaptation of Black Caribbean Immigrants in the USA

Gail M. Ferguson and Marc H. Bornstein

Approximately 87 % of the US foreign-born is non-European, and more than 50 % of US foreign-born Blacks are of Caribbean descent (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). Nevertheless, Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA have attracted relatively little research attention. This may be because the prevailing acculturation frameworks in psychology (bidimensional acculturation: Berry 1980, 1997) and sociology (segmented assimilation: Portes and Zhou 1993) use two-dimensional (2D) lenses, focusing on a single culture of origin and a single destination culture within which immigrants acculturate. These lenses miss the possibility of multiple destination cultures within a multicultural settlement country such as the USA, wherein immigrants may orient both to the mainstream culture and to one or more ethnic minority cultures. For Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA, the presence of three relevant cultural dimensions—ethnic Caribbean culture, European-American culture, and African-American culture—call for the adoption of 3D lenses to fully capture their acculturation experience. This chapter describes a *tridimensional* (*3D*) *acculturation* paradigm and presents empirical data that test this theoretical proposition from the Culture and Family Life Study, a cross-cultural study of Jamaican islander adolescent-mother dyads compared to Jamaican immigrant, European-American, and African-American dyads in the USA. In addition, we investigate the implications of 3D acculturation for youth behavioral and academic adaptation.

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Acculturation Theory in Perspective

Acculturation in 2D: The View from Psychology Acculturation generally refers to change in cultural behaviors, values, and identity which accompany intercultural contact (Lansford et al. 2007; Schwartz et al. 2010). The bidimensional acculturation framework (Berry 1980, 1997) is the prevailing model for psychological acculturation in which acculturation is determined by the level of contact and participation an immigrant has with the culture of origin (dimension 1—high or low) and the culture of destination (dimension 2—high or low). Cross-tabulation of these two respective dimensions reveals four acculturation statuses (AIMS): Assimilation (low, high), Integration (high, high), Marginalization (low, low), and Separation (high, low). Studies across several immigrant groups lend support to the bidimensional model (e.g., Kosic 2002; Laroche et al. 1996; Ryder et al. 2000). Of note, the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY) examined acculturation among immigrant youth across 13 traditional receiving societies and found the following pattern: A (“national”) = 18.7 %, I (“integrated”) = 36.4 %, M (“diffuse”) = 22.4 %, and S (“ethnic”) = 22.5 % (Berry et al. 2006). This body of work demonstrates an array of potential acculturation options related to navigating a single culture of origin and a single destination culture.

Despite its popularity, the prevailing bidimensional acculturation framework and its supporting research have been critiqued on conceptual grounds. Rudmin et al. criticized its proposition that acculturation statuses derive from the personal preferences of immigrants because preference alone does not guarantee availability of acculturation options (Rudmin 2006; Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh 2001). For example, marginalization may be owing to unrequited cultural preference rather than inherently low cultural preference. A second limitation of the bidimensional acculturation model which has received less attention is that it advances a universal model of acculturation by overlooking the presence of multiple cultures of origin and/or destination for some immigrants. As an example of the consequences of a multicultural sending country, Birman et al. (2010) presented the case of ethnically Jewish Russians who are already bicultural in the home country before emigrating to the USA. In their study of over 200 adolescents in the USA, Birman et al. found that Jewish Russian immigrant youth were much less likely than non-Jewish Russian youth to self-identify as “Russian,” and much more likely to self-identify as bicultural “Russian Jewish” or tricultural “Russian Jewish-American.” As an example of the consequences of a multicultural receiving country, consider the arrival of non-European migrants to the USA. The bidimensional model would be equally insufficient to capture these immigrants’ acculturation because its conceptualization of a generic “American” destination culture by default treats the majority European-American culture as the sole reference group (Abraído-Lanza et al. 2006) and masks the presence of minority cultures as other potential destinations. Although the mainstream culture determines many significant aspects of the new environment which non-White US immigrants must learn to negotiate successfully (e.g., legal, educational, and political systems), minority cultures may also be salient, especially in a racialized society. As Bhatia and Ram (2001) explain:

> When we adhere to universal models of acculturation, we undervalue the asymmetrical relations of power and the inequities and injustices faced by certain immigrant groups as a result of their nationality, race, or gender. Being other or racialized is part of many non-European immigrants' acculturation experience, and these experiences are tightly knitted with their evolving conceptions of selfhood (p. 8).

In summary, in regard to acculturation theory, it appears that one size does not fit all immigrants. Rather, depending on the immigrant population—in this case, Black Caribbean immigrants—different lenses of acculturation are required to appropriately capture the acculturation experience.

Acculturation in 2D: The View from Sociology Sociology has a running head start on psychology in acknowledging that there is more than one potential destination culture in the USA, and that a minority culture—inner-city African-American culture—is salient for some immigrants. In particular, segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993) holds that social and structural factors dictate the destination culture or "sector of society" into which US immigrants acculturate. Segmented assimilation gives rise to one of three immigrant pathways, especially among second-generation immigrant youth: (1) "upward assimilation" whereby immigrants assimilate into middle-class European-American society; (2) "downward assimilation" whereby immigrants assimilate into the poor marginalized African-American society; and (3) cultural integration whereby immigrants seek upward social mobility into the White middle-class while maintaining their ethnic roots. Portes and Zhou's work with Black and non-Black Caribbean immigrant youth in Florida demonstrates that Black immigrants are particularly vulnerable to downward assimilation because: (1) they look like African-Americans because of shared African heritage (and they transition from majority status in their native country to visible minority status in the USA; Schwartz et al. 2010); (2) they are likely to live near inner-city African-American communities because of limited resources typical of newcomers (and residential racial segregation is more common among Black immigrants than Hispanic, Asian, and non-Hispanic White immigrants; Iceland and Scopilliti 2008); and (3) they receive similar treatment as do African-Americans including racial discrimination (Foner 2001). For example, in their study of over 1,700 Caribbean and Central American immigrant adolescents in South Florida, Portes and Zhou found that most Black Jamaican and Haitian immigrant youth had experienced racial discrimination, even from teachers (24 %), rates that were at least twice as high as those among Hispanic Cuban immigrant youth. Other studies report more pervasive experiences of discrimination among Black Caribbean immigrant youth (75 %: Kasinitz et al. 2001). As Schwartz et al. (2010) explain, the process by which native minorities become a salient reference group for immigrants of color is often not by choice, nor is it unique to Black immigrants:

> Migrants from non-European backgrounds also must come to terms with their *own* ethnicity after arriving in the United States or other Western countries. Individuals who belonged to the majority ethnic group in their countries of origin—such as those from China, India, and other Asian countries—may suddenly be cast in the role of ethnic minorities….Experiences of discrimination introduce the immigrant to her or his role as a minority group member and to the reality that her or his ethnic group is regarded as unwanted, inferior, or

> unfairly stereotyped in the receiving society. Migrants of color therefore face the task of integrating themselves into a society that may never fully accept them (or their children) (p. 242).

Sociologist Mary Waters' (1999) interview findings among Black Caribbean immigrant young adults in New York City support the idea of segmented assimilation and underscore the primacy of African-American culture in their acculturation. Overall, 42 % of her sample reported a strong identification as African-American, 31 % reported a strong ethnic identification which was definitively not African-American, and 21 % had an unconcerned attitude toward native Blacks and Whites. Suarez-Orozco et al. (Doucet and Suárez-Orozco 2006; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001) found similar patterns in their research with Black Haitian immigrant youth in the USA and coined three "Identity Styles." First, "ethnic flight" describes immigrants with strong African-American identification and is parallel to Berry's "assimilation," Portes and Zhou's "downward assimilation," and Waters' African-American identification (Berry 1997; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1999). Second, "coethnic identities" describes immigrants with strong ethnic identification and is parallel to Berry's "separation" and Waters' ethnic identification. Third, "transcultural identities" describes immigrants with bicultural identification and is parallel to Berry's "integration" and Portes' cultural integration except that the destination culture is African-American rather than European-American.

Acculturation in 3D: A New Lens Despite the fact that prevailing sociological theories prescribe a different destination culture for Black Caribbean immigrants than do psychological theories—African-American versus European-American, respectively—both disciplines tend to hold a bidimensional view of acculturation whereby immigrants orient toward a single-destination culture. Neither discipline readily acknowledges the possibility of simultaneous acculturation toward multiple destination cultures within a multicultural society. We contend that *both* African-American and European-American cultures are relevant destination cultures for Black US immigrants because these immigrants are confronted with, if not immersed in, both cultures. To that end, we recently proposed a *3D model of acculturation* for Black Caribbean immigrants wherein they acculturate along three relevant cultural dimensions: ethnic Caribbean culture, European-American culture, and African-American culture (Ferguson et al. 2012). See Fig. 1. 3D acculturation for Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA is in accord with the specificity principle in acculturation whereby specific setting conditions (e.g., multicultural destination society) of specific persons or peoples (e.g., Black Caribbean people) at specific times (e.g., twenty-first century globalization era) exert effects in specific ways (3D acculturation) over specific outcomes (Bornstein in press). Tridimensional acculturation may also occur among nationals in multicultural receiving societies in a manner similar to that proposed by Berry's (1997) bidimensional framework (i.e., "multiculturalism" at the societal level might correspond to "tricultural integration" of immigrants at the individual level).

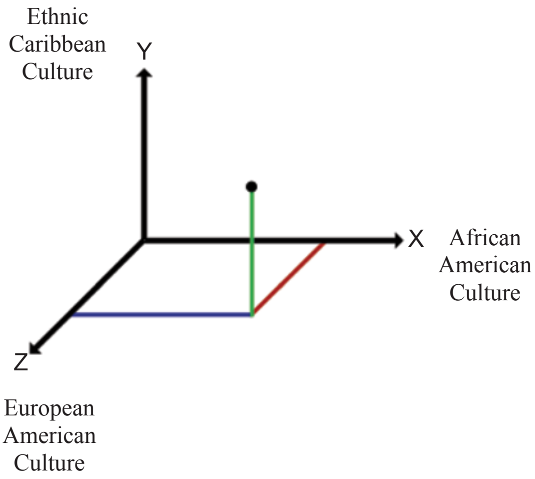

Fig. 1 Tridimensional (3D) acculturation model for Black Caribbean immigrants. (*Note*: The immigrant represented by the dot is moderately oriented to his/her ethnic Caribbean culture and both US destination cultures)

Sociocultural Adaptation of Immigrant Youth

Of equal import as the question of how immigrants acculturate in multicultural societies is the question of how well they adapt to the demands of their new context. Despite socioeconomic challenges, immigrant youth across several societies show remarkably positive adaptation in academics and behavior compared with their non-immigrant peers. This is the case among Asian and Latino immigrant youth in the USA (Fuligni 1997; Fuligni and Witkow 2004; García Coll and Marks 2009), Caribbean, African, and Eastern European immigrants in The Netherlands (van Geel and Vedder 2010), and across immigrant groups in the 13-country ICSEY study (Berry et al. 2006), although there are exceptions (e.g., Albanian immigrants in Greece: Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012).

That said, not all immigrants adapt equally well; acculturation status plays a role. Some studies have reported that integration is associated with the best sociocultural adaptation, followed by separation and assimilation, and finally marginalization (Berry and Sabatier 2010; Berry et al. 2006). Other studies and re-examinations of earlier data suggest that separation may be equal or better than integration for certain immigrant groups (see Rudmin 2006, for review). A recent meta-analysis of 83 studies involving youth and adults reconciled these mixed findings (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez 2012). Meta-analytic findings showed an overall positive association between biculturalism and adjustment, which exceeded the association between adjustment and either heritage or dominant culture orientation separately. However, the association varied across immigrant groups and across countries: Latin (unweighted mean $r=0.60$), Asian ($r=0.52$), and European immigrants ($r=0.33$) had positive biculturalism-adjustment associations, whereas African immigrants ($r=0.01$) and Indigenous individuals ($r=-0.71$) had negligible and negative associations, respectively. Nguyen and Benet-Martínez suggest that the differing results for African and indigenous populations may stem from histories of forced migration and slavery, and institutional neglect and related intergroup tensions, respectively. In addition, the biculturalism-adjustment associations were more positive among immigrants in the USA compared with other receiving societies.

For Black Caribbean immigrants, downward assimilation into inner-city African-American culture has been shown to be associated with poorer sociocultural adaptation. Immigrant youth who take this acculturation pathway appear to adopt a defensive stance toward the White mainstream culture, including education strivings, in response to racial discrimination (Kasinitz et al. 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1999). However, being able to "invoke West Indian ethnic status" may buffer against paralyzing beliefs that racism has limited one's opportunities for social mobility (Bashi Bobb and Clarke 2001). Accordingly, ethnic cultural maintenance and family obligations beliefs (e.g., to respect, defer to, and assist parents) are associated with more positive psychosocial and academic outcomes for Caribbean, Latino, African, and Asian immigrant youth in the USA (Brook et al. 2010; Fuligni et al. 1999; Fuligni et al. 2005; Love et al. 2006; Tseng 2004) and Caribbean and European immigrant youth in other countries (Vedder and Oortwijn 2009).

It is unknown whether 3D acculturation would carry more costs or benefits for youth than 2D acculturation. Given that cultural distance and cultural conflict impede successful bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos 2005), attempting to integrate three cultures versus two may prove even more difficult because it means reconciling three cultural distances and three sets of conflicts (i.e., cultures a vs. b, b vs. c, and a vs. c) rather than one cultural distance and one conflict (i.e., a vs. b). However, the biculturalism literature demonstrates that the successful integration of two cultural orientations is associated with positive sociocultural and psychological adjustment (Chen et al. 2008; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez 2012). Therefore, the successful integration of three cultural orientations—tricultural integration—may be even more advantageous because of greater cultural flexibility, a further expanded behavioral repertoire, and finer-tuned frame-switching skills.

Caribbean Emigration to the USA

Most US immigrants of African heritage come from the Caribbean, Jamaica in particular, which is the largest English-speaking Caribbean country. Located just over 500 miles south of the southern tip of Florida, Jamaica is a former British colony whose population (92 % Black; National Census Report Jamaica 2001) descends primarily from African slaves brought to the island after the decimation of the indigenous Taino population by the Spanish (Senior 2003). In contrast to Jamaica, the majority population of the USA, also a former British colony into which African slaves were imported after mistreatment of native peoples, descended primarily from European immigrants. The USA abolished slavery 30 years after Jamaica did, but the Black US population has remained the numerical (12 %), social, economic, and political underclass (Bhatia and Ram 2001; Schwartz et al. 2010; US Census Bureau 2000).

Significant emigration from Jamaica to the USA began in the 1960s mostly due to changes in the US immigration policy intended to meet needs for skilled professional workers (Bhatia and Ram 2001; Thomas-Hope 2002). In the twenty-first century, many Jamaicans become oriented to US cultures long before emigration, and there is recent empirical evidence that with sufficient intercultural contact, albeit indirect and/or intermittent, some islanders begin to acculturate to European-American culture remotely (Ferguson and Bornstein 2012). Compared with other immigrant groups, Jamaicans and other English-speaking Caribbean immigrants are generally more educated and skilled, better resourced upon arrival, have higher labor force participation, and are more likely to become employed at the professional level (Charles 2003; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1999). Their values and aspirations are similar to those of other voluntary immigrant groups including a very strong value placed on educational/academic success, which is seen by parents as a ladder to social and economic betterment for their children (Fuligni and Fuligni 2007; Kasinitz et al. 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Jamaican immigrants have over time established ethnic enclaves in a number of US locations, primarily New York City and South Florida (Foner 2001; Kasinitz et al. 2001), but maintain close ties with relatives on the island via frequent communication and sending remittances (Thomas-Hope 2002).

An Empirical Study of Tridimensional Acculturation

Aims and Methods

To empirically investigate 3D acculturation and adaptation among Jamaican immigrants in the USA, we conducted a cross-cultural study of Jamaican adolescent-mother dyads living on the island (88 % Black, 10 % Multiracial), compared with Jamaican Immigrant (37 % first-generation Jamaican-born adolescents and 63 % second-generation US-born; 94 % Black, 6 % multiracial), European-American, African-American, and non-Jamaican immigrant dyads in the USA (17 % Black, 83 % non-Black). Overall, 473 dyads participated. On average adolescents were 14.07 years old (51 % girls) and mothers were 42.04 years.

Our expectations were seven-fold, the first five of which were the focus of Ferguson et al. (2012). The remaining two expectations are explored in full detail in this chapter. We expected that (1) we would find evidence of 3D acculturation based on the relative independence of the two destination cultural dimensions and high mean endorsement of all three cultural dimensions among immigrants; (2) we would also find evidence of 3D acculturation in immigrant profiles based on varying degrees of endorsement of the three cultures, amongst which integration (bicultural and tricultural) would be the most prominent acculturation status; (3) Jamaican and other Black US immigrants, but not non-Black US immigrants, would be more oriented toward African-American culture than European-American culture; (4) Jamaican immigrant youth would have at least comparable levels of sociocultural adaptation relative to nonimmigrant peers at the group level; (5) assimilated immigrant youth would have poorer adaptation; (6) tricultural immigrant youth would have better adaptation than bicultural immigrant youth; and (7) immigrant youth with stronger cultural maintenance and family obligations would be better adapted.

Adolescents and mothers completed parallel questionnaires containing a number of measures (Cronbach's $\alpha s \geq 0.75$). (1) The Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Americans (ARSJA, Ferguson and Bornstein 2012; Ferguson et al. 2012) measured cultural behaviors and self-identification along three separate cultural dimensions using three subscales: Jamaican Orientation Scale (JOS), European-American Orientation Scale (EAOS), and African-American Orientation Scale (AAOS). (2) The child/adolescent and parent versions of the Resilience subscale of the Behavioral Assessment for Children of African Heritage measured the degree to which adolescents possessed a variety of positive characteristics and behaviors including getting along with others, leadership, academic effort, extracurricular involvement, and avoiding delinquency (BACAH; Lambert et al. 2005). (3) Adolescents' grade average on the most recent cumulative exams was reported. (4) The Family Values Scale, Obligations subscale (Berry et al. 2006) measured beliefs about adolescent obligations to parents and the family. (5) The Identity Pie (Ferguson et al. 2010) assessed prioritization of family versus eight other life domains (close friendships, romantic relationships, physical appearance, popularity, academics, sports, solitary hobbies, and morality/religion). (6) Social Desirability (Marlowe-Crowne Short-Form A, Reynolds 1982) and (7) parental education (Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status; Hollingshead 1975) were measured as control variables. For fuller methods and results see Ferguson et al. (2012).

Findings

To make the most of this unique dataset, we used both variable-centered (theory-driven cross-tabulation) and person-centered (data-driven cluster analyses) analytic strategies. In addition, we examined both group means for the immigrant sample and individual differences across immigrants.

1. *Is there evidence of 3D acculturation in the immigrant sample overall?* Preliminary analyses showed that the AAOS and EAOS shared negligible variance for adolescents and mothers in the cross-cultural study sample overall ($Rs^2 = 0.01$ and 0.02, respectively), revealing the relative independence of these two cultural dimensions. This finding supports the proposition of 3D acculturation that African-American culture and European-American culture are distinct destination cultures and should be conceptualized and measured separately. In addition, Jamaican immigrants had high mean level orientation to each of the three target cultures: JOS, AAOS, and EAOS mean scores all exceeded the scale mid-points (Ms = 3.71, 3.80, and 3.09, respectively).

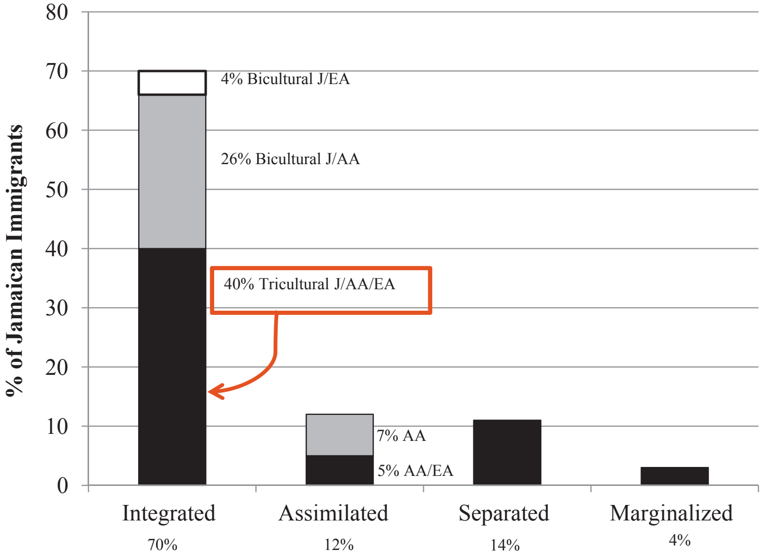

Fig. 2 Variable-centered acculturation groups and statuses based on cross-tabulation of ARSJA scale scores. (*Note*: *J* Above scale mid-point on Jamaican Orientation Score, *EA* above scale mid-point on Jamaican European American Orientation Score, *AA* above scale mid-point on European American Orientation Score. Integrated, Assimilated, Separated, Marginalized = superordinate acculturation statuses based on Berry's (1997) typology)

2. *Is there evidence of 3D acculturation in immigrant profiles and is integration the most common acculturation status?* First, cross-tabulation using scale mid-point splits created a 2 (JOS: high, low) × 2 (EAOS) × 2 (AAOS) factorial matrix of eight *Acculturation Groups* which were sorted into four superordinate *Acculturation Statuses*. Figure 2 illustrates that, as expected, the vast majority of immigrants were integrated (70 % total: 30 % bicultural, 40 % tricultural), followed by separated (14 %), assimilated (12 %; mostly African-American assimilated; adolescents > mothers), and marginalized (4 %). K-means cluster analyses using JOS, AAOS, and EAOS scores revealed complementary results in the prominence of integration and the absence of marginalization. Two *Acculturation Clusters* formed: a "High Integration/African-American" cluster (53 %; all ARSJA scale scores above the scale mid-point with AAOS being the highest) and a "Moderate Integration" cluster (47 %; all ARSJA scores close to the scale mid-point with EAOS being the lowest). Acculturation status and cluster membership were not associated with parental education. Thus, 3D acculturation was evident in that the three target cultures were endorsed to varying degrees across immigrants, including in a triculturally integrated acculturation profile.
3. *Is African-American Culture a primary destination culture for Black US immigrants?* As expected, the mean AAOS scores of Jamaican immigrants and other Black immigrants were significantly higher than their EAOS scores (Cohen's

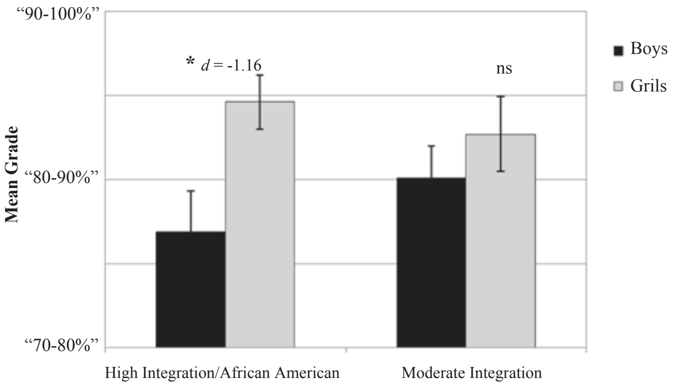

Fig. 3 Adolescent grades and standard errors (*bars*) as a function of acculturation cluster and gender. (*Note*: Adolescent grades were reported by adolescents and mothers. $*p=0.015$)

ds $=0.92$ and 0.35, respectively); however, non-Black Immigrants showed the opposite pattern of cultural orientation (AAOS < EAOS, $d=-1.47$).

4. *How well adapted are Jamaican immigrant youth?* Multilevel modeling (MLM) was performed using Linear Mixed Models (LMM) with heterogeneous compound symmetry covariance structures (Kenny et al. 2006). Results revealed interactions between Culture and Age such that that among older adolescents only, Jamaican immigrants' behavior (*pseudo* $R^2_{\text{adolescent}}=0.19$, *pseudo* $R^2_{\text{m-other}}=0.16$) and grades (*pseudo* $R^2=0.47$) did not differ from other US groups but were higher than those of Jamaican Islanders. Thus, Jamaican immigrants were at least as well-adapted as nonimmigrant peers in both countries.
5. *Is assimilation problematic for Jamaican immigrant youth?* Acculturation status and cluster were associated with concurrent adaptation among immigrant youth using MLM. First, immigrant generation moderated the effect of acculturation status on adolescent grades, *pseudo* $R^2=0.60$. For first-generation youth only, significantly lower grades were reported for assimilated adolescents (mean letter grade = D−) compared to separated (M=B, $d=-1.74$) and integrated peers (M=B−, $d=-1.58$), *pseudo* $R^2=0.75$. In addition, planned comparisons showed that assimilated adolescents had less positive behavioral adaptation compared to integrated peers, $d=-0.35$, although both groups reported high scores above the scale mid-point. Analyses using acculturation clusters showed complementary results. As shown in Fig. 3, there was an interaction between acculturation cluster and adolescent gender on grades, such that girls outperformed boys only in the High Integration/African American cluster ($d=1.16$), whereas there was no gender gap in the Moderate Integration cluster.
6. *Is triculturalism more advantageous than biculturalism for Jamaican immigrant youth?* An analysis of covariance controlling for parental education and social desirability revealed that tricultural immigrant youth ($M=2.78$, $SD=0.13$) reported more positive behavior on a three-point scale than did bicultural immigrant

youth ($M=2.56$, $SD=0.23$, F (1, 22)$=9.22$, $p=0.006$, $d=1.22$). There was no significant difference between triculturals' and biculturals' grades; however, given the interaction effect between acculturation cluster and gender on grades, follow-up contrasts were explored for each gender separately. Although both contrasts were statistically nonsignificant owing to small sample sizes across cells, tricultural girls had somewhat higher grades than did bicultural girls ($d=0.33$) whereas tricultural boys had *lower* grades than did bicultural boys ($d=-1.24$).

7. *Are cultural maintenance and family obligations beneficial for Jamaican immigrant youth?* MLM with restricted maximum likelihood estimated Actor–Partner Interdependence Models (APIM) to assess the effects of JOS scores and Obligations scores in interaction with adolescent gender and immigrant generation on adolescents' BACAH scores and grades. For cultural maintenance, results showed a significant partner effect of JOS scores on grades ($\beta=0.47$, $p<0.01$) and significant interaction effects between JOS partner score and adolescent gender ($\beta=0.35$, $p<0.05$) and between JOS partner score and Generation ($\beta=-0.60$, $p<0.001$), pseudo $R^2_{\text{model}}=45$. That is, mothers' JOS scores were positively associated with adolescent-reported grades, and adolescents' JOS scores were positively associated with mother-reported grades, particularly for boys and for first-generation immigrant youth. These combined actor effects, partner effects, and interaction effects accounted for close to 50 % of the variance in adolescent grades. For family obligations, there was a significant actor effect of Obligations score on BACAH scores ($\beta=0.11$, $p< 0.001$) and a significant interaction effect between Obligations actor score and Generation ($\beta=0.09$, $p<0.01$), pseudo $R^2_{\text{model}}=0.47$. That is, each partner's family obligations beliefs were positively associated with his/her ratings of the adolescents' behavioral strengths, particularly for second-generation immigrant dyads. The combined actor effects, partner effects, and interactions of family obligations beliefs also accounted for close to 50 % of the variance in adolescent behavior. Identity Pie findings complemented the Family Obligations APIM findings: Integrated and separated adolescents ranked family first among nine domains, whereas assimilated adolescents ranked family sixth after physical appearance, close friendships, academics, sports, and morality/religion (in that order of highest to lowest).

What a Tridimensional Lens on Acculturation Reveals

Tridimensional Acculturation in Perspective

What is true in movies may also be true in acculturation: 2D lenses may be adequate to capture certain subject matter (e.g., romance genre; majority immigrants/monocultural settings), but 3D lenses open up a whole new dimension and are needed to appreciate the full picture for other subject matter (e.g., action genre; minority immigrants/multicultural settings). Whereas the bidimensional acculturation framework

(Berry 1980, 1997) conceptualizes destination societies as singular cultural entities, a 3D acculturation framework incorporates newcomers' orientation toward multiple destination cultures and more faithfully describes some immigrants' acculturation experiences. A 3D lens adds depth to our view of acculturation for Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA, who encounter the culture of the White US mainstream and that of a native Black population. In this immigrant group, tricultural integration, which is evident both at the group level (i.e., high mean endorsement of all three cultures) and at the individual level (4 of every 10 immigrants strongly endorse all three cultures), is the most common acculturation option, and is more advantageous than bicultural integration for some immigrants and some outcomes. In the balance of this chapter, we discuss our empirical findings among Jamaican immigrants in more detail, speculate about their generalizability to other immigrant groups and settings, and make recommendations for future research. We also revisit issues that are central to a reconceptualization of acculturation including the validity of marginalization, the pitfalls of assimilation, and the merits of cultural maintenance and integration.

Tricultural integration is not only possible, but predominant among some immigrants. Integration is the order of the day among Jamaican immigrants in the USA. On the whole, this immigrant group orients strongly (that is, above scale mid-point) toward Jamaican culture and toward both US cultures. In terms of immigrant acculturation profiles, 70 % of immigrants are integrated in variable-centered analyses and 100 % in person-centered analyses, percentages which greatly exceed the 36 % average in the ICSEY study and are more similar to 69 % rate among Mexican immigrants in the USA (Phinney et al. 2006). Of particular importance, integrated Jamaican immigrants are more likely to be tricultural (40 % via variable-centered analyses and 53 % via person-centered analyses) than bicultural (30 and 47 %, respectively). These findings indicate that a 3D acculturation model better captures acculturation among Black Caribbean immigrants than a 2D model. Examples of other immigrant groups likely to acculturate in 3D will be discussed further under recommendations for future research.

As voluntary migrants to the USA, Jamaican families generally emigrate for better economic and educational opportunities or family reunification rather than to escape oppression or human rights violations. Such features of the home and destination countries along with the typical reasons for migration—also referred to as acculturation conditions (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2006) or setting conditions (Bornstein in press)—make it quite likely that Jamaican immigrants will orient toward all three cultures and less likely that they will interpret cultural differences as cultural conflict or distance (Benet-Martínez in press). An orientation toward European-American culture promotes their occupational success within the mainstream US society, an orientation toward African-American culture promotes their social/relational adaptation in the neighborhoods in which they often live, and an orientation toward their ethnic Caribbean culture promotes their psychological adaptation and anchors their identities in the known as they venture into less-known cultural worlds.

Unlike integration, marginalization is negligible among Black Caribbean immigrants. The cross-tabulated marginalization status in this study claimed only 4 % of immigrants, and no marginalized cluster emerged from the cluster analyses. Thus, our findings are consistent with those of Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008) based on latent-class analyses among predominantly Latino immigrants in Miami. They found a six-class acculturation solution including three different bicultural varieties but no marginalized variety. The virtual absence of marginalization in the current immigrant group also supports Rudmin's critique of the fourfold typology (2006) and his suggestion that marginalization more likely results from societal rejection than from immigrants' purposeful self-alienation or aculturalism. As mentioned earlier, perhaps orienting toward one or more cultures is simply adaptive for immigrant survival given the unavoidable cultural tasks which must be completed. This may be especially true for immigrant adolescents, whose acculturative tasks are intertwined with the key developmental task of identity formation (Jensen et al. 2011; Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012).

Subcultures can be primary destination cultures for immigrants. Although both African-American and European-American cultures are relevant destination cultures for Black Caribbean immigrants, these immigrants are not equally oriented toward both cultures. At the group level, Jamaican and other Black US immigrants are more oriented toward African-American than European-American culture, but there are individual differences in the relative orientation to the two destination cultures. These group and individual level findings are consistent with the expectations of segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993) and findings among Black Caribbean youth in New York City (Waters 1999). In her interviews, Waters found that 42 % of her sample strongly identified as African-American, saw negligible differences between Caribbean and native Blacks in the USA, and were socially motivated to adopt attitudes and behaviors of native Blacks to achieve peer acceptance and avoid peer rejection. In her words,

> the assimilation to America that [high integration/African American identified youth] undergo is most definitely to black America: They speak black English with their peers, they listen to rap music, and they accept the peer culture of their black friends. (Waters 1999, p. 296)

Other immigrants in the USA and other multicultural settlement countries who are identified (whether themselves or by others) as belonging to a minority group (whether a visible minority or not) are probably most likely to acculturate along more than two dimensions.

Immigrant Youth Adaptation in Perspective

Positive sociocultural adaptation of immigrant youth appears to be the rule rather than the exception. At the group level, Jamaican immigrant youth in the USA are at least as well adapted behaviorally and academically as nonimmigrant American peers and nonimmigrant Jamaican peers. This result contradicts anecdotal evidence

(Jamaica Gleaner 2009), but is supported by empirical evidence of positive adaptation among immigrant youth in the USA, The Netherlands, and across 13 societies in the ICSEY study (Berry et al. 2006; Fuligni 1997; Fuligni and Witkow 2004; García Coll and Marks 2009; van Geel and Vedder 2010). Findings also accord with the knowledge that Caribbean immigrant adults in the USA are more likely to report better health compared to US-born African-Americans and Latino-Americans (Acevedo-Garcia et al. 2007; Nazroo et al. 2007).

Older Jamaican immigrant adolescents report superior adaptation scores compared to islanders, a result that may reflect support for the "healthy migrant hypothesis" (Sam 2006; Wingate et al. 2009) and indicate poor adjustment in the cohort of older islanders. Better adaptation of Jamaican immigrants compared to islanders may also reveal divergent developmental pathways between adolescents in Jamaica and the USA influenced by the country context. For Scarce special education services and rising antisocial behaviors in schools, both features of a developing country, may explain the presence of problematic grades and behavior among older adolescents on the island compared to Jamaican peers who migrated to the USA (Grant et al. 2010; Jamaica Gleaner 2011). Consistent with this idea, Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2012) speculated that the absence of specialized educational services for immigrants and other disadvantaged students in Greece may be partly responsible for the lack of an immigrant paradox in their sample of mainly Albanian immigrant youth.

Assimilation is a developmental risk for some immigrant youth. Despite positive adaptation for Jamaican immigrant youth as a group, individual adaptation varies by acculturation status. Being assimilated into a destination culture can be problematic for immigrant youth, and this depends partly on the particular destination culture or the immigrant's construal of that culture. Jamaican immigrant youth who are assimilated into (their construal of) African-American culture experience less positive behavioral adaptation than do biculturally or triculturally integrated youth, and for first-generation immigrants, assimilated youth also have much worse grades (D average) than do integrated and separated peers (B average). This result aligns with findings from Kasinitz et al.'s (2001) study that Black Caribbean youth in South Florida who identified as "Black" or "African-American" had somewhat lower GPAs. In this way, the current findings support the predictions of segmented assimilation theory (downward assimilation in particular) regarding poorer outcomes for some, but not all, Black Caribbean youth who adopt the antimainstream attitudes or behaviors of low-income marginalized nonimmigrant Blacks (Portes and Zhou 1993). Based on her interviews with African-American-identified Caribbean immigrant youth in New York, Waters (1999) explained that:

> …this stance of opposition is in part a socialized response to a peer culture; however, for the most part, it comes about as a reaction to the teens' life experiences, most specifically, their experience of racial discrimination. The lives of these youngsters basically lead them to reject the immigrant dream of their parents of individual social mobility and to accept their peers' analysis of the United States as a place with blocked social mobility where they will not be able to move very far. This has the effect of leveling the aspirations of the teens downward (p. 307).

What is more, immigrant boys who are highly African-American-identified are at greater risk of underperforming academically than are girls. It is possible that, in addition to adopting an oppositional identity, these boys may also disengage from academics to achieve or maintain an African-American male gender identity by rejecting academic activities as feminine pursuits (Davis 2003). Compared to Black Caribbean girls, boys are also more likely to perceive fewer pathways to success based on their knowledge of the poorer academic outcomes of native Black boys in their schools and communities (Davis 2003). Black boys' diminished hope for future success may also be based on having more frequent marginalization experiences including personal racism and police profiling (Davis 2003; Waters 1999).

Other minority immigrant youth in multicultural societies who orient strongly toward a societally marginalized subculture (whether by social exclusion or by preference) may also be vulnerable to similar downward assimilative pathways. For example, Muslim immigrant youth and African immigrant youth across several countries may be at risk. The outcomes for immigrant youth on this pathway are likely to resemble those of the national youth within the subculture given that African-American-identified Black Caribbean immigrant boys' academic outcomes resemble those of underperforming African-American boys. This process of downward assimilation may involve an element of "deviancy training" (Dishion et al. 1996) in which rejected youth are more likely to seek acceptance among deviant peers who over time train them in deviant attitudes and behaviors, thereby worsening their overall adjustment.

Bicultural integration is good and tricultural integration is better for some immigrants in some domains. In regards to the benefits of cultural integration, apparently more is better, but only for some immigrants some of the time. For Black Caribbean immigrant youth, triculturalism is more advantageous than biculturalism for behavioral adaptation (both genders) but not academic adaptation (disadvantageous for boys). This finding provides partial support for the work on the positive implications of biculturalism for sociocultural adjustment (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez 2012), and extends this work to triculturalism. The task of reconciling the cultural distance and cultural conflict among three cultures versus two may confer greater behavioral benefits to tricultural immigrant youth by tripling their behavioral flexibility and behavioral repertoires. Alternatively, having higher levels of certain personal characteristics to begin with (e.g., openness to experience, cognitive flexibility, cultural intelligence) or undergoing remote acculturation in the home country before migration (i.e., remote biculturalism) may be acculturating conditions which sets the stage for tricultural integration and associated positive behavioral adaptation (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2006; Ferguson and Bornstein 2012). Whereas triculturalism helps Black Caribbean immigrant youth to behaviorally navigate three cultures with greater ease and success, it hurts boys academically compared to biculturalism (because of the inclusion of the antieducation innercity African-American subculture). The domain-specific and gender-specific effects of triculturalism demonstrate the specificity principle in acculturation whereby specific setting conditions (globalization in home country; voluntary migration for economic/educational reasons; multicultural destination) of specific persons or peoples (Black Caribbean people; male vs. female gender; individual differences) at specific times (twenty-first century; adolescence) exert effects in specific ways (remote vs. traditional acculturation) over specific outcomes (behavioral vs. academic adaptation) (Bornstein in press). Thus, other immigrant groups would be expected to have similar acculturation and adaptation patterns to the degree that they follow similar "specificities."

Cultural maintenance and family obligations are developmental assets for immigrant youth. Whereas the assimilation of Black Caribbean immigrant youth is a risk factor for academic and behavioral maladjustment, the cultural maintenance inherent in integration and separation acts as a protective factor, especially for the most academically vulnerable Black Caribbean immigrant youth in the sample—first-generation boys. Consider that immigrant boys who (themselves and their mothers) relatively equally identify with Jamaican and African-American cultures perform as well as girls academically; but, those who favor African-American culture over Jamaican culture underperform relative to the girls. In addition, the cultural maintenance of both immigrant adolescents and their parents is very positive for immigrant youth academic adaptation, accounting for nearly 50 % of the variance in grades. For second-generation immigrant adolescents, family obligations may also exert a substantial protective effect on their behavior, accounting for nearly 50 % of the variance in positive behavior scores in this study.

Perhaps parents who intentionally maintain their Jamaican culture hold more tightly to Caribbean cultural values of education and academic success. Such parent may be more likely to employ parenting strategies concordant with those values (e.g., homework prioritization and monitoring), which may, in turn, spur adolescent achievement. Based on Waters' (1999) findings, mothers with strong cultural maintenance may also be more involved in community churches and immigrant organizations that reinforce parental messages regarding the positive value of educational success. In addition, immigrant adolescents who hold firmly to Jamaican culture and its embedded educational values may be more likely to meet their parents' ideals, prompting parents to view their adolescents' actual achievement through rose-colored lenses. Adolescents' and parents' ability to "invoke" Caribbean ethnic status can also buffer them against demotivating beliefs that racism has placed a glass-ceiling on their social mobility in general and educational success in particular (Bashi Bobb and Clarke 2001).

Family prioritization and family obligations beliefs may also have protective effects for Caribbean immigrant youth adaptation. Integrated and separated youth (who are best adjusted) award top priority to family among nine major life domains in terms of salience to their identity, whereas assimilated youth (who are least well adjusted) rank family, sixth. In addition, stronger family obligations beliefs are associated with more positive behaviors in second-generation immigrant youth, which may allow them to escape conforming to the immigrant paradox of downward assimilation across successive generations (Garcia Coll and Marks 2009). The protective effects of family obligations for academic and psychosocial outcomes have been shown among multiple other immigrant groups including Caribbean, Latino, African, and Asian immigrant youth in the USA (Brook et al. 2010; Fuligni et al. 1999, 2005; Love et al. 2006; Tseng 2004) and Caribbean and European immigrant youth in other countries (Vedder and Oortwijn 2009).

Recommendations for Future Research on Tridimensional Acculturation

This foray into 3D acculturation should not be limited to Caribbean immigrants in the USA. Although three dimensions appear well-suited to this population, it is likely that more than three dimensions could be relevant for other immigrant groups depending on: (1) the multidimensional nature of their ethnic identity in the home country (Birman et al. 2010); (2) the multicultural nature of the society they enter; (3) the sociopolitical history of their particular ethnic group, especially in relation to the country of settlement (Bhatia and Ram 2001); and (4) the tenor of societal reception in the settlement country toward facets of their identities, particularly those that are negatively stereotyped or discriminated against (i.e., non-White skin, Middle-Eastern origin, Muslim religion). For example, a 3D acculturation model may be needed to fully comprehend the acculturation of Turkish Muslim immigrants in the predominantly secular country of The Netherlands, who are likely acculturating along at least three cultural dimensions: Turkish culture, Dutch culture, and religious culture. Multidimensional (*n*D) acculturation models may be needed when working with immigrants faced with more than three relevant cultural dimensions such as Bantu Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa who may orient to ethnic Bantu, White, Indian, and Colored South African cultures, along with multiple other distinct African ethnic/tribal cultures. In regard to the benefits of triculturalism, tricultural identity integration should be measured directly.

Like the movies, the methods of capturing 3D acculturation are more complex than 2D acculturation because the subject matter in 3D space is more complex. Measuring three dimensions of acculturation may create challenges in quantitative data analyses. For example, cross-tabulating three dimensions produces eight statuses versus four, and including more dimensions in cluster analyses increases the risk of small or uninterpretable clusters. The limitation of small cell sizes and dividing the sample into groups may be overcome in future research by using dimensional scale scores in their continuous form as predictors. In addition, graphical and qualitative approaches may be even better at capturing all the nuances of individual diversity in tri-/multidimensional acculturation. In general, our methodological and statistical approaches must rise to meet these challenges to capture acculturation in its fullness.

Conclusions

Depending on the immigrant population, different lenses of acculturation are required to appropriately capture the acculturation experience. Bidimensional acculturation lenses allow researchers to see valuable information; however, 3D lenses offer a fuller and more accurate picture of acculturation for some immigrants, particularly minority immigrants (whether visible or not) in plural societies. Given acculturation conditions of Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA (e.g., African heritage, globalization in the home country, voluntary migration, racialized destination country), it is not surprising that acculturation unfolds in 3D. What is more, 3D lenses reveal that tricultural integration is more advantageous than bicultural integration for some immigrants in some domains. Researchers and practitioners should carefully consider the best acculturation lens—2D, 3D, or *n*D—to use in their work with immigrants within and across societies.

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Part II

Parenting, Social Development, and Psychological Well-Being of Immigrant Children and Parents in Asia and Africa

Immigrant Children's Schooling and Family Processes in Japan: Trends, Challenges, and Implications

Yoko Yamamoto

> I experienced bullying at school in Japan. One day when I was a fourth grader, I was walking in a hallway. Suddenly, a boy bumped into me on purpose and said, "*gaijin*" (foreigner)! I was confused because I thought that I was Japanese. That is probably why my parents decided to send me to an international school in Japan. *Mika,* a girl with a Japanese mother and an American father

In an interview asking about school experiences in Japan, Mika shared with me her painful memories of being harassed by her peers. Mika was born in the USA, but moved to Japan when she was young and grew up there. She was raised by a Japanese mother, spoke perfect Japanese, and acted like a Japanese. However, in the eyes of her Japanese peers, she was not Japanese, but rather a *gaijin*, meaning a person from an outside world. Being called *gaijin* is not unique to Mika, but rather a common experience among students with a non-Japanese parent, especially immigrants, in Japan. Ethnographic studies have presented immigrant students' reports of being pointed out, teased, or excluded as *gaijin* by their peers at Japanese schools as a painful but common experience (Takenoshita 2005). In a society like Japan where homogeneity is emphasized through common heritage, language, and customs, students may seize on the uniqueness of immigrant students (Kojima 2006; Ota 2000; Shimizu 2006). In such social and cultural contexts, immigrant children's school lives and educational experiences can be challenging.

The goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of immigrant children's educational experiences and family processes in Japan. In this introduction, I discuss theories related to acculturation and explain how a Japanese case can contribute to the studies of immigrant children's development and education. In the next section, I provide brief demographic and descriptive information about immigrants and immigrant students in Japan. In the third section, I examine trends and issues related to immigrant children's educational experiences such as low school attendance and limited academic attainment through reviews and presentations of data collected through the Japanese government and local communities. Because I found that low

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school enrollment and limited academic attainment are the major educational issues unique to immigrant children, I also point out factors that explain these issues based on my reviews. In the following section, I present family processes, such as elements that facilitate or hinder immigrant students' school experiences and academic development, across diverse immigrant ethnic groups based on my literature reviews of empirical studies. In extensive reviews of ethnographic studies, I found ethnic and cultural variations in immigrant parents' beliefs about and attitudes toward education and the role of family SES regarding parent involvement in their children's education. Thus, I have focused on these two themes. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of available public data and empirical studies, suggestions for future studies, and recommendations for educational practices.

Contributions of a Japanese Case

In the theory of acculturation, a host country's integration ideology and pluralistic climate as well as immigrants' interactions in the host country are likely to affect their acculturation orientation (Berry 1997; Bourhis et al. 1997; Yağmur and van de Vijver 2011). According to the theory, a more pluralistic climate and multicultural ideology lead to immigrants' stronger orientation toward a mainstream identity and language, but the opposite is predicted in nations with "ethnist ideology," which places pressure on immigrants to adopt the public values of the host nation. In an ethnist nation that emphasizes monoculturalism and monolingualism among people in the nation, immigrants are likely to demonstrate ethnic and cultural separation from the mainstream culture and society (Berry 1997; Bourhis et al. 1997). In a recent study that examined Turkish immigrants in four nations with different policies and climates regarding multicultural and multilingual issues, Yağmur and Van de Vijver (2011) found patterns to support this theory. In Germany, with the least pluralistic climate, Turkish immigrants demonstrated lower levels of mainstream identification and higher levels of ethnic orientation than immigrants in more pluralistic societies, such as Australia.

As Bourhis and colleagues (1997) specifically pointed out, Japan, along with Germany and Israel, has an ethnist ideology. Japanese citizenship laws reflect the strong value of kinship based on blood ties, and Japanese policies have emphasized social harmony through the use of common language and cultural practices, often by excluding cultural minority groups (Gordon et al. 2010; Tsuneyoshi et al. 2011). In Japan's educational system, immigrant children are treated as *gaijin*, or foreigners, whose school attendance is not mandatory, as it is for Japanese students (Ota and Tsubotani 2005; Sakuma 2005).[1] Such legal arrangements and cultural climate are likely to influence educational attitudes and orientations toward Japanese schools among immigrant children and families. Immigrants' marginal status as

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[1] In this chapter, I use the term, immigrant children, for children whose parents came to Japan for various reasons such as migrant workers and refugees. As I note later, a significant number of migrant workers who originally planned to stay in Japan as temporary workers continue to reside in Japan for a long-term.

gaijin can also affect Japanese students' views about immigrant students and their interactions with them. Japan's educational system strongly reflects ethnist ideology as it emphasizes uniformity and homogeneity with an aim of providing equal educational opportunities to students regardless of their backgrounds (Cummings 1980; Nabeshima 2010). Unlike the decentralized educational system in some other countries such as the USA, the educational system in Japan is centrally administered and teachers are trained to use similar instructional styles to teach the same national curricula (Holloway and Yamamoto 2003). Assurance of uniformity across schools under the central curricula may pressure immigrant children to assimilate and may increase their acculturative stress.

To date, immigrant children's experiences in Japan have not received much attention in immigrant studies, especially in the field of psychology and child development. The use of Japan as a case can bring unique insights to immigrant studies in comparative contexts. While Japan's political and social climate toward immigrants is similar to that in Germany (Bourhis et al. 1997; Yamanaka 2008), Japan does not belong to the same category as other significant host countries for foreign labor such as Germany, as Bartram (2000) argued. The Japanese case is unique owing to the country's extremely low ratio of foreign residents (1.7 % in 2009), only a few decades of experience with growing unskilled foreign migrant workers, and a high ratio of recent immigrants who are Japanese descendants from South America (Bartram 2000; Chung 2010; Tsuneyoshi 2011). Japan's immigration policy has demonstrated a strong emphasis on protecting monolingualism and monoculturalism in the nation as it limited acceptance of unskilled migrant workers to Japanese descendants. This immigration arrangement provides a comparative context to examine unique acculturation processes among immigrants who have the same blood ties but distinctive cultural and linguistic backgrounds and immigrants without blood ties from Indochina and Asia. As their cultural backgrounds and migrant histories differ, their orientation to schools in Japan is likely to differ across ethnic groups. Variations in immigrant parents' beliefs and attitudes toward their children's education found in this study suggest that immigrants' interactions with Japanese schools are not similar but distinct, even in the same nation with an ethnist climate.

Studies on diverse immigrant students' experiences in Japan are relatively new even in Japanese-language scholarship, as publications in this field mainly started and increased in the 2000s (Miyajima and Ota 2005; Ota 2000; Shimizu and Shimizu 2001). There still is a lack of systematic empirical studies assessing students' language orientation and acculturation. Therefore, my reviews were mainly based on reviews of public data collected by cities, government, and empirical studies, mostly ethnographic studies conducted by sociologists and anthropologists. Increasing numbers of scholars have studied immigrant students and their families in Japan over the last decade, and more attention has been paid to immigrant issues within the country. I bring the insights of these studies, mainly developed in Japanese academics, into English-language scholarship, as the potential to inform questions regarding educational experiences as well as acculturation processes of immigrant children.

Table 1 The total number of registered foreign nationals and their nationalities from 1987 to 2010. [The majority of foreign nationals from Korea are prewar immigrants and their noncitizen descendents called *zainichi*, Korean-Japanese (Chung 2010)]

Year	Total number	Korea	China	Brazil	Philippines	Peru	USA	Others
1987	884,025	673,787	95,477	2,250	25,017	615	30,836	56,043
1991	1,218,891	693,050	171,071	119,333	61,837	26,281	42,498	104,821
1995	1,362,371	666,376	222,991	176,440	74,297	36,269	43,198	142,800
1999	1,556,113	636,548	294,201	224,299	115,685	42,773	42,802	199,805
2003	1,915,030	613,791	462,396	274,700	185,237	53,649	47,836	277,421
2007	2,152,973	593,489	606,889	316,967	202,592	59,696	51,851	321,489
2010	2,134,151	565,986	687,156	230,552	210,181	54,636	50,667	334,970

Adapted from "Heisei 22nen genzai ni okeru gaikokujin tourokusha toukei ni tsuite [Statistics of foreign national registrants in 2010]," by Ministry of Justice 2011, http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/nyuukantourokusyatoukei110603.html

Increasing Numbers of Immigrants and Diversifying Schools

For a long time, Japan was the only advanced industrialized nation that did not rely on unskilled migrant workers (Bartram 2000). With strong emphasis on maintaining ethnic homogeneity and social harmony, the government had long closed the door to unskilled workers from foreign countries. Immigration had been open only to highly or moderately qualified foreign workers. However, decreasing numbers of younger people and shortages of unskilled labor within the country led the government to open the door to migrant workers from abroad (Bartram 2000; Chung 2010). Since the late 1970s, increasing number of refugees from Indochina as well as female workers from Asian countries such as Philippine and Thailand who were hired to work in nightclubs has migrated to Japan (Bartram 2000; Tsuneyoshi et al. 2011). In 1990, Japan implemented its revised Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act and opened the door for Japanese descendants, up to the third generation, as migrant workers. With this revision of the immigration law, the Japanese government provided the status of "permanent residence" (*teijyuusha*), which has no work restrictions, to Japanese descendants in foreign countries. After this change, significant numbers of Japanese descendants from South America voluntarily came to Japan to work as unskilled laborers in factories and small industries (Table 1). The number of registered foreign nationals increased from about 1,220,000 in 1991 to 2,150,000 in 2007. Among them, foreign nationals from Brazil and China demonstrated a significant increase for the last two decades (Ministry of Justice 2011a). Originally, most families from South America perceived themselves as sojourners, temporary workers, unlike refugees who have tried to establish permanent residence in Japan (Shimizu 2006). However, without any job security in their country of origin or a plan to go back, significant number of South Americans

Table 2 The number of foreign nationals who attend public schools and foreign-national students who require Japanese instruction

Year	Foreign nationals in public schools[a]	Foreign nationals requiring Japanese instruction (ratio)
1991	81,969	5,463 (6.7)
1993	84,211	10,450 (12.4)
1995	82,638	11,806 (14.3)
1997	83,177	17,296 (20.8)
1999	80,353	18,585 (23.1)
2001	74,622	19,250 (25.8)
2003	70,902	19,042 (26.9)
2005	69,817	20,692 (29.6)
2007	72,751	25,411 (34.9)
2010	74,214	28,511 (38.4)

Adapted from "Gaikokujin no kodomo no shuugaku jyoukyou tou ni kansuru kekka ni tsuite [Results of surveys about foreign-national children's school attendance]," by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, 2010, http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/clarinet/genjyou/1295897.htm

[a] Public schools include elementary school, middle school, high school, and special education schools

have stayed for the long term, more than 10 years in many cases (Ishikawa 2005; Kojima 2006). According to a local survey conducted in 2000, 45.5 % of foreign nationals in Hamamatsu-city, with large numbers of migrant workers from South America, had lived in Japan for 7 years or longer (Ishikawa 2005).

The rise of immigrants after Japan's economic growth, so-called "newcomers," brought diversity to Japanese schools with students from multiple national, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds. Even though registered foreign-national children comprised only 1 % of the total school-aged children compared to about 10 % in Germany and 20 % in the USA, approximately 18 % of public schools had at least one foreign-national student who required extra Japanese language instruction in 2010 (Keller-Lally 2009; Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) 2010a; Ministry of Justice 2011b; Shields and Behrman 2004).

The revision of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act reflected Japan's strong ethnist ideology, which emphasized blood ties and monoculturalism. The Japanese government expected that Japanese descendants would have maintained cultural values and practices shared in Japan and that limiting immigration to Japanese descendants would help the society maintain its cultural and social cohesion to some extent (Chung 2010; Yamanaka 2008). Unpredicted were the distinctive cultural and linguistic backgrounds of this immigrant group. A significant number of newcomer immigrant children, including Japanese descendants from South America, do not speak Japanese, nor are they accustomed to Japanese cultural customs (Kojima 2006; Ota and Tsubotani 2005). As shown in Table 2, there are increasing numbers of foreign-national students in public schools who need extra

Japanese language instruction. The greatest number of students who were in need of Japanese language instruction spoke Portuguese, followed by Chinese (MEXT 2007a). Thus, diversifying schools with children of immigrant parents brought unexpected challenges to teachers, educators, and policy makers in Japan (Kojima 2006; Okubo 2010; Ota 2000; Ninomiya 2002; Takenoshita 2005).

Immigrant Students' Educational Issues

Unequal Educational Opportunities? School Enrollment and Academic Attainment

Diversifying schools in Japan brought the attention of scholars, practitioners, and gradually policy makers to educational issues unique to immigrant children (Ninomiya 2002; Ota and Tsubotani 2005). The first and most serious issue associated with immigrant children is their low rate of school enrollment. According to local and national surveys conducted in select cities, significant number of school-aged immigrant children do not attend a primary or middle school. According to an estimate in Toyota-city, where the head office of Toyota automobile company is located and a high ratio of immigrants from South America reside, 12 % of school-aged children were not enrolled in any school in 2001 (Ota and Tsubotani 2005). The estimate was calculated by subtracting the number of school-aged foreign-national children who were registered for a Japanese school or an ethnic school from the total number registered in the community. As Ota and Tsubotani (2005) pointed out, this calculation may not capture foreign nationals who did not report their move to a different city.

As media and scholars brought this issue to the public's attention, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) conducted the first survey in 2006 to estimate school enrollment among foreign-national children in one prefecture and 11 cities, all of which had a relatively high ratio of immigrant workers. The school enrollment rate was calculated based on reports from cities and visits or surveys to individual households with a foreign-national parent. According to this survey, approximately 81 % of foreign-national school-aged children attended a Japanese school or an ethnic school. However, 1.1 % of foreign-national school-aged children did not attend any school, and there was no information reported for 17.5 % (MEXT 2007a). In a national survey conducted in 2010 in 29 select cities, the percentage of foreign-national children who did not attend any school was 0.7 % on average, ranging from 0 to 5.4 % depending on the city, but there was no information for 21.5 % (MEXT 2010b). Even though these surveys do not demonstrate the details of ethnic groups in students' school enrollment, low school enrollment is typically identified as an issue related to children from South America. The MEXT was aware of this pattern and issued its "Urgent Support Plan for Foreign-National Children in Japan," with a special section focusing on Brazilian children, in 2009 (MEXT 2009).

The second educational issue is an academic gap between immigrant and Japanese students. Immigrant children's academic struggles and low academic achievement have also raised attention (MEXT 2009). By analyzing 2000 census data, Oomagari and colleagues (2011) estimated that less than 50% of 16-year-old Brazilian and Filipino children who had lived in Japan for more than 5 years pursued a high school education. Attendance at high school among these ethnic groups dropped to less than 40% at age 17. In a country where more than 98% of students pursue high school education, these numbers represent a large educational gap between immigrant and Japanese students (Tamaki and Sakamoto 2012). On the other hand, approximately 80% of Chinese and more than 90% of Korean students pursued high school education in 2000 (Oomagari et al. 2011), suggesting varying levels of academic achievement depending on students' ethnic background. Tamaki and Sakamoto (2012) obtained approximately 90% response rate by collecting surveys from 141 foreign-national students in 56 public middle schools in Tochigi prefecture, and examined the rate of high-school enrollment depending on their linguistic backgrounds. They found that only 59% of Portuguese-speaking middle school seniors, compared with more than 90% of Chinese-speaking students, attended high school after graduating from middle school.

It is also important to point out the types of high schools attended by immigrant students. In Japan, high schools are highly stratified depending on academic rankings, and students are required to take an entrance examination to attend a high school. The entrance examination, which is usually based on written tests rather than orals, could be challenging for immigrant students whose native language is not Japanese (Ninomiya 2002; Tamaki and Sakamoto 2012). Immigrant students tend to be enrolled in high schools with lower academic rankings. Gordon (2010) noted that when Brazilian immigrant students enter high school, they tend to attend one of the lowest ranked schools, which hardly prepares them for a middle-class job or higher education.

The gap in school enrollment and academic achievement between immigrant and Japanese students suggests unequal educational processes in Japanese schools where equal educational opportunities are emphasized. In a country where academic attainment is highly associated with future income and status (Hamanaka and Kariya 2000), immigrant children's overall lower academic achievement suggests significant disadvantages associated with immigrant groups. Then, what factors hinder immigrant children's school enrollment and academic achievement? In the next section, I describe elements that may affect immigrant children's academic processes.

Elements Explaining Immigrant Children's Educational Issues

The legal arrangement surrounding education is an important element affecting immigrant parents' decisions to send their children to schools in Japan (Ota and Tsubotani 2005). Nine-year compulsory education is not mandatory for children with a foreign-national parent, so immigrant parents are required to submit an application to the local educational board to request their children's school enrollment. In most cases, immigrant students' enrollment is approved, but these legal and administrative processes can be challenging and discouraging to immigrant parents who work long hours, do not speak Japanese, and are not familiar with the Japanese educational system. Furthermore, because the local offices do not send any notice to immigrant families, some immigrant parents may be unaware of their responsibility to send their children to public schools. In a survey conducted by the MEXT in 2009, 39 % of the foreign-national parents whose school-aged children were not enrolled in any type of school did not know what they had to do to send their children to a public school (MEXT 2009).

Even though the legal arrangement plays a critical role in immigrant students' school enrollment, it does not explain low academic achievement among certain ethnic groups. Reviews of national surveys and ethnographic studies suggest that structural and school factors also hinder immigrant children's educational processes and academic development.

Emphasizing Egalitarianism and Neglecting Diverse Needs

In cross-cultural studies conducted in the 1980s and 1990s, the Japanese school was highlighted as a successful model of egalitarian education that helped to boost students' overall academic performance (Cummings 1980; Stevenson and Stigler 1992). However, recent studies have demonstrated that emphasis on equality and egalitarian education could be particularly disadvantageous to minority children, including immigrant children (Gordon et al. 2010; Tsuneyoshi et al. 2011). Nabeshima (2010) pointed out that historically Japanese education has been particularly insensitive to the education of minority students. Under equal educational opportunities, policy makers and practitioners have believed that individuals' effort and ability determine their educational future and have paid little attention to disadvantages associated with their backgrounds and opportunity structure (Morita 2007). The goal of providing equal educational opportunities to all children can create "intolerance toward diversity" (Nabeshima 2010, p. 128) and ignore the special needs of immigrant children and families.

Learning school subjects using a second language is also one of the major challenges facing immigrant children. Monolingual curricula and a lack of sufficient language assistance in Japanese schools are likely to cause academic difficulties for children with different linguistic backgrounds. Japanese schools and teachers are aware of this issue and have tried to help these children with extra Japanese instruction or language assistance. According to a national survey, about 83.5 % of foreign-national students who were in need of Japanese language instruction received extra or special language assistance (MEXT 2007a). However, how schools and teachers evaluate immigrant students' Japanese language proficiency is not clear because there is no standard procedure for such evaluation. When immigrant students can communicate in Japanese, teachers are likely to treat them as knowing enough Japanese to learn and provide no further assistance. After observing immigrant students in classrooms, Ota (2005) found that significant numbers of immigrant children who could converse in Japanese did not have sufficient Japanese language skills to learn academic subjects.

An educational structure that emphasizes monoculturalism and monolingualism in Japanese schools is likely to create acculturative pressure on foreign-national students, and that may lead to these students' school disorientation. In a national survey conducted in 2007, 20 % of the foreign-national parents with unschooled children listed not understanding the Japanese language or school subjects, and 9 % listed different customs and cultural practices as reasons for their children's not attending school in Japan.

Peer Harassment and School Adjustment

In addition to cultural and linguistic gaps, peer relations, including bullying (7 %) and having no friends (5 %), also appeared as a reason for foreign-national children not attending school in Japan.[2] *Ijime*, translated as bullying, is a serious issue that may cause immigrant children's aversion to Japanese schools (Takenoshita 2005). The MEXT defines *ijime* as an act in which children experience psychological pain by receiving a physical or psychological attack from peers or a group of people inside or outside of schools (MEXT 2007b). *Ijime* has been perceived as one of the most serious social and school issues surrounding children in Japan. Immigrant children are especially likely to become a target of bullying and harassment at school because of their unique racial, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds.

Takenoshita (2005) examined interview reports of 142 foreign-national students in the Kanagawa and Aichi prefectures and found that the majority reported being teased, harassed, or pointed out as a "foreigner" by their peers. In-depth interviews with immigrant students conducted by other researchers also revealed painful experiences of immigrant children being teased or excluded by their classmates owing to their insufficient language abilities, academic challenges, and different cultural backgrounds (Morita 2007; Shimizu and Shimizu 2001). *Ijime* toward immigrant children is often combined with discrimination. A common report of *ijime* by immigrant children is being pointed out as "*gaijin*" (foreigners) and "not Japanese." Even if children of immigrant families are born and raised in Japan, they are considered *gaijin* owing to their distinct cultural and ethnic backgrounds (Shimizu and Shimizu 2001; Takenoshita 2005). In Japan, people can acquire the Japanese nationality from their parents or naturalization, but not based on their birth. Thus, children of immigrant families do not acquire citizenship even when they are born and grow up in Japan. These legal arrangements are likely to highlight "non-Japanese" characteristics among immigrant children and create a border between children of immigrant families and native Japanese children. *Ijime* toward immigrant children reflects strong peer pressure to assimilate to Japanese culture through everyday life at school. Through interviews with immigrant students, Shimizu and Shimizu (2001) found that *ijime* affects some immigrant children such that they develop negative images about their ethnicity and avoid attending school.

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[2] Other reasons included a lack of financial resource (16 %) and families' plans to go back to their countries (10 %).

Immigrant parents tend to be aware of widespread issues of *ijime* in Japan, and some decide to send their children to an ethnic school such as a Brazilian or Korean school (Kojima 2006). In urban cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, there also are international schools, which mostly accept non-Japanese students. However, most immigrant children do not even have this option because of a lack of ethnic schools in the local community and the high tuition of those schools. In fact, only 20% of foreign-national children attend an ethnic or international school (Huafen and Yasumoto 2011; MEXT 2007a). These options are especially unavailable to unskilled immigrant families whose financial resources are limited.

In this section, I have described major elements that explain immigrant children's low school attendance and low academic achievement by focusing on the educational structures and climate in Japan, the host nation. These issues are likely to affect immigrant students' and families' decisions about schooling, their level of interaction with individuals at Japanese schools, and their acculturation orientation. On the other hand, immigrant families' cultural backgrounds and migrant history also powerfully affect their children's educational processes. In the next section, I focus on family processes.

Immigrant Family Stories and Academic Support

Immigrant families bring cultural norms related to children's education from their countries of origin, but also negotiate or maintain these norms by interacting and assessing norms and practices in the host country. Such family contexts and interactions powerfully affect immigrant children's educational experiences within and outside the school (Bronfenbrenner 1979; García Coll and Marks 2009).

While most studies on immigrant children's educational processes in the Japanese-language literature have focused on students' experiences at school, increasing numbers of scholars have examined family processes, especially how immigrant families value education in Japan and support their children's education. Ethnographers have illustrated "immigrant family stories" (Kojima 2006; Shimizu 2006), how immigrant parents find meaning in their lives in Japan and how such constructed beliefs shape their ways of supporting their children's education. Reviews of these studies suggest that (a) parents' expectations about and attitudes toward their children's education differ depending on immigrants' cultural backgrounds and migration histories and (b) socioeconomic status (SES) plays an important role in family processes and immigrant children's education.

Educational Expectations and Educational Support across Diverse Cultural Groups

While many immigrant parents hope that their children are academically good at school, studies have demonstrated that not all parents value education. Shimizu and Shimizu's (2001) pioneer ethnographic study on immigrant families examined families' migration histories and parents' educational strategies across various ethnic groups. They found that parents from South America, in general, had low expectations for their children's education. Those parents, who had a Japanese parent or grandparent, expected their children to learn Japanese culture and customs, but did not hold high academic goals, especially if they were less educated. Their subjective views about their status in Japan as *dekasegi*, temporary workers to earn money, also lowered their educational expectations.

However, parents' educational expectations differed even among permanent residents, which highlights cultural variations. Shimizu (2006) found varying educational attitudes across different national groups among refugees from Indochina. Many Laotian parents valued making money, but did not necessarily believe that education would lead to a high income in the future. These parents valued their children's work and money earning over their attending school. In contrast, Cambodian parents tended to value education and held high aspirations for their children's future. Their views about Japanese society as a place providing equal educational opportunities increased their educational aspirations and beliefs in the role of effort in educational processes. However, because of their limited educational experiences, they tended to rely on schools in educating their children (Shimizu 2006; Shimizu and Shimizu 2001).

Vietnamese parents not only tended to place strong value on education, but also valued teaching their native language and Vietnamese culture in Japan (Shimizu 2006). These parents tended to value family ties and believe that teaching the native language and culture would strengthen family relationships. Parents' strong value on education coupled with their involvement in children's socialization processes helped Vietnamese children develop positive views about their ethnicity and led to their positive experiences at Japanese schools. Moreover, maintenance of their heritage language helped children of immigrant families to communicate with their parents. Highlighted in these studies are distinctive meanings of a good life depending on families' migration histories and cultural backgrounds. A good life meant earning money for Laotians, having the same life and opportunities as Japanese for Cambodians, and family ties for Vietnamese (Shimizu 2006). These findings suggest that cultural norms brought from their countries of origin, their views about Japanese society, and their future plans interact and shape immigrant parents' expectations about their children's education in Japan.

Parental involvement in education has not always yielded positive effects on children's development, especially when parents do not have any educational experience in the receiving country. Even though immigrant parents pressured their children to study hard, many were not sufficiently familiar with the Japanese school system to provide effective academic support to their children (Shimizu 2006). Parental authority was particularly limited when children did not speak their native language (Ishikawa 2005; Shimizu 2006). Furthermore, immigrant parents were usually not aware of educational strategies commonly used by the Japanese, such as extracurricular academic lessons to boost academic performance (Kojima 2006). As a result, when children suffered academically, immigrant parents tended not to know how to improve their children's academic experience (Tabusa 2005).

Overall, observations and interviews have illuminated various efforts of immigrant families in immigrant cultural contexts. These studies have demonstrated the importance of immigrant parents' expectations of their children's education and their involvement in their children's educational processes. It is suggested that family involvement, including teaching children their native language and culture, helps these children recognize their differences within the immigrant group, perceive themselves as not inferior to the Japanese, and develop ethnic pride (Shimizu 2011).

Family SES in Immigrant Contexts

> Newcomer youth reside neither within the educational system nor within the immigrant communities from which they come. Rather, they are located in that mystical space that few speak of: the communities of low-income Japanese themselves (Gordon 2010).

Based on a literature review, one striking element appears in immigrant children's educational processes: family SES. Even though I did not find a statistical analysis testing its significance, various ethnographic studies have suggested the powerful influence of SES on parental processes and immigrant children's academic development in Japan (Gordon 2010; Inui 2007). Immigrant groups in Japan, especially recent immigrants, differ not only in their cultural and ethnic backgrounds but also in their SES in the country of origin and the host country. Socioeconomic variables such as income, occupation, and education reflect parents' available resources as well as their access to information and networks that help to support their children's educational experiences (García Coll and Marks 2009; Huafen and Yasumoto 2011; Shimizu and Shimizu 2001). SES is also likely to affect immigrant parents' level of acculturation, linguistic proficiency, knowledge about educational systems, and relationship with Japanese schools (Inui 2007; Shimizu 2006).

Significant numbers of high SES and professional Korean and Chinese families have come to Japan for business opportunities. These parents tend to be highly involved in their children's education, expect their children to attend a competitive college, and supplement their children's education by sending them to private academic classes and cultural lessons (Huafen and Yasumoto 2011; Shimizu and Shimizu 2001). They even believe that public schools in Japan are too relaxed and not the best place for children's academics, which are beliefs shared among Japanese middle- and upper middle-class parents (Yamamoto 2013).

The power of SES, regardless of cultural origin, is suggested in a study that examined different SES groups within the same ethnic group. Inui (2007) conducted interviews with 20 Laotian families with different educational levels, ranging from primary school to higher education (Inui 2007). Parents with a high school education, less than 5 % in Laos, tended to value education and expected their children to graduate from high school. These families also reported sufficient Japanese language skills, positive relationships with their adolescent children, and satisfaction with their children's schools. On the other hand, immigrant parents with limited education (e.g., primary school) tended to report insufficient Japanese skills, negative or distant relationships with their children, dissatisfaction with Japanese schools, and more delinquent behavior in their adolescent children, such as drunk driving. Yağmur and Van de Vijver (2012) found that more educated Turkish immigrants in France tended to be more positively oriented to the culture of the host country than less educated immigrants; more educated Laotian parents tended to report positive views about and interactions with Japanese schools (Inui 2007).

Reviews of ethnographic studies reveal that children of unskilled migrant workers tend to suffer academically more than children with wealthy and educated immigrant parents in Japan (Gordon 2009; Shimizu and Shimizu 2001). Socioeconomic contexts are intertwined with immigrant contexts and create problems unique to low SES immigrant families. For immigrant parents with limited education, understanding the educational system in the new land is extremely challenging. Limited Japanese language skills create communication gaps between parents and children, especially when children have not learned their parents' native language. Long hours of work deprive unskilled migrant workers of energy and time to become involved in their children's education. Low SES parents often expect older children to stay at home and care for their younger siblings or provide financial support to their families; about one third of the parents with unschooled children reported that their unschooled children had work or child care responsibilities (MEXT 2007a).

Elements related to parental status that contribute to parental involvement, such as ethnicity and social class, are deeply intertwined in immigrant contexts. Thus, it is crucial to examine socioeconomic contexts both in the country of origin and in the host society in investigations of immigrant parents' beliefs about and attitudes toward education.

Discussion

The major goal of this chapter was to provide an overview of immigrant children's educational experiences in Japan and to offer insights learned from a Japanese case to studies of immigrant families and children. A review of survey data and studies demonstrates that Japan's so-called egalitarian and homogeneous educational system has not had a miracle effect on immigrant students' educational experiences. As in other nations, Japan has faced educational challenges associated with immigrants for the last few decades as Japanese schools have begun to accept students with diverse backgrounds. A large academic gap between Japanese and immigrant students suggests unequal distribution of educational opportunities between Japanese and foreign-national students. In Japanese society and schools, immigrant children are treated as *gaijin*, or foreigners, whose school attendance is not mandatory, as it is for Japanese students. Such a marginal status as *gaijin* can affect Japanese students' interactions with immigrants and hinder immigrant students' school experiences. As described, immigrant students report *ijime* (being teased and bullied) as a common experience at Japanese schools. Immigrant children's unique cultural and language backgrounds also create challenges to their academic processes in an egalitarian-oriented educational system that ignores the diverse needs associated with students' backgrounds.

Consistent with studies on immigrant families in other nations, a review of the literature suggests that families' expectations for their children's education and the value parents place on education lead to parents' support of their children's education (Yamamoto and Holloway 2010). However, unlike studies in some countries such as the USA, where most immigrant parents, including low SES parents, value education and aspire to college educations for their children (Delgado-Gaitan 1992; Holloway et al. 1995; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008; Valdés 1996), low SES immigrant parents in Japan do not always aspire to have their children pursue higher education. This pattern is surprising considering the strong value placed on education in Japanese society. Low expectations for their children's education shared by some immigrant groups may be rooted in structural factors such as a lack of supportive immigrant communities and a lack of role models in immigrant communities owing to Japan's short history of accepting unskilled migrant workers compared to some other countries which consist of a large number of immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Tabusa 2005). Using the acculturation theory, it is also possible to hypothesize that Japan's strong pressure for assimilation, especially in its educational system, has led some immigrants to lower their educational expectations (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2007; Bourhis et al. 1997). Japan's less-than-pluralistic climate compared with countries such as the USA might have facilitated some immigrants in developing antischool attitudes and higher levels of ethnic orientation.

Various educational expectations and processes, depending on immigrants' ethnic backgrounds, should be carefully examined in relation to their orientation toward mainstream culture and the possibly different levels of assimilation pressure placed on them. As the revision of the immigration law in 1990 opened the door only to descendants of Japanese as unskilled laborers, immigrants from South America may feel stronger pressure to assimilate with mainstream culture than other immigrants owing to their Japanese ethnic origins and blood ties. Such strong expectations toward South Americans to assimilate may facilitate their higher levels of ethnic identification and lower orientation toward Japanese mainstream culture. Acculturative pressure may partially explain the low ratio of school enrollment and educational difficulties experienced by students from South America. At this point, one can only speculate based on theories and empirical studies in other countries. Future studies comparing pressure to assimilate and ethnic identification across different groups in Japan are crucial to further examine these issues.

Diversifying populations of immigrants made it possible to examine various ethnic groups among immigrants in Japan. Unlike many other nations where different ethnic groups arrived at different times, most ethnic groups, except for Koreans and Chinese, started to come to Japan only a few decades ago. However, a review of the literature demonstrated distinct family processes across ethnic groups. Varying parental processes across immigrant groups suggest that preceding conditions in the country of origin, such as SES and culture-based beliefs, provide the basis for immigrant students' adaptations at Japanese schools, as was found in studies in other nations (García Coll and Marks 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

In this literature review, I have also described the importance of SES in children's educational experiences. As high SES parents in many countries tend to value education and become involved in their children's education, it is critical to examine immigrant families' SES in the country of origin as well as in the host country because both are likely to affect their educational orientation, acculturation processes, and access to information, networks, and resources.

Limitations and Directions for Future Studies

Limitations of my review study should be noted. In this chapter, I mainly relied on government and local data to provide information related to immigrant children's school enrollment and educational experiences. While national data collected by the government are helpful in understanding overall patterns, the ways in which data are collected in Japan provide limitations in studies of immigrants. For example, national data distinguish foreign nationals and Japanese, but do not separate first and later generations. Because citizenship is not provided upon birth in Japan, people who were born and raised in Japan are categorized as foreign nationals if their parents are not Japanese. The nature of such data, which include third and fourth generations, makes it impossible for scholars to examine patterns and trends unique to immigrant children or children of immigrant parents. To understand the unique experiences among immigrants, it is essential to distinguish the first generation from others.

The majority of studies reviewed for this chapter used ethnographic research methods based on observations and interviews. In fact, I found a good number of studies in the field of sociology and anthropology written in Japanese. Ethnographic studies greatly helped in understanding the processes through which immigrant families support their children's education. Moreover, case studies illuminated complex experiences and in-depth beliefs shared among immigrant children and families. Surprisingly, I did not find statistical analyses of key factors associated with immigrant students' academic success or failure, or acculturation processes. Statistical analysis is crucial to identify overall patterns and factors associated with positive and negative academic experiences among immigrant children. By reviewing available ethnographic studies, I found that the value parents place on education in Japan, parental involvement, and family resources associated with SES may contribute to immigrant children's academic experiences. However, effective types of family involvement or necessary educational resources may differ depending on ethnic groups. I look forward to future studies that examine such elements by investigating a larger population of immigrant families.

I also found a lack of acculturation theories and empirical studies in the field. Assessing immigrant children's acculturation and how acculturation or assimilation affects their educational processes would advance our understanding of immigrant children's educational processes. Longitudinal research that examines immigrant families' acculturation processes, socialization processes, and support of their children's cognitive and social development would help us understand challenges faced by immigrant families as well as key elements that facilitate immigrant children's academic experiences in Japan.

Recommendations and a Future Perspective

While more research that informs practice and policies to assist with immigrant children's issues and needs is necessary, several suggestions for educational practice can be made based on the review of research. This review clearly indicates that Japan's centrally controlled educational system, uniform curricula, and instructional styles are likely to create academic difficulties for immigrant children with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Many scholars have already pointed out these issues and offered various recommendations (Kojima 2006; Miyajima and Ota 2005; Morita 2007; Ota 2000; Sakuma 2005). These recommendations include providing preschools and extracurricular classes to improve immigrant children's Japanese language skills (Sakuma 2005), having teachers who are trained to teach Japanese as a second language (Kojima 2006; Morita 2007; Sakuma 2005), and reforming the system for high school enrollment (Kojima 2006; Sakuma 2005; Tamaki and Sakamoto 2012). Some of these recommendations, such as extracurricular classes, have been put in place by schools, local communities, and activists, especially in communities with high ratios of foreign-national children (Shimizu 2006, 2011). My recommendations include using a standardized language proficiency test in addition to teacher evaluation to assess immigrant students' Japanese language skills, including literacy and academic skills.

This review suggests that the fundamental issues lie in the legal arrangement, social climate, and educational structure that designate foreign-national children as "*gaijin*" (foreigners). Such marginal status is likely to create a border between Japanese and non-Japanese, expect assimilation of the non-Japanese, and lead to discrimination and prejudice toward immigrant students. Sociologists in the field of migration studies have recommended legal and immigration reforms that facilitate multiculturalism in Japan (Chung 2010; Yamanaka 2008). Recommendations I have for microlevel educational practices include facilitating communication and interactions between schools or teachers and immigrant parents. Such effort, which can readily be provided by a school or community, may increase immigrant parents' understanding of the school system in Japan and help them effectively support their children's education. A review of the literature suggests that communicating school expectations is especially critical for low SES immigrant parents. Involving immigrant parents in their children's schools would also help teachers and practitioners increase their understanding of students' diverse cultural backgrounds and facilitate mutual understanding. Yamanaka (2006) documented active processes through which a Brazilian mother who started a parents' network became a board member of the Parent Teacher Association (PTA), established a branch PTA for foreign nationals, bridged cultural gaps between Japanese and Brazilians through exchange events, and involved local governments to provide institutional support. This case study demonstrates the collective power of immigrant parents in negotiating their status from being *gaijin* (foreigners) to being influential school and community members and in facilitating multicultural contexts in schools and local communities.

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Rural-to-Urban Migrant Children's Behaviors and Adaptation Within Migration Social Contexts in China

Bin-Bin Chen

Introduction

In the past three decades, particularly since the early 1990s, Chinese government has gradually relaxed the restriction on population movement and allowed cities to absorb surplus rural labor in order to benefit urban development (Li 2000, 2003). Although the household registration system[1] (*hukou* in Chinese) has not been adequately reformed, which makes it difficult for the rural migrants to access the government social welfare and services (e.g., education and medical care) equally in the city, the internal migration in mainland China has become predominantly a rural-to-urban population flow. The fifth National Population Census shows that the proportion of rural-to-urban migrant children under 14 years occupies 14% of the overall rural migrant population in mainland China (Duan and Liang 2004), and, according to a more recent national census, Second National Agricultural Census (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2008), it is expected that there are approximately 18.2 million migrant children who are accompanying their parents and are

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[1] The household registration system (*hukou*) in China is a state tool with multiple functions including providing population statistics, controlling population distribution control, and securing social and political order and other related objectives (Chan and Zhang 1999). Under household registration system, each citizen has to register in one regular residence place (i.e., urban or rural category) and one entitlement status (i.e., agricultural or nonagricultural type). A nonagricultural *hukou* is issued to urban citizens, whereas the agricultural *hukou* to rural citizens (For the detailed reviews of origins and changes of the household registration system, see Chan and Zhang 1999; Mackenzie 2002). The *hukou* registration is a "birth-subscribed" system (Potter 1983). The rural-to-urban migration involves both a geographical change in one's residential place and a change in one's entitlement status. However, there are few opportunities for rural migrants to be approved for nonagricultural *hukou*. Without the legally registered *hukou* of urban category and nonagricultural type, rural migrants in the cities are not eligible for state social welfare to which urban residents are entitled (Mackenzie 2002; Wong et al. 2007).

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living in the urban areas now. Living in city exerts an important influence on rural migrant children's social development. The migration experiences may be highly challenging for migrant children, on the one hand, and it may provide opportunities for them to learn social skills valued in urban society, on the other.

This chapter examines rural migrant children's social development as it occurs in the new social environment where they migrate to the city. The first section provides an overview of migrant children's behavioral characteristics. There are three central socioemotional behaviors among rural-to-urban migrant children: externalizing problems, internalizing problems, and prosocial behaviors. Then the chapter elaborates on migrant children's adaptation process in the city. In the next section, it discusses how the new social contexts in urban areas may influence migrant children's development. It reviews empirical studies about the role of the family and school as two of important social contexts within the migration experiences on migrant children's social behaviors and adjustment. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the possible implications and future directions.

Socioemotional Behaviors

Socioemotional behaviors in different social environments convey important information about cultural or contextual variations in child experiences (Chen and French 2008; Chen et al. 2006). The investigation of these behaviors among different cultural groups of children (e.g., immigrant vs. native children) may help us to understand and interpret their unique behavioral characteristics and developmental causes and outcomes. Externalizing problems, internalizing problems, and prosocial behaviors were among the most widely investigated socioemotional behaviors when research compared rural to urban migrant children with local urban children. Among the three behaviors, externalizing and internalizing behavioral problems have yielded the homogeneous findings, indicating that migrant children showed greater such problems than local urban children, mainly because of the typical risk factors resulted from migration experiences (e.g., the stress of the different cultural challenges or socioeconomic disparity) (Berry 2001, 2006; Van Oort et al. 2007). However, the findings on prosocial behavior were less uniform.

Externalizing Problems

The issue of externalizing problems among migrant children from rural to urban areas has caused an increased social concern because of the severe developmental outcomes of this problem. The externalizing problems usually take the form of overt disruptive behaviors such as anger, hostility, defiance, aggression, destructive behavior, noncompliance, antisocial behaviors, and school problems (Achenbach 1991; Campbell 1995; Gilliom and Shaw 2004; Leadbeater et al. 1999). Researchers (Li et al. 2008a) have investigated about 1,100 children in Beijing, and found that migrant children showed greater externalizing behavior problems than urban children. The same results were found in another large city, Shanghai, indicating that migrant children exhibited more externalizing behavior problems than local urban children (Zeng 2010) and their externalizing behavior problems developed stably over a year (Zeng 2009c).

In addition, some research demonstrated that migrant children and adolescents were engaged in criminal behaviors and activities (Ying and Zhun 2007). In a large-scale study of rural migrant students in elementary schools, researchers (Wang et al. 2005) found that 25.5 % of children had problem behaviors including deviant behaviors, and the figure 25.5 % was significantly higher than previous findings of urban children. More surprisingly, it has been reported that 651 juvenile delinquency cases with 749 children and adolescents involved were handled by the courts in Dongguan, Guangdong province, from July 2003 to July 2004, and among them, over 95 % were migrant children and adolescents from rural areas (Guo 2004).

Last, compared to female migrant children, male migrant children had higher level of delinquent behaviors (Xie et al. 2009), hostility (He et al. 2009), externalizing behavior problems (Chen et al. 2011a; Li et al. 2008a), impulsivity (He et al. 2009), and tobacco use (Chen 2010).

Internalizing Problems

There is, also, a substantial body of work on other behavioral problems reflected in internalizing symptoms. The internalizing problems typically concern internalizing disturbances including depression, anxiety, withdrawal, low self-esteem and sadness (Achenbach 1991; Campbell 1995; Gilliom and Shaw 2004; Leadbeater et al. 1999). Relative to local urban children, migrant children showed greater internalizing behavior problems (Li et al. 2008b) and lower self-esteem (Zeng 2009a). Rural migrant children reported to have higher level of depression compared with local urban children (Chen et al. 2009; Wei 2011). The results were further supported by two different samples of children who were local urban students, migrant students in public schools and migrant students in migrant children schools (Lin et al. 2009; Zhou 2008). In particular, they all found that migrant students in migrant children schools were the highest in the scores of loneliness, depression, and social anxiety scales, followed by migrant students in public schools, and local urban students were the lowest. The trends about the differences appeared to be stable in a 1-year longitudinal study (Zhou 2010).

In addition, data based on the sample of children in junior high schools demonstrated that there was a significant difference in self-reported social withdrawn behaviors between migrant and urban young adolescents (Xie et al. 2009). Similarly, migrant students in public high schools had difficulties in establishing friendships with local urban students and showed sensitivity and lacked confidence in peer interactions (Guo et al. 2005). In addition, although it was found to be relatively easier for migrant children to make friends in migrant children schools, however, the quality of peer relationship or friendship might be low and they still felt lonely (Liu et al. 2009).

Prosocial Behaviors

Prosocial behaviors including helping, cooperating, and caring or taking responsibility for another, are characterized by children's attitudes and behaviors with regard to the benefits of others or the group in social interactions (Eisenberg et al. 2006). Because prosocial behavior is essential for the well-being of the collective (Chen and Chang 2012; Chen et al. 2000), it is highly valued in both rural and urban areas in China. However, migrant children's prosocial behavior has received less attention, relative to the above two behavioral problems. The extant empirical evidence is slim and mixed. In in-depth interviews with students in a public junior high school, researchers found that there were no differences between migrant and local urban students with regard to many aspects of prosocial behaviors including loving the collective, responsibility to the class, and helping classmates (Guo et al. 2005). In addition, my colleagues and I assessed 898 primary school children's prosocial behaviors based on peer nomination and found that there were no differences between migrant children and local urban or rural children in Nantong, a middle-size city next to Shanghai (Chen et al. 2011a, b). However, another study conducted in Suzhou, a city both closed to Nantong and Shanghai, demonstrated that migrant children showed less prosocial behaviors than local urban children (Xing and Huang 2008).

These inconsistent findings appeared to be hard to explain. Because children's prosocial behavior is equally encouraged and socialized in both rural and urban areas in China, it is expected that there should be no differences in prosocial acts between rural migrant children and local urban children. However, some migrant children are found to show lower level of prosocial behaviors. One possibility may be that migrant children's behavioral problems (e.g., social withdrawal or shyness) may inhibit them from standing out in the peer group and displaying prosocial behaviors. It is interesting to test this possibility in the future.

Rural-to-Urban Migrant Children's Adaptation to the City

There are great social and cultural differences between urban and rural areas in China. Several factors may illuminate these differences. First, there are regional differences in norms, customs, and life styles (Hu and Li 2009; Zhang 2007) as well as economic status (Cai and Yang 2000). For example, urban children are more likely than rural children to have health habits, e.g., washing hands before lunch/dinner (Tong 2001). In addition, the massive social and economic reform in China has been largely limited to urban areas. The Western individualistic values together with market-oriented economic systems of the western societies have been introduced in most of cities, and they have influenced its society and urban people's life (Chen et al. 2005, 2009). However, the rural people have lived mostly agricultural lives and they may not have as much exposure as urban people to the influence of the dramatic social transformation. Rural children's social behaviors are still socialized mainly with the traditional Chinese cultures and values (Chen et al. 2011a, b; Fuligni and Zhang 2004). Last, but most important, previous strict control over the flows of the rural population to the cities, mainly because of household registration system with other social and economic control mechanisms, exacerbates the regional differences (Chan and Zhang 1999; Fuligni and Zhang 2004). Given these backgrounds, it may be argued that children in rural areas may encounter many culture-relevant obstacles and challenges when they, accompanying their parents, migrate to urban areas.

The acculturation literature extant has indicated that individuals may have different strategies and psychosocial and behavioral changes during acculturation (see Berry 1994, 2006 for review) and has differentiated the stages of cultural adaptation or shock (e.g., Kohls 1984; Oberg 1960; Winkelman 1994). Liu and his colleagues (2009) first adopted a broad theoretical perspective on cultural adaptation to explain rural migrant Chinese children's adaptation to the city. They emphasized that stress-coping theory and social-learning theory should be integrated as a theoretical framework to study cultural adaptation. Stress-coping theory tested cultural adaptation on a psychological level whereas social-learning theory focused on the social-cultural level. They argued that rural migrant children may succeed in adjustment to the urban environments when they are well adaptive on both levels.

Liu et al. (2009) had in-depth interviews with 21 migrant children aged 6 to 19. In general, they found migrant children's initial adaptation occurs relatively easily, followed by a period of adaptation crisis with emotional disorders such as loneliness. Over time, the migrant children proceed to adjust and integrate into the new cultural environment in urban areas. They summarized that the migrant children's adaptation to the city develops in four phases.

1. *Excitement and curiosity phase* (new arrival to several days). On the psychological level, migrant children show positive mood such as excitement, curiosity, and happiness. They are excited about coming to the city and living together with their parents, and curious about all differences between the city and their rural hometown.
2. *Shock and resistance phase* (several days to one year). On the psychological level, migrant children show negative mood such as loneliness and fear. They are shocked and disappointed by the difference between vision and reality, and hence begin to miss everything in their hometown; on the social-culture level, migrant children begin to feel uncomfortable within their interpersonal relationships, language, school, and also some behavioral norms. At the same time, they feel it hard to integrate into urban environment.
3. *Exploration and adaptation phase* (one year to two years). Migrant children gradually adjust to life in the city. On the psychological level, they no longer have

strong feelings of homesickness. Feelings of loneliness and fear have gradually decreased. They increasingly become cheerful about the city life. On the social-cultural level, they begin to learn the local language, establish elementary interpersonal relationships, and adapt to their learning environment. They are also learning some particular behavioral norms in the city, such as health behaviors and dress habits. They have gradually become familiar with urban environment.

4. *Integration and assimilation phase* (two years and on). Migrant children well adapt to the life in the city. On the psychological level, they are happy and comfortable and satisfied with their life in the city. They become more cheerful and confident. On the social-culture level, they have rebuilt their own social network. They have stable learning conditions and speak local language fluently. They have completely acquired the behaviors that are required for daily life in the city and they hold implicit thinking similar to those held by native urban residents. They are familiar with urban environment and hence regard themselves one of urban residents.

From Liu et al.'s perspective, adaptation to the city is a continuous process. An important factor that may influence adaptation is how long migrant children have stayed in the city, especially how long they have entered school after migrating to cities. The longer they stay in urban areas, the better they adapt to the social environment (Liu et al. 2009; Tang 2009). However, far less empirical attention has focused on the phases of cultural adaptation. It remains unclear whether Liu et al.'s four-phase model based on qualitative analyses may fit the quantitative data based on a larger sample.

In addition, Berry (2001, 2006) argued that individuals may adopt different acculturation strategies with regard to two fundamental aspects (i.e., maintenance of original cultures and intercultural contact). They included integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization with different psychological and sociocultural adaptation outcomes. Although separation and assimilation, as strategies to adapt city life, were included in Liu et al.'s four-phase model, however, the rest two which were considered as strategies to maintain original culture or to reject the new culture were not. Therefore, it is also important to examine the potential separation or marginalization strategies that migrant children may use to maintain their original cultures and isolate themselves from urban cultures.

The Influences of Social Contexts of Migrant Children on Social Behaviors and Adjustment

Thus far, rural-to-urban migrant children's socioemotional behaviors and their social adjustment to the city life have been discussed without considering the contextual factors which may influence them. Following an ecological model of children's social development (Bronfenbrenner 1977), I selectively highlight studies that address the relation between characteristics of migrant children's family and school contexts and their social-emotional development and urban adaptation. Not all of these studies have controlled for child characteristics or examined the interaction between child characteristics and variations in contextual factors, the ultimate goal of an ecological framework. Yet, I include a variety of examples as illustrative of a deeper understanding of qualities of the family and school environment that might be critical to migrant children's social development.

Family Contexts

Family Social Economic Status A survey in Beijing has shown that family economic capital of migrant children was significantly lower than that of the urban children (Shen et al. 2007). Similar results were found in another larger project on rural-to-urban migration, indicating that migrant children's family economic status measured by several indicators including parental education, occupation, income, family life index, and community environment, were significantly lower than those of urban children in Beijing (Hou et al. 2009). Low family economic status may inevitably result in poor physical family environments of migrant families. Through the in-depth interviews with teachers of migrant children, researchers found that most migrant families rented a very small and crowded room where about three to four family members stayed together. In such family environments, many students even do not have space for studying and doing homework (Li et al. 2010).

The family social economic status has a strong influence on migrant children's psychosocial behaviors and adjustment. For example, migrant children of high-income family had lower level of behavioral and learning problems, impulsivity and anxiety than those of low-income family (He et al. 2009). Similarly, migrant children who had higher family economic capital tended to have higher global self-esteem scores (Shen et al. 2007). In addition, family life index influenced migrant children's life satisfaction (Hou et al. 2009).

Parenting Behaviors Child caregiving in the family is one of the fundamental factors in positive psychological development of migrant children (Chen in press; Zhou 2008). However, unfortunately, evidence is emerging showing that migrant parents had poor parenting skills and provided unfavorable family social environment. For example, migrant children's family functioning was significantly poorer than those of urban children (Hou et al. 2009). In a study to investigate parenting styles, students in junior high schools were asked to complete questionnaires and interviews regarding mother and father warmth, punishment, harshness, rejection, and neglect (Zeng 2009b). The results indicated that migrant children perceived lower paternal warmth-affection but higher paternal punishment and harshness than urban children did, and migrant children perceived lower maternal warmth-affection but higher maternal rejection and neglect than urban children did. It seems that migrant parents are perceived to show less positive parenting behaviors but more negative parenting behaviors than urban parents. Several explanations may account for the differences in parenting behaviors between migrant and urban parents. First, as reviewed above, migrant parents have relatively lower educational level than urban parents. Evidence has shown that educational level was positively related to parental warmth and acceptance and parent–child communication but negatively related to parental demanding and punishment (Deng and Xu 2006). Second, the poor parenting skills may be partly attributed to migrant parents' stressful lifestyle and being busy making ends meet in the urban area (Li et al. 2010). Most of parents of migrant children are employed in service and construction industries. They occupy the physically demanding, time-overloaded but low-paid jobs that local residents disdain. Migrant parents are perceived as living a marginalized life (Wong et al. 2007). Social and economic stress exerts a negative impact on parenting quality perceived by Chinese children and adolescents (Shek 2005, 2008). Third, the primary socialization and childrearing in the traditional Chinese societies is to educate children to learn the social behaviors and skills that are conducive to obedience to the authority and family cohesion (Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2008). Therefore, the strict and high-power parental practices such as punishment and discipline are often used by Chinese parents (Chang et al. 2003; Chao and Tseng 2002; Nelson et al. 2006). Parents who migrated from rural to urban areas tended to adopt the traditional parental practices with less warm affection communications between child and parents (Zeng 2009b).

Compared with rural migrant families, the parenting behaviors in urban families, however, showed more autonomy support (Chen-Gaddini 2012). In the competitive urban environment, parents should be required to encourage children to be more assertive and independent and to create opportunities for their children to explore in the new and challenging environment (Chen 2010b; Chen et al. 2010; Chen and Chen 2010). Recent research has indicated that urban children who perceive that parents provide a secure base tend to independently explore and master new environment and to be willing to establish social relationship outside of family (Chen 2012). Therefore, it is necessary for rural migrant parents to change their traditional parenting skills to those more compatible to the new demands in the urban environments.

Indeed, family social environment and parental practice may contribute to the social development of migrant children (Zhou 2008). Findings provided compelling evidence that family intimate function had negative effects on internalizing problems for migrant children (Li et al. 2008a, b); family belonging sense and support had negative effects on migrant children's depression whereas parent–child conflict and lack of parent–child communication had positive effects on their depression (Wei 2011). In addition, parental support might help migrant children to succeed in adaptation to the urban life (Liu et al. 2009), and their perceived secure attachment with parents might lead to have higher level of self-identity (Wang et al. 2011). Hou et al. (2009) asked 1,018 migrant children and 447 urban children in Beijing to complete the family functioning inventory and the student life satisfaction scale, and they found that family function scores (i.e., intimacy and adaptability) had a positive effect on migrant children's general life satisfaction. However, poor parenting quality may have negative effects on children's social behaviors. Research has indicated that the poor parent–child relationships had influences on migrant children's smoking behaviors (Chen 2010) and general behavioral problems (Cheng et al. 2007).

Last, an interesting result should be noted that parental educational expectation might lead to the decrease in migrant children's loneliness and depression (Zhou 2008). The higher the parental educational expectation, the more effort parents invest in child caregiving. One of the most significant aspects is that parents may enhance communications between parent and child, which may in turn be linked to effective regulation, supervision, and management of child behaviors. Therefore, parents with high educational expectation may help their migrant children overcome the difficulties that cause loneliness and depression, and hence promote their positive psychological development.

School Contexts

Research has suggested that social interactions in schools may help migrant children to adapt the new environments in the city (Liu et al. 2009). If migrant children cannot enroll in school soon after migration, they may have less opportunity to be exposed to the urban cultures. Accordingly, this may prevent them from establishing new social relationships and learning local language and urban living behaviors, and hence make it difficult for them to adapt new urban environment.

However, migrant children are denied entry into public schools in the cities because of urban residence requirements under national household registration system (Hu and Szente 2010; Li et al. 2010; Wang 2008; Wong et al. 2007). In response to the increasing demand for schooling of a large number of migrant children in the urban areas, some temporary schools have been established exclusively for migrant children (Hu and Szente 2010; Wang 2008; Xia 2006). These schools are called "migrant children schools," however, most of them are currently unlicensed and unregulated without governmental legal recognition and financial support. The learning environment conditions of various aspects in the migrant children schools were disadvantaged and worse with the lack of qualified teachers and basic educational equipment and facilities.

Recent policies have sought to address this growing social problem, with the Chinese government requiring the urban public schools to accommodate school-aged migrant children (see Xia 2006; Zhang 2009, for reviews about the policies). Nevertheless, large numbers of migrant children continue to choose migrant children schools, because they still face a variety of difficulties in obtaining equal access to schools and encounter social stigma in urban areas (Li et al. 2010; Wang 2008). It was reported that about 30–80 % of the school-aged migrant children may enroll into public schools (Duan and Liang 2005; Wang 2008).

Previous immigration research suggests that ethnically mixed school class may bring immigrant students to have direct contacts with the host culture and this intercultural aspect of schooling may be vital for immigrant children's acculturation process and adaptation outcomes (Suarez-Orozco 2001; Vedder and Horenzcyk

2006; Vedder and O'Dowd 1999). There is a rather extensive literature about rural-to-urban internal migration within China that is in accord with predictions derived from international immigration, showing that students who enroll in local public schools have better outcomes of socioemotional adjustment than those in migrant schools. For example, students in migrant children schools had lower school satisfaction (Qu et al. 2008) and greater loneliness, depression, and social anxiety (Lin et al. 2009), and encountered more social discrimination (Liu and Shen 2010a; Yuan 2011; Zeng 2008a) than those in public schools. Recently, Yuan and his colleagues (2010) recruited 1,164 migrant children in Beijing to participate in the survey about social identification and urban adaptation. They found that children in public schools had higher level of social and psychological adaptation than those in migrant children school. Their further analysis indicated that urban social identification had a partial mediating effect on the relationship between school types and sociopsychological adaptation (Yuan et al. 2010). On the one hand, different school contexts might have a direct role on migrant children's urban adaptation. The public schools provided rural migrant children greater opportunities to interact with Beijing local residents, customs, and cultures, which in turn might promote their sociopsychological adaptation in Beijing. On the other hand, migrant children in public schools who studied and grew together with local urban peers in the same school environment might be more likely to perceive themselves as a member of urban cultural groups, and to actively assimilate new urban cultures, and hence they were well adaptive in urban adaptation. In contrast, migrant children in migrant children schools who were commonly stigmatized as "rural migrant" were aware of the differences between new urban culture and their own rural culture. As a consequence, they hesitated to assimilate new urban cultures, and hence they had difficulties in urban adaptation.

In the following subsections, I focused on two important social relationships in the schools contexts (i.e., migrant children's relationships with teachers and peers), and their roles on migrant children's social behaviors and adaptation. Particular attention will be paid to the growing body of research conducted in two different school types (migrant children schools vs. public schools), given they might have different effects when examining the influences of the two social relationships.

Children–Teacher Relationships In most migrant children schools, teaching load was heavy and each teacher often had to teach multiple subjects (Li et al. 2010). Because of the lack of qualified teachers, some migrant children schools had to ask for volunteers from university students or retired teachers for teaching. Migrant children's social development may depend on school teachers' occupational commitment and emotional investment to students. Researchers (Luo and Li 2008) found that teachers' job burnout was significantly correlated with occupational commitment and teaching efficacy. In addition, both emotional commitment and normative commitment served as mediation role on the relationship between personal teaching efficacy and job burnout. Although they did not test the teachers' role on child development, it is expected that low teachers' investment in migrant children schools may have a negative influence on child–teacher relationships. The latter may be related to children's socioemotional development. For example, researchers (Xie et al. 2007) found that migrant students in migrant children schools perceived lower teacher sensitivity than those in public schools. Especially the grade 5 and 6 students in migrant children schools perceived lower teacher intimacy and support but higher conflict than those in public schools (Xie et al. 2007). Intimacy, support, and low conflict in teacher–student relationship promoted migrant children's school satisfaction (Qu et al. 2008) and reduced their depression (He et al. 2008), whereas lack of positive relationship with teachers was associated with the increase in behavioral problems and somatization (Cheng et al. 2007). Furthermore, the classroom disorganization and lack of effective management and regulation in migrant children schools led to the disorder of social role, lack of responsibility, and the expression of misbehaviors among migrant children (Shi and Wang 2007).

In the past few years, more and more migrant children have been allowed to study in the public schools. Like those in migrant children schools, the relationships that migrant students in the public schools establish with teachers may also be important in their school adjustment. A recent study (Zeng 2008b) showed that public school teachers generally had positive attitude toward migrant children studying in public schools although they thought that migrant children had negative effects on their effective teaching in class. In addition, more than 50 % of teachers in this investigation indicated that they had no time to satisfy the needs of migrant children because they had been heavily involved with local urban children (Zeng 2008b). From the perspective of migrant children themselves, however, they appeared to feel satisfied with their public school teachers. For example, migrant students reported that they had not experienced social discrimination from their teachers and they liked their teachers because they were kind and nice (Guo et al. 2005). Also, social support from teachers had negative effects on migrant children's perceived personal and group discrimination (Liu and Shen 2010b). However, a more recent study investigated 440 migrant students in public schools in Chongqing, indicating that teacher–student conflict, but not teacher support, was positively related to the perception of discrimination (Jiang et al. 2011). In a short sum, it seems to suggest that compared with migrant children in migrant schools, those in public schools are more likely to have positive relationships with teachers, which in turn promote students' positive behaviors and adaptation.

Peer Relationships A large body of immigration literature has suggested that peer relationships may be another major factor that influences immigrant children's social development (e.g., Aberson et al. 2004; Aboud et al. 2003; Horenczyk and Tatar 1998; Titzmann and Silbereisen 2009). It is also true for rural migrant children in China (Zhou 2008). There is a wealth of literature indicating that migrant children's friendship was negatively associated with their loneliness and depression (Zhou 2008), and their peer relationship quality was negatively associated with social discrimination (Jiang et al. 2011; Liu and Shen 2010b).

Although some researchers (Liu et al. 2009; Yuan et al. 2010) have suggested that the interaction with local urban peers may help migrant children to adapt the city, this research question is far from simple, and empirical research has provided inconsistent support for this view. Some studies suggest that migrant children may be not socially accepted by local urban children and be poor in adjustment in public schools. For example, recent research demonstrated that in public schools, migrant children and local urban children were separated in some social activities (Li et al. 2010). Migrant children in public schools perceived social distance between local urban students and themselves (Xu 2009), and they were often perceived to be "different" from local urban students who often looked down upon them because of their rural *hukou*, and hence they showed low self-esteem and high social withdrawal (Li et al. 2010) and high level of loneliness (Zeng 2008a; Zhou 2008). It seems to mean that local urban school contexts may become the source of risk for migrant students' peer relationships, which is not similar to teacher–student relationships.

However, other studies suggest that migrant children may have positive peer interaction with local urban children and adjust well in public schools. For example, there was no difference in peer acceptance between migrant children and local urban children in public schools (Sun et al. 2008). Migrant children in public schools were less likely to be bullied by the urban peers than those in migrant school children (Li et al. 2008a, b). Consistent with these findings, a recent study conducted by my colleagues and me (Chen et al. 2011a) demonstrated that rural migrant children were able to affiliate themselves with the peer groups in public schools. Following the composite social cognitive map technique (Cairns et al. 1989), we asked children to report both their own and others' peer groups in their class (e.g., "Are there people in class who hang around together a lot? Who are they?" and "Do you have a group you around together a lot in class? Who are these people you hang around with?"). The results indicated that nearly 80 % of migrant children were members of the specific peer groups (Chen et al. 2011a). Our results further demonstrated that the peer groups may socialize migrant children's social behaviors such as sociability and self-expression over one year (Chen et al. 2011a). This suggests that local children in public schools help their group members of migrant children to learn social behaviors which are considered important in urban lives.

Last, migrant children's social behaviors may have different adjustment outcomes in the peer interactions in different school contexts. For example, shyness was found to be positively associated with a variety of indexes of adjustment variables among migrant students in migrant children schools (Chen et al. 2009). Although behaviors, e.g., sociability, that are considered important in competitive urban lives, they may not be particularly encouraged in rural families or endorsed in peer social interactions among rural migrant children; in contrast, shyness is regarded as mature social interpersonal skills in rural community (Chen et al. 2009). Thus, shy rural migrant children may not be regarded as problematic and receive negative social evaluations in the contexts of rural migrant schools. However, a study based on the data from a public school showed that shy rural migrant children were bullied by their peers, and especially shy rural migrant boys were more likely than girls to be rejected by peers in the public schools (Li et al. 2011).

In summary, the existing findings on migrant children's peer acceptance in public schools are less uniform; and the relationships between their social behaviors and adjustment outcomes may vary in different school contexts.

Implications and Future Direction

In this review above, I focused on migrant children's socioemotional behaviors, their social adaptation to the city, and the role of family and school contexts on their various aspects of social development. There are several possible implications and promising directions for future research.

Migrant Children School Versus Public School

Extant research by comparing students in migrant children schools with those in public schools provided mixed results on the social development, especially on peer relationship and social adjustment. Therefore, we have come a long way from supposing that one school context is more favorable than another. As found by some studies, some psychosocial factors had stronger effects for children in migrant children schools, other had most influential for children in public schools, and other had the same effects on children of both schools. It is necessary to engage in systematic exploration of the issues in order to achieve a more thorough understanding of the school contextual effects. Especially, in pursuing this comprehensive picture of school-type effects on migrant children's social development, research also needs to provide a richer description of the nature of migrant children's social experiences, how they vary across social contexts, and what remains constant despite school-type differences.

In addition, it appeared to be practical that the Chinese government should promote equal educational opportunity for migrant children, including opening up of public schools for migrant children, and eliminating extra charges for migrant children to attend urban public schools, on the one hand, and the government should consider these migrant children schools as complementary venues to public schools and provide necessary financial support and effective school regulation to promote the well-being of migrant children (Li et al. 2010).

The Link Between Family, School, and Community

In this chapter, I focused mainly on two fundamental social contexts that may influence the migrant children's social behaviors and adjustment. There are other important contexts such as community (Wu et al. 2011). However, unfortunately few studies tested the role of the context of community where migrant children lived. In addition, multiple social contexts may interact with each other in their role on children's social development (Chen and Li 2008; Wu et al. 2011). It will be crucial to build upon current initiative about the separate contextual role on migrant children but expand our knowledge about the connections between family, school, and community.

First, the connections between family and school. Extant evidence has shown that the connections between rural migrant family and school lacked. For example, migrant parents were generally perceived as having limited involvement in their children's schooling (Li et al. 2010). However, parents may have many ways of involvement with their children's schooling. For example, parents should spend more time in talking with their children about the school life, and have greater responsibility in monitoring their extracurricular activities. Research has shown that the communication between parents and children could affect peer relations in school (e.g., Chen 2011; Zhou 2008) and parental affection might influence migrant children's harmonious relationship with peers in schools, which in turn might influence behavioral problems and somatization (Cheng et al. 2007). In addition, parents of migrant children were encouraged to actively attend parents' meetings held by the school, and at the same time it is also necessary for teachers to have home visits (Li et al. 2010).

Second, the connections between family and community. Evidence has shown that migrant children who had high social capital showed higher level of self-esteem (Shen et al. 2007). Also, social support may serve as the protective factor for migrant children's problem behaviors (Xie et al. 2009). Therefore, if the community helps rural-to-urban migrant families to expand their social network, it may be helpful to promote family function that may in turn influences children's social development. In addition, parents may adjust their caregiving styles to conform to the normative practice endorsed by their local urban cultures (Coulton 1996; Lansford et al. 2005). The community can develop necessary training programs for migrant parents regarding parenting skills (Li et al. 2010; Liu et al. 2009). Therefore, it should be a cooperative social task to form a favorable community conditions, especially through social service program and governmental policy making.

Third, the connections between school and community. Given the low socioeconomic status, most of the migrant children lived under the unfavorable community environmental conditions. As suggested by Wu et al. (2011), school may serve as an important role, especially focusing on promoting favorable school climates and migrant children's relationships with teachers and peers. Schools teach children how to cope with the social stigma, which may help them reduce the social adjustment problems caused by the more macro social environment (e.g., community; Lin et al. 2009). In contrast, if migrant children study in the disadvantaged school contexts, then community setting should serve as the buffering function in the risk for migrant children. For example, in the community, public facilities can be built to create opportunities for migrant children to interact with residents and to foster the culture of trust and mutual support (Wu et al. 2011).

An Integrative Model

Last, I propose an integrative theoretical model that both incorporates and expands current formulations of mainstream acculturation theoretical frameworks

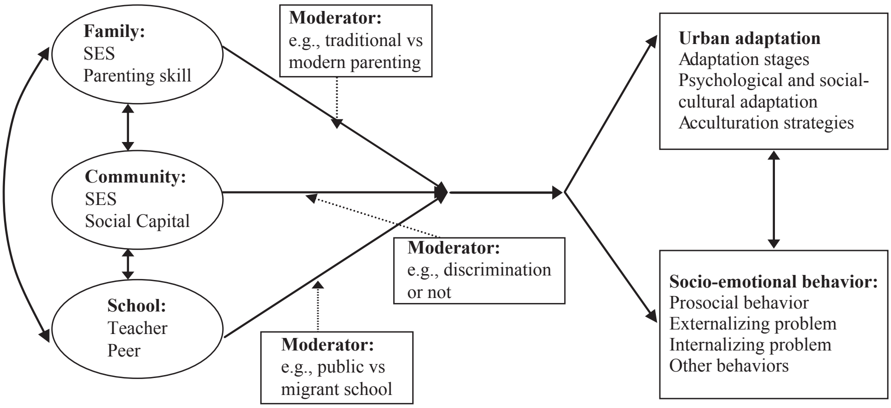
Family:
SES
Parenting skill
Community:
SES
Social Capital
School:
Teacher
Peer
Moderator:
e.g., traditional vs modern parenting
Moderator:
e.g., discrimination or not
Moderator:
e.g., public vs migrant school
Urban adaptation
Adaptation stages
Psychological and social-cultural adaptation
Acculturation strategies
Socio-emotional behavior:
Prosocial behavior
Externalizing problem
Internalizing problem
Other behaviors

Fig. 1 Integrative model for the study of rural-to-urban migrant Chinese children's social behaviors and adaptation

(e.g., Berry 2006; Garcia Coll et al. 1996; Harris 1995; Phinney 1990; Vedder and Horenzcyk 2006) as well as extant literature about rural-to-urban migrant children. Figure 1 presents this model. This model addresses three major considerations: (1) The migration social contexts may interact with each other in unique contribution to rural migrant children's social behaviors and adaptation. For example, parents' secure attachment base may serve as an important buffer against rural migrant children's adjustment difficulties when they face with urban peers' exclusion or rejection in public schools; (2) The role of social contexts may be moderated by the specific characteristics within each social context. For example, how the migrant children's behaviors are associated with peer relationships may depend on school types (public school vs. migrant children school); (3) The relationships between migrant children's socioemotional behaviors and urban adjustment and adaptation outcomes may be bidirectional. For example, rural migrant children's earlier prosocial behaviors may influence their adjustment to the local urban school, which may in turn promote or inhibit their development of later prosocial behaviors. This proposed model is a heuristic guide to research in the social development and adaptation of rural migrant children. The hypothesized relationship constructs deserve testing in the future.

Conclusion

The chapter provides the first review about empirical evidence on rural-to-urban migrant children's social development in mainland China. A large and convergent body of literature indicates generally that migrant children tend to show greater externalizing and internalizing behavioral problems than local urban children, whereas the findings on their prosocial behaviors are less uniform. Rural migrant children may generally experience four phases of urban adaptation process in terms of both their psychological social-cultural level. Although the physical and social environments of rural migrant family are relatively unfavorable in general, they may have strong influences on migrant children's social behaviors and adaptation. Migrant children's school contexts are complicated in nature when we consider whether they are studying in migrant children schools or public schools. However, this body of literature can and will be important as contextual factors responsible for the healthy development of migrant children. To move forward, future studies should systematically test the effects of different school types and make connections between different social contexts. More basic work must be done in order to enhance our understanding of the rural migrant children's social development and adaptation processes in the urban areas.

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Connectedness and Psychological Well-Being Among Adolescents of Immigrant Background in Kenya

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Introduction

Little—if anything—is known about the factors that contribute to the positive development and psychological functioning of adolescents of immigrant background in the African context. The present study addresses this knowledge gap by investigating the influence of parent and peer attachment, the sense of school belonging, and religious and ethnic identity on the psychological well-being of adolescents of Arab and Asian background in Kenya. The central research question is to what extent adolescent connectedness influences psychological well-being.

Connectedness is said to exist "when a person is actively involved with another person, object, group or environment, and that involvement promotes a sense of comfort, well-being and anxiety-reduction" (Hagerty et al. 1993, as cited by Townsend and McWhirter 2005, p. 193). According to Karcher (2005), "Connectedness reflects youths' activity with and affection for the people, places, and activities within their life (e.g., school, family, and friends)." (p. 66). An important aspect of adolescent connectedness is ecological connectedness (Karcher et al. 2008). According to Karcher (2011), the ecology of adolescent connectedness involves all the important micro-, macro-, and mesosystems that the adolescent experiences. The microsystem

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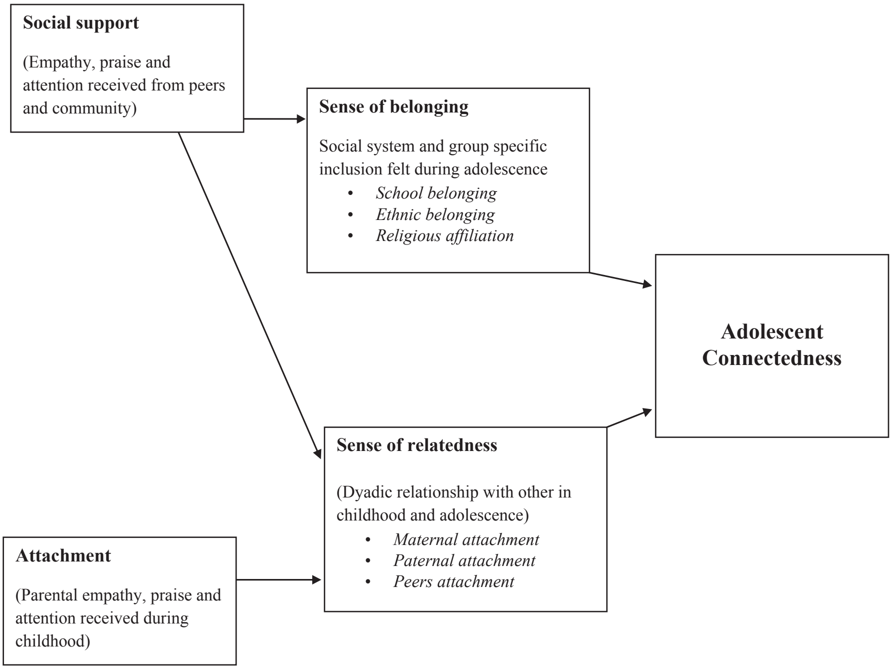
Social support
(Empathy, praise and attention received from peers and community)
Sense of belonging
Social system and group specific inclusion felt during adolescence
School belonging
Ethnic belonging
Religious affiliation
Adolescent Connectedness
Sense of relatedness
(Dyadic relationship with other in childhood and adolescence)
Maternal attachment
Paternal attachment
Peers attachment
Attachment
(Parental empathy, praise and attention received during childhood)

Fig. 1 Antecedents of Connectedness. (Note: This was adapted from Karcher 2011)

is made up of salient relationships such as parents, siblings, teachers, and peers (Karcher et al. 2008).The macrosystem is made up of institutions in the youth's life that he or she experiences on a day-to-day basis, such as family, school, religious, and ethnic/cultural groups. Adolescent connectedness is assumed to have developmental origins. Karcher (2011) posited that adolescent connectedness may develop as a reaction to (a) attachment to caregivers, (b) interpersonal support, and (c) group-level experiences. Figure 1 indicates the antecedents of adolescent connectedness; we have adapted the original model by Karcher so as to include the specific aspects of connectedness (such as religious identity, ethnic belonging, and attachment) that are examined in the current chapter.

The study of adolescent connectedness is salient because the concept has been linked to a host of adolescent outcomes. Adolescent connectedness has a negative relationship to problem behavior, drug abuse, school dropout, depression, early pregnancy, anxiety, and low self-esteem (Karcher 2011). Moreover, adolescent connectedness has been positively associated with positive outcomes such as optimism, positive affect, academic engagement, and enhanced academic performance. Studies indicate that connectedness can be both an antecedent and an outcome of psychosocial functioning and adjustment. In a study involving adolescents from the USA, Karcher (2002) investigated the relationship between early violent behavior and subsequent connectedness in middle school. In this study, disconnection was reported as an outcome of having participated in violent behavior in the past. The study, despite being cross-sectional, used time-specific reports of violent behavior to make an argument for causality. Based on the results of the study, the author concluded that after "accounting for parenting practices, which explained most of the variance in violence and connectedness, the data revealed a direct effect of violent behavior on connectedness" (p. 35). According to the author, middle school students who had engaged in violent behavior are likely to experience disconnection from their teachers (Karcher 2002). However, connectedness has more often been studied as an antecedent, and studies have indicated that adolescent connectedness enhances psychological well-being. In a large, longitudinal study involving more than 1,700 New Zealand adolescents, connectedness to family, school, peer group, and community was linked to better psychological functioning and body satisfaction, among other outcomes (Crespo et al. 2012). It was reported that adolescents who had high connectedness at time point one were happier, and in the follow-up interviews they reported even more connectedness over time. This is consistent with Karcher (2011) and Baumeister and Leary (1995), theorizing that those adolescents who are better connected are more likely to feel secure enough to seek and build more positive relationships.

Cultural and Gender Influences

In their review of the health benefits of connectedness, Townsend and McWhirter (2005) highlight that connectedness is moderated by two key factors: culture and gender. Research indicates that there may be key differences in the way connectedness is expressed and experienced in Western versus non-Western settings. For instance, according to Kagitcibasi (1990), non-Western cultures encourage adolescents to develop a relational self, an aspect that is likely to enhance connectedness; this in comparison to Western adolescents, who are encouraged to develop an autonomous self. Moreover, specific aspects of connectedness, especially feelings of identification and affiliation with one's ethnic group, are stronger in minority or immigrant groups such as African-American and Latin-American adolescents (Martinez and Dukes 1997; Sellers et al. 2006). In addition, these strong feelings have been found to buffer against perceived discrimination. The elevated sense of affiliation is a product of the context in which immigrants live; one would therefore expect significant differences in the levels of connectedness between minority and majority groups, and also between minority groups based on their context.

The literature on connectedness and gender presents inconsistent findings, with some studies reporting a gender difference while others do not observe this difference. For instance, Karcher and Lee (2002) report that in their sample, girls were more connected than boys. In a study that involved more than 320 high school students, these authors found that in all 16 subscales examined, girls reported consistently higher scores than boys, except for two subscales dealing with disconnection and paternal attachment. Similarly, Clancy and Dollinger (1993), in an analysis of photographic depictions of males versus females, concluded that women define themselves in more socially connected terms, whereas men's self-definition tends to be expressed in separateness. However, studies such as those by Lee and Robbins (1995) and Lee and Robbins (2000) do not find clear-cut gender differences. For instance, Lee and Robbins (2000) observed that connectedness was important for both genders, although the domains and the relationships emphasized varied as a result of the gender. Several factors may explain the inconsistency in results. These may include differences in the measures used to define connectedness, or the cultural context. The cultural context is potentially very important, in that in some cultural contexts, gender differences are more strongly emphasized during the early socialization period. In a more traditional context, girls are socialized to have a stronger sense of value toward relationships and consideration for others. In such a context, boys are more socialized to show stronger preferences and tendencies toward autonomy and goal-oriented behavior. This may result in differences in the way boys and girls relate to each other and to other people within their immediate setting. The Kenyan immigrant populations we work with are known to maintain a very traditional approach to socialization practices. We would expect significant differences in the patterns of connectedness, and in the strength of the relationship of connectedness to well-being, between boys and girls. Girls would be expected to show more connectedness, and also to be more impacted if indeed they felt disconnected.

Kenyan Context

The Republic of Kenya is a country in East Africa. Kenya's population is estimated at nearly 39 million, and is made up of more than 42 ethnic groups. In the following sections, we briefly discuss the history of the ethnic groups of interest to this study.

Arab-Kenyans Kenyans of Arab origin form one of the three salient nonindigenous groups in Kenya (Mwikikagile 2007). Throughout the centuries, the Kenyan coast has been host to merchants and explorers; among the most enduring visitors to the Kenyan coast have been sailors from the Middle East and the Persian Gulf who traveled to the East Coast for trading (Abubakar et al. 2012). Writings regarding the presence of Arab merchants at the East Coast of Africa date back to at least 2,000 years. Arab immigration to East Africa was motivated by various factors including trade, a need to escape from war and conflict, and natural disasters at home such as famine and floods (Lodhi 1994; Martin 1974). Most of the merchants visiting, and most early settlers of the East African coast, came from Oman, Yemen, and Persia (Martin 1974). One of the major influences resulting from these settlements is the development of the Swahili people, and the Islamization of a significant East African population. Many city states including Mombasa, Malindi, and Lamu were developed during this trading period. Though not officially documented (hence difficult to quantify), the immigration from the Arab world continues to this day, largely for trading, marriage, and family reunification (Abubakar et al. 2012).

Asian-Kenyans Another salient nonindigenous ethnic group is Asian-Kenyans (Mwikikagile 2007). Kenyans of Asian origin largely came from India and Pakistan (Herzig 2006). Although Asians traveled to Kenya many centuries back for trade purposes, major settlement took place with the coming of the British colonial power. At the beginning of the British colonial period, over 30,000 Asians were brought to Kenya to work as contract workers, especially during the construction of the Kenya–Uganda railway line (Herzig 2006; High-level committee on Indian Diaspora 2000). The construction of the Kenya–Uganda railway was tough, and left many of the workers dead; a significant number of those who survived went back to India (Herzig 2006). It is approximated that only 7,000 of the original contract workers remained in Kenya (High-level committee on Indian Diaspora 2000). However, with the formal colonization of Kenya in 1895, and the official adaptation of the segregation acts which granted Asians more opportunities for middle-level jobs, Asians voluntarily traveled to Kenya to work in clerical jobs or set up businesses. A significant proportion of Asian immigrants to Kenya came from impoverished rural backgrounds in India, and traveled to East Africa in search of a better life. Many succeeded in improving their social and economic status as a result of prospering in business. A large number of the Asians settled around the three major towns in Kenya: Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu. In these and other towns, they lived mainly in concentrated areas, forming community centers, schools, recreational centers, and sometimes exclusive housing apartments (Patel 2007). They were therefore able to organize their cultural activities and build up a community with many ethnic services. After Kenya gained its independence in 1963, the status of Asian–Kenyans slightly changed. With the official introduction of the *Africanization program*, many Asian–Kenyans lost government jobs, and a significant number decided to migrate to the UK (Abubakar et al. 2012). However, the Asians who chose to remain in Kenya continued to play a significant role in the economic life of the country, having set up both small- and large-scale businesses. Asian immigrants continue to come to Kenya for trading, family reunification, and marriage purposes. A recent census put the number of Asians in Kenya at 81,782 (35,000 self-identified as Asians, while 46,782 self-identified as Kenyans of Asian origin) (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2010).

The Current Study

The experiences of immigrants in Africa remain largely understudied. To the best of our knowledge, there has been no study investigating the experiences of children from these communities. While literature from Western cultures may inform us partially on the experiences of the children, it may fall short in various aspects, largely related to the day-to-day experiences of these children. In the first place, the socioeconomic status (SES) of the immigrants is often different in Africa than in Western countries. In Western countries, with the exception of a few immigrants such as those of Asian origin, most immigrants occupy low SES. In Kenya, immigrants—especially those of Arab and Asian origin, and owing to historical factors—have been able to build a strong economic and social position that gives them a comparatively high social status. So, even though they may be a numerical minority, their relative wealth allows them to build up social structures for their own communities that support them and might buffer them against any negative effects of immigrant/minority status. Our theoretical framework suggests that the context of reception is important for the relationship between connectedness and psychological well-being. There is, therefore, a need to investigate the experience of the adolescent in this unique and underresearched group. Studies investigating adolescents in Africa provide information about the degree to which conceptual and theoretical frameworks that have been developed in Western countries apply to a different immigration context. To add to the general knowledge base, the current study set out to answer the following research questions:

- Is there a significant difference in the scores of Arab Kenyans and Asian Kenyans across measures of connectedness and well-being?
- Is there a relationship between connectedness and psychological well-being?
- Would the relationship between connectedness and psychological well-being vary by ethnicity and gender?

Method

Site and Samples

The study was carried out in three major towns in Kenya (Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu). Students were approached in schools, following the granting of permission to conduct this study by the relevant authorities. Five schools were purposively sampled. Schools were selected if they attracted a large immigrant population. Purposive sampling was carried out to capture adolescents of immigrant background. A total of 149 students completed the questionnaire in its entirety. Table 1 presents the sample characteristics (age, gender, religious affiliations, and SES) per ethnic group.

Measures

A set of measures aimed at investigating attachment and sense of belonging to parents, peers, school, religious, and ethnic group were administered alongside the Brief Multidimensional Students Life Satisfaction Scale and General Health Questionnaire. All measures were administered in English, as the adolescents are fluent in the English language.

Table 1 Sample characteristics by ethnic group

	Arab Kenyans		Asians Kenyans		Group comparison
Age					
Range	12–19		12–19		
Mean (SD)	16.38	(1.45)	16.27	(1.39)	$F(149) = 0.48$
Gender					
Men	30	47.6 %	37	43.0 %	$\chi^2(1, N = 149) = 0.30$
Women	33	52.4 %	49	57.0 %	
Religious affiliations					
Christian	0	0 %	1	1.2 %	$\chi^2(3, N = 149) = 22.66$***
Muslim Sunni	60	96.8 %	53	61.6 %	
Muslim Shia	2	3.2 %	3	3.5 %	
Hindu	0	0 %	29	33.7 %	
SES					
Range	2–10		2–8		
Mean (SD)	4.27	(1.30)	4.72	(0.68)	$F(149) = 1.60$

Ethnic Self-Categorization Students were requested to self-identify their group. In addition, we collected data on place of birth for adolescents, their parents, and grandparents. Based on this information, we categorized the students into either Arab Kenyans (included here are students originating from Middle Eastern countries, mainly Yemeni and Omani) or Asian Kenyan.

Ethnic Identity Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was administered (Phinney 1992). This is a 12-item measure that investigates sense of pride in and sense of belonging to one's ethnic group. The alphas for the subscales were 0.64 and 0.81 for ethnic exploration and ethnic belonging, respectively. In the current study, we only used items related to ethnic belonging. Sample items for ethnic belonging include "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group" and "I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group."

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) A short, 36-item version of the IPPA (Armsden and Greenberg 1987) was administered. The measure evaluates the perceived quality of maternal, paternal, and peer attachment security using 12 items for each of the subscales. Higher scores are an indication of higher perceived attachment security. While the original authors indicate that the long version of this measure has three subscales, recent findings indicate that a single-factor structure may adequately represent this measure (Armsden and Greenberg 1987; Gallarin and Alonso-Arbiol 2012). Our evaluation of each subscale indicates good psychometric value for each subscale, with a strong single factor. For maternal attachment, the subscale had an excellent consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.87); additionally, a factor analysis identified a strong single factor with an eigenvalue of 5.06, explaining 42 % of the variance with all the items loadings above 0.50. Sample items for maternal attachment include "My mother accepts me as I am" and "My mother respects my feelings." The paternal attachment subscale had an excellent internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.83); additionally, a factor analysis identified a strong single factor with an eigenvalue of 4.45, explaining 37 % of the variance with all the items loadings above 0.39. Sample items for paternal attachment include "My father accepts me as I am" and "My father respects my feelings." Finally, the peer attachment subscale had a good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.78); additionally, a factor analysis identified a single factor with an eigenvalue of 3.73, explaining 31 % of the variance with all the items loading above 0.25. Sample items for peer attachment include "I tell my friends about my problems and troubles" and "I like to get my friends' point of view on things I am concerned about."

Sense of School Belonging This was assessed using items from the Psychological Sense of School Membership scale (Goodenow 1993). The PSSM is an 18-item scale that measures adolescents' perceived sense of belonging in the school setting. Students responded to items such as "People at this school are friendly to me," using a five-point Likert format ranging from 1 = *not at all true* to 5 = *completely true*. The measure has been reported to have two underlying structures of school belonging (13 items) and school rejection (5 items). Using only the 13 items for school belonging, we formed a school connectedness scale. Our analysis indicated that these items form a strong single factor with an eigenvalue of 4.31, explaining 33 % of the variance with all items loading above 0.40 on the scale. The internal consistency of the scale was excellent with a value of Cronbach's alpha of 0.83.

Religious Identity This was assessed using a measure that was specifically developed for this study; items were adapted from measures developed by Dimitrova et al. (2013). The scale consists of six items scored on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. Sample items include "I feel strongly connected to my religious community," "Being part of my religious community has a lot to do with how I feel about myself," and "My religious beliefs will remain stable." The measure had a strong first factor with an eigenvalue of 2.85 explaining 47.57 % of the variance. The internal consistency of the scale was excellent with a value of Cronbach's alpha of 0.79.

Psychological Well-Being Two measures of well-being were administered. One measure evaluates positive well-being while the other evaluates negative well-being. The *Brief Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction* Scale (BMSLS; Huebner et al. 2006) was applied as a measure of positive psychological well-being. The measure includes six items, five of them focusing on specific domains (family, friends, school, self, and living environment), and one item focusing on global well-being. A sample item is "I would describe my satisfaction with my life as…". These items are scored on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *terrible* to 7 = *delighted*. The items loaded on a strong single factor with an eigenvalue of 3.24 explaining 54 % of the variance. The internal consistency for this measure was excellent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.83). The *General Health Questionnaire-12* was administered as a measure of poor mental health (Goldberg 1972). This instrument was originally developed as a screening test for detecting minor psychiatric disturbance or strains. The measure assesses changes in affective and somatic symptoms relative to usual levels of health, such as feelings of strain, depression, inability to cope, anxiety-based insomnia, and lack of confidence (Mukkaley et al. 1999). In the current study, a Likert scale scoring procedure of 0-1-2-3 was used for the

GHQ-12. Higher scores indicate poor mental health. This measure has been validated for Kenya (Abubakar and Fischer 2012) and in the current population its internal consistency was excellent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.84).

Social Demographics We collected data on each student's background including age, gender, and SES. *Social economic status* was computed based on three variables: parental education, parental occupation, and school attended. Their maternal and paternal educations were both scored on the basis of the following criteria: less than secondary school education = 0, secondary/high school = 1 and post-secondary education = 2; for parental occupation not working and unskilled = 0, skilled and business = 1 while professionals = 2. Lastly, data on school attendance were coded on two levels: children attending expensive private schools scored 2 while the rest had a score of 1. The scores from these variables were summed to create a single SES score. Theoretically, a score of between 0 and 10 could be achieved.

Analysis Strategy

The data analysis employed several statistical methods. Prior to evaluation of group differences and path analytic procedures, we evaluated the relationship between the variables under study using bivariate correlational analysis. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to investigate the differences in group means. A multigroup path analysis using AMOS 19 was carried out. To evaluate the level of equivalence between the two groups, we used the recommended standards of not only checking the fit indices as in a single group analysis, but also evaluating the differences between successive, nested models. Following suggestions from the literature (Hu and Benter 1999), we assessed the goodness of fit for each model using Chi-Square, the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI). A nonsignificant chi-square and values greater than 0.95 for the TLI and CFI are considered to reflect an acceptable model fit (Hu and Benter 1999). The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) is also reported, since it has been shown to be sensitive to model misspecification: values of less than 0.08 are considered indicative of acceptable model fit (Hu and Benter 1999). Moreover, the change in CFI in the consecutive model (recommended less than 0.010) was also considered.

Results

Comparison of Groups

To examine the first research question (i.e., if there were differences in mean scores between the two ethnic groups), we carried out a MANOVA (see Table 2 for means and SDs). To evaluate the existence of group differences, we carried out a MANOVA; we did not include any covariates because our analysis indicated that

Table 2 Means and standard deviations for all variables in the study per ethnic group

	Arab-Kenyans		Asian-Kenyans		
Measures	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Group comparison
Ethnic belonging	3.06	0.64	2.83	0.64	$F(1, 147) = 4.43^*$
Maternal attachment	45.87	9.46	45.25	8.70	$F(1, 147) = 0.17$
Paternal attachment	44.98	8.20	43.03	8.76	$F(1, 147) = 1.92$
Peer attachment	41.82	8.20	40.01	8.30	$F(1, 147) = 0.16$
Sense of school belonging	47.74	7.67	44.26	8.41	$F(1, 147) = 6.98^*$
Religious identity	25. 93	5.14	25.06	4.73	$F(1, 147) = 1.13$
Life satisfaction	31.57	6.31	29.33	7.55	$F(1, 147) = 3.68$
Poor mental health	9.79	6.55	11.64	6.33	$F(1, 147) = 1.73$

Table 3 Means and standard deviations for all variables in the study per ethnic group and gender

		Arab-Kenyans		Asian-Kenyans	
	Gender	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Ethnic belonging	Female	2.95	0.60	3.00	0.63
	Male	3.18	0.67	2.65	0.60
Maternal attachment	Female	45.12	10.25	45.72	9.53
	Male	46.70	8.60	44.77	7.79
Paternal attachment	Female	46.48	7.96	43.14	8.70
	Male	43.33	8.27	43.08	9.11
Peer attachment	Female	43.21	9.07	41.97	8.44
	Male	40.30	6.70	38.08	6.32
Sense of school belonging	Female	48.81	7.49	45.64	7.91
	Male	46.56	7.82	42.86	8.92
Life satisfaction	Female	31.82	6.41	29.98	6.90
	Male	31.30	6.29	28.69	8.48
Poor mental health	Female	9.94	6.73	11.13	6.60
	Male	9.63	6.46	12.11	6.11

all potential covariates (age, gender, and SES) did not have a strong influence on the variables under study. Although the multivariate analysis indicated that there were no significant effects of ethnicity (Wilks' Lambda $= 0.93$, $F(8, 140) = 1{,}297$, $p < 0.25$), an inspection of the univariate analysis indicated there were significant differences between the scores of Asian Kenyans and Arab Kenyans in ethnic belonging ($F(1, 147) = 4.48$, $p = 0.036$, $\eta^2 = 0.030$) and sense of school belonging ($F(1, 147) = 6.68$, $p = 0.011$, $\eta^2 = 0.043$), with Arab Kenyans having significantly higher scores. Our results indicate limited ethnic group differences.

Gender differences were observed only in the scores on peer attachment, with female students indicating significantly higher scores ($M = 42.35$, $SD = 8.69$) compared with males ($M = 39.09$, $SD = 6.54$), $t(149) = 2.69$, $p = 0.008$. Cohen's $d = 0.42$. In evaluating the relationship between groups, we observed that there were no gender differences in the Arab Kenyan group, but there were differences in the Asian Kenyan group. Asian Kenyan females reported significantly higher scores in ethnic belonging and peer attachment compared with Asian Kenyan males (see Table 3). Our results point to the possibility of salient interactions dictated by ethnicity and gender in shaping outcomes.

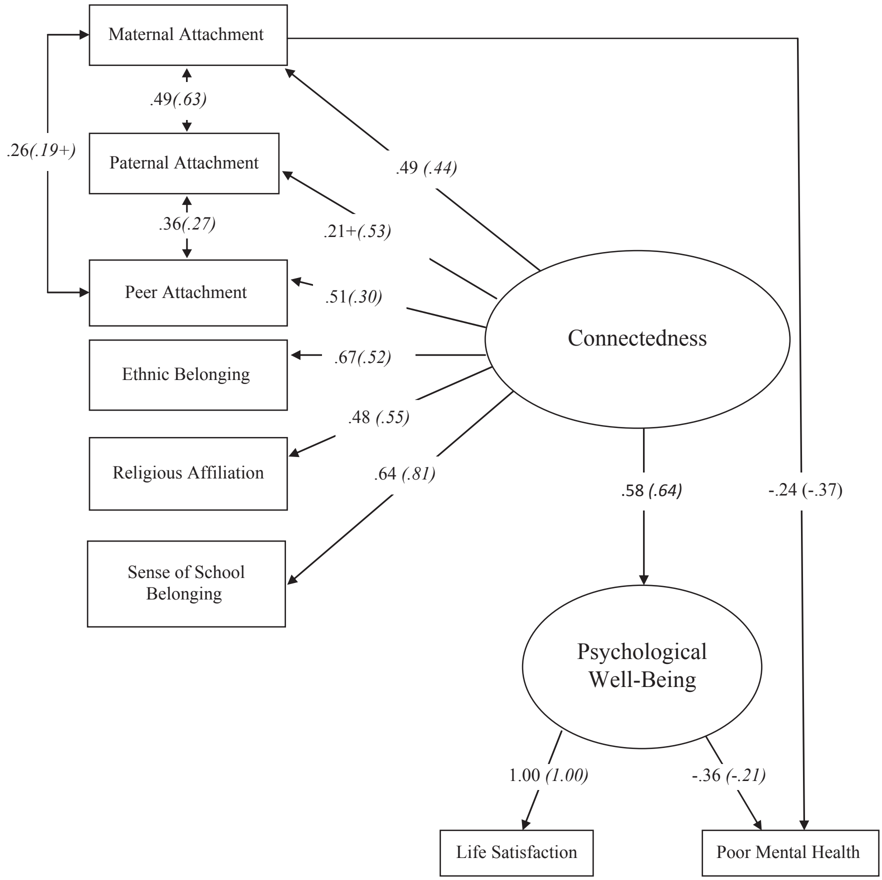
Maternal Attachment
.49(.63)
.26(.19+)
Paternal Attachment
.36(.27)
Peer Attachment
Ethnic Belonging
Religious Affiliation
Sense of School Belonging
.49 (.44)
.21+(.53)
.51(.30)
.67(.52)
.48 (.55)
.64 (.81)
Connectedness
.58 (.64)
-.24 (-.37)
Psychological Well-Being
1.00 (1.00)
-.36 (-.21)
Life Satisfaction
Poor Mental Health

Fig. 2 The standardized coefficients from the multigroup model on the relationship between connectedness and psychological well-being across ethnic groups. (Note: The $^{+}$Nonsignificant loading coefficient in brackets presents the loadings of Asian-Kenyans)

Multigroup Path Analysis for Ethnic Group

The hypothesized model showed a significant chi-square value and a less than favorable fit to the data. An inspection of the modification indices indicated that we needed to include a path from maternal attachment to mental health. The addition of this path led to a good fit of the data to the model (see Fig. 1 for the final model). These results indicate that connectedness significantly contributes to well-being. Moreover, the results show that the final model had a very good fit to the data at all levels of invariance. Table 4 shows the fit statistics from the multigroup analysis for Arab Kenyans and Asian Kenyans. These results indicate that the measurement residuals models provided the best fit implying that both the structure and the strength of the relationship between the variables do not differ between the two groups

Table 4 Invariance models and goodness-of-fit indexes of the multigroup analysis for ethnic groups

Model	χ^2 (*df*)	$\Delta\chi^2$ (*df*)	χ^2/df	RMSEA	TLI	CFI	ΔCFI	AIC
Unconstrained model	32.26 (32)	–	1.008	0.007	0.998	0.999	–	112.26
Measurement weights	46.20 (38)	13.04 (6)	1.216	0.038	0.995	0.969	0.030	114.20
Structural weights	46.89 (40)	0.69 (2)	1.172	0.034	0.964	0.974	0.005	110.89
Structural covariance	47.86 (41)	0.95 (1)	1.167	0.034	0.965	0.974	0.000	109.86
Structural residuals	48.90 (42)	1.04 (1)	1.165	0.033	0.966	0.974	0.000	108.90
Measurement residuals	*56.53 (52)*	*6.63 (10)*	*1.087*	*0.024*	*0.982*	*0.983*	*−0.009*	*95.53*

Table 5 Invariance models and goodness-of-fit indexes of the multigroup analysis of female and male adolescents

Model	χ^2 (*df*)	$\Delta\chi^2$ (*df*)	χ^2/df	RMSEA	TLI	CFI	ΔCFI	AIC
Unconstrained model	29.90 (32)	–	0.915	0.010	1.017	1.000	–	109.29
Measurement weights	*35.95 (38)*	*6.66 (6)*	*0.946*	*0.000*	*1.011*	*1.000*	*0.000*	*103.94*
Structural weights	51.97 (40)	15.52 (2)	1.287	0.016	0.943	0.959	0.041	115.47
Structural covariance	52.90 (41)	1.43 (1)	1.290	0.044	0.942	0.958	0.001	114.90
Structural residuals	55.48 (42)	2.58 (1)	1.321	0.047	0.936	0.952	0.006	115.47
Measurement residuals	77.05 (52)	21.57 (10)	1.482	0.048	0.904	0.911	0.041	117.05

(see Fig. 2). Our model was able to explain a significant amount of variance in well-being across the groups (33 % for Arab Kenyans and 41 % for Asian Kenyans), indicating that connectedness is a salient factor in adolescent well-being.

Multigroup Path Analysis for Gender

Table 5 shows the fit statistics from the multigroup analysis across gender. The fit statistics indicated that the measurement weights showed the best fit to the data. This result implies that while the basic structure of the model holds for female and male adolescents, not all coefficients are the same for the two groups. An inspection of the path coefficient indicates that the cross-cultural invariance is largely related to the direct path from maternal attachment to mental health. While this relation is significant among the female respondents, this path is not significant for the male respondents (see Fig. 3). In addition, our model was able to explain a significant

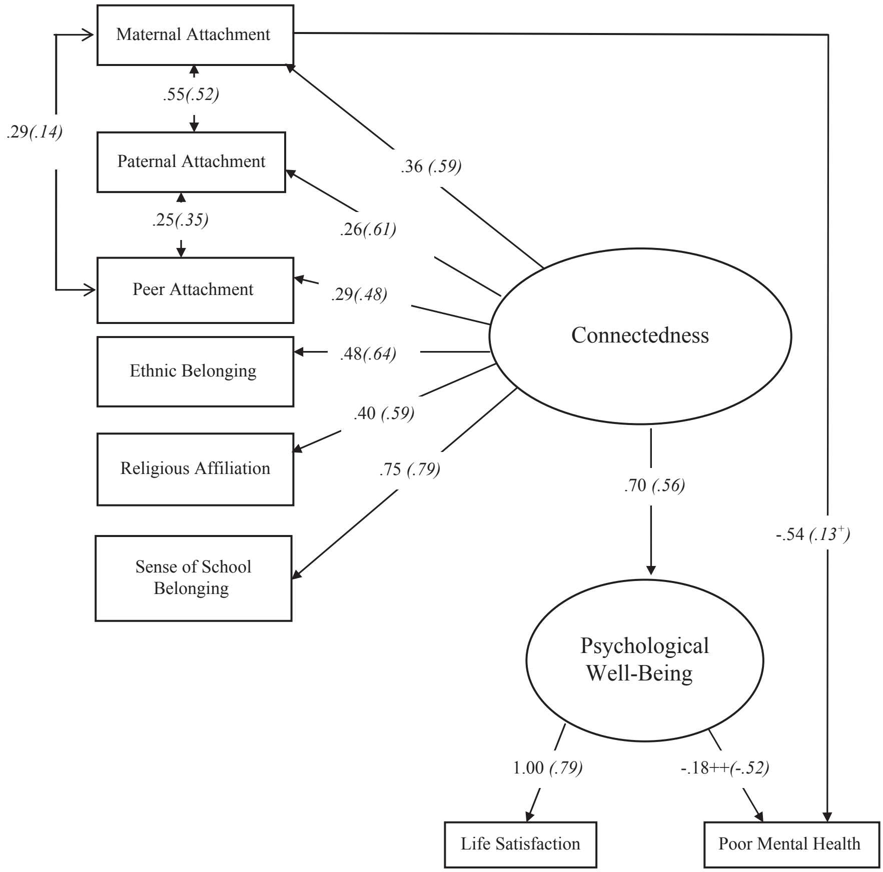
Maternal Attachment
.55(.52)
.29(.14)
Paternal Attachment
.25(.35)
Peer Attachment
Ethnic Belonging
Religious Affiliation
Sense of School Belonging
.36 (.59)
.26(.61)
.29(.48)
.48(.64)
.40 (.59)
.75 (.79)
Connectedness
.70 (.56)
-.54 (.13+)
Psychological Well-Being
1.00 (.79)
-.18++(-.52)
Life Satisfaction
Poor Mental Health

Fig. 3 The standardized coefficients from the multigroup model on the relationship between connectedness and psychological well-being across gender. (Note: $^+$Nonsignificant loading. All coefficients are statistically significant except for one. The coefficient in brackets (++ p = .053) presents the loadings of male respondents. The results of the measurement residual models indicate that while these loadings may differ, the differences are not psychologically consequential)

amount of variance in well-being across the groups (40 % for female students and 39 % for male students), indicating that connectedness is a salient factor in adolescent well-being.

Discussion

This chapter set out to examine the role of connectedness in shaping the well-being of minority youth in Kenya. Our results indicate that students who report higher scores in measures of relatedness, belonging, and affiliation also report higher scores in life satisfaction and lower scores in mental health problems. Our findings indicate that being connected enhances adolescent well-being, which is consistent with findings from other parts of the world (Ackard et al. 2006; Bernat and Resnick 2009; Crespo et al. 2012; Dwairy and Achoui 2007; Resnick et al. 1997).

Our measures of connectedness form a strong latent factor that is highly predictive of psychological well-being. These findings suggest that different components of connectedness all seem to share a common component, which becomes better defined when more indicators are added. All domains of belongingness, such as parents, religion, and school, play an important role in creating a sense of belongingness. To some extent, the domains we assessed may be specific to this cultural context; for example, the role of ethnicity and religion in belongingness may be different in other cultures. Yet, it is important to note that our study clearly shows the importance of belongingness as a general concept for well-being. However, the improvement of the model, based on the addition of a direct path from maternal attachment to mental health, indicates the saliency of this variable over and above the general feeling of connectedness. Additionally, our data indicate that in this sample, maternal attachment is more important for the mental health of girls than of boys.

Given the cross-sectional nature of our study, we cannot make any causal interpretation. However, it can be said that these patterns of results point to the fact that children who grow up in families where they have secure attachment to parents, and have a strong sense of relatedness, find it easier to make new connections and feel attached to peers and schools and other areas of their lives. As noted by Bernat and Resnick (2009 p. 386): "*the more connected adolescents feel in one area, the more likely they are to feel connected in another (analogous to a long-standing line of research that documents the clustering of health-jeopardizing behaviors).*"

Statistically significant ethnic group differences were observed in the sense of belonging and ethnic belonging. Various factors may explain these results. The first is the level of acculturation and integration of the two minority groups in Kenyan society. The Arab Kenyans have a longer history of settlement, especially at the Kenyan coast; compared with the Asian Kenyans, they tend to live in less "segregated" neighborhoods. Consequently, they may experience a higher degree of satisfaction. Additionally, more proximal factors such as school-level characteristics (for example, the multiculturalism level of the school and democratic practices within the schools) may explain the observed differences. There is empirical evidence to indicate that school characteristics may significantly impact on the well-being of minority children. For instance, Diaz (2005) noted that students' perceived discrimination, the racial composition of the school, and perceived school barriers were inversely correlated to school connectedness and engagement.

Despite differences in mean scores, the observed pattern of relationship between connectedness and well-being was invariant across the two ethnic groups. This was a confirmation of our hypothesis. Moreover, it is in line with theory. As noted by Baumeister and Leary (1995), the need to belong is universal, and its influence is expected to be similar across different cultural contexts. This is in line with the general literature on the way in which some of these aspects of affiliation and belonging impact on adolescent psychological functioning.

Limitations

We did not have a Kenyan mainstream group as a reference population. However, Kenya is a multiethnic country, with various ethnic groups occupying different socioeconomic and political statuses. In the study of ethnic influences, putting together many different ethnic groups as comparisons may mask potential salient influences. Future efforts will attempt to match different mainstream groups with the minority groups.

Conclusion

In conclusion, our current study indicates that in two minority groups in Africa, all aspects of connectedness at the different ecological levels in which the adolescents operate, significantly contribute to their well-being, and fostering these connections is a potential salient point of intervention for enhancing well-being among adolescents of immigrant background in Africa, a finding which is consistent with literature from elsewhere.

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Part III

Attachment Patterns, Acculturation Orientations, and Well-Being of Immigrant Children and Parents in North and South Europe

The Importance of Religiosity and Cultural Maintenance for Self-Esteem: The Case of Second-Generation Turkish–Dutch Adolescents

Michael Bender and Iren Yeresyan

A substantial number of studies have shown that religiosity is associated with positive psychological outcomes across cultural contexts. Religious believers generally exhibit higher self-esteem (Aydin et al. 2010; Rivadeneyra et al. 2007) and are generally better adjusted (Koenig et al. 2012; Smith et al. 2003) than nonbelievers (see Gebauer et al. 2012 for an overview). Such positive effects are generally evident when there is some value placed on religion (Gebauer et al. 2012; Okulicz-Kozaryn 2010). In many acculturation scenarios, the faith of the believer is not valued, and often experienced as culturally distant by the host society, as it is the case particularly for many Muslims of Turkish or Arab origin in Europe (Van de Vijver 2009). Can there then be any positive effect of religiosity under such circumstances?

Literature on religiosity suggests that it has protective effects (Leondari and Gialamas 2009), but such effects have not received much attention from an acculturation perspective (Ward 2013; for an exception, see Friedman and Saroglou 2010). So far, studies have mainly demonstrated the importance of adopting the culture of the host society, and not maintaining one's culture of origin for positive acculturation outcomes (Sam 2006). There is also evidence that religiosity is negatively related to the host culture adoption but positively associated with ethnic orientation (for an overview, see Saroglou 2012). A recent study even suggests that religiosity is indirectly related to depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem for stigmatized groups (see Friedman and Saroglou 2010).

We argue, however, that positive valuation may not come only from the relationship with the host society. Religiosity may act as a cultural group marker related to ethnic identification, and thereby provides a point of reference for the negotiation of a cultural sense of belonging (Dimitrova et al. 2012; Saroglou 2011; Verkuy-

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ten and Yildiz 2007). In other words, a strong religious orientation results in a psychologically adaptive adjustment to the ethnic community (Cadge and Ecklund 2007; Viladrich and Abraido-Lanza 2009). As it is likely that there are multiple roads to developing self-worth or preventing its decline (e.g., by identifying with one's ethnic group; Verkuyten 2007), we expect that the interplay between religiosity and acculturation attitudes, particularly the maintenance of the immigrant's culture of origin, is crucial for positive psychological outcomes.

In this chapter, we present how a sample of Turkish–Dutch second-generation immigrant adolescents negotiates religiosity, choices, and attitudes in the acculturative process and how this is associated with their acculturation outcomes (Arends-Tóth and Van De Vijver 2003). In particular, we expect that in a sample of second-generation Turkish–Dutch adolescent immigrants, religiosity and cultural maintenance interact with each other in their association with self-esteem. In the following, we first introduce the concepts of acculturation and religiosity, summarize research investigating their respective links with positive psychological outcomes, and provide an introduction to the Turkish–Dutch context.

Host Culture Adoption and Heritage Culture Maintenance—Implications for Acculturation Outcomes

Acculturation describes the process of an immigrant negotiating whether or not to explore the host cultural context while at the same time either maintaining or shedding one's own cultural background (in adolescents often in the form of parental culture). These decisions can be prototypically summarized by Berry's acculturation orientations: integration (maintaining the culture of origin while seeking contact to the host culture), assimilation (seeking contact to the host culture while shedding the culture of origin), separation (maintaining culture of origin while not seeking contact with host culture), and marginalization (neither maintaining culture of origin nor seeking contact with host culture; Berry 1997). Generally, acculturation research distinguishes between a public and a private domain in which this process may take place (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2004). It has been found that the host culture is more salient in the public domain, that is, the individual's interaction with authorities or at work, while at the same time, the immigrant's culture of origin is more prevalent in the private domain of life, which encompasses family activities, marital choices, or the upbringing of children (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2004; Van de Vijver and Phalet 2004). The salience of differences between the host society and family culture, and the willingness to maintain their own culture and feeling a part of the host society differ between immigrant groups (Phinney et al. 2001).

Generally, an acculturation orientation of integration (endorsement of both heritage and mainstream culture) is associated with positive developmental outcomes for adolescents, while marginalization (the dissociation from both cultures) is related to mental health problems among immigrants (Berry et al. 2006; Sam and Berry

2006, see also Boski 2008; Ward 2013 for different approaches to integration). Particularly, adoption of the host culture seems connected to positive acculturation outcomes (Ryder et al. 2000; Sam 2006). Moreover, an acculturation orientation of adoption has been found to act as a stepping stone toward more inclusive and complex identities (Saroglou and Mathijsen 2007).

Such positive effects, however, need to be differentiated. Empirical research has found that mainstream culture adoption indeed fosters sociocultural outcomes (e.g., competencies in the host culture; Ward 2001). At the same time, there is a clear positive relation between heritage culture maintenance and psychological well-being (Schwartz et al. 2009; Smith and Silva 2011). Beirens and Fontaine (2011) suggest that it may depend on the context of the immigrant which outcomes would be more critical. For those immigrants who worked in a predominantly host culture context, language proficiency, being knowledgeable about cultural norms and conventions, having host culture friends, and attending the host media would come with many benefits. If that is not the case, for instance, if the immigrant would be unemployed, working at home, or being otherwise separated from participation with the host society, maintenance of the heritage culture might be more important for psychological outcomes (Beirens and Fontaine 2011).

To better understand potential positive contributions of heritage culture maintenance, we suggest drawing on the rejection-identification model formulated by Branscombe et al. (1999). They proposed that social adversity may prompt individuals to strengthen ties with the rejected group. That way, heritage culture maintenance and ethnic identification may serve as buffers against discrimination, prejudice, and assimilation pressures (Phinney et al. 2001). In this vein, numerous researches have discussed heritage culture maintenance as a source for adaptive acculturation outcomes (Saroglou 2011; Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007; Verkuyten 2007; see also Sirin and Fine 2007). Particularly among Muslim immigrant groups in Europe, religious belief practices are critically important for the acculturative process because these are experienced as culturally distant from the host society (Saroglou et al. 2009b). We, therefore, propose to look at more closely at the role of religiosity in an acculturation setting.

Religiosity as a Protective Factor in an Acculturation Context

We are interested in the effects of religiosity on everyday life and decisions (Chattopadhyay 2007; Myers 1996). Religiosity can be considered an individual's "reference to (what they consider to be a) transcendence through beliefs, rituals, moral norms, and/or community, somehow regulated by an institutionalized authority" (Saroglou 2012, p. 393 see also Houskamp et al. 2004). Being religious is linked to many positive psychological outcomes (Sedikides 2010) such as well-being and longevity (Strawbridge et al. 1997), marital stability, or low delinquency (Hood et al. 2009), happiness (Argyle 2001), it satisfies self-enhancement concerns (e.g., perceiving the self favorably; Sedikides and Gebauer 2010; Sedikides 2010), and it has been observed to have positive effects on adolescent development (see meta-analysis by Cheung and Yeung 2011; review by Saroglou 2012).

Since 9/11, religiosity, especially the practice of Islam, has received considerable attention in the popular discourse (Sedikides 2010; Sheridan 2006). At the same time, research on religiosity has also seen increased interest from cultural researchers, but our understanding of the interplay between religiosity and culture is still rudimentary (Lonner 2011; Matsumoto and Juang 2008). We know little about how religious attachment and adjustment to the acculturative process operate in Muslim immigrants in Europe, where private and public, that is, family and mainstream contexts, are culturally distant in their religious orientations (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2004; Voas and Crockett 2005).

Religion can be considered one of the cornerstones that gives meaning to life, informs sociocultural values, and it has been put forward that it may act as a protective factor, in particular, for immigrants. Saroglou and Mathijsen (2007) provided evidence that upholding one's religious beliefs reinforces the attachment to one's culture of origin. Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) go one step further: they found that among those immigrants highly identifying with their religion the identification with the national identity is reduced, and an active distancing from the host culture takes place. This seems to suggest that heritage culture maintenance and religiosity act in concert and in a similar direction—both represent a focus on the heritage culture in daily living and everyday experiences. We, therefore, perceive religion as a strong form of culture (Cohen 2009; Lehman et al. 2004; see also Dimitrova et al. 2012).

It is therefore not surprising that a strong endorsement of religiosity is consistently accompanied by a strong ethnic identification, and even a disengagement from the host culture for immigrant Muslims (Saroglou and Mathijsen 2007; for an overview, see Saroglou 2012). In such a fashion, they might be a source for self-esteem and positive distinctiveness (Verkuyten 2005) and may represent a viable route to achieve positive psychological outcomes in an immigration scenario (Awad 2010)—which is in line with predictions from the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al. 1999).

Religiosity strengthens social ties with fellow believers (Emmons and Paloutzian 2003), and is a valued part of the heritage culture for both first- and second-generation Muslims (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2004; Saroglou and Galand 2004). Furthermore, religiosity may contribute to pride and the development of a sense of responsibility (e.g., Juang and Syed 2008; King and Roeser 2009). An example for the positive effects can be found in the explicit choice of Muslim women to wear the hijab (a traditional veil that covers the head) in public—a practice that is disliked by and discriminated against by majority groups (Saroglou et al. 2009b). There is suggestive evidence from a small sample of Muslim-American women that wearing the hijab is a means of resisting sexual objectification, gaining respect, maintaining relationships as well as freedom—and it was related to greater well-being (Droogsma 2007). Such a protective effect is in line with general findings on religiosity (Leondari and Gialamas 2009), including findings on immigrants and refugees

(Harker 2001; Whittaker et al. 2005), and resonates with the finding that a positive attitude toward one's ethnic group enhances self-esteem (Phinney et al. 1997).

However, it also needs to be mentioned that Friedman and Saroglou (2010) found among Belgian Muslim late adolescents religiosity to be indirectly (via perceived religious intolerance exhibited by mainstreamers) related to decreased self-esteem and even increased depressive symptoms. If religion is stereotyped, the adaptive process becomes increasingly difficult (Foner and Alba 2008; see also Saroglou et al. 2009b) and results in negative self-evaluations. In other words, there are conditions under which stigmatization cannot be buffered against by ethnic or religious endorsement. Thus, the question seems warranted whether the generally positive effects of religiosity on well-being would also hold against the aforementioned considerations in an acculturation context. Confronted with adverse conditions (like in the acculturation context as Muslim immigrants), group identity is likely to be salient (Turner et al. 1987). It may seem probable that ethnic minority members thus seek psychological refuge in the belongingness to their group. Although such a process may result in negative feelings (e.g., anger; Van Zomeren et al. 2008), it may not always lower an individual's sense of self-worth.

We, therefore, conclude that immigrant religiosity can contribute to acculturative adjustment, as a marker of group identity and belonging and as a source of self-esteem, social support, and cultural continuity across generations (Bankston 1997; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Warner and Wittner 1998). It is now important to investigate under which conditions such beneficial effects can be reaped.

The Present Study: Turkish–Dutch Adolescents

Turkish immigrants in The Netherlands form the largest ethnic minority, and are characterized by a high ethnic vitality and predominantly maintain Turkish cultural traditions (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009; Crul and Doomernik 2003). They generally are of a lower socioeconomic status than Dutch mainstreamers, and also have lower education levels (Vasta 2007). Turkish (and Arab) minority groups are not an invisible minority (like, for instance, many Jewish groups, Altman et al. 2010).

In The Netherlands, acculturation policies are characterized by strong elements of multiculturalism (Crul 2000), but, despite official attempts aiming at an adjustment of immigrant minorities into Dutch society while retaining and preserving their cultural traditions, ethnic minority groups, particularly Muslim groups are still subject to discrimination and prejudice (Boog et al. 2010; Vermeulen and Penninx 2000). For instance, immigrants often describe an identification with both heritage and host culture as being the preferred acculturation strategy (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2004; Mahnig and Wimmer 2000)—but mainstream society and public discourse often exert some pressure for immigrants to adapt to the mainstream society (Crul 2000). In many European countries, immigrants of Arab and Turkish origin face significant prejudice (Saroglou et al. 2009b). Since 2011, overt religious symbols (e.g., veils) are prohibited in public schools in France (see also The Guardian 2011), and are even banned from all public buildings in Belgium. While the discourse found resonance in the public debates in The Netherlands, no legal actions were taken in The Netherlands.

In our study, we focus on the endorsement of religiosity and the acculturation attitudes of second-generation Turkish–Dutch adolescents. We opted for an investigation of an adolescent Turkish–Dutch sample (12–18 years) for several reasons. First, establishing a stable sense of self and self-worth is one of the most salient and pressing developmental tasks during adolescence, and evaluations of one's own value or the struggle for self-acceptance are among the building blocks of self-esteem (Rosenberg 1986; Ryff 1989). Second, Turkish–Dutch second-generation immigrants are exposed to both cultures to a significant degree, on the one hand the public Dutch host culture (e.g., in educational institutions) and on the other hand the heritage culture, about which they mainly receive information from parents and same-ethnic peers (Chao 1995). Third, for younger children, religious practices and a sense of (religious) belonging seem less important (Holder et al. 2008). Fourth, although there is little direct research on adolescents' heritage culture orientation, there are studies that indicate that religiosity and family orientation are strongly related. For instance, we know that Turkish (and Moroccan) youth attach high value to heritage culture maintenance, particularly in the family (Güngör et al. 2011; Kosic and Phalet 2006). Also, increasing levels of religiosity are related to better family relations (Regnerus and Burdette 2006). Furthermore, religiosity has a positive impact on family orientation, which in turn is related to increased life satisfaction (Sabatier et al. 2011).

To summarize, religiosity has been shown to be a source of well-being for religious believers when religion is valued in a society (Gebauer et al. 2012). The perceived discrimination and the perceived cultural distance (as experienced by religious believers) suggests that in these scenarios religiosity does not have positive effects. In contrast, there is evidence that stigmatization might lead religious believers to develop depressive symptoms and a lower self-esteem (Friedman and Saroglou 2010). However, this does not hold for all constellations, as heritage culture maintenance and religiosity can lead to a stronger identification with the ethnic community and an increased sense of belonging and self-worth (Saroglou 2011; Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007; see also Branscombe et al. 1999). It is still unclear how the two are related.

We, therefore, set out to identify circumstances under which religiosity and heritage culture maintenance may exert positive effects for second-generation Turkish–Dutch immigrant adolescents. Acculturation orientation and religiosity need to be matched to reap the benefits associated with religiosity and a mismatch or incongruence will lower self-esteem. Adolescents who actively seek to maintain their culture of origin are more likely to experience higher levels of self-esteem when they are also religious.

Table 1 Sample descriptives and target variables ($N=192$)

Variable	*M*	*SD*	Range/possible range
Age	15.37	2.39	11.83–20.49
Feeling discriminated against (in NL)	1.70	0.35	1–2/1–5
Maintenance AO	3.98	0.64	1.71–5/1–5
Adoption AO	2.89	0.64	1–4.62/1–5
Religiosity	3.84	0.38	1.45–4.77/1–5
Self-esteem	3.90	0.56	2.60–5/1–5

Out of 192 participants, 83 were female

AO acculturation orientation, *NL* The Netherlands

Methods

Participants

A total of 192 Turkish–Dutch Muslim adolescents participated in the questionnaire study (see Table 1 for details). Participants were recruited as a convenience sample from cities in the southwest of The Netherlands. All participants were second-generation immigrants to The Netherlands.

Procedure

In order to ensure a substantial involvement with the Islam, participants were approached by contacting Muslim organizations (e.g., mosques) as contact multipliers. Contacts were informed that the study is seeking Turkish–Dutch adolescents. Times were arranged for the study to be conducted. On these dates, the second author or a Turkish-speaking student assistant approached the organizations to hand out survey packages. Participants were informed that the survey would not take longer than 20–30 min to fill out and that they should do so alone. Participants were provided with envelopes to seal and send their filled out questionnaires to the researchers.

Material

All questionnaires were made available as a bilingual version containing both Turkish and Dutch, to ensure that participants readily understand the items. While Turkish might represent the participants' preferred oral language, it is possible that formal schooling may have resulted in a higher proficiency in written Dutch. If not otherwise indicated, scales were translated using a translation back translation procedure from English to Turkish and English to Dutch, respectively. Reverse coded items of all scales were recoded prior to data analysis.

Sociodemographics Participants were requested to indicate their age, gender, and the number of relatives residing in The Netherlands (to control for the available familial support of participants).

Acculturation Orientation In order to assess participants' acculturation attitudes the scale proposed by Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2006; see also Galchenko and Van de Vijver 2007) was applied. The scale includes 29 items, such as "I like to speak in Turkish/Dutch" and "I listen to Turkish/Dutch music in my free time." Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with the items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Two dimensions were assessed, ethnic maintenance and host culture adoption (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2004). Reliabilities in the present study were 0.88 and 0.83 for culture maintenance and adoption, respectively.

Religiosity In order to assess the centrality of religion in people's lives a religiosity scale was adapted from already existing scales, with a focus on selecting items that are not denomination- or religion-specific. Based on results of a pilot study (58 Turkish–Dutch and 58 Dutch participants), in which we adopted a series of religiosity scales, we adapted four items from the Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire (Plante et al. 1999), five items from the Religious Orientation Scale (Allport and Ross 1967), one item from the Quest Scale (Batson and Scheonrade 1991), three items from The Multi-religion Identity Measure (Abu-Rayya et al. 2009), one item from the Beliefs and Values Scale (King and Koenig 2009), and one item from the Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale (Underwood and Teresi 2002). In addition, we adopted eight items that resulted from a mix of different items from the investigated scales. The resulting scale therefore included 22 items covering aspects about identity, behavior, and attitudes. Participants were requested to indicate their level of endorsement on a 5-point Likert scale (from *not applicable to me* to *applicable to me*). The scale proved to be highly reliable in the present study, $\alpha = 0.87$. All items can be found in the appendix.

Perceived Discrimination In order to account for feelings of being discriminated against, we used the subscale on discrimination by Schalk-Soekar et al. (2004). The three items were "Sometimes I feel badly treated because of my cultural background," "Sometimes I have the feeling that I'm not welcome here," and "Sometimes I feel threatened because I am different compared to the average Dutch person." Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*). In the present study, Cronbach's alpha was 0.68.

Self-Esteem The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1986) was used to assess participants' notion of self-worth. The ten items cover both positive ("On the whole I am satisfied with myself") and negative aspects ("At times, I think I am no good at all"). Participants respond on a 5-point scale (from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*). For the Turkish version, the scale by Çuhadaroğlu (1986) was used. An alpha of 0.77 was observed for the present study.

Table 2 Intercorrelations (partial correlations with gender for perceived discrimination; $N=192$)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Age						
2	Family members in NL	0.19*					
3	Perceived discrimination	-0.15^{+}	-0.15^{+}				
4	Adoption AO	0.18*	0.09	-0.14^{+}			
5	Maintenance AO	−0.01	−0.13	−0.09	−0.17*		
6	Religiosity	−0.11	−0.03	−0.07	−0.18*	0.58***	
7	Self-esteem	0.13	−0.26**	0.01	0.03	0.25**	0.05

AO acculturation orientation, *NL* The Netherlands
$^{+}p<0.10$; $^{*}p<0.05$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{***}p<0.001$

Results

To test for possible confounding variables, we compared male and female adolescents. Interestingly, a *t*-test revealed that female Turkish–Dutch participants felt more discriminated against ($M=1.78$; $SD=0.33$) than their male counterparts, $M=1.64$; $SD=0.36$; $t(189)=-2.59$; $p=0.001$. It is noteworthy that the sample did not seem to feel overly discriminated (a score of 1.70 on a 5-point scale, Table 1). Furthermore, female participants were marginally more oriented toward maintaining their culture of origin ($M=4.07$; $SD=0.62$) than male individuals in the study, $M=3.90$; $SD=0.64$; $t(190)=-1.86$; $p=0.064$. No other differences between the genders were observed. Gender was partialed out for the intercorrelations as far as perceived discrimination is concerned (see Table 2).

An inspection of the intercorrelations of the variables reveals that the relationships are generally in line with the literature on acculturation. Feeling discriminated is marginally associated with a decreased adoption orientation. A strong maintenance orientation, as well as a high level of religiosity is associated with a decreased adoption orientation. In line with literature on positive distinctiveness (Verkuyten 2007), self-esteem is correlated positively with a maintenance orientation. Religiosity, in turn, is strongly related to a maintenance orientation. It is also interesting to note that in our sample, participants endorsed a maintenance acculturation orientation more strongly than an adoption acculturation orientation, $t(192)=15.42$; $p<0.001$. In subsequent analyses, we controlled for age as well as the number of family members in The Netherlands, as that showed relationships with some of the target variables, and we were not interested in the effects of the support network of our participants or specific differences within adolescence (see Table 2).

To investigate whether maintaining the parental culture (or adapting to the mainstream culture) and religiosity influence experienced self-esteem, we conducted linear regression analyses. To account for the size of the familial support network available to participants, the number of family members in The Netherlands was entered into the first block of the regression. The predictors (acculturation orienta-

Table 3 Hierarchical regression analyses (simultaneous entry method within blocks): influence of religiosity and heritage culture maintenance on self-esteem

Outcome: self-esteem			
Block	Predictor variables	β	R^2 (*F*-value)
1	Family members in NL	−0.26**	0.069** (10.42)
2	Family members in NL	−0.24**	0.149** (4.31)
	Maintenance AO	0.31**	
	Adoption AO	0.12	
	Religiosity	-0.19^{+}	
3	Family members in NL	−0.24**	0.232** (4.87)
	Maintenance AO	−0.35	
	Adoption AO	0.13	
	Religiosity	−1.14	
	Maintenance × adoption	−0.93	
	Adoption × religiosity	−0.22	
	Maintenance × religiosity	2.06**	

AO acculturation orientation, *NL* The Netherlands

$^{+}p<0.10$; $^{*}p<0.05$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{***}p<0.001$

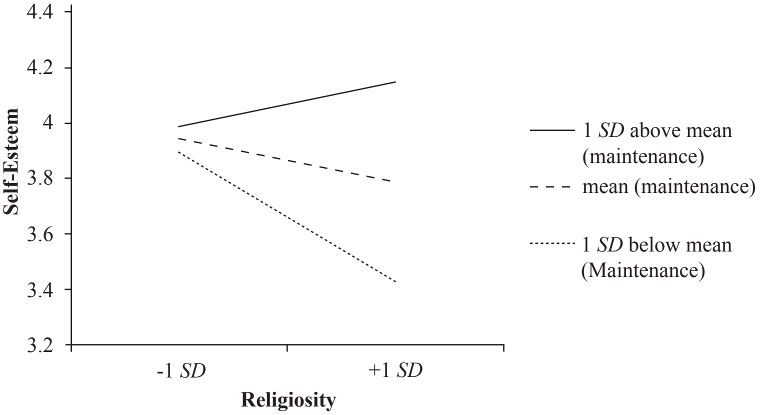

Fig. 1 Interaction effect of heritage culture maintenance and religiosity on self-esteem

tions, religiosity) were then included in block two and their interaction terms (computed by multiplication) in block three.

We observed in block two that maintaining the parental culture had a significant effect on self-esteem, while host culture adoption was unrelated to self-esteem. Interestingly, religiosity had a marginally significant negative effect on self-esteem. However, these main effects disappeared upon including the interaction effects in block three, particularly the effect of maintenance and religiosity on self-esteem (see Table 3; Fig. 1). No other two-way interactions were significant.

Simple slope tests were computed to identify the direction of the interaction effect between culture maintenance and religiosity (see Cohen et al. 2003; O'Connor 1998), revealing that slopes corresponding to a low maintenance acculturation orientation ($t(192) = -2.38$; $p = 0.018$) differ significantly from zero. No differences in self-esteem were found for individuals with medium or high maintenance acculturation orientation. The findings indicate that a mismatch between religiosity and heritage culture maintenance is harmful: Among individuals who strongly endorse their religious beliefs, self-esteem suffers when they do not maintain their heritage culture much—but not when they at least moderately maintain their culture of origin.

Discussion

Members of oppressed ethnic minorities typically experience low levels of psychological well-being (Verkuyten 2005). Since religiosity is often associated with psychological benefits, it therefore seemed worthwhile to investigate its role in an acculturation context. We set out to investigate under which conditions Turkish–Dutch adolescent individuals may profit from a match in their acculturation orientations and their degree of religiosity. We expected that a match would be conducive for self-esteem, while a mismatch between the two would be accompanied by decreased self-esteem. We did not find support for the first prediction, but we found evidence that when religiosity is endorsed—but not heritage culture maintenance—the self-esteem of the second-generation Turkish–Dutch adolescents in our sample is significantly reduced.

We did not find any relationships with regard to the adoption orientation of participants. Participants in our sample endorsed an adoption orientation generally less than a maintenance acculturation, but the average adoption score was still not low, and close to the midpoint of the scale. The absence of findings with regard to adoption attitudes is in line with other European studies that do not show any relationship between religiosity and adoption acculturation values among immigrant groups (including Turkish or North-African Muslims; Friedman and Saroglou 2010; Güngör et al. 2011; Saroglou and Galand 2004; Saroglou and Mathijsen 2007; Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007).

Dutch majority group members often view heritage culture maintenance as a threat to the Dutch cultural cohesion (Van Oudenhoven et al. 1998), particularly when the Turkish ethnic minority is concerned (Arends-Tóth and Van De Vijver 2003). With such majority group attitudes, it is not surprising that perceived discrimination is important for the formation of minority group members' attitudes and values. On the one hand, positive psychological effects might be expected, as such adversity may lead people to attach more strongly to their ethnic culture (Awad 2010), but such effects have been shown to not automatically result from experiencing discrimination (Lee et al. 2007). A previous study (Friedman and Saroglou 2010) has found an indirect effect of religiosity on the adoption orientation in such a fashion that perceived discrimination mediates the relationship between religiosity and an adoption orientation. In our study, we only found a marginal, direct, and negative effect of perceived discrimination on adoption orientation. However, this effect would need to be interpreted with caution, as the levels of discrimination perceived by the sample were very low, and there was not much variance in our data. It would be interesting to see how a sample would fare that feels more discriminated against. The generally low levels of discrimination might be responsible for the absence of any other discrimination-related findings in our study with regard to the mediation effect obtained by Friedman and Saroglou (2010).

Limitations

There are several limitations that qualify our findings and outline avenues for improvement and expansion. First of all, we approached our sample via religious organizations (e.g., mosques). This invites a highly self-selected body of participants. Adolescents that are attending religious services in a somewhat regular manner represent only a subsample of Turkish–Dutch adolescents. While it served our purposes to ensure that the sample was at least moderately religious, our findings therefore cannot be generalized to Turkish–Dutch adolescents as a whole (but see Güngör et al. 2012). For the specific context of those adolescents that focus on their religiosity (as signified by their mosque attendance and high scores on religiosity), we can conclude that an alignment of religiosity and acculturation orientation is important for self-esteem.

Second, our findings are restricted to self-report scales, which allow for a relatively limited insight into the actual psychological processes involved in the acculturative process. For instance, Chirkov (2009) argues that such standardized scales are flawed and advocates the use of multimethod and qualitative approaches, such as ethnography, participant observations, and qualitative interviewing (see also Stuart and Ward 2011).

Finally, we did not differentiate between facets of religiosity, for instance between extrinsic or intrinsic religiosity (Allport and Ross 1967), or between more recent classifications of different functions such as believing, bonding, behaving, and belonging which are assumed to reflect distinct psychological processes (i.e., cognitive, emotional, moral, and social processes, respectively, see Saroglou 2011). It could be argued that the bonding and belonging function might be most prevalent for the coping purposes of immigrants (Saroglou 2011). Future studies could focus more on how such specific aspects of religiosity, in conjunction with acculturation orientations, contribute to—or hinder—positive psychological outcomes in the acculturative process. At the same time, however, it needs to be noted that there is also strong evidence for the presence of a higher-order unidimensional factor of religiosity which has provided solid findings, often constant across studies, religions, and cultural contexts (see Saroglou and Cohen 2013, for a review).

Perspective and Conclusion

The sample investigated in our study is not representative for Turkish–Dutch second-generation adolescents in The Netherlands, because our participants' religious endorsement and a heritage culture maintenance orientation were close to the end points of the self-report scales we used. However, we also see that host culture adoption is not low, but can be found at or around the midpoint of the scale we used. Finding this among a strongly maintenance-oriented group of adolescents suggests that issues of balancing cultural demands and negotiating cultural belongingness occurs between family, friends, the Muslim community, and the wider society (see Stuart and Ward 2011). It might well be that due to our sample recruitment via religious organizations we prompted people to approach their acculturative process from a heritage culture perspective—responses might have been different if participants were approached as part of a larger study in a Dutch University lecture hall. In other words, it might be useful to consider the dynamic component of acculturation and religiosity more explicitly in future studies. It has previously been shown that already children can alternate between different cultural sets when presented with a frame-switching procedure (Verkuyten and Pouliasi 2002; Maykel Verkuyten and Pouliasi 2006). An aspect that could play a particularly important role is the perception of conflict between the cultures that an individual navigates (Benet-Martinez et al. 2002; Hong et al. 2000). Furthermore, Saroglou et al. could also show that religious priming affected participants (Saroglou et al. 2009a; Van Cappellen et al. 2011). Understanding how individuals react differently depending on the cultural—and religious—salience of the context would help us in better understanding an integration orientation (the combination of both adoption and maintenance). This resonates with recent efforts to provide a more sophisticated analysis of integration and operationalize it as a dynamic construct with different facets (Boski 2008; Ward 2013). Such efforts would more clearly help in considering both adoption and maintenance attitudes, depending on the context.

To conclude, we have set out against the premise that for majority group members, religiosity is accompanied by positive psychological effects—under the condition that religion is societally valued (Gebauer et al. 2012). For Turkish immigrants, a European acculturation scenario arguably presents a context in which their religious faith is perceived as culturally distant or even discriminated against, particularly since 9/11 (Sheridan 2006). However, religiosity does not necessarily have to be accompanied by negative effects. We have identified that only when religiosity is not aligned with a clear heritage culture maintenance orientation, the self-esteem of the relatively religious second-generation Turkish–Dutch adolescents in our sample suffers. We take this as an indication that acculturative outcomes need to be differentiated and depend on the immediate personal context of the acculturating individual.

Appendix[1]

Religiosity scale

1. I look to my faith as providing meaning and purpose in my life (SCSoRFQ).
2. I enjoy being around others who share my faith (SCSoRFQ).
3. I look to my faith as a source of comfort (SCSoRFQ).
4. My faith impacts many of my decisions (SCSoRFQ).
5. There are many more important things in life than religion (ROS). [rc]
6. I pray because I have been taught to pray (ROS).
7. I read literature about my faith (ROS).
8. I sometimes compromise my faith for social/economic reasons (ROS). [rc]
9. Private religious thoughts and meditation is important to me (ROS).
10. I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years (original); I expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years (amended version) (QS).
11. My religion confuses me (MRIM). [rc]
12. I have not found for myself a satisfying lifestyle which is based on my religion (MRIM). [rc]
13. I feel an attachment toward my religion (MRIM).
14. I believe in life after death (BaVS).
15. I feel thankful for my blessings (DSES).
16. When people talk about my religion, I feel as if they talk about me.
17. When I take decisions in my daily life, I consider the rules of my faith.
18. Whatever happens, my faith will remain an important part of my life.
19. I pray when I am alone.
20. I live my life in accordance with the rules of my religion.
21. I only focus on my faith when I seek comfort. [rc]
22. Religious symbols support my faith.

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[1] *SCSoRFQ* Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire (Plante et al. 1999), *ROS* Religious Orientation Scale (Allport and Ross 1967), *QS* Quest Scale (Batson and Scheonrade 1991), *MRIM* Multi-religion Identity Measure (Abu-Rayya et al. 2009), *BaVS* Beliefs and Values Scale (King and Koenig 2009), *DSES* Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale (Underwood and Teresi 2002), *[rc]* reverse coded items

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Ethnic-Racial Socialisation in the UK: The Use of Egalitarianism Parenting in Explaining Meanings of Race and Ethnicity in Non-Immigrant White and British South Asian Families

Humera Iqbal

Like much of the rest of the world, Britain has felt the effects of increased globalisation. One of the main outcomes of this has been a rise in immigration on an unprecedented magnitude. Of course, Britain has never been a stranger to immigration. Following the Second World War large influxes of migrants arrived from the former colonies. However, in the past few decades its scale has increased exponentially resulting in 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007) across much of the UK. Many former migrants, such as those from India and Pakistan now have children and grandchildren who are British born and well into their second and third generations. They have formed large ethnic groups with unique cultural practices and traditions. Immigration has also meant that ethnic groups (including the White majority ethnic group) have had to live in close vicinity with one another in multicultural Britain and engage in intergroup contact. Yet, Prime Minister David Cameron recently described the 'doctrine of state multiculturalism' as conceptually 'failed,' due to the 'existence of segregated communities' in the UK and lack of civic integration (Cameron 2011). It is thus important to probe further into the realm of intergroup contact particularly at the family level. Just how is family life affected when people with different beliefs, cultural backgrounds and worldviews live in the vicinity of one another? Do British-born families view race and ethnicity as being important today? To what extent does living in a multicultural neighbourhood influence whether parents choose to socialize children about ethnic and racial difference?

This chapter will explore these questions by focusing specifically on egalitarianism, and its use by families from the three largest ethnic groups in the UK living in ethnically diverse urban neighbourhoods, i.e. non-immigrant White, British Indian and British Pakistani. Egalitarianism is a type of ethnic-racial socialisation strategy in which caregivers emphasize individual qualities over ethnic and racial group membership. Studies have shown it to be a popular form of socialisation used in plural communities. Yet, few studies exist which explore the ins and outs of this type of socialisation, and fewer still which do so in a British context. Here, it will be

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argued that British-born parents seem to use egalitarianism frequently as an important parenting tool in preventing experiences of discrimination, as well as protecting children from such experiences. This will be achieved, by reviewing the current literature on egalitarianism, as well as drawing upon new empirical research. It will also be suggested that in the public domain of schools, egalitarianism is the most frequently used means of socialisation by teachers as it is most in line with the larger multicultural agenda of the UK.

Egalitarianism as a Form of Ethnic-Racial Socialisation

Ethnic-racial socialisation (ERS) is a term which describes how caregivers transmit information, perspectives and values relating to race and ethnicity to their children (Hughes et al. 2006a, b, 2008). These include implicit and explicit messages about the importance and meaning of race and ethnicity, the meaning of belonging to a particular racial or ethnic group and how to manage discrimination (Coard and Sellers 2005; Neblett et al. 2012). Much of the literature around ERS first emerged in the USA in relation to specific groups including African-American, Latino and Chinese parents (Boykin and Toms 1985; Knight et al. 1993a, b; Ou and McAdoo 1993; Peters 1985; Quintana and Vera 1999; Spencer and Markstrom-Adams 1990; Tatum 1987; Thornton et al. 1990). These studies have highlighted the extremely multifaceted nature of ERS, and the need for it to be understood in terms of its content, mode of its transmission and the underlying beliefs and aims behind it.

The literature has also revealed that different forms of ERS exist including, *cultural socialisation, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust and egalitarianism*. Parents most often use the different forms with children according to particular circumstances and environmental factors. Moreover, these forms can exist simultaneously within the same instance of ERS (Hughes et al. 2006a, b, 2008).

Cultural socialisation relates to those parenting practices in which children are taught about their racial heritage and history and which encourage traditions and cultural customs and children's pride in their ethnicity or race (Boykin and Toms 1985; Hughes and Chen 1999; Hughes et al. 2006a, b; Thornton et al. 1990; Umana-Taylor and Fine 2004). *Preparation for bias* relates to parenting practices that aim to make children aware of discrimination and how to deal with it. *Promotion of mistrust* refers to parenting practices that encourage distrust and carefulness in interracial communication (Hughes and Chen 1999; Hughes et al. 2006a, b). Finally, egalitarianism is discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Egalitarianism

Egalitarianism occurs when parents teach children the importance of individual qualities as opposed to membership in a racial or ethnic group. 'Mainstream socialisation' (Boykin and Toms 1985) is a term which has been used to refer to those egalitarianism-based practices with the key intent being assimilation into mainstream culture. However, assimilation into mainstream culture is not an end point for many ethnic groups particularly in the UK, who choose to integrate. Parents using this strategy discuss their appreciation for diversity and the desire for their children to mix and learn from others. Parents may also stress the importance of hard work, equality, morality and self-worth to be more important than ethnicity.

Studies have shown that egalitarianism is important to parents and exists across different ethnic groups. In a qualitative study based in the USA, Hamm (2001) found that egalitarianism was most popular amongst White parents. These parents instilled in their children, the importance of forming friendships regardless of race/ethnicity or encouraged them to engage in cross-racial friendships to learn about others. Other quantitative studies have found that more than two-thirds of parents from diverse ethnicities reported using egalitarianism in their day-to-day parenting (Hughes and Chen 1999; Phinney and Chavira 1995).

One way in which parents practice egalitarianism is though silence around the topics of race and ethnicity. By not acknowledging them, they indirectly emanate the idea of equality and that race and ethnicity should not be a basis for discussion (Spencer 1983; Hughes et al. 2006a, b). However, silence about race represents only one type of egalitarianism strategy, which is now increasingly being examined as a standalone form of socialisation.

The type of socialisation strategy that parents use is also related to child and parental characteristics such as socioeconomic status, ethnic identity, geographical location and past experiences of racism. At the individual level, the age of the child is an important predictor of ERS practices. Some studies have shown that parents are less likely to use ERS practices with younger children, which require them to have an understanding of the complex concepts of discrimination and intergroup relations (Hughes and Chen 1997; Hughes et al. 2006a, b, 2008; McHale et al. 2006). Therefore, egalitarianism (in which individual qualities are emphasised) could represent a more frequently used form of socialisation in younger children.

Unlike in the United States, in Britain few researchers have worked on this topic. Studies that do exist on ERS, are most often limited to understanding cultural socialisation practices, such as transmission of culture in ethnic groups and acculturation processes (Barn et al. 2006), while less often relating to practices (such as egalitarianism) resulting from intergroup contact. Moreover, studies often tend to ignore the majority ethnic group when thinking about transmission of information around race and ethnicity in parenting practices. Literature exploring ERS among the White majority ethnic group in a British context includes that of Holden (2006) who examined the views of young people and teachers in two northern cities in the UK with an emphasis on interfaith dialogue. The research revealed that efforts among teachers to incorporate egalitarian-based multicultural elements to the curriculum and discuss diversity experienced objections from parents who found that it undermined being British. On the other hand, Reay, as cited in Phoenix and Husain (2007), identified White middle class families from three areas in England who chose to place their children in ethnically mixed secondary schools to allow them to experience diversity and build up cultural capital.

Why is Egalitarianism Important?

Stressful environments and ethnic inequalities have been found to be associated with unfavourable developmental profiles in children. Numerous studies have highlighted the negative association between discrimination and developmental outcomes, such as, socio-emotional adjustment (Brody et al. 2006; Coker 2009; Hughes et al. 2009; Rivas-Drake et al. 2008). Many of these studies have taken place in a US context and among ethnic minority youth. However, a recent study in the UK found data that supported this association in a British context also. Mothers' experiences of racism were linked to markers of early child health and development in 5-year-old children, including a higher risk of child obesity. Additionally, mothers' perceptions of racism in residential areas were associated with socio-emotional difficulties in children (Kelly et al. 2012).

How does ERS and in particular, egalitarianism relate to this? Research in the USA has described ERS practices as protective buffering factors between racial and ethnic discrimination and developmental outcomes. A recent integrative conceptual model developed by Neblett et al. (2012) offers a possible explanation of factors which may interact to shape positive development in youth. These include racial and ethnic identity, ERS and cultural orientation as important components. ERS functions in the model as a means by which youth prepare to perceive the world in a certain way. Self-concepts, cognitive appraisal processes (how youth take part, understand and make sense of the world) and coping are all important protective mechanisms in this model. Importantly, it stresses that racial/ethnic identity development, the instilling of family values and ethnic socialisation begin early in life, and evolve though time. Thus, it is important to explore these processes in children as well as through key developmental periods. Moreover, it is important to investigate the role of egalitarianism in this protective process and in relation to child outcomes.

Few studies exist which investigate the outcomes of egalitarianism on youth or children. In these, egalitarian messages have been found to be predictors of positive self-concept in children (Bowman and Howard 1985; Davis and Stevenson 2006). Moreover, Bowman and Howard (1985) found that silence about race was associated with lower grades in children. They argued that children whose parents had avoided discussing race with them felt unprepared in a multicultural environment. Thus, findings in this area have been inconsistent, and research relating to egalitarianism, child behaviour and psychological adjustment outcomes is less developed, often conflicting and incomparable because of methodological issues such as sample characteristics and data analysis techniques (Hughes et al. 2008).

A Study of Egalitarianism Parenting in the UK

Given that studies have shown cultural socialisation is used by parents in British samples, it is important to investigate whether other types of ERS parenting practices such as egalitarianism are also present in a UK context. In an increasingly multicultural Britain, to what extent does the degree of diversity in which children grow up influence the use of egalitarianism? And does being born British mean you are likely to use this type of socialisation more? In attempting to answer these questions, I now draw on some findings from a recent mixed-method study carried out with 36 British-born mothers from the UK, with children between the ages of 5 and 7 years, living in highly plural neighbourhoods. These 36 mothers represent a subset of a sample of 90 mothers, from a larger study comparing parenting and family life in multiethnic Britain in non-immigrant White and second-generation South Asian families.

Mothers and children were recruited mainly through state primary schools in London. Following ethical approval, primary schools which were located in boroughs with high concentrations of Indian and Pakistani ethnic minorities, as well as sizable non-immigrant White populations were contacted. In total, children were recruited from 40 schools. The study was conducted in London, as it represents the most multicultural city in the UK, being home to almost half (49 %) of ethnic minority groups in the country. It was important for the study that an area in which communities were in close proximity to one another was selected in order to explore the impact of cultural and ethnic diversity on family life. The researcher was trained in the study techniques and visited the families at home. Each visit lasted approximately 2–2.5 h and consisted of an in-depth interview with mothers, questionnaires, a child test and observational measures. Only data from the qualitative part of the interview are presented here.

The sample was matched and selected according to strict criteria. Data from the most fully up-to-date population Census 2001 for the London area were used to achieve this. For the qualitative part of the study, a purposive sampling approach was used to obtain a good cross-representation of the larger quantitative sample. By using a purposive sample, the range of viewpoints of mothers from the total sample was more adequately represented. There was a balance in the range of socioeconomic status as well as a reasonable balance of children's gender between groups. A thematic analysis approach as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to identify emerging and comparative themes in the data. Before the findings are presented, some of the features of the ethnic groups being studied will be briefly presented.

A Snapshot of the Groups Being Studied

In 2001, the ethnic minority population in the UK comprised 8 % of the population (Connolly and White 2006), of which 23 % were Indian and 16 % were Pakistani making these two the largest ethnic minority groups in the UK. Preliminary findings from the most recent Census 2011 data, reveal similar present trends for these groups (Jivraj, 2012).

The Indian community began to mass migrate to the UK in the 1950s and 1960s (Robinson 1986). The population today is non-homogeneous consisting of different groups, including Sikhs and Hindus from Punjab and a large number of Gujaratis, both Hindu and Muslim. According to the 2001 census, approximately half of all Indians in the UK were born in Britain, and the Indian ethnic group held a more advantageous position in British society as compared to the Pakistani ethnic group (Connolly and White 2006).

The Pakistani community saw two periods of migration from Pakistan. The 1960s marked the migration of male Pakistanis, but it was not until the 1970s and 1980s that Pakistani women and children migrated to be with their husbands and fathers. By 2001, 55% of the population was British born and the majority was Muslim. Unlike the Indian community, the Pakistanis are generally less advantaged socioeconomically.

In 2001, Britain comprised of 50 million White British people. This group has historically been the indigenous population in the UK and represents the largest ethnic group in the UK (Connolly and White 2006). Although most non-immigrant White individuals classified themselves as belonging to the 'White group', their notions of 'national identity' were a reflection of the country they shared an identification with—that is, British, English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, or some other identity. Fifty-eight percent of individuals from the White British group were more likely to describe themselves as English. A huge socio-economic variability exists within the White British population (Connolly and White 2006).

Findings

Following interviews with mothers from each of these groups, a range of issues relating to ethnic identification, cultural practices, cultural maintenance, experiences of racism and language use were discussed which helped uncover how race and ethnicity influenced their children and their own lives. The different ethnic-racial socialisation forms of cultural socialisation, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust and egalitarianism were identified in the parenting practices of the sample. However, these varied in expression and use across groups, and also compared to past findings in the USA. The young age of the children in the sample may have had something to do with this. Yet, despite the age of the children, ERS seemed to be an important part of life for families.

The present study also found that Pakistanis experienced the most discrimination compared with other groups. Pakistani mothers discussed feeling victimised because of their religious beliefs, and they blamed the media and political events for creating a highly Islamophobic environment in Britain. Both White and Indian mothers also mentioned Muslims as a group that was experiencing much discrimination in contemporary society. Interestingly, discrimination was also experienced by White families. Non-immigrant White mothers spoke of feeling stereotyped in increasingly ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. They gave examples of not being treated equally in public, of worrying that their children were alienated at school and of feeling that other ethnic groups were quick to label them as racist. Indian mothers reported experiencing the least discrimination. Whether the families experienced discrimination is important, as it possibly influences caregivers' decision to use egalitarian messages in parenting. More about the use of egalitarianism by mothers in the study is now presented.

Egalitarianism: '… The insides of us is exactly the same to everybody'

The above statement made by a non-immigrant White mother, named Tracy summarizes the ethos behind egalitarianism-based parenting. In the White and British Indian groups, this was the most common form of ERS practice used by parents. It was mentioned less in the discussion with British Pakistani mothers who used cultural and religious socialisation more. The three groups could be thought of as existing on a spectrum with White families at one end, Pakistani families at the other, and Indian families between the two in terms of their use of egalitarian socialisation. Interestingly, some instances of religio-cultural socialisation occurred alongside egalitarianism in the families. This finding is in line with other literature which reports the popular and sometimes simultaneous of these two socialisation practices by parents (Hughes and Chen 1997, 1999; Hughes and Johnson 2001; Hughes et al. 2008). The egalitarianism style of parenting was found to be multifaceted, and was discussed in four main ways: (1) *openness*, (2) *proactive conversation based*, (3) *reactive conversation based* and (4) *egalitarianism celebrating diversity*. These principles were similar in each group, although the extent to which they were shown was different.

Openness Openness revolved around the discussions mothers had about disregarding differences between groups and of not using race as a basis for making decisions. Such parenting was rooted in acceptance of diversity and involved mothers often having friendship patterns, community links, neighbourhoods and work environments which were plural. This was the most frequently discussed type of egalitarianism principle. Mothers spoke of it being wrong to 'be unkind to someone because of the way they looked or because they couldn't speak English,' as well as of individuals 'all being human beings,' and 'equal.' This set of mothers viewed peoples' skin colour and religion as unimportant and they transmitted these messages to their children. A number of mothers discussed how their children had friends from different races and faiths and how their children did not see them as different. One British Indian mother named Deepa discussed how she felt it was important to teach her child about what it meant to be a good person and about the qualities that made a good friend.

> My kids are very accepting of all. Chinese, Black, White, whatever. It's the person. We all look different, it doesn't make any, you know. It's the person. If the person is nice. You know, has a good heart is honest. A good heart is important. And I always teach them if someone is a good friend if they like you for what you are, that is important.
>
> Deepa, British Indian mother

Another mother Olivia spoke about her child's and her own friends.

> Yeah … A lot of our friends we have are mixed … have got a mixed race, um … different races. Mixed Spanish, French, Afro-Caribbean.
>
> Olivia, non-immigrant White mother

A few British Pakistani mothers discussed how their religious beliefs required them to hold egalitarianism beliefs and how they found it particularly important to socialise their children using such messages. Furthermore, some discussed using religion as a tool for the explanation of egalitarianism, to avoid getting into complicated discussions about race and ethnicity. One practicing Muslim mother, Hira discussed that she chose to send her child to a state mixed school rather than a private faith school as she felt her child would learn more about the importance of treating individuals equally and other valuable life lessons.

> With her … I say, you know, Allah made everybody. You know everybody in sight of Allah is equal. You know. We … we are not here to judge anybody … it's always like be good to other people. Allah will be happy with you. It's … she's only seven.
>
> Hira, British Pakistani mother

Hughes et al. (2008) found that White mothers used this type of egalitarianism frequently, however sometimes a contradiction occurred between parents' views and their actions in relation to egalitarianism. Although parents described the importance of the ideals of egalitarianism, such as mixed friendship patterns and diverse neighbourhoods for their children and themselves, in actuality they resided and interacted in ethnically homogeneous areas reflecting a contradiction in their beliefs and practices. In my sample, it was not clear whether mothers actually had friends from mixed groups, although most described that they did. It does seem likely, given all of the mothers lived in diverse neighbourhoods. Yet, some reported feeling that they would like to move away in the future to neighbourhoods where they felt there was more of a balance.

Proactive Conversation-Based Egalitarianism The second way mothers used the egalitarianism parenting approach was in direct conversations with their children. These could be either proactive or reactive in nature. Proactive-based conversations usually formed part of an egalitarianism-based parenting agenda and represented more planned discussions. For example, one British Indian mother, Madhu discussed how she often had discussions about equality with her child when her own friends from different backgrounds were around. Further, she actively encouraged her friends in this and often initiated discussions. Another British Pakistani mother, Shazia discussed how she saw it as her 'responsibility' to ensure that her child was exposed to multiculturalism and diversity. In this way, her child would see that it was individuals' qualities that were important and not the way they looked. This type of egalitarianism was less common than reactive-based parenting.

> That is my responsibility to make sure she has an idea of what multiculturalism is. I have a lot of friends who are not Muslim, who are not even Asian, who are Black, who are White, who are Catholic, who are Hindu, who are Sikh, and I make sure that she is aware of that, that I socialise, that we have friends over and she is aware that we live in a society which is not just Muslim. So it's my responsibility and my husband's as well, and I have taken that on and I understand I have that responsibility.
>
> Shazia, British Pakistani mother

Reactive Conversation-Based Egalitarianism Reactive egalitarian-based conversations occurred in response to events which could be based on mothers and children witnessing discrimination, being victims of discrimination, or through children being exposed to media around this topic. One non-immigrant White mother; Helen, discussed how she came to learn in a conversation with her child that a particular group was being targeted by other children at school. She discussed how she spoke to her child about standing up to racism and about how wrong it was to be intolerant because of where someone came from.

> One of the things that the girls have told me at school. There's quite a large Roma community now … and she said a lot of the children at school are really horrible. Calling them gypsies and things. So I said to [the child], 'you really need to challenge people if they're saying things like that.'
>
> Helen, non-immigrant White mother

Mothers also spoke about how they had egalitarianism-based conversations with their children following gatherings with relatives, who had racist opinions about other groups. One example of this came from a discussion with a British Indian mother named Smita, who discussed her brother's Islamophobic views. Smita disagreed with these views and spoke of how he often discussed these negative feelings in front of her daughter. She made an active effort to ensure her daughter did not pick up similar views and spoke to her about the equality of everyone.

> To me I've got no problem, because, like, um, I've got loads of Muslim friends and like I've got people saying … 'You sure you can trust them mate?' … they make stupid snide remarks … and I just say, 'Look just don't do that in front of my kids'. Like even my brother, and I sort of look at him, and like, it's just like … he's going through this anti-Muslim cycle, but … I would never be like that with my daughter.
>
> Smita, British Indian mother

As discussed earlier, some ERS parenting could occur simultaneously. For example, egalitarianism sometimes occurred alongside preparation for bias. In this way, egalitarianism was used as a means of instilling self-worth in children. This type of dual socialisation was found mainly in non-immigrant White families and British Pakistani families. It often occurred in direct response to a racist incident. An example of this emerged in a discussion with a non-immigrant White mother named Tracy when she spoke of the racism experienced by her child and how she used egalitarianism-based discussions to make him stronger and prepare him for any further bias he may encounter.

> We've got a girl that lives on the top floor. Um she had some friends over and obviously they're not White. And um, he was playing downstairs with some friends and they were calling them like 'White rats'. And you know—the names. I just sit there and my attitude is

> … you're no different, you are a different colour but you're no different to us. You know so I do explain to him, you know, I won't have it. I won't have racism at all. So I don't agree with it. Because I do believe we're just all the same. It doesn't matter where we're from or who we are. We're still human. We still have feelings, you know.
>
> Tracy, non-immigrant White mother

Some mothers, who were silent about race, discussed doing so strategically as part of an egalitarianism parenting practice. One example was in the discussion with a British Pakistani mother named Saima. She felt that it was important not to highlight differences to her child as they did 'not see colour.' She wanted to keep things this way.

> Never. I don't even want her to be … aware of such a problem … because … she's never actually questioned why some people are Black and why some people are White. We talk about colour of skin … but it's just seen as a matter of fact. Because it's not an issue for me. You know, it … for her it's … race … colour of skin. It's not really an issue.
>
> Saima, British Pakistani mother

Egalitarianism socialisation also occurred when mothers noted that their own children had been involved in discrimination. Mothers used discussions about the equality of all to help children understand intolerance was wrong. This type of parenting was discussed only by non-immigrant White mothers. An example was found in the case of Anna.

> The teacher rang up the other day saying that [the child] made a racist remark, and she didn't know where she'd got it from. She said something … about another child. And mentioned that she was Black … something like, 'I don't like playing with little Black girls.' I don't know where she got that from, but um, and I was quite shocked … Well, I suppose … I can't remember exactly what I said, but something along the lines of it … you know you can't dislike somebody just because of the colour of their skin. Or because of what they believe in, or whatever.
>
> Anna, non-immigrant White mother

Egalitarianism Celebrating Diversity The fourth type of egalitarian socialisation was found in many families and was proactive in nature. It occurred when mothers exposed their children to diverse practices, foods, cultural artefacts and other multicultural activities. Mothers spoke of the importance of learning about diversity, different religions and tolerance. One non-immigrant mother, Emily, spoke about how she celebrated different festivals with her child and took her to different religious places of worship. Other families discussed how they actively celebrated different religious festivals. Madhu, an Indian mother spoke about this.

> I think she's aware, that in a class of Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus and Christians … she is, um, a Sikh, but we have a Christmas tree up in the front room so you know I don't think that causes confusion. It's just Sikhs are quite good about sort of embracing other religions and learning from them anyway. So I don't find that a contradiction or anything. Some people would find that really weird.
>
> Madhu, British Indian mother

> I think it is important to be exposed to different cultures. Different races, different faiths at … So that you become, you know, um, respectful of other … other people and … and more aware of their, you know, I would want him to know about Hinduism. I would want him to

> know about Judaism and Christianity and respect their faiths, festivals and things, because we were brought up like that.
>
> Parveen, British Pakistani mother

Reactive discussion-based approaches to egalitarianism, as well as proactive discussions and demonstrations of egalitarianism (when mothers expose their children to diversity) have also been reported in past literature (Hughes et al. 2008).

Why Egalitarianism?

As a whole, egalitarian parenting was used as the main form of ERS by White families in the study. Indian families discussed using egalitarian parenting more often than Pakistani families (who used cultural socialisation the most). However, both Indian and Pakistani families used egalitarian socialisation messages alongside cultural socialisation ones. Interestingly, the use of egalitarian messages as a form of preparation for bias in children was found mainly in White and Pakistani families, and rarely discussed by Indian mothers. Perhaps, this reflected the more positive experiences with multiculturalism (and less experiences of discrimination) that Indian families had. Aside from the use of egalitarian socialisation in this way, why else did mothers choose to use this form of socialisation?

A number of reasons were found. These included humanitarian reasons, as well as more practical ones. Mothers spoke of the importance of their children learning tolerance and being exposed to different cultures and religions and not having 'a line of judgment.' Diversity as harnessing creativity in children was also discussed. Further, some mothers discussed that egalitarianism gave children understanding of how to function well in diverse neighbourhoods in their interactions with others. One British Indian mother, Shilpa described her personal experiences of being raised in a diverse neighbourhood as being positive as they made her a 'tougher' person. She wanted her child to also develop same 'rough edge,' which she developed through multiculturalism. A number of parents wanted to convey the message to their children to treat people respectfully. Others felt that by emphasizing the equality of all, their own children would remain confident and proud about their own culture, religion and beliefs and would enable them to maintain a strong identity and strong self-esteem.

The egalitarianism-based parenting approach was therefore a very dynamic one, often used by parents to help children understand their surrounding environment. The ethos behind it also seemed to be most in line with multicultural governmental policy around social cohesion. However, in the non-immigrant White group, a few mothers discussed how they found it difficult to parent this way. They felt that the communities in which their children were growing up were minority dominated and imbalanced. One mother named Emma spoke about how she actively decided to live in a diverse community, but that she only realized it was not truly diverse when her children started school.

> It does concern me a little bit. Um, that there aren't … there isn't more of a mixture in his school now. Um, we went through a stage a couple of years ago with my older son, when he came home and said he didn't want blonde hair. Because everyone was dark … and he was the only one, so it was really like having the tide turn. And made you feel bad, because I've always said to them, it's great that they've got so many different friends from different backgrounds.
>
> Emma, non-immigrant White mother

A number of mothers also discussed how they found political correctness to be hindrance in effectively discussing issues relating to race with their children. They feared that their children may repeat things at school, which may be taken the wrong way. For these mothers, egalitarianism-based parenting strategies sometimes diverged from reality.

> [The child] said the other day about … 'Oh look at the Muslim in the long dress.' And [the sibling] said, 'Don't say that, it's not very nice!' And I said, but it's true … he's just stating fact, being at his age, and if you saw a man in a kilt, you might say look at that Scottish man—in a skirt, but that doesn't mean you know, that's wrong, because it's true. You know a lot of the time, I find in schools, if a child was heard saying that … they would probably say, 'Oh that's a bit wrong.'
>
> Hannah, non-immigrant White mother

Past studies have echoed some of the underlying goals of egalitarianism, including instilling moral principles in children, as well as instrumentally ensuring that children have the tools to interact in a multicultural society (Hughes et al. 2008).

Discussion and Conclusions

The present study is one of few to investigate egalitarianism-based parenting of young children living in the UK. It thus contributes to understandings of ERS in contemporary multicultural societies. It was found that Indian, Pakistani and White families were encountering issues on race, ethnicity and culture on a frequent, if not daily, basis and that caregivers were using egalitarian practices extensively. This type of socialisation was found to be multifaceted, to occur across different contexts and have numerous functions. The frequency with which it was used was also different in each family type. The highest incidence was reported in White families, while Pakistani mothers used this type of socialisation less often. Indian families lay between the two groups in terms of how much they used egalitarianism.

Going back to the initial questions that this chapter posed, the study has revealed much about how diversity influences parents and children in multicultural societies such as the UK. Encouraging children to emphasise individual qualities over ethnic and racial characteristics represented one type of strategy used by parents. The findings have important implications. They shed light on the socio-cultural adaptation of families in the study, highlighting that more families opted for integration strategies (such as egalitarianism) as opposed to separation parenting strategies (such as promotion of mistrust).

Interviews with mothers further revealed the broader environment, including schools and media also influenced this type of socialisation. Schools, in particular were seen to play a strong role in encouraging egalitarianism and many mothers spoke of this. Not only was school a place where children were exposed to diversity through other pupils but also it was a setting where children actively learned about other cultural practices and differences.

One mother named Arthi spoke about how the process of making her child's school a multicultural friendly environment had been a slow but successful one.

> Like I said he has come up with, 'oh he's White and I'm not', and they do talk about that at school. As far as White people are different, where they come from in the world and stuff like that, but it's never been a case of … oh that makes him lesser than me, or whatever. The school has come a long way in that respect … it hasn't suddenly become multi-cultural. … they've picked up on that, and they've mixed it … I think very well from an early age. We all come from different places.
>
> Arthi, British Indian mother

Another mother, Emma discussed how she found that the zero tolerance policy towards racism held by schools and lessons in equality helped her as a parent.

> But their school's very good. I think it … it's always good, sort of mixture of kids and if … if anything's heard by teachers, or anything … or anything's reported, they do pick it up very quickly which is great.
>
> Emma, non-immigrant White mother

It seems that state schools in the UK seem to opt for egalitarianism-based socialisation which acts as a buffer for countering discrimination and can instil a sense of equality in children. Yet, how important is it for children to experience diversity in a classroom in order for them to truly appreciate and understand egalitarianism? While egalitarianism may be in line with the state multicultural view, in situations where more homogeneous minority–majority neighbourhoods are developing in parts of the UK, the question of whether children will fully conceptualise the important messages of egalitarianism is an important one.

Related to this, is the question of how school curricula direct teachers to instruct pupils on such egalitarian issues. The use of an 'egalitarianism celebrating diversity' approach should result in the teaching of a wide range of cultures including the majority White culture. Yet, some non-immigrant White mothers felt that 'Englishness' was being sidelined in favour of the celebration of other cultures at schools. It is important that such feelings of discontent are recognised at an early stage and that schools and other institutions provide a fair and equal celebration of all types of cultures. Discontent in such areas can sow the seeds for future interethnic tension between groups. Overall, more understanding is needed about the positive and negative effects of particular types of socialisation at schools.

The use of egalitarianism as a form of preparation for bias socialisation strategy in White families was particularly interesting. In these families, mothers discussed feeling more 'ethicised' in highly multicultural environments. This finding has implications for the way researchers interpret the word 'White' and how much emphasis they place on this term as being a 'racial' rather than 'ethnic/cultural' term.

Moreover, the type of ethnic and racial categories which surveys (as well as the census) allow participants to choose from, is important. When a group feels little identification with being a certain way, forcing them to choose a particular category may be distorting. It may give the impression that an individual has a more unified identity than actually is the case.

Past literature has found that different ethnic groups report different levels of importance of egalitarianism parenting. In Hughes et al. (2008), recent immigrant Chinese parents living in ethnically homogeneous areas found it to be less important. The researchers suggested that their recent immigration status, the neighbourhood they lived in, and the fact that egalitarianism may be an unfamiliar concept to Chinese mothers could be a reason for their finding. What about when mothers are born and raised in a host county such as Britain? My research suggests the Indian and Pakistani mothers are likely to use egalitarianism parenting more due to familiarity with the concept, past experiences with racism, and an overall understanding of the strategic importance of promoting egalitarianism in their children. Non-immigrant White mothers are also likely to use this parenting practice extensively, perhaps as an adaptive tool to cope with increasing diversity in communities where they are not a sizable majority. Although my findings represent only a small sample of mothers and children, it seems that egalitarianism acts as an important parenting strategy in families from all three groups, living in highly diverse parts of the UK.

There is a strong need for future research in this area. Particularly interesting would be a study comparing ERS in different areas of the UK, including ethnic minority–majority regions as well as ethnic majority regions, to examine whether the way in which parents speak to their children about race depends on surrounding environment. Also, more information is urgently needed on the protective effects of egalitarian socialisation in children and whether it always results in positive child outcomes.

The study additionally shows that it is important for policy makers and the media to take intra-group variability into account. Second-generation families have been found to be very different to the immigrant generation before them. When recent reports such as the Cantle report (2001) speak about polarisation in educational and community institutions, places of work, and of communities leading parallel lives, how true is this for second-generation families? The present research seems to show that these families do not lead completely isolated lives.

Regardless of ethnicity or place of birth, multiculturalism means families in the UK are encountering issues around race and ethnicity and culture on a frequent if not daily basis. The debate around multiculturalism has been highly politicised, received prominent media coverage, celebrated by some, while heavily criticised by others. Yet, diversity now makes up the fabric of British society, and is here to stay. Perhaps, the acceptance of this fact and the investigation of how children and families learn to interact with one another and recognize concepts of culture, race and ethnicity are areas which should receive more focus. Understanding ERS practices such as egalitarianism across the life of an individual is an important way to achieve this.

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Put in Context: Adolescents' Experiences of and Reactions to Parental Peer Management

Ylva Svensson

As children reach adolescence, their social worlds shift and they start spending more time with peers away from home (Larson et al. 1996). It is easy to see how this process can make parents worry that their adolescent will get in touch with the wrong peers. Previous findings suggest that one of the goals of parents with regard to their adolescents' peer relations is to keep them from coming into contact with deviant peers (Mounts 2008). By supervising their adolescents' actions, and providing rules for peer interactions, parents can help their adolescent to avoid peers who they feel are bad influences (Parke et al. 2003). However, not much attention has been paid to how adolescents experience these attempts and how they react to them. Further, parental peer management has often been studied without taking the contexts in which it occurs into consideration, which has resulted in a lack of knowledge about how these processes vary with contextual conditions. The current chapter aims to address these limitations by examining how adolescents' experiences of and reactions to their parents' peer management differs according to the context, specifically the cultural and neighborhood contexts.

What do Parents do to Manage Their Adolescents' Peer Relations?

Although only scantily investigated (Mounts 2001), previous literature describes a few parental practices that directly aim to manage adolescents' peer relationships (Bhavnagri and Parke 1991). Basically, these practices can be divided into two subgroups: practices that are restricting and practices that are more information-oriented. The restricting practices aim to limit the adolescents' peer contacts in various ways. The most overt way of limiting peer relationships is for parents to prohibit their adolescent from interacting with particular peers (Mounts 2001).

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A less invasive form is for parents to try to control opportunities to meet peers. For example, parents can exercise control by requiring that all activities with peers are preapproved (Brown and Mounts 2007), or by stipulating rules about where and when adolescents can spend time with their peers (Furstenberg et al. 1999). Information-focused practices, on the other hand, aim to monitor adolescents' peer relations in order to gain knowledge about them. A considerable amount of research has documented parental monitoring during adolescence (e.g., Fuligni and Eccles 1993), including the monitoring of peer relations (Mounts 2001). However, the concept of monitoring has often been used in a misleading way, since it has been employed to assess the amount of knowledge that parents have and not to their active attempts to obtain knowledge (Stattin and Kerr 2000). In this chapter, the focus is on two forms of active management practices, which are assessed in relation to adolescents' experiences of their parents' attempts to gain knowledge about their peer relations. First, supervision refers to parents' attempts to get information from adolescents about what they do with their friends (Lamborn et al. 1991). Second, a related strategy, solicitation, is more sharply focused on trying to attain information about who the peers are in order to determine whether they are appropriate company. For example, parents have been found to have a policy of always requiring that they know the parents of their adolescent's friends before allowing them to participate in activities with those friends (Cruz-Santiago and Ramires Garcia 2011). To summarize, parents can use restricting practices, like prohibiting and controlling, or practices that aim at attaining knowledge about their adolescents' friends and their shared activities, like supervision and solicitation. Given the different natures of the two types, it seems reasonable to assume that adolescents experience and react differently to them.

Adolescents' Experiences of and Reactions to their Parents' Peer Management in Theory

Little attention has been paid to the ways in which adolescents experience and react to their parents' peer management. Two theories may be useful in trying to understand these processes. Reactance theory (Brehm 1996) suggests that people will experience strong negative emotions when they feel that their choices are threatened. These negative emotions are referred to as reactance, and situational factors will decide the salience of the reactance: the degree to which the free choice of behavior is restricted, the importance of the behavior being restricted, and the degree to which the person experiences the restriction as legitimate (Kakihara and Tilton-Weaver 2009). People are then assumed to react in accordance with the reactance they experience, and it is the subjective experience that is the important determinant of how they will react (Kakihara and Tilton-Weaver 2009). Applying reactance theory to parental peer management, the reactions of the adolescents would then depend on the degree of peer management that the adolescents experience that their parents exhibit, how important the peer relations are for the adolescents, and whether the adolescents see the parents' peer management as legitimate. The latter can be linked to a second suitable theory, namely social domain theory (Turiel 1983). According to this theory, in the context of adolescence, youth see their parents as legitimate authorities in some domains, but not in others. On reaching adolescence, young people will gradually come to view friendship as a domain over which they, and not their parents, should have control (Smetana and Asquith 1994). Thus, adolescents in general do not view their parents as legitimate authorities in the peer domain, and, when parents try to manage their adolescent's peer relations, this is bound to elicit some sort of reaction. So, what are the ways in which adolescents have been found to react to their parents' peer management?

Adolescents' Ways of Reacting to their Parents' Peer Management

Adolescents are active agents in the management process (Parke et al. 2003), and they have strategies for how to respond to their parents' attempts to manage their peer relations. First, given that adolescents view peer relations as something over which they and not their parents should decide, one possible response would be to defy their parents' attempts at management. For example, it has been suggested that parental prohibition interferes with adolescents' increasing sense of autonomy, is therefore interpreted as intrusive, and is a cause of resentment (Mounts 2001). There is also the possibility that adolescents understand why their parents are trying to manage their peer contacts, and therefore interpret the attempts as acts of caring, and react with acceptance. Another consequence of adolescents' viewing friendship as personal is that they will manage the information they give their parents about their peers. Information management refers to the adolescents' strategic decisions about what and how much they tell their parents about their friends and activities (Tilton-Weaver and Marshall 2008). Disclosure is one information management strategy, which concerns youths' sharing information, voluntary or prompted, with their parents (Tilton-Weaver and Marshall 2008). Adolescent spontaneous disclosure has been found to be the main source of the knowledge parents have about their children's friends and whereabouts (Kerr and Stattin 2000; Stattin and Kerr 2000). At other times, adolescents may make the active choice of not providing their parents with information (Tilton-Weaver and Marshall 2008). They may decide to withhold information, either partly or completely (Smetana et al. 2006). For example, adolescents have been found to have friends who are unknown to their parents (Tilton-Weaver and Galambos 2003), suggesting that adolescents actively manage information about who their friends are. In short, adolescents can react with obedience to their parents' peer management, by accepting it or by spontaneously giving information to their parents, or they can react with disobedience by defying their parents or by hiding information from them.

The Importance of the Context

These processes do not occur in a vacuum; both the practices used by parents and the reactions of the adolescents may differ according to the contexts in which they occur. According to ecodevelopmental theories, the parent–adolescent relationship is embedded in a broader sociocultural context (Parke et al. 2003), and is affected by both social and environmental influences that vary with time and place (e.g., Bronfenbrenner 1979). Parents in different contexts may have the same goals for their adolescents with regard to peer contacts, but they will use different practices for reaching that goal (Mounts 2001). In the same way, adolescents may experience their parents' peer management differently, and react differently to them, depending on the context. In this chapter, I focus on two contexts that previous literature suggests can influence parental peer management—the neighborhood context and the cultural context—and explore context-related differences between how adolescents experience and react to their parents' peer management practices.

Parental Peer Management in a Neighborhood Context

The first context that can affect adolescent experiences of and reactions to parental peer management is the neighborhood context. Based on reactance theory, a number of differences would be expected between different types of neighborhoods. First, there are more severe risks in disadvantaged neighborhoods, of which one is the risk of the adolescent falling into the wrong crowd and having deviant friends (Sampson and Groves 1989). As a result, parents in urban, economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, with high gang involvement and delinquent behaviors among youth, tend to adopt restrictive, authoritarian parenting practices (Furstenberg et al. 1999). In a qualitative study of Latino families living in dangerous neighborhoods, parents identified gangs as their major challenge in parenting, and described control-oriented practices and strict monitoring of their adolescent's outdoor activities as means to keep their adolescents safe (Cruz-Santiago and Ramires Garcia 2011). While adolescents living in disadvantaged neighborhoods might experience more salient parental peer management, they might understand that their parents' practices are intended to keep them safe. If the adolescents themselves perceive their neighborhood as dangerous and acknowledge the risks of gang involvement, they might find the management justified, and show less reactance. That is, adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods might experience more restrictive types and higher degrees of parental peer management, but they will see their parents as legitimate authorities in the peer domain to a greater degree, and therefore react in more compliant ways, compared with adolescents living in safer, more privileged neighborhoods.

Parental Peer Management in a Cultural Context

A second context that might affect adolescents' experiences of and reactions to parental peer management is the cultural context. This study is conducted in Sweden, and on Hofstede's cultural dimension Sweden is an individualistic country, with high Individualism index scores and low Power Distance index scores (Hofstede 2012). However, apart from immigrants from the other Nordic countries, most immigrants in Sweden come from more collectivistic cultures. In 2010, the largest groups of migrants to Sweden came from Iraq, Somalia, China, and Iran (Statistics Sweden 2010).

Families in collectivistic cultures are more hierarchical in their structure than families in individualistic cultures. This entails that, in collectivistic families, parents have more power, and interactions are characterized by a greater expectation of unquestioning obedience from the youths (Hofstede 2012). This will have an impact on parental peer management. According to reactance theory, the reactions of adolescents will depend on whether they see their parents' peer management as legitimate, on the importance the adolescents place on their peer relations, and on the degree of peer management that the adolescents experience. All of these can be expected to vary according to the culture of the family. First, in many studies it has been found that in collectivistic cultures view their parents as legitimate authorities to a greater degree than do adolescents in more individualistic cultures (Chao 1994). Second, there may be cultural differences in the degree of importance that adolescents place on their peer relations. Some cultures attach less importance to peers outside the family, and both minority youths and parents have been found to have less trust and faith in friendships (Way et al. 2007). Finally, it has been suggested that parents will be more involved in their children's peer relations in cultures where traditional parental authority is not questioned (Chao 1994), as in collectivistic cultures. Further, there might be additional culture-based desires and concerns regarding peer management, such as parents' wanting their adolescent to have same-ethnic friends in order to stay close to the culture of origin (Mounts and Kim 2007), or having concerns about their child being subject to discrimination by their peers (Cruz-Santiago and Ramires Garcia 2011). These additional reasons might make parents manage their children's peer contacts to a greater degree. In sum, adolescents in collectivistic cultures can be expected to experience more restrictive forms and higher degrees of parental peer management, but to react in less overt ways than adolescents from more individualistic cultures due to the lesser importance of peer relations and to the greater extent to which they view parents' peer management as a legitimate authority.

Interactive Effects?

There are reasons to assume that both the cultural context and the neighborhood context can affect adolescents' experiences of and reactions to their parents' peer management. However, these two contexts often co-occur, since minority and immigrant families are overrepresented in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Lamborn et al. 1996). In Sweden, as in many countries in Europe, housing segregation, where different migrant groups live separated from the majority, is commonplace (Berry et al. 2006). Because the two contexts are often confounded, it is important to know whether their effects interact with each other.

The Current Chapter

The aim of the current chapter is to explore contextual differences in adolescents' experiences of and reactions to their parents' attempts to manage their peer relations. Two contexts were explored, the neighborhood context and the cultural context, and they were combined in order to explore whether their effects would be cumulative. Based on previous findings and theoretical reasoning, three hypotheses were formed to meet this aim:

Hypothesis 1 There are differences in the types and degree of peer management strategies that adolescents experience, between disadvantaged and advantaged neighborhoods and between individualistic and collectivistic cultures. More specifically, adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods and from collectivistic cultures are expected to experience more restrictive and higher degrees of parental peer management than adolescents living in advantaged neighborhoods and from individualistic cultures.

Hypothesis 2 Adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods and from collectivistic cultures react in more obedient ways, while adolescents in privileged neighborhoods and from individualistic cultures react in more disobedient ways to their parents' peer management. On the basis of reactance theory, both these groups are more inclined to interpret their parents' peer management as an act of concern, and therefore react in more accepting ways. This is because adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods may understand the dangers of the neighborhood and view the management as legitimate. Collectivistic adolescents would react in more accepting ways due to the hierarchical family structure, their view of parents as legitimate authorities in the peer domain, and the lesser importance they attach to peer relations compared to adolescents from individualistic cultures.

Hypothesis 3 Combining adolescents' experiences of and reactions to parental peer management, there are differences in the experiences that predict reactions, depending on the context in which they occur. Adolescents in privileged neighborhoods and from individualistic cultures react in more disobedient ways to restrictive parenting practices, and in more obedient ways to practices that aim at attaining knowledge, whereas adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods and adolescents from collectivistic cultures react with obedience to both types of parental peer management.

Method

Participants

The data came from a cohort-sequential study, conducted in a middle-sized town in central Sweden (about 132,000 inhabitants). To reflect ethnic segregation in the town, seven junior high schools were selected on the basis of the ethnic composition of the neighborhood in which they were located. The sample for the current analyses was made up of 1,126 adolescents (562 boys and 564 girls), ranging in age between 12 and 17 years ($M = 14.45$, $SD = 0.97$). Of the analytic sample, 240 adolescents (21.3 % of the total sample) were either first-generation (38 % of the immigrant sample) or second-generation immigrants with both parents born abroad (62 % of the immigrant sample). Of the immigrant sample, 69 % spoke both Swedish and their mother tongue at home and, of those born abroad, 31 % had lived in Sweden 10 years or more.

Procedure

The adolescents filled out their questionnaires during regular school hours. Trained research assistants informed the participants about the kinds of questions involved, that their participation was voluntary, and that their responses would be handled confidentially. The students had 1.5 hours to finish their questionnaire. Parents were informed about the study in advance by mail, and could withdraw their child from participating at any time by sending in a prepaid postal card (about 1 % of all parents did so). The questionnaires were administered in Swedish. Adolescents with language difficulties had research assistants to read and explain the questions to them, and could take additional time to finish if needed. The Regional Research Ethics Committee approved the study and procedures.

Measures

Adolescents' Experiences of Parental Peer Management

Two sets of scales were used to assess the adolescents' experiences of their parents' peer management. The first set included two restrictive strategies (prohibition and control), and the second set included two knowledge-attaining practices (solicitation and supervision). All items were coded so that high scores indicated high levels of what was measured. All scales had adequate internal consistency (α values ranging from 0.71 to 0.83).

Parental Peer Prohibition Experiences of prohibition were assessed on the basis of five statements (Mounts 2004) to which the adolescents could respond on a four-point Likert scale, ranging from *don't agree at all* (1) to *agree completely* (4). The statements were: "Your parents have told you that they don't like some of your friends," "Your parents have talked to you about who they think you should keep as friends," "Your parents have asked you to avoid certain friends, because they have disliked what those friends have been up to," and "Your parents have told you not to go to certain places, because they want you to avoid the youths that hang out there."

Parental Control Five questions were used to assess the adolescents' experiences of parental control (Stattin and Kerr 2000). They were: "If you have been out very late one night, do your parents require that you explain what you did and whom you were with?" "Do you need your parents' permission to stay out late on a weekday evening?" "Do you need to ask your parents before you can decide with your friends what you will do on a Saturday evening?" "Do you have to tell you parents where you are at night, who you are with, and what you do together?" and "Before you go out on a Saturday night, do you have to tell your parents where you are going and with whom?" Responses were given on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from *yes, always* (1) to *no, never* (5).

Solicitation In order to assess adolescent experiences of parental attempts to obtain information about their whereabouts and friends, five questions were posed (Kerr and Stattin 2000). The items were: "Do your parents usually talk with your friends if they come to your home? (ask what they do or what they think and feel about different things)?, with response options ranging from *almost always* (1) to *almost never* (5); "During the past month, how often have your parents started a conversation with you about your free time?", with response options ranging from (1) *several times a week* to (5) *not this month*; "How often do your parents ask you about where you have been after school and what you have done?"; "Do your parents usually ask you to tell you about your friends (for example, what they like doing and how they are doing at school)?"; and "Do your parents usually ask you to talk about things that happened during your free time (whom you met when you were out in the city, free time activities, etc.)?" For the last three items, the response options ranged from (1) *very often* to (5) *almost never*.

Supervision To assess supervision, four items from the Strictness/Supervision scale developed by Lamborn et al. (1991) were used. They were: "How much do your parents try to find out: Who your friends are? Where you go at night? What you do with your free time? and Where you are and what you do on afternoons after school?" The response format was a three-point Likert scale, ranging from *don't try to find out at all* (1) to *try to find out as much as possible* (3).

Adolescent Reactions to Their Parents' Peer Management

Four measures were used to assess the adolescents' reactions to parental peer management: two obedient reactions (acceptance and disclosure), and two disobedient reactions (hiding information and defiance). All items were coded so that high scores indicated high levels of what was measured.

Acceptance Acceptance of parental peer management was assessed using one item from Smetana's Parental Authority Questionnaire (Smetana and Asquith 1994), which is concerned with peer relations. The adolescents were asked if they thought it was fine for their parents to set boundaries regarding them hanging out with friends that the parents do not like. The adolescents indicated their responses on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from *absolutely not* (1) to *yes, definitely* (5).

Disclosure One question was used to assess the degree of spontaneous disclosure by adolescents (Kerr and Stattin 2000): "If you are out at night, when you get home, do you say what you have done that evening?" Responses were given on a four-point Likert scale, ranging from *very often* (1) to *almost never* (5).

Hiding Information Two questions were used to assess whether adolescents hide information from their parents (Kerr and Stattin 2000): "Do you keep much of what you do in your free time secret from your parents?" and "Do you hide a lot from your parents about what you do at night and on weekends?" Both items had response options ranging from *very much* (1) to *nothing at all* (5).

Defiance To assess adolescent defiance in relation to parental peer management, two questions were used, developed from a scale of parent reports of youth defiance (Kerr et al. 2008). The first was: "What happens if your parents say that you can't go out when you've already made plans with your friends?" with response options: *Don't care about what they say and go out anyway* (1), *Start an argument, sometimes stay at home and sometimes don't* (2), *Try to convince them, but probably stay home if they can't be convinced* (3), and *Do as they want and stay home* (4). The second was: "What would you do if your parents wanted you to stop seeing certain friends?" The adolescents indicated their responses by marking one of three options: *Adjust to their demands and stop seeing those friends* (1), *Try persuading them, but if it's not possible I would probably stop seeing those friends* (2), and *Ignore what they say and see those friends anyway* (3).

Contextual Variables

Cultural Belonging The adolescents were asked about their own country of birth, and both their parents' country of birth. Based on their reports, those who originated from countries or regions with high Power Distance index scores and low Individualism index scores on Hofstede's cultural dimensions (Hofstede 2012) were regarded as belonging to a collectivistic culture. Their origins were the former Yugoslavian counties (24.2 %), Middle Eastern countries, such as Iran, Iraq, Kurdistan, and Syria (58.3 %), and Eastern African countries, such as Ethiopia and Somalia (17.5 %).

Neighborhood Type The overall sample was divided into two subsamples (disadvantaged and privileged) on the basis of official data of the annual mean gross income of everyone living in the neighborhoods between ages 20 and 64. In the disadvantaged neighborhoods, the mean income was ≈US$ 25,000, and in privileged neighborhoods ≈US$ 37,000. The difference was significant, $t(4)=4.06$, $p=0.015$.

Plan of Analyses

The sample was divided into groups on the basis of combinations of neighborhood and cultural contexts. This resulted in four groups: individualistic in a privileged neighborhood ($N=773$), collectivistic in a privileged neighborhood ($N=74$), individualistic in a disadvantaged neighborhood ($N=121$), and collectivistic in a disadvantaged neighborhood ($N=166$). The four groups were compared using 2 (disadvantaged/privileged neighborhood) × 2 (individualistic/collectivistic culture) ANOVAs on all four experience measures and all four reaction measures, with Games–Howell post hoc tests. Next, I investigated whether adolescent experiences of parental peer management predicted different reactions in different contexts. This was achieved by dividing the sample on the basis of neighborhood type, and performing four multiple regression analyses for each neighborhood type—one for each of the four adolescent reaction measures, with the four measures of adolescent experiences of parental peer management as predictor variables. Interaction terms for cultural belonging and the predictor variables were also included, and gender of the adolescent was controlled for. All variables were standardized, and dichotomous variables were dummy-coded.

Results

Adolescents' Experiences of Parental Peer Management

The first hypothesis concerned contextual difference in adolescents' experiences of their parents' peer management. The results of the ANOVAs, comparing the four groups with regard to adolescent experiences of their parents' peer management behaviors are presented at the top of Table 1. As can be seen, there were significant differences in adolescent experience on all four experience measures. In terms of prohibiting peer contacts, adolescents from collectivistic cultures living in disad-

Table 1 Standardized means and standard deviations and post hoc results

	Privileged neighborhoods		Disadvantaged neighborhoods				
	Individualistic	Collectivistic	Individualistic	Collectivistic	*F* (*df*)	*p*	η^2
Adolescent experience of parental peer management							
Prohibition	−0.10 (0.97)^{1}	0.06 (0.99)	0.02 (1.04)^{2}	0.40 (1.00)^{2}	11.24 (3,1057)	<0.001	0.03
Control	−0.08 (1.01)^{1}	0.20 (1.00)	−0.08 (.91)^{1}	0.30 (0.97)^{2}	7.39 (3,1077)	<0.001	0.02
Solicitation	0.09 (0.97)^{1}	−0.15 (1.00)	−0.16 (0.98)	−0.26 (1.06)^{2}	7.49 (3,1088)	<0.001	0.02
Supervision	0.09 (0.99)^{1}	−0.21 (0.94)^{2}	−0.25 (0.99)^{2}	−0.15 (1.03)^{2}	6.69 (3,1073)	<0.001	0.02
Adolescent reaction							
Acceptance	−0.07 (0.96)^{1}	0.32 (1.05)^{2}	−0.03 (0.90)	0.23 (1.15)^{2}	6.28 (3,1066)	<0.001	0.02
Hiding info	0.02 (1.01)	−0.29 (0.98)	0.04 (1.02)	−0.03 (0.95)	2.10 (3,1081)	0.099	0.006
Defiance	0.16 (0.93)^{1}	−0.24 (1.03)^{2}	−0.01 (1.05)	−0.62 (0.99)^{3}	32.03 (3,1085)	<0.001	0.08
Disclosure	−0.02 (0.96)	0.08 (1.02)	0.02 (1.02)	0.07 (1.15)	0.53 (3,1086)	0.665	0.001

Means with different superscripts across rows differ significantly at $\alpha=0.05$ according to Games–Howell post hoc tests vantaged neighborhoods experienced more parental prohibiting than adolescents in both the privileged groups. As for perceived parental control, collectivistic adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods experienced more control than did adolescents from individualistic cultures, regardless of neighborhood type. For solicitation, adolescents from individualistic cultures living in privileged neighborhoods perceived their parents as trying to solicit information about their peers to a higher degree than did adolescents from collectivistic cultures living in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Finally, as for supervision, adolescents from individualistic cultures living in privileged neighborhoods experienced more supervision than adolescents in the other three groups. Thus, it seems that adolescents from individualistic cultures in privileged neighborhoods mostly experience parental practices that aim at attaining knowledge, like solicitation and supervision, while adolescents from collectivistic cultures, especially in disadvantaged neighborhoods, experience mostly restrictive strategies, like control and prohibiting.

Adolescents' Reactions to Parental Peer Management

The second hypothesis concerned contextual differences in adolescents' reactions to their experienced parental peer management. The results of an ANOVA comparing the four groups on the four measures of adolescent reactions are presented in the lower part of Table 1. As can be seen, in terms of acceptance, both groups of collectivistic adolescents reported greater acceptance than did individualistic adolescents in privileged neighborhoods. Further, defiance was significantly less common among adolescents from collectivistic cultures in both neighborhoods compared to individualistic youth in privileged neighborhoods. There was also a significant difference between the two groups of collectivistic adolescents, with those living in disadvantaged neighborhood reporting less defiance. Thus, it seems that acceptance was the most common reaction and defiance the least common reaction among collectivistic adolescents, while defiance was most common among adolescents in individualistic cultures in privileged neighborhoods.

Combining Experience and Reaction

The third hypothesis suggested that different experiences would elicit different reactions in different contexts. This was tested by exploring which adolescent experience predicted which reaction in the different contexts. First, looking at adolescent acceptance as the dependent variable, all four independent variables were significant predictors in privileged neighborhoods. That is, in the privileged neighborhoods, the main effects of experienced solicitation [$t(789)=4.20$, $p<0.001$, $\beta=.15$], supervision [$t(779)=4.42$, $p<0.001$, $\beta=0.16$], control [$t(777)=5.53$, $p<0.001$, $\beta=0.20$], and prohibition [$t(772)=2.57$, $p=0.01$, $\beta=0.19$] predicted adolescent acceptance.

Fig. 1 Interaction between experienced supervision and cultural belonging as a predictor of adolescent acceptance in disadvantaged neighborhoods

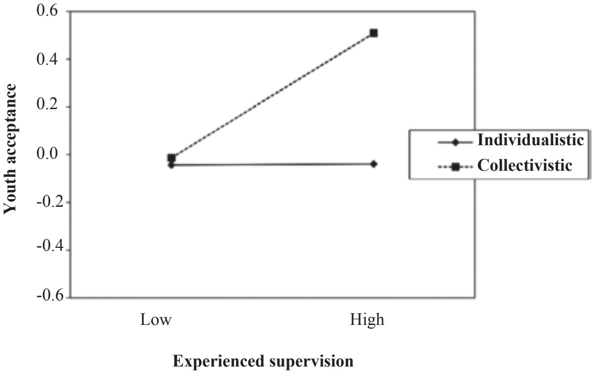
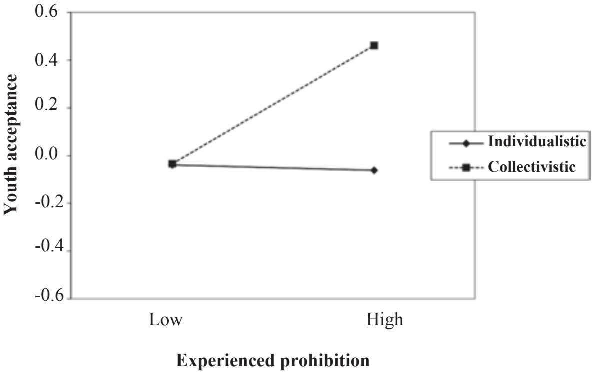


Fig. 2 Interaction between experienced prohibition and cultural belonging as a predictor of adolescent acceptance in disadvantaged neighborhoods



In the disadvantaged neighborhoods, no main effects were significant. Two interaction effects were found. The first was that the interaction between supervision and cultural belonging predicted acceptance, $t(271)=2.03, p=0.044, \beta=0.19$. The interaction is plotted in Fig. 1, and shows that take away, for collectivistic adolescents, parental supervision was related to acceptance, while individualistic adolescents showed the same level of acceptance regardless of the level of parental supervision. Second, the interaction between parental prohibition and cultural belonging predicted acceptance in disadvantaged neighborhoods, $t(266)=1.99$, $p=0.047$, $\beta=0.15$. It is plotted in Fig. 2, and shows the same pattern. For collectivistic adolescents, acceptance was related to higher levels of parental prohibition, while acceptance was low regardless of level of parental prohibition for individualistic adolescents.

Adolescent disclosure was predicted in the main effects of solicitation in both the privileged [$t(803)=11.67, p<0.001, \beta=0.40$] and disadvantaged neighborhoods [$t(275)=3.27$, $p=0.001$, $\beta=0.29$], while prohibition was only significant in privileged neighborhoods, $t(778)=2.35, p=0.019, \beta=0.09$. For experienced supervision, there was a significant main effect [$t(785)=5.34$, $p<0.001$, $\beta=0.20$] in the privileged neighborhoods. In disadvantaged neighborhoods, it was instead the interaction between supervision and cultural belonging that was significant, $t(268)=2.12$,

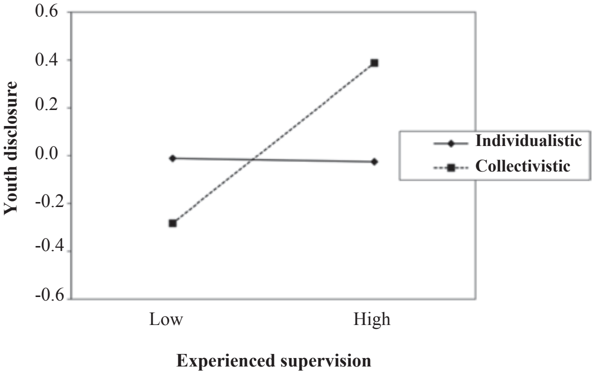


Fig. 3 Interaction between experienced supervision and cultural belonging as a predictor of adolescent disclosure in disadvantaged neighborhoods

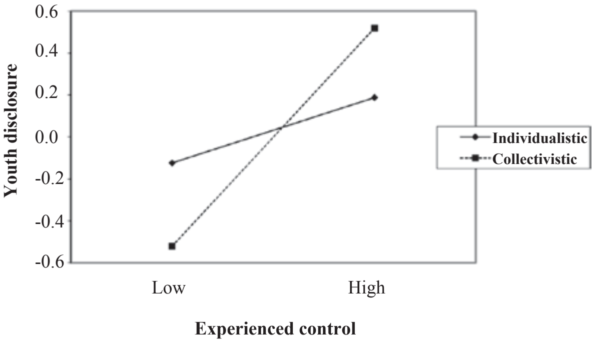


Fig. 4 Interaction between experienced control and cultural belonging as a predictor of adolescent disclosure in disadvantaged neighborhoods

$p = 0.035$, $\beta = 0.20$. The interaction is displayed in Fig. 3, which shows that experienced supervision was related to higher levels of disclosure only among collectivistic adolescents. For control, there was a significant main effect in privileged neighborhoods [$t(797) = 10.21$, $p < 0.001$, $\beta = 0.36$], but in disadvantaged neighborhoods, the main effect was non-significant, and there was a significant interaction with cultural belonging, $t(270) = 2.46$, $p = 0.014$, $\beta = 0.23$. Figure 4 displays the interaction, showing that, for collectivistic adolescents, control was associated with a higher level of disclosure, which was not the case for individualistic adolescents. In sum, in privileged neighborhoods adolescent disclosure was predicted by the main effects of all four experience measures, while in disadvantaged neighborhoods adolescent disclosure was predicted by the interactions between adolescent experience and cultural belonging.

Turning to disobedient reactions, adolescent defiance was significantly predicted by parental solicitation [$t(807) = -5.01$, $p < 0.001$], but only in privileged neighborhoods ($\beta = 0.19$). Experienced parental control significantly predicted defiance in both privileged [$t(792) = -8.78$, $p < 0.001$, $\beta = -0.31$] and disadvantaged neighborhoods [$t(277) = -3.15$, $p = 0.002$, $\beta = -0.28$), but prohibition did not predict defiance in either neighborhood type. To conclude, defiance was predicted by the experiences of solicitation and control of adolescents living in privileged neighborhoods, while collectivistic adolescents in privileged neighborhoods react to high levels of experienced parental supervision with low levels of defiance.

Finally, in predicting adolescent hiding of information, there were significant main effects of prohibition in both privileged [$t(784)=4.74$, $p<0.001$, $\beta=0.17$] and disadvantaged neighborhoods, $t(268)=2.16$, $p=0.031$, $\beta=0.19$. Solicitation predicted adolescent hiding information, $t(275)=2.10$, $p=0.036$, $\beta=0.20$ in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Neither parental supervision nor control predicted the hiding of information by adolescents in either type of neighborhood. To summarize, adolescents in both types of neighborhoods hide information from their parents as a reaction to parental prohibition, and adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods hide information in response to their parents' solicitation.

Discussion

The aim of the current chapter was to explore whether there are differences in adolescents' experiences of and reactions to parental peer management depending on the context in which they occur. I chose two contexts in which differences in the types and degrees of peer management strategies used by parents have been found previously: the cultural context and the neighborhood context. Due to their co-occurrence, the two contexts were combined in order to explore whether they work in a multiplicative manner. Based on previous findings and theoretical reasoning, three hypotheses were formed.

The first hypothesis suggested that adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods and from collectivistic cultures would experience more restrictive and higher degrees of peer management practices than adolescents from privileged neighborhoods and from individualistic cultures. This hypothesis was supported, and it seems that the two contextual effects interact with each other. Adolescents from individualistic cultures in privileged neighborhoods were found to experience the highest degrees of the parental practices that aim at attaining knowledge, like solicitation and supervision, while adolescents from collectivistic cultures, especially in disadvantaged neighborhoods, experience more restrictive strategies, like control and prohibiting. This suggests that the more restrictive parenting practices used by parents in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Furstenberg et al. 1999) and of collectivistic cultures, are experienced by their adolescents.

The second hypothesis suggested that adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods and from collectivistic cultures would react in more obedient ways, while adolescents in privileged neighborhoods and from individualistic cultures would react more with disobedience. This view was also supported, since the most common reaction of adolescents from individualistic cultures living in privileged neighborhoods was defiance. This suggests that they saw no reason for their parents to manage their peer contacts, and also that they were used to having a say in decisions that concern them. The fact that, for collectivistic adolescents, the most common reaction was acceptance and the least common was defiance, suggests that they see their parents as legitimate authorities (Smetana and Asquith 1994), and that they understand why their parents manage their peer contacts.

Finally, the third hypothesis predicted that adolescents in privileged neighborhoods and from individualistic cultures would react in disobedient ways to restrictive parenting practices, and in more obedient ways to practices that aim at attaining knowledge, whereas adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods and adolescents from collectivistic cultures would react with obedience to both types of parental peer management. The hypothesis was partly supported. In privileged neighborhoods, obedient reactions, like acceptance and disclosure, were predicted by the main effects of all the four types of experienced peer management, and disobedient reactions by experiences of both restrictive and information-focused practices. In disadvantaged neighborhoods, it was mainly the interactions between the experiences of parental management and cultural belonging that predicted adolescent obedient reactions. Only for collectivistic adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods, was the experience of peer management associated with higher levels of acceptance and disclosure, while there were no such associations for individualistic adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Thus, it seems that, for collectivistic adolescents, especially in disadvantaged neighborhoods, the degree of experienced peer management does matter when explaining differences in the patterns of adolescents' experiences and reactions. They seem to react with increased obedience, such as with more acceptance and disclosure, and with less defiance to higher degrees of experienced parental peer management. Thus, the hypothesis was supported for the combination of collectivistic adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and not for the other groups. This suggests that interaction of the two contextual effects is of greater importance than of them individually.

Limitations and Future Directions

The focus of this chapter was on adolescents' experiences of and reactions to paternal peer management. Though important in itself, I have only looked at one side of the coin. Based on these analyses, I cannot tell the directions of effects. Previous literature suggests that these processes are bidirectional, and that parents react to their children's peer choices just as much as adolescents react to their parents' attempts to manage their peer relationships (Mounts 2008). For example, parental prohibition has been found to be a response to a child's antisocial behavior and antisocial friends (Mounts 2001), and adolescents' reports of having deviant friends are positively related to mothers' reports of disapproval of peers 6 months later (Tilton-Weaver and Galambos 2003). Thus, adolescent friendship selections will effect parental peer management (Mounts 2008). Additionally, bidirectional parent–peer linkages might be extra important during adolescence (Parke et al. 2003), and particularly so when processes in immigrant families are involved. Adolescents growing up in a culture other than their culture of origin might come into contact with new forms of family relationships through interactions with host–culture peers, and thereby be inspired to change the nature of their own family interactions (Deeds et al. 1998). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume contextual differences in the ways adolescents affect their parents' peer management, and future research should address the bidirectional processes of parents and adolescents in different contexts.

Further, this chapter is based on the assumption that parents actively manage their children's peer contacts. This might not be the case, since previous findings suggest that parents back off and do nothing when faced with problematic adolescent behaviors (Glatz et al. 2011). For example, parents have been found to decrease their monitoring when faced with adolescent problem behaviors (Kerr et al. 2008). Failing to set rules or to monitor the child's whereabouts might have just as severe effects on the child's peer relations (Brown and Mounts 2007). Thus, the lack of parental peer management is just as important to explore, and future research should try to tap more passive parental practices.

The current results can be seen as a first step in exploring contextual differences in adolescents' experiences of and reactions to parental peer management. Now, we know how adolescents experience and react to different forms of experienced parental peer management. However, we still do not know whether the various parental strategies were effective. Did these adolescents stay out of contact with deviant peers? And, were some experienced practices more efficient in some contexts than in others? And were some more successful for boys than for girls? Previous findings show mixed success for parental peer management. Some positive effects have been found for practices such as parental monitoring and guidance of peer relationships, since they have been shown to have a significant influence on the selection and quality of children's peer relationships (Brown et al. 1993), and parental supervision has been found to be negatively related to children's associations with delinquent peers in late elementary and middle school (Dishion et al. 1991). However, parental peer management has also been shown to have negative effects, since high levels of parental prohibition have been associated with higher levels of defiant behavior (Mounts 2001). These findings were, however, not put into context, and given the current findings, it seems reasonable to assume that contextual differences could help explain the different results. Also, gender differences should be explored in future research.

Implications and Strengths

The current results have both theoretical and practical implications. First, they highlight the importance of examining adolescents' own experiences of parental peer management, since the experiences predicted the reactions. Much of the existing research is based on parents' reports of their own peer management, and though important, it has been found that mothers report significantly higher levels of peer management than do adolescents (Mounts and Kim 2007). Thus, understanding adolescent subjective experiences and perceptions might be of greater importance in predicting their reactions than parents' reports of their management. Or, the perceptions may function as mediators between parental action and adolescent reaction. This warrants an update of existing theories.

The current results also highlight the importance of viewing the processes in the contexts in which they occur, which has both theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, it means that contextual aspects must be added to the models and theories that seek to explain these processes. In practice, the results imply that there is no universal advice to give to parents on how to manage their adolescents' peer relations, since what is constructive and what is not seem to differ according to context. Given that parents can learn specific parenting practices (Mounts 2001), different parenting programs might aim to encourage different practices depending on the neighborhood and the cultural belonging of the families enrolled.

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Parental Linguistic Adjustment or Social Status: What is More Important for Sociolinguistic Adjustment in Migrant Children in Ireland?

Ela Polek and Margaret Coen

An ample number of studies have demonstrated the relationship between parental acculturation and children's acculturation (e.g., Atzaba-Poria et al. 2004; Barankin et al. 1989; Pawliuk et al. 1996), the negative effect of the lack of parental cultural adjustment (Farver et al. 2002), and the discrepancy between parental and children's acculturation (Szapocznic and Kurtines 1980) on children's sociolinguistic adjustment. Relatively little attention has been directed to the role of resources such as household social class or family income in psychological studies of migrant children. This lack of attention to family socioeconomic status (SES) might be surprising, given the rising recognition of the importance of environment on children's development (Bronfenbrenner 1989). There is sufficient empirical evidence that children's development and psychological well-being are strongly related to the socioeconomic status of their parents (see Schoon 2006 for review). Migrant families often have lower socioeconomic status; thus, by implication, migrant children might be subjected to developmental disadvantage. This current study tries to address this gap in the acculturation literature by using a refined assessment of family socioeconomic status after migration along with measures of sociolinguistic adjustment of parents and children.

Migration in the Irish Context

For over a century, Ireland has been a typical "sending" rather than "receiving" country where migration is concerned. The advent of an economic boom in the 1990s, called the "Celtic Tiger", rapidly transformed the Irish society from a sending country to a country of massive inward migration. With a population slightly above four million, the Republic of Ireland became home to thousands of arriving immigrants—often returning migrants of Irish decent and migrants from the countries

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which joined the European Union (EU) in 2004, as well as migrants from Africa and Asia. The rate of inflow of foreign population per thousand of indigenous population in 1999 was 5.9 in Ireland (compared to 4.1 in the UK), and rose to 20.8 in 2007 (compared to 7.5 in the UK) (Zimmerman et al. 2012). According to the Irish Central Statistical Office (CSO 2007), in 2007, migrants made up nearly 15 % of the population in the Republic: around 7 % of that was "White, non-Irish," 1 % African, 0.4 % Chinese, 0.9 % "Other Asian" (Watson et al. 2012). This trend has changed after the outbreak of the financial crisis in Ireland and the rest of Europe in the beginning of 2008. The data show that outward migration from Ireland has increased by 7 % within 12 months (between April 2011 and March 2012) and Irish nationals were the largest group leaving Ireland, accounting for 53 % of the total outward migration in this period. The number of immigrants living in Ireland during this period has been estimated to have fallen marginally from 53,300 to 52,700. These changes resulted in an increase in the net outward migration (CSO 2012), making Ireland a "sending" country again. However, despite the recent economic downturn and the increase in outward migration, the Irish government reported a huge increase in the volume of naturalization applications in the recent years—from 1,000 applications in the year 2000 to 25,671 in 2010, a 25-fold increase in the 10-year period (Irish Government News Service 2012), showing that those non-EU nationals who migrated to Ireland are committed to staying there. The estimated number of non-EU nationals with permission to remain in the state was 134,000 in 2009—a number which has been nearly the same over the last couple of years. The registered nationalities which account for over 50 % of all non-EU migrants living in Ireland are Indian, Chinese, Brazilian, Nigerian, Filipino, and American (Irish Government News Service 2012). In April 2012, the total number of migrants was estimated to make up 11.6 % of the population in the Republic and this was expected to decrease very slightly in the future (CSO 2012).

Migration and Socioeconomic Disadvantage

Many studies in psychology use migrants' education as a proxy for their postmigration socioeconomic status. However, migrants' education often does not reflect their occupational status as it would in an indigenous population. Compared with natives, migrants are more likely to receive unemployment support even after controlling for factors such as work experience and education. Zimmerman et al. (2012) showed that migrants in Ireland face labor market difficulties that are associated with their migrant status. McGinnity and Lunn (2011) demonstrated in their experiment that candidates with non-Irish names, having the same curriculum vitae as that of the nationals, are less likely to be invited to job interviews. In a similar Irish study, Watson et al. (2012) suggested that migrants from countries that joined the EU in 2004 are more likely to be in the relatively disadvantaged lower manual social class occupations than the native Irish population. This is despite their having, on an average, a higher education level than the native population. The report of Watson et al.

(2012) showed that the highest unemployment rate is found among adults from outside the EU. In terms of ethnic groups, African adults, particularly the younger age group, are most disadvantaged in terms of risk of unemployment and of being in the lower manual social class. With other factors controlled, all of the ethnic groups were more likely than white Irish adults to be in the lower manual social class. This implies that migrants have a greater likelihood of living in poverty than the native population (Zimmerman et al. 2012).

Studies on families in a changing cultural context suggest that low socioeconomic status and social isolation may increase the risk of a child's maltreatment (neglect and emotional and physical abuse) in migrant families (Garbarino and Ebata 1983; Korbin 1991; Roer-Strier 2001). Findings also suggest a higher risk of conduct problems (Lau et al. 2005), externalizing and internalizing problems (Atzaba-Poria and Pike 2007), and lower school performance in migrant children (Schnepf 2004; Smyth et al. 2009). However, it remains unclear as to what extent these risk factors are related to the migrant status, low parental sociolinguistic adjustment in particular, and low socioeconomic status of migrant families. We propose here that family socioeconomic status is a key predictor of children's sociolinguistic adjustment. We also expect that family socioeconomic status mediates the relation between parental linguistic adjustment and children's sociolinguistic adjustment. In this study, we will examine an empirical model testing this mediation.

Reproduction and Accumulation of Disadvantage

Research findings highlighted the crucial role of social and cultural resources in reproducing social and educational inequalities (e.g., Schoon 2006; Schoon and Bartely 2008). For example, a study of those who entered college education in Ireland in 2004 showed that individuals from manual backgrounds were considerably underrepresented among college entrants (O'Connell et al. 2006). The experience of non-Irish nationals within the Irish education system has received considerable attention recently. A study on the experiences of newcomers in Irish primary and secondary schools (Smyth et al. 2009) shows that, in common with other countries (OECD 2006), immigrant students often come from a disadvantaged economic and social background. In addition to the disadvantages related to the lower socioeconomic status of the family, lack of English language proficiency of migrant children can elevate social difficulties among migrants who are nonnative English speakers (Cummins 2001a; Keogh and Whyte 2003). Smyth et al. (2009) reported lack of adequate language supports in some schools to provide for the language needs of newcomer students, particularly at primary level. The gaps in the provision of language support at schools coupled with parental inability to support their children in language learning are likely to mean that some students will fail to reach their full academic potential. Research has suggested that the families of recent migrants may also lack relevant social and cultural capital, such as knowledge of the local educational system, and the language skills needed to communicate with teachers and other staff. All these factors are likely to lead to the reproduction of social disadvantage, increasing the danger of marginalization and "ghettoization" of the second generation of migrants who, lacking socioeconomic resources, live in poor, crime-infested neighborhoods.

In view of the highlighted social problems, the question arises whether socio-cultural (mal)adjustment of migrant children and youth is contingent upon parental acculturation or perhaps, an accumulation of economic, social, and educational disadvantage. Although parental acculturation is an important factor contributing to child and family well-being, it might operate mainly as a predictor of family economic and social status, which then defines the economic, social, and cultural resources that the environment can offer to support child development. Children's development is heavily conditioned upon their social environment (Bronfenbrenner 1989). It is, therefore, interesting not only for policy makers if research on migrant children's well-being should focus on the issues related to parental acculturation, or on poverty prevention and welfare support but it is interesting also for scholars studying acculturation and children's development to find out if recent focus on parental acculturation is warranted, or perhaps, if the focus should be shifted or broadened to include factors such as family social and economic situation and the broader socioeconomic context. The question about the meaning of social and economic conditions and parental linguistic adjustment for children's sociolinguistic adjustment is the main focus of the current study.

Linguistic and Social Adjustment of Parents and Children

Linguistic adjustment, operationalized by mainstream language proficiency, has been identified as a key predictor of general functional competence in immigrants and refugees (e.g., Cummins 2001b). Linguistic adjustment was found to be related to migrants' earnings (Chiswick and Miller 2002) and psychological and social adjustment (Lee and Chen 2000). The study on eastern European and German immigrants in the Netherlands showed that linguistic adjustment is better in immigrants when their native culture and language are similar to those of the host country (Polek et al. 2010). The same study also showed a positive relation between linguistic adjustment and satisfaction with life, positive attitude toward host culture, and the inverse relation between linguistic adjustment and perceived discrimination (Polek et al. 2010). Among migrant parents, linguistic adjustment has been found to significantly enhance engagement in child education at home (Garcia Coll et al. 2002; Kim 2002) and in school (Adler 2002). There is mixed evidence about generational transfer of linguistic adjustment; some results suggested that parental linguistic adjustment is related to children's adjustment and school performance (Lee and Chen 2000). Other findings suggested that linguistic adjustment of parents has a minimal relation with linguistic adjustment of their children. For example, authors of the study on Mexican Americans (Schofield et al. 2012) pointed out that parents and children often gain fluency in English at different rates. Although parents may want to learn English, their employment and social surroundings often do not facilitate development of English fluency (Chiswick and Miller 2002; Kulis et al. 2007 cited in Schofield et al. 2012). In contrast, children are enrolled in school, which requires and facilitates fluency in English. In addition, children are at an age when language acquisition is relatively easy compared with the adult age (Dekeyser et al. 2010; Ellis and Sagarra 2010 cited in Schofield et al. 2012). Portes and Rumbaut (1996) hypothesized that intergenerational language differences can lead to the development of "role reversal," where children's familiarity with the mainstream language and culture has moved so far ahead of their parents' familiarity that the key family decisions become dependent on the children's knowledge. Titzmann (2012) demonstrated that such a role reversal can bring negative psychosocial outcome such as a feeling of psychological exhaustion related to playing a parental role among migrant children, along with positive outcome such as high self-efficacy among those children and youth (Titzmann 2012).

Several studies focused also on acculturation orientations among migrant children (see Berry et al. 2006 for review). For preteen children, however, relations with peers might be more important than an abstract concept such as to what extent they feel affiliated with a particular culture or ethnic group. In a study on Chinese Canadian adolescents, Lee and Chen (2000) found that communication competence in the host language was negatively related to depression and loneliness. Moreover, children's poor social functioning is often carried on to adulthood and related to poor mental health (Poulton et al. 2002). Thus, social adjustment of migrant children might be more important for their future functioning than their cultural identity. For those reasons, we have focused on the assessment of social adjustment—using indicators of peer relations and ethnic-related bullying—in addition to linguistic adjustment.

Aim of the Current Study

In this study, we argue that in the case of the sociolinguistic adjustment of migrant children, the socioeconomic circumstances of their families play a key role in predicting children's adjustment. Linguistic adjustment of parents, albeit related to children's adjustment, is far less important than the socioeconomic circumstances of the family. We examine here the model, in which the effect of parental acculturation on children's sociolinguistic adjustment is mediated by the socioeconomic status of the household. We aim to demonstrate that parental acculturation plays a role mainly in predicting family socioeconomic status, but is less significant as a direct predictor of children's adjustment. In our model, current socioeconomic status of the household and parental linguistic adjustment, as well as child sociolinguistic adjustment, are predicted by parental educational attainment and length of residence (Fig. 1).

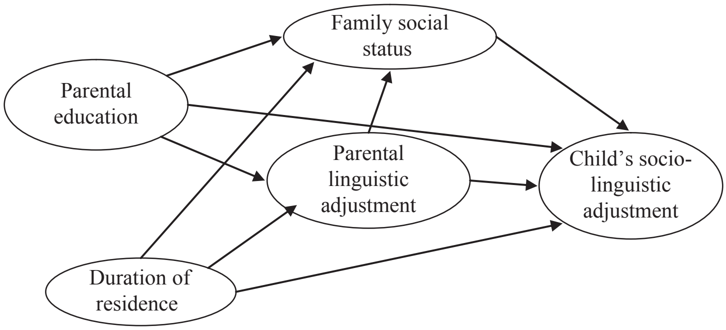
Family social status
Parental education
Parental linguistic adjustment
Child's socio-linguistic adjustment
Duration of residence

Fig. 1 Hypothesized model

Empirical Investigation

Sample and Procedures

This study is based on the secondary analysis of the data from the first Irish longitudinal cohort study—Growing up in Ireland (GUI) (Murray et al. 2011), which will follow the same group of children from the age of 9 years to adulthood. The data available to date include responses to the first wave of the questionnaire survey collected from 8,568 9-year-olds (child self-assessment, child-on-parents responses), their parents (parent self-assessment, parent-on-child responses), and teachers (teacher self-assessment, teacher-on-child responses). The sampling strategy involved contacting more than a thousand randomly selected schools in the Republic of Ireland, and then, via schools, contacting children and their families. Parents and children could request the questionnaire in their native language. Letters of invitations were sent in English and in the native language of the primary caregiver (usually the mother).

In the total GUI sample, 16 % of the children (*N* = 1,385) had at least one parent born outside of Ireland. The majority of non-Irish parents came to Ireland from the UK, the USA, and Australia. In the total sample, there were 269 (3.1 %) families, which had both the parents for whom English was not their native language; 151 (1.8 %) families with the father being English-nonnative and the mother being English-native; 117 (1.4 %) families with the mother being English-nonnative and the father being English-native, and 6,721 (78 %) with both the parents being English-native speakers. Those, for whom English was not a native language, came from diverse European, African, and Asian countries (Murray et al. 2011).

The data analyzed in this study included 537 families, in which at least one parent said that English is not their native (first) language. Table 1 shows the ethnicity of the major ethnic groups included in the study. More information about the sample can be found in the "Results" section reporting descriptive statistics.

Table 1 Mother's country of birth

Country	*N*
Philippines	34
France	15
Germany	18
India	22
Lithuania	15
Nigeria	40
Pakistan	20
Poland	38
All other ethnic groups including less than 15 respondents (in sum)	335
Total	537

Measures

Parental linguistic adjustment was measured with two questions asked to secondary and primary caregivers: (1) Can you usually read and fill out forms in English? and (2) Can you read aloud to a child from a children's story book written in English? The answers were given on the binary answering scale: *yes/no*. Cronbach's alpha for these two items was 0.78 for mothers and 0.74 for fathers.

Children's sociolinguistic adjustment was a composite measure consisting of seven subscales: Oral communication (teacher report), comprehension (teacher report), peer popularity (child report), peer problems (teacher report), prosocial behaviors (teacher report), peer problems (mother report), and ethnic-related bullying (mother report). In the next paragraph, we describe the scales used as a composite measure of children's sociolinguistic adjustment and the procedure of computing the index.

The teacher of the study child was asked to evaluate academic performance of the study child on the three-point scale (1, *below average;* 2, *average;* 3, *above average*). We used two items here: one item related to oral communication in English and one item related to comprehension in English. Children's social functioning was assessed using the strengths and difficulties questionnaire (SDQ). The SDQ (Goodman 2001) is a widely used 25-item screening questionnaire that taps into a range of positive and negative behaviors and attributes. It can be administered to parents and teachers of children aged 4–16 years. Here, we used subscales related to peer relationship problems (e.g., picked on or bullied by other children) based on mother and teacher questionnaires and prosocial behavior scale (e.g., often volunteers to help others). Scores on each subscale can range from 0 to 10, where 10 indicates a high degree of difficulty and 0 the absence of any problems in the relevant domain. We also used answers provided by the mother about the child being the victim of bullying related to the following three items: child's ethnicity, religion, or language difficulty. These answers were recorded on the binary scale: 0, no bullying; 1, at least one incident of bullying took place. Answers to these three items were summed to be used as an indicator of the degree of ethnic-related bullying.

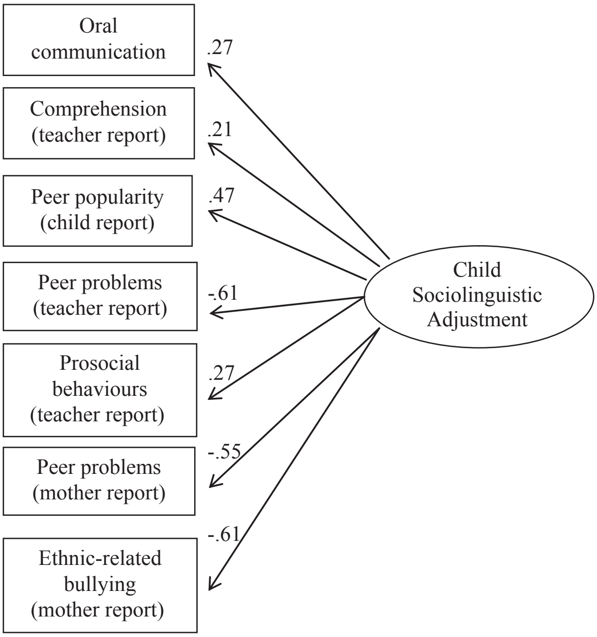
Oral communication
Comprehension (teacher report)
Peer popularity (child report)
Peer problems (teacher report)
Prosocial behaviours (teacher report)
Peer problems (mother report)
Ethnic-related bullying (mother report)
Child Sociolinguistic Adjustment
.27
.21
.47
-.61
.27
-.55
-.61

Fig. 2 Measurement model of sociolinguistic adjustment of children—confirmatory factor analysis, goodness of fit: $\chi^2=22.12$, df=11, $p=0.023$, CFI=0.98, RMSEA=0.04

A self-report instrument, Piers–Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale, 2nd edition (Piers and Herzberg 2007), was used to assess different facets of the study child's self-concept. The authors who devised the scale define self-concept as a relatively stable set of attitudes reflecting both the description and evaluation of one's own behavior and attitudes. The items in the Piers–Harris Self-Concept Scale are statements that express how people feel about themselves, each with a yes/no answer option. The scale used here consisted of 12 items, exploring the study children's evaluation of their social functioning as reflected by popularity among peers and being liked and accepted. The scales are scored such that a higher score indicates a more positive self-evaluation in the domain being measured (Murray et al. 2011).

The reliability analysis and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) were conducted, treating each subscale as the unit (item) of the composite measure. Cronbach's Alpha for this seven subscale indicator was 0.71. CFA was performed (Fig. 2) prior to testing the pathway model in order to determine whether the measurement model showed satisfactory fit indices. The total score indicating children's sociolinguistic adjustment was computed as a factor score obtained in CFA (by default, all seven subscales were standardized prior to CFA and then the combined factor score for seven subscales was computed using Mplus software). When testing the pathway model (Fig. 2), we used this index measure as a single observed variable—indicator of children's sociolinguistic adjustment.

Family social status was treated in the model as the latent variable, which was defined by two observed variables: equivalized household annual income and household social status based on occupation.

Equivalized household income was computed here as the total household income adjusted by the application of an equivalence scale to enable comparison of income levels between households of differing size and composition, reflecting the requirement of a larger household to have a higher level of income to achieve the same standard of living as a smaller household. Equivalized household income was derived by calculating an equivalence factor according to the "modified OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)" equivalence scale (Hagenaars et al. 1994; de Vos and Zaidi 1997), and then dividing income by the factor. The equivalence factor is built up by allocating points to each person in a household (1 point to the first adult, 0.5 points to each additional person who is 15 years and older, and 0.3 to each child under the age of 15 years) and then summing the equivalence points of all household members (Hagenaars et al. 1994; de Vos and Zaidi 1997).

A social class classification was assigned to both mother and father (where the latter was a resident) based on their respective occupations. In line with standard procedures, in two-parent families in which both partners were economically active outside the house, the family's social class group was assigned on the basis of the parent who was more economically active. A sixfold classification of family social class is used in this study (Williams et al. 2009): professional/higher managerial, managerial, technical/nonmanual, skilled manual, semi-skilled, and unskilled. Parental education was assessed on a seven-point scale: 1, none or primary; 2, lower secondary; 3, higher secondary; 4, college nondegree; 5, first degree at the university; 6, second degree; and 7, postgraduate education (Williams et al. 2009). Duration of residence was measured on a five-point answering scale: within the last year, 1–5 years ago, 6–10 years ago, 11–20 years ago, more than 20 years ago (Murray et al. 2011).

Results

Before we examined the empirical model proposed in the introduction, we computed some descriptive statistics of the sample under study (Table 2) and carried out preliminary comparisons of household income while controlling for education level and acculturation of fathers and mothers (that is, their ability to fill out a form and to read out loud from a children's storybook, in English). The estimated mean of annual equivalized household income in two-partner families where both parents were English-nonnative was €14,384.00 (S.E. = 944.71), significantly lower than the income of families where one parent was English-native and the other was English-nonnative: €20,312.48 (S.E. = 1012.99). The income of families where both parents were English-native speakers was significantly higher than in the previous family types: €22,050.21 (S.E. = 655.30) ($F(2, 6585) = 45.08$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.014$). Among the families where both parents are English-nonnative speakers 32 % were at risk of poverty, compared with 13.3 % among families where one parent is English-nonnative and the other is English-native speaker; 11.8 % of those families in

Table 2 Sample description

Demographic characteristics		Mothers (n)	Fathers (n)
Age		38.00 (5.44)	41.09 (6.41)
White Caucasians		362	348
Non-Caucasians		175	187
Length of residence in Ireland	From less than 1 year to 5 years	139	134
	6 years or more	225	216
Education	Primary and lower secondary	70	54
	Secondary	240	264
	College	226	216
Household social class	Professional, managerial	312	
	Nonmanual	159	
	Manual	55	

which both parents are English-native speakers were at risk of poverty.[1] These results clearly suggest that migrant families might suffer socioeconomic disadvantage, which may affect children's development.

Next, we carried out pathway analysis using the statistical package Mplus 5 (Muthen and Muthen 2007). In line with current practice, several criteria were used to assess the fit of the data to the model; χ^2 and RMSEA (the root mean square error of approximation), which gives a measure of the discrepancy in fit per degree of freedom (e.g., values <0.05 indicate a good fit) (Hu and Bentler 1999). It is generally recommended to report correlations, means, and standard deviations (SDs) of observed variables included in a structural model along with path estimates for the model (Boomsma 2000). In Table 3, we reported nonparametric correlations (Spearman rho) between variables included in the model (Table 3) and means and the SD of continuous variables. Correlation between linguistic adjustment and length of stay of the study child: $r=0.20$ and $p<0.01$.

In the next step, we investigated pathways to sociolinguistic adjustment among children, as specified in Fig. 1. The final full model (including measurement parts) is described in Fig. 3. It has a good fit to the data, as suggested by the goodness-of-fit indices. The model explains 10% ($p<0.001$) of the variance of the dependent variable—sociolinguistic adjustment of children. One methodological challenge stemming from modeling-nested observations is the measurement error correlation. We addressed this by using the observed characteristics of mother and father to define a latent variable. In this model, the covariances between two observed variables defining a given latent variable are assumed to be due to the common influence of the family (Ledermann and Macho 2009); for example, a father's education is correlated with a mother's education. Note that in (Structural Equation Modeling) SEM observed variables defining a given latent variable are *always* modeled as correlated (Muthen and Muthen 2007) (we assume that observed variables *have to* be correlated, in order to define a latent variable—similar to items composing a

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[1] The median income of 60% of the population has been considered to be at poverty level; those families whose income falls below this median income have been considered to be at risk of poverty.

Table 3 Nonparametric correlations (Spearman rho) between observed variables included in the SEM model

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Mother's education	–							
2. Father's education	0.51**	–						
3. Mother's sociolinguistic adjustment	0.14**	0.06	–					
4. Father's sociolinguistic adjustment	0.06	0.18**	0.26**	–				
5. Household social class	0.40**	0.40**	0.10*	0.08*	–			
6. Equivalized household annual income	0.37**	0.29**	0.17**	0.12**	0.36**	–		
7. Mother's length of residence	−0.01	0.03	0.15**	0.14**	0.13*	0.13*	–	
8. Father's length of residence	−0.13*	−0.03	0.09	0.12*	0.10*	0.12*	0.70**	–
9. Child sociolinguistic adjustment	0.09*	0.03	0.12**	0.11*	0.13**	0.20**	0.27**	0.21**

*$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$

questionnaire scale, which have to be correlated to make a scale). This feature of SEM resolves the problem of correlated observations. Although a methodological challenge, utilizing questionnaire answers of different family members may be a richer source of information than using either information from a primary caregiver only or a child alone.

Figure 3 shows the estimated standardized path coefficients that may be squared to obtain the variance shared by adjacent variables. As can be seen in Figure 2, household socioeconomic status was the stronger predictor of a child's sociolinguistic adjustment—and parental linguistic adjustment was not significant. It is noteworthy, however, that in correlation analysis parental linguistic adjustment was significantly correlated with a child's sociolinguistic adjustment, and only after including the moderator—family socioeconomic status—the relation between parental linguistic adjustment and child sociolinguistic adjustment became nonsignificant. These findings confirmed our hypothesis that family socioeconomic status moderates the relation between linguistic adjustment of parents and sociolinguistic adjustment of children. We had expected partial moderation; however, the data showed a complete moderation, suggesting that the direct effect of parental linguistic adjustment on children's sociolinguistic adjustment was not significant when family socioeconomic status is included as the moderator between these two. As expected parents' linguistic adjustment was a significant predictor of family socioeconomic status.

In order to test what is the impact of a mother versus a father versus both parents being English-nonnative speaking we computed the analysis of covariance, comparing four groups (mother English-nonnative, father English-nonnative, both

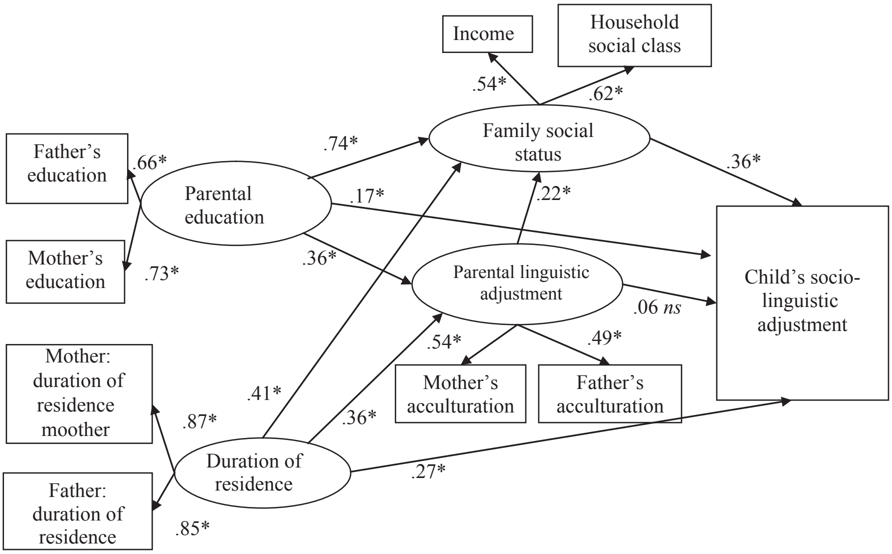
Income
Household social class
.54*
.62*
Family social status
.74*
.36*
Father's education
.66*
Parental education
.17*
.22*
Mother's education
.73*
.36*
Parental linguistic adjustment
.06 *ns*
Child's socio-linguistic adjustment
.54*
.49*
Mother: duration of residence moother
Mother's acculturation
Father's acculturation
.41*
.87*
.36*
Duration of residence
.27*
Father: duration of residence
.85*

Fig. 3 Pathway model tested in the study. Goodness of fit: $\chi^2=41.417$, df=18, $p<0.001$, CFI=0.96, RMSEA=0.04

parents English-nonnative, and both parents English-native) when controlling for several background variables such as household income, social class, and parental education. As can be seen (Fig. 4), children having at least one English-speaking parent are faring much better than children in families where both parents have a first language other than English. There is not much difference between the groups where a father or a mother is an English-nonnative speaker.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

The key findings of the present study were pointing to the absence of the direct effect of parental linguistic adjustment on child sociolinguistic adjustment. The present results showed that the effect of parental linguistic acculturation on child sociolinguistic adjustment is completely mediated by family socioeconomic status: parental linguistic adjustment predicted the socioeconomic status of the household, which in turn, predicted child sociolinguistic adjustment. The above suggests that parental linguistic adjustment is instrumental for a family's attainment of socioeconomic status, but parental linguistic adjustment is not indispensable for a positive sociolinguistic adjustment of a child. These findings are in accordance with the earlier results (e.g., Schoon 2006) and theoretical approaches (Bronfenbrenner 1989) postulating the importance of household resources for child development. These results are also in accordance with the literature on parental and children acculturation

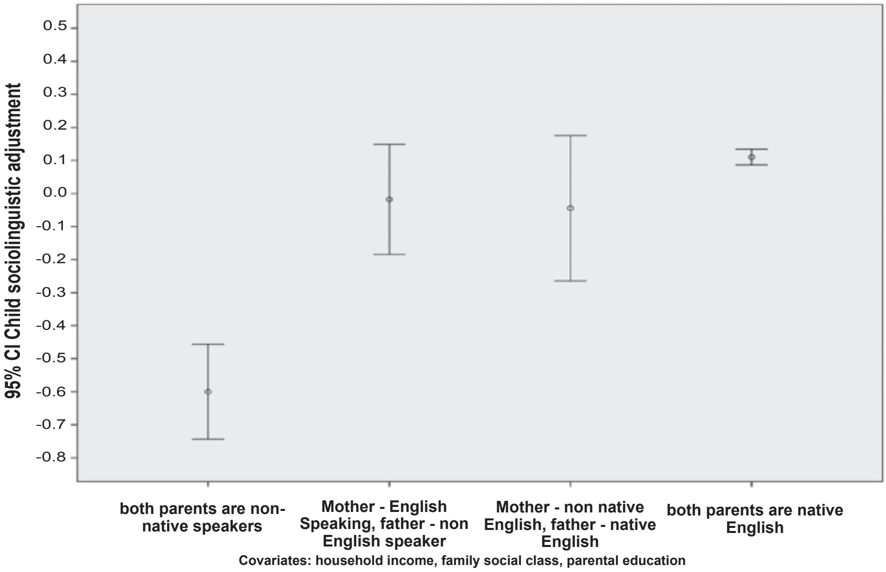

Fig. 4 Sociolinguistic adjustment of 9-year-old children in Ireland in families with diverse backgrounds

that postulates that parental linguistic acculturation may have a minimal effect on children acculturation (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). In the introduction, we proposed that the current focus on migrants' acculturation in psychological research (those including families with dependent children in particular) could be broadened to include a thorough assessment of family socioeconomic situation. It appears that socioeconomic disadvantage, understudied in acculturation research investigating adjustment of children, might be a key predictor of children's outcomes. The development of migrant children is likely to be affected by cumulative disadvantage—linguistic challenges and lower socioeconomic background—thus, implying a lower chance to achieve full educational potential. This calls for the recognition of the importance of the broader socioeconomic context and social support of migrant families in preventing social problems related to poverty, maladjustment, and ghettoization of ethnic minorities. A prevalent approach focusing on acculturation of immigrants and neglecting economic circumstances implicitly assumes that migrants are the main and only agents responsible for their sociocultural adjustment. This approach might have some merits; by reinforcing immigrants' responsibility for their well-being it amplifies an internal locus of control and hope that one is "the architect of their own fortune." On the other hand, neglecting the role of migrant socioeconomic status brings about an implicit supposition that only immigrants' characteristics define their well-being. In fact, migrant well-being is to a large degree contingent upon factors related to the receiving societies. The way migrants find their place in the new society is a complex process involving not only migrants' ability for sociocultural adjustment, but the interplay of factors related to migrant characteristics, economic circumstances, and the characteristics of the receiving society (e.g., migration policies, openness to migration, discrimination, antidiscrimination policies, and legislation helping or hindering migrants' participation in the labor market and society at large). This interplay demarcates the place of immigrants in the receiving societies and migrants' socioeconomic status. Recognition of the importance of those factors which are external to migrants will lead us to focus more attention on the socioeconomic indicators of well-being of migrant families.

In the context of social policies promoting inclusion of migrants, current findings raise particular concern from the perspective of achieving adequate language support at schools and income support for families with dependent children. Also, helping immigrant families to improve their economic position with legislation promoting nondiscrimination and equality, and the support of economic activity and entrepreneurship among immigrants would have a beneficial effect.

Limitations

The use of the secondary data limited us with respect to the measurement used in the study. First, the data had already been collected and there was no possibility to add more or alter the questionnaires used in data collection. Second, as in other cohort studies the GUI includes single items or abbreviated versions of questionnaires for expediency reasons, which might limit the reliability and validity of the assessment. The measure of parental linguistic adjustment used in the GUI study consisted of two items focusing on filling of forms in English and the ability to read out loud to the child from a book in English. There was no question in the battery of questionnaires asking about the national or ethnic identity of a parent and a child (although we had information about parents' and children's citizenship, religion, first language, and place of birth). Although, a prominent acculturation theory (e.g., Berry 1997) proposes that adjustment after migration is "a two dimensional process, in which both the relationship with the traditional or ethnic culture and the relationship with the new or dominant culture must be considered, and these two relationships may be independent" (Phinney 1990, p. 501), this two-dimensional conceptualization of the acculturation process is less useful in receiving societies consisting of a mixture of ethnic minorities—constituting the proverbial "melting pot." In the context, where national or ethnic identity no longer matters as the dimension to define someone's fitting into the mainstream (as the mainstream is the mixture of individuals of diverse descents and ethnic backgrounds), the only duality that emerges refers to linguistic dimensions—native language and mainstream language, the *lingua franca*. In the multicultural and highly formalized societies we live in now, where bureaucratic procedures decide whether someone gets a resident's permit, a job, social welfare support, or medical attention, the skill of oral and written communication (such as filling in forms) in the mainstream language is far more important to migrant well-being than the enactment of ethnic versus mainstream identity. Based on this premise, we think that the measures of linguistic adjustment of parents used in this study were a sufficient way to evaluate their linguistic adjustment.

Another limitation is related to the current sample used in this study, which included migrants from diverse national and cultural backgrounds. We, therefore, cannot say to what extent migrant culture and factors such as cultural distance affect parents' and children's sociolinguistic adjustment. Further, the inclusion of mixed couples, in which one of the partners was English-native speaking and the other English-nonnative speaking could "dilute" the results with respect to the effects of parental acculturation on children's sociolinguistic adjustment. This, however, was not the reason for the lack of significance of pathway between parental acculturation and child sociolinguistic adjustment, as the analysis carried out exclusively on the families where both parents were English-nonnative speakers yielded similar results. Still, the comparison of children with one parent English-nonnative, both parents English-nonnative, and both parents English-native speaking suggest that children who have both English-nonnative speaking parents have significantly lower sociolinguistic adjustment, while children with at least one English-native speaking parent have overall similar level of sociolinguistic adjustment to children with both English-native parents.

Also, we need to mention possible sample bias and overrepresentation of well-educated parents and high social class households among the analyzed subsample. This bias might be entailed by the bias in the general GUI sample (Murray et al. 2011), in which higher social class households and well-educated families were oversampled compared to the general population. Finally, modeling strategy used in the present study focused on family-level effects on children's adjustment and did not look into any separate effects of mother and father. However, correlation coefficients between mother acculturation and child adjustment were similar to those between father acculturation and child adjustment, which suggest that the mother's and father's effect on child sociolinguistic adjustment was overall similar.

Future Directions

Current findings suggest that acculturation studies could benefit from paying more attention to social and economic factors, in particular in the case of migrant children. Studying the acculturation of migrants and their socioeconomic status brings up the question about the causal relation between the two: do migrants become culturally maladjusted because they are affected by poverty and low social status, or are migrants' poverty and low social status the effect of their cultural maladjustment? Longitudinal study could shed some light on this issue. Current data from two generations of migrants suggest that parental economic status has more impact on children's adjustment than parental acculturation. We focused here on the outcome—that is, family socioeconomic status, rather than the process leading to that outcome or the contextual factors hindering or facilitating migrants' SES attainment, such as policy interventions or broader economic context. The data analyzed here were collected in 2007. At the moment the second wave of the data is being collected, thus, it will become possible to examine the impact of the recent financial crises on migrant families and their children.

The use of this large data set allows us to examine trends in the population and the generalization of the current findings. We can assume that present results reflect the general trends in the Irish population. One of the biggest advantages of the longitudinal cohort data is the life-course perspective; GUI is an on-going study, which will follow the same children up to adulthood. It will be possible to carry out a follow-up study to examine the progress of the same individuals from their childhood into adulthood. Future studies could investigate whether linguistic adjustment and socioeconomic status of parents have long-lasting effects on migrant children when they become adults.

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Civic and Political Engagement Among Ethnic Minority and Immigrant Youth

Dimitra Pachi and Martyn Barrett

Immigration has been undoubtedly one of the most important phenomena of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. However, despite its significance for both the host countries and the countries of origin, the interest of psychology and, more specifically, of social psychology in immigration is relatively recent, and it has primarily focused on the social adaptation and psychological adjustment of ethnic minority and immigrant individuals (Berry 1997; Bourhis et al. 1997). Much of the existing research on acculturation has addressed these issues, generating a discussion on its repercussions on governmental policies, well-being, and integration of minority groups (Berry et al. 2006; Bourhis et al. 1997). However, political and civic participation are two processes whose role and potential have been largely neglected within psychological research in relation to minority and immigrant populations (Berry et al. 2006). By political participation, here, we mean behaviors that have the intent or the effect of influencing governance, whether this be through conventional means involving electoral processes (such as voting, standing for office, etc.) or through nonconventional means that occur outside electoral processes (such as demonstrating, signing petitions, internet activism, etc.). However, by "civic participation" we mean voluntary activity focused on helping others, achieving a public good, or solving community problems (such as raising money for charity, helping neighbors, community volunteering, etc.) (Barrett 2012). It has to be emphasized that both of the above definitions, as well as the analysis that follows, are based primarily on empirical evidence from Western countries, as this is where most of the relevant research has been conducted.

Psychological research into political and civic participation initially tended to focus on participation by members of national majority groups. However, as immigrant and ethnic minority populations started vindicating their rights to participate officially in the political processes of host countries, and as the number of civic organizations that were culturally based increased, research also started to examine the civic and political participation of ethnic minority and immigrant people. Simi-

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larly, psychological research initially focused on adult populations, overlooking the particularities of “youth”. By “youth” we refer to the age period between 16 and 30 years. From a developmental and social point of view, people within this age group face distinctive life tasks. Before the age of 18, which is the point of legal transition into “adulthood” in many countries, a lack of electoral rights prevents young people from participating in the formal political system of their country, leaving them with the option of participating in committees and actions either within the school environment (which only simulate processes that take place in “adulthood”) or through youth groups and organizations. Young nationals, those above 18 years up to 30 years of age, have full political rights, but they continue to face challenges (concerning the developmental transition into adulthood) different from those faced by older adults, which can affect the types and levels of civic and political activity in which they engage. These developmental challenges also have to be faced by minority and migrant youth, but here they are more complex as these young people also have to negotiate acculturative challenges (Berry et al. 2006).

In fact, the existing literature has shown that ethnic minority and immigrant individuals tend to display different patterns of civic and political participation from those displayed by ethnic majority individuals; for example, they participate in different kinds of volunteer activities, with the former participating more in activities relating to their own ethnic community and to other minority groups (Stepick et al. 2008), and minority and immigrant youth being less likely than majority youth to express their political opinions by contacting officials and expressing opinions to the media (Zukin et al. 2006). Furthermore, it has to be emphasized that among minority groups, the challenges vary; for example, Muslim youth face different challenges from non-Muslim youth, and youth from visible minority groups or from groups that are well established in the host country face different challenges from those belonging to nonvisible minority groups or groups from new immigrant groups (Pachi and Barrett 2011d). Unfortunately, there is relatively little research addressing intergroup differences in civic and political participation.

The most recent phenomenon that has catalyzed research into political and civic participation in younger populations has been the decreasing levels of conventional political participation among both majority and ethnic minority/immigrant youth. Since the early 1990s, the national records of electoral registration and voter turnout in most European countries and the USA, as well as studies on political participation, have shown that over recent decades there has been an unquestionable decline in the use of conventional forms of political participation among youth in general and especially among ethnic minority and immigrant youth (O’Toole et al. 2003; Phelps 2005; van Heelsum 2002). However, this decline does not extend to nonconventional forms of participation, such as signing petitions or demonstrating, or using technology-based forms of participation, such as online social networks (for a discussion on the role of social media in the Arab Spring, which started in 2010, see Passini 2012), and more creative/artistic forms of participation (O’Toole et al. 2003; Zukin et al. 2006). Young people of an ethnic majority or minority background continue using all of the above means, especially in situations of political and economic crisis, as observed in the extensive demonstrations in the USA in 2006 when immigrant youth organized and participated in rallies for weeks in support of immigrant workers, asking for policy reform (Lopez and Marcelo 2008), and more recently in Europe, where youth have organized and participated in extensive demonstrations protesting against the draconian economic measures of national governments in the sectors of education and health.

In this chapter, we review the factors that drive civic and political participation among ethnic minority and immigrant youth. These factors range from the distal institutional characteristics of the countries in which these individuals live, through proximal social factors such as the school and the family, to endogenous psychological factors such as patterns of identification and levels of trust. It should be noted that the classification of these factors into institutional, social, demographic, and individual categories in the following account is not intended to imply that these four levels are mutually exclusive; the present classification is simply used to both facilitate the review of the factors and emphasize that relevant factors may exist at several levels.

Institutional Factors

Political Institutional Factors

One very important factor that influences participation by minority and immigrant youth is the integration policies that exist within a country. Findings from the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) project have shown that in the majority of the Western countries, policies range from "slightly unfavorable" to "slightly favorable" towards the integration of ethnic minorities (http://www.mipex.eu/research). These findings need to be examined in reference to the provision of opportunities for participation by the institutions of the host country in the political and civic spheres, which have an effect on the political participation of ethnic minority people (van Heelsum 2002). In cases where minority youth have the nationality of the host country, in principle, they have the same opportunities for participation as majority youth (whether or not these are sufficient or appropriate is another issue). However, in the case of immigrant youth who do not have citizenship rights in the host country, or who have limited citizenship rights as is the case, for example, with young people in Britain who are nationals of other European Union (EU) member states, these limited rights place institutional restrictions on the arena available for political participation; European nationals are allowed to participate (vote and stand for office) in local/regional elections but not in national elections.

Research in the Netherlands has shown that since non-nationals were given the right to vote, the number of councilors with an ethnic minority/immigrant background has been growing steadily. This is not only due to people's increased willingness to become representatives of their ethnic groups within a certain political party, but also due to the parties' increased willingness to attract more voters from ethnic minority/immigrant groups, something which they have successfully achieved. It has been argued that this integration of ethnic minority and immigrant people into the mainstream political Dutch system has increased not only ethnic minority and immigrant populations' levels of participation but also the cohesiveness of Dutch society and the meaningful application of the democratic political system (van Heelsum 2002). The presence of politicians at a local or national level who have an ethnic minority or immigrant background, and also of political parties that support the rights of ethnic minorities and non-nationals and that also help to fund and promote candidates with an ethnic minority/immigrant background, appears to affect the participation levels of non-nationals.

Van Heelsum's study (2002) in the Netherlands also showed that immigrant groups tend to vote for left-wing parties more than the general population does. One of the reasons is the ideological position of left-wing parties in comparison to right-wing parties (especially their stance on immigration issues and social policies). Another reason is the existence of a higher number of candidates with an ethnic minority/immigrant background within these parties. The same phenomenon, of ethnic minority and immigrant people voting for left-wing parties, has been observed in Britain; support for the Labour Party has been so strong in the 1980s and 1990s that voting for this party has become a "natural" habit for many ethnic minority people, even though all minority groups do not vote consistently or in the same way (Saggar 1998). One of the reasons for this is "the interests and influence of ethnic minorities as a collective political constituency are to an unprecedented degree now structurally embedded in the Labour Party and its policies" (Messina 1998, p. 60); the Labour Party in Britain has led the way in introducing important public reforms on equal rights and immigration laws and promoting and supporting ethnic minorities. Similarly, leftist organizations since the 1980s have been fighting for equal rights for ethnic minority people and for the creation of civic organizations seeking funding for ethnic communities (Reynolds 2003).

van Heelsum's (2002) study suggests that the ideological position of left-wing parties is the dominant factor for migrants and minorities who have been living in the country for a long time and have already had the chance to vote in elections several times, while the higher proportion of candidates with an ethnic minority/immigrant background in left-wing parties is probably the dominant factor for newcomers who are voting in a country's national elections for the first time. Although these studies did not take the age of the electorate into consideration, they nevertheless showed the importance of the creation of a political structure which is inclusive, if not encouraging, of the participation of ethnic minorities and immigrants, as well as the differences in political behavior between established ethnic minorities and more recent immigrants.

Civic Organizations

van Heelsum's (2002) study in the Netherlands also shows that an inclusive political system depends upon the existence of a network of civic organizations that are ethnically or culturally based. The number and size of ethnocultural organizations, as well as their relationship with other political and cultural organizations both in the host country and in the country of origin, have been found to be related to levels of civic and political participation in the host country. The more cohesive and the more organized this network is, the higher are the levels of participation in the host country. Two further factors that affect this relationship are the level of commonalities between these organizations and the host country (in terms of language, traditions, religion, etc.) and the culture of the country of origin in terms of social capital and civic and political participation. The characteristics and the role that civic or political organizations play in the country of origin, the existence of a tradition of trust and cooperation among these organizations in the country of origin, and the general political culture of the country of origin accompany immigrant groups and influence their participation (Fennema and Tillie 2001; van Heelsum 2002).

The role of ethnically based civic/political organizations in minorities' political and civic participation has been a controversial issue in the literature (Stepick and Stepick 2002). It is commonly argued that these organizations are very inward looking, providing only for the ethnocultural communities they serve, sometimes even with nationalist orientations, therefore creating an environment of disaffection and disengagement among ethnic minority/immigrant people with the host society and also with democratic values (Fennema and Tillie 2001). However, the question is whether these organizations promote disengagement with the host society or whether they operate in response to the host society's disengagement with the interests and needs of ethnic minority and immigrant populations. Indeed, in Britain, a lack of consideration and support for those people's interests and needs by the state's services has been one of the factors that has led to the multiplication of welfare-based community organizations (Reynolds 2003). Both van Heelsum's study in the Netherlands and Mercer and Page's (2010) study in Britain have shown that these organizations do not work at the expense of the host society, but work in a complementary way, addressing the needs of the people that the host society, for a number of reasons, cannot or does not want to address. Mercer and Page emphasize that these organizations do not promote disengagement; on the contrary, they promote people's integration into the host society.

Mercer and Page (2010), having studied the specific situation of African home associations in Britain, show that these organizations are more "place"-oriented than culture-oriented, due to the lack of a homogeneous ethnic identity within and between African countries. They argue that these organizations primarily try to deal with the tensions that emerge on an everyday basis from people's double orientation and double alienation from both their home and their host culture/country. The aim is to facilitate these people's integration into the host society by emphasizing not the differences but the commonalities with the host culture: the historical relationship and the cultural connections between the people's countries of origin and the host country. These organizations therefore help to consolidate a harmonious double identity, which does not disorientate people from participating in the host country, but encourages them to believe that they are a part of it and that they should interact more with it.

For further discussion of the role that minority civic organizations can play in promoting and/or hindering the civic and political participation of minority adults, see Jacobs and Tillie (2004) and Schrover and Vermeulen (2005).

Social Factors

The School

In the case of young ethnic minority and immigrant people's civic and political engagement, one extremely important institution that is encountered directly and on a daily basis is, of course, the school. Young people spend the majority of their day in school having to speak the language of the host country, learning about the history and the culture of the host country, and socializing with teachers and other young people (both country nationals and sometimes other non-national young people as well). The intensity of this experience, the social and cognitive challenges that it creates for young people, and the educational input that young people receive at school, all serve to make the school an extremely important agent for young people's civic and political engagement.

Research in this area has revealed that the relationship between education and engagement is far more general than just the specific knowledge or skills that are targeted by the school curriculum; educational effects generalize to numerous aspects of engagement. For example, Zukin et al. (2006) found that students who receive training in civic skills at school (e.g., in letter writing, debating, etc.) are more likely to join organizations outside school, sign petitions, participate in boycotts, follow political news, engage in charitable fund-raising, and attend community meetings. They also found that students who participate in classroom discussions about volunteering are more likely to volunteer on a regular basis, work on community problems, participate in charity fund-raising, and try to influence other people's voting. Feldman et al. (2007) and Pasek et al. (2008) similarly found wide-ranging effects of a school-based civic education intervention.

An open classroom climate is another major school factor that is also known to impact on young people's engagement. Having the opportunity to discuss controversial social issues and to express and listen to different opinions in the classroom predicts young people's levels of civic knowledge and their likelihood of voting in the future (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Furthermore, perceptions that teachers practice a democratic ethic within the classroom predict the belief that one lives in a just society and one with levels of civic commitment (Flanagan et al. 2007). Finally, participation in school councils also predicts both civic knowledge and the likelihood of voting in the future (Torney-Purta et al. 2001).

Over and above all of these findings, however, it has been argued that education actually has its most profound effects not through the enhancement of the individual's personal capacities but through the effects that education has upon an individual's employment opportunities, social networks, and positions of influence in later life (Nie et al. 1996).

Although all these findings concerning the effects of the school on civic and political engagement have been obtained with youth in general rather than specifically with minority and immigrant youth, there is no reason to suppose that these same factors also do not influence minority and immigrant youth. However, the effects may be somewhat more complex in the case of minority and immigrant youth: Bogard and Sherrod (2008) found complex multiple interactions between the specific ethnicity of the youth, their gender, and their levels of community and school participation. For example, in this North American study, Hispanic youth showed the lowest levels of participation in community service overall when compared with European-American, African-American, Asian, and Other/Mixed youth; however, there was no significant difference in the levels of participation in community service between Hispanic and European-American girls (only between Hispanic and Other/Mixed girls), while there was a significant difference between Hispanic and European-American boys (but not between Hispanic and Other/Mixed boys).

Future research will need to determine how factors such as civic education and an open classroom climate interact with the specific ethnic and cultural characteristics of particular groups of ethnic minority and immigrant youth in driving their patterns of civic and political participation.

Religious Institutions

Membership of religious institutions also influences the civic and political engagement of ethnic minority and immigrant youth. Involvement with either a church or a mosque is, for many minority and immigrant youth, an act of civic engagement, and is, in many instances, the only context in which they engage civically (Pachi and Barrett 2011a; Stepick and Stepick 2002). Involvement with a religious institution can be for religious (spiritual) reasons, but it can also be for community, family, or humanitarian reasons. In our own research with Congolese youth in Britain (Pachi and Barrett 2011b), we found that church attendance is an integral part of their lives, and that the church constitutes the main provider of direction and opportunities for civic and political participation in both the host country and the country of origin. Religious sermons not only involve messages about religious texts and doctrines but also extend to offering advice about social and sometimes political endeavors. We also found that Congolese youth who were more religious exhibited a more conservative view of how society and the political system should function and had higher levels of civic and political participation. These young people tended to follow the encouragements of their religious leaders for civic and political participation in relationship to both Britain and Congo, with a range of different forms of participation being affected including voting in national/local elections, participating in demonstrations for religious or other reasons related to Congo, and participating in voluntary and other organizations for humanitarian reasons.

Similar findings have been reported by Fanning and O'Boyle (2010) in their study of African immigrants in Ireland and by Jamal (2005) who studied Arab and South-Asian Muslims attending mosques in New York. Religion is closely intertwined with civic and political participation for many minority and immigrant individuals, with religion fostering an ethos of participation. In this context, it is noteworthy that both Pachi and Barrett (2012a) and Stepick and Stepick (2002) found that, in both Britain and the USA, respectively, two individual-level psychological factors, religiosity and religious identification, are higher among ethnic minority and immigrant youth in comparison to native (majority) youth. The role of religious institutions in fostering civic and political participation among minority and immigrant youth clearly needs to be examined further because of the significant influence that these institutions exert in the lives of these youth (Barrett et al. 2006; Ghuman 1999).

The Family

The family, of course, is a further major factor that influences civic and political participation in numerous ways. This applies to both majority and minority/immigrant youth. For example, adolescents whose parents are interested in political and social issues have higher levels of interest in these issues themselves as well as higher levels of civic knowledge (Schulz et al. 2010); individuals whose parents engage in civic volunteering have higher levels of civic and political participation (Zukin et al. 2006), and parents who engage in protests are more likely to have offspring who also engage in protests (Jennings 2002); a family ethic of social responsibility predicts levels of civic commitment (Flanagan et al. 1998); adolescents' political alienation is related to their perceptions of their parents' political alienation, and an authoritarian parenting style predicts adolescents' political alienation (Gniewosz et al. 2009); and family climate (measured in terms of cohesion/expressivity, organization/control, and cultural/intellectual orientation) predicts civic knowledge, political literacy, political efficacy, and trust in institutions (Azevedo and Menezes 2007).

It is clear from this body of work that parental and family discourses and practices in relationship to civic and political participation are strongly related to patterns of youth civic and political participation. However, it is for future research to determine how these discourses and practices interact with the particular cultural situation and characteristics of specific groups of minority and immigrant youth in order to influence their patterns of participation.

Salient Sources of Influence Cited by Young People Themselves

While the family, the school, and religious institutions are three important sources of influence on young people's patterns of civic and political participation, it is possible that there are also other important sources of influence on young people's lives. In order to investigate this possibility, Pachi and Barrett (2011b) asked Bangladeshi and Congolese youth living in London to name the individuals who they thought had had an impact on their attitudes to citizenship and participation. The youth named parents, teachers, and youth workers, as well as the lyrics of songs by prominent rap artists (in particular, of the American artists Jay-Z and Tupac). In a follow-up study, Pachi and Barrett (2011c) interviewed some of the adults who had been identified by the youth and also analyzed the lyrics of some of the songs that had been cited.

In the interviews, the parents, teachers, and youth workers identified many different obstacles, which they perceived as impeding the participation of these young people. These obstacles included:

a. Insufficient interest in youth by people in power to ensure that they are aware of their rights and of the existing opportunities for participation.
b. A lack of responsiveness by politicians to young people's opinions in general.
c. The discouraging role played by the mass media with, on the one hand, their exclusive focus on entertainment and, on the other hand, their negative portrayal of young people and ethnic minorities. The latter factor, in particular, was perceived as discouraging youth from engaging in action in relationship to both their country of origin and their country of residence, because the mass media made them feel discriminated against and marginalized.
d. The circulation of conspiracy theories among young people, such as theories about the Freemasons and the Illuminati[1], which were prevalent in both Islamic and Christian fundamentalism at the time that the study was conducted. These theories were viewed by the interviewees as encouraging distrust and disengagement with official political and social actors, creating a feeling of helplessness among young people.
e. The relationship of young people and their parents to the culture of the country of origin was also perceived as a problematic issue for ethnic minority youth participation. The prioritization of different values in the cultures of the country of origin and the country of residence was reported in relationship to both Bangladeshi and Congolese youth. The importance of moral values and education, as well as the important role of the family in young people's education (especially among the Congolese interviewees), was seen as playing a key role in the tensions that ethnic minority youth have to negotiate in Britain. Congolese parents often deplored the lack of respect for their "traditional" authority, which was seen as being linked to the individualized, "immoral," and secular environment of Britain, and which was also seen as being linked to the "intrusion" of the state into the education of their children. Congolese youth workers talked about the negative impact of what they saw as a "cultural conflict" between Congolese youth and their parents. Parents talked about Congolese/African "culture" and "traditions" as a normative model for youth to adopt, while youth workers were

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[1] Conspiracy theories about a ruling caste of people with economical, political and intellectual control over society.

> more critical and were keen to describe the experience of navigating between different cultural environments and identities in everyday British life.

The analysis of the rap lyrics of Jay-Z and Tupac revealed that the artists' understanding of citizenship was mainly constructed from their perceptions of the exclusion/inclusion of different groups and the relationship of these groups with public authorities (such as the police). Group identification and separation were based on age, gender, and race; "young black boys/men" and "young black girls/women" were the most salient groups in the lyrics of both artists. Only a small number of references were made to immigrants arriving in the USA; Jay-Z referred to their difficulty in adjusting to the new country and their inevitable fate of not being able to survive. Political representation also emerged as an important aspect of citizenship, as both artists referred to the lack of political representation of black people and the struggles for the rights of African-Americans in the contemporary USA (it should be noted that all the songs were released prior to the election of Barack Obama as president). The need to fight for the rights of African-Americans was related to perceptions of the "unfairness" of life due to the discrimination and prejudice of the police and judges towards young African-Americans, stereotypes concerning young black people's involvement with crime and gun violence, and also young black people's lack of knowledge of their civil rights. Furthermore, the theme of poverty and deprivation was very salient throughout both artists' songs; the childhood memories and experiences of surviving in violent and deprived environments were not completely forgotten even when moving away from that world. Although both artists called on young people to stand up to the hardships of their life, the forms of participation they advocated were, for one artist, through Masonry and financial power, and for the other artist through religion and individual action. Both artists also talked about the importance of friendships and group cohesion for progress in life. It is noteworthy that many of these themes were found, in particular, in the discourses of British-Bangladeshi youth on citizenship and barriers to political and civic participation (Pachi and Barrett 2011b).

Demographic Factors

Socioeconomic Status

Turning now to demographic factors, we found that one factor which has been greatly emphasized in the literature on immigration and civic and political participation is socioeconomic status. Repeatedly, both European and American research have confirmed the importance of this status but with mixed conclusions on its effects. Some researchers have found that minority youth of a higher socioeconomic level are more likely to participate in both political and civic terms (Lopez et al. 2004; Lopez and Marcelo 2008), others have found that minority youth of a lower socioeconomic status are more likely to participate politically and civically (Simon and

Grabow 2010), while still others have found that socioeconomic status is related differently to different types of civic engagement (Pattie et al. 2003). Pattie et al. (2003) examined the effect of income and class and found that although class appears to affect participation more consistently (the higher the social class, the more participation reported), income is also significantly related to all types of activism but relates differently to different types of activism. Household income is positively related to "individualistic" and "overall activism", but it is negatively related to "collective activism" [2]. On the other hand, the results for education have been more consistent, generally showing that higher levels of education are related to higher levels of at least some types of political/civic engagement, such as voting and volunteering (Lopez et al. 2004; Pattie et al. 2003).

In studies where class, income, and education have been found to play a significant role in people's levels of political/civic engagement, they have often been found to be more important than ethnicity/immigration status and indeed to be the most important predictors of civic and political participation (Fife-Schaw and Breakwell 1990). Although the results of the studies are not consistent, these demographic factors clearly need to be taken into account when studying the civic and political participation of minority and immigrant youth.

Gender

Another factor that has been consistently explored in the literature on ethnic minority and immigrant civic and political participation is gender. Gender acquires different socially constructed meanings in different cultures, which come with specific expectations in terms of the rights, duties, and behavior of men/women (Dion and Dion 2001; Stockard and Johnson 1992). Females of an ethnic minority or majority background are generally found to participate more in civic terms (Pachi and Barrett 2011b; Reynolds 2003; Stepick and Stepick 2002). These findings are consistent with the fact that, in many cultures, women have to play the role of carer and are ascribed values and principles that are humanitarian, such as being more socially sensitive and caring for the vulnerable members of society including the elderly and children (Reynolds 2003). However, when looking specifically at ethnic minority and immigrant youth, it is important to look at the cultural prescriptions about the political and the civic roles of women and men in society within both the culture of the host country and that of the country of origin, and also the role of the family as a formative agent of female identity. Immigrant families have been found to put more pressure on their daughters than on their sons to align with traditional cultural values of behavior, especially when the culture of the host country is viewed in a negative, dismissive, or threatening way (Das Gupta 1997; Dion and Dion 2001; Maira 2002). This pressure makes the cultural values of the country of origin more prominent for women of an ethnic minority or immigrant background than for men, leading to a higher need to understand the position and the content of their ethnic culture within their country of living (the host country); identification levels with one's heritage culture and/or the culture of the country of residence can have an effect on professional choices, partner choices, family relationships, as well as women's psychological well-being.

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[2] These concepts were developed by Pattie et al. (2003); "collective activism" refers to "forms of action that involve working collectively" (p. 5) such as participating in political demonstrations, meetings and participating in illegal protests. "Overall activism" refers to levels of activism across the different types of activism such as individualistic activism, contact activism and collective activism.

Our study of ethnic minority and immigrant youth living in London (Pachi and Barrett 2011d) also revealed that both under 18 and over 18-year-old Bangladeshi females have to deal with an incongruence of values and principles between their cultures and their religions. They identified an incongruence between Bangladeshi "culture" and Islamic values and practices concerning the societal female role, which brought these young women into conflict with their parents who thought that, according to both religious norms and Bangladeshi cultural traditions, women are supposed to stay mainly in the domestic environment and not expose themselves in the public sphere either socially or politically. By contrast, young British-Bangladeshi women could see a discourse of empowerment of women and also a discourse of equality of women and men socially and politically in Islamic texts, which did not exist in Bangladeshi culture. Based on these discourses, young Bangladeshi women claimed their right to participate in British society in different ways, both politically (by expressing an opinion about politics, by voting, by demonstrating, etc.) and civically (by participating in different charity organizations, by recycling, etc.), despite emerging conflicts with their families. Similarly to young Bangladeshi women, young Congolese women also talked about traditional female roles in Congolese culture, which were seen as restricting women to the domestic environment and prescribing a character of submissiveness and passivity both within and outside of the family. However, in contrast to the young Bangladeshi women, Congolese women did not identify incongruence between their cultural and their religious traditions and did not report conflict with their parents/families about their role in British society.

These results align with existing literature on the pressures and challenges faced by immigrant women (e.g., Dion and Dion 2001; Maira 2002; Stockard and Johnson 1992) and highlight the importance of studying different cultures separately, as well as taking into consideration the multidimensional character of "culture". Research that takes culture into consideration should also examine its components (e.g., religious versus ethnic characteristics) as well as the relationship between these components in order to gain a deeper and more meaningful understanding of the relationship between culture and specific attitudes and behaviors such as political and civic participation.

Migrant Generational Status

Migrant generational status is also an important factor: whether young people are first-, second-, or even third-generation immigrants in the country of residence has been found to be associated with levels of civic and political participation (Seif 2010). Studies in the USA have shown that the second generation is more politically active than their parents and more active than first-generation immigrant youth (Lopez and Marcelo 2008; Stepick and Stepick 2002; Stepick et al. 2008). The first generation is less likely to be registered to vote than later generations and is also less participative in terms of actual voting, volunteering, and boycotting when compared with majority group individuals (Lopez and Marcelo 2008). By contrast, the second generation is often more civically and politically participative than majority group individuals (Lopez and Marcelo 2008; Stepick and Stepick 2002). Studies that have looked at the effect of naturalization on immigrants' levels of participation have also found that, when immigrants become naturalized, their political participation (e.g., voting) increases due to the increased rights and opportunities that then become available to them in the host society (Jensen and Flanagan 2008).

A particularly interesting case is that of the 1.5-generation youth, that is, youth born in another country but educated mainly in the host country (Seif 2004). Because such youth often do not have legal citizenship of their host country, but are nevertheless fluent in the language of the country and have a good understanding of its institutions, they can be particularly highly motivated to act on behalf of other less well-positioned minority individuals and to undertake voluntary activities and community service and to engage in political leadership. As Seif (2010, p. 464) notes, the activism of such youth often has a "significance beyond their numbers" due to their patterns of participation and their advocacy on behalf of others who are excluded by the prevailing legal categories.

Individual and Psychological Factors

Language Proficiency

In addition to the institutional, social, and demographic factors reviewed above, individual and psychological factors (e.g., skills, perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and identities) also influence the participation of ethnic minority and immigrant youth. One important factor that has been identified in the literature as crucial to immigrants' levels of civic and political participation is their proficiency in the language of the host country. Civic and political participation on issues concerning the country of residence requires at least some ability to understand and communicate in the official language of the country. Higher levels of proficiency in this language have been found to be linked with higher levels of participation (Lopez and Marcelo 2008; Ramakrishnan and Baldassare 2004; Uhlaner et al. 1989). If people cannot communicate in the language of the host country, they remain marooned within their ethnic community, where they feel comfortable communicating in the language of their country of origin and are unable to engage effectively with the host society.

Perceptions of the Social Environment

In cases where minority and immigrant youth have the right to participate politically in a society, and indeed have the opportunity to participate, the *perception of the availability of such opportunities* can also play an important role in whether or not these young people actually do participate. In our own research (Pachi and Barrett 2011a), we have found that even though the opportunities might exist, young people might not be aware of them or might not feel comfortable using them as they feel that they are not easy to use or are not exciting enough to use (e.g., they involve only a normative form of engagement such as voting). Thus, there is the need to communicate these opportunities to young people, and the need to adapt these opportunities to match these young people's needs and interests.

Identities

Identities also play a crucial role in young people's political and civic engagement. In the case of ethnic minority and immigrant youth, ethnocultural, racial, national, and political identifications are especially important. Ethnic and racial identities can be transformed into politicized identities, acting as motivators for people to engage with political and civic action as a consequence of perceptions of the deprivation of one's group, or unfairness, or discrimination against one's group. Empirical evidence has shown that high identifiers with an ethnocultural group tend to perceive greater differences from native populations, and higher levels of distress for the ingroup, and also show more support for strategies and actions that will "benefit their ingroup's social position" (Deaux 2000, p. 428).

A rich US literature exists that has examined the relationship between racial identity and politicization among African-Americans and has established a strong link between the two; on the other hand, new immigrant groups such as Latinos and Asian groups do not display a consistent relationship between political participation and racial grievances (Dawson 1994). Similar results emerge from research in Britain (Geddes 1998), and it appears that this relationship emerges only under specific political and social conditions. The challenge is to identify the specific sociopolitical conditions under which particular racial identities become politicized and translate into political action. Junn and Masuoka (2008) found that young Asians and Latinos in the USA take into consideration the race of a political candidate only when the political ideology or plans of the candidate promote the interests of their group, and feel a tension when using race as a criterion due to the idea of color blindness that is promoted in American society to fight discrimination.

Discrimination, prejudice, and exclusion are the phenomena that the literature emphasizes as making ethnic/racial identity salient, often leading ethnic minority and immigrant youth to separate themselves from majority youth and reject political participation as an action that is relevant only for majority people (Stepick and Stepick 2002). However, different minority and immigrant groups deal differently with these phenomena; some distance themselves from ethnic categorizations (e.g., African-American or Latino), which are most often the targets of discrimination, while others feel solidarity with the groups that are the victims of discrimination, even if their own group does not experience the same phenomenon, and engage in action against discrimination (Jensen 2010). Identity formation for minority and immigrant youth is a complex, ongoing process that is constantly being negotiated (Cross 1991; Phinney 1989, 1990; Stepick and Stepick 2002), with bicultural identification with both the ethnic and the national culture being a common outcome (Berry et al. 2006).

In cases where racial or bicultural identities become politicized, politicization does not necessarily translate into violent or illegal action. Simon et al. have conducted a number of studies in Germany addressing the relationship between bicultural identification and political violence among immigrant populations, and they found that bicultural identification does not foster political violence (Simon and Ruhs 2008; Simon and Grabow 2010). Their earlier studies showed that bicultural identification is only related to "normative" political action, the kind of action that is acceptable broadly by society, and their later studies showed that bicultural identification is unrelated to political violence and correlates positively only with peaceful means of politicization.

The Role of Efficacy

A further psychological factor that is important for civic and political participation, for both adults and young people, is *efficacy*. Studies on political efficacy (e.g., Craig et al. 1990; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Klandermans 2002; Schulz 2005; van Zomeren et al. 2008) have tended to focus on internal efficacy (i.e., the belief that one understands and is able to participate in the political sphere), external efficacy (i.e., the belief that public officials, politicians, and institutions are responsive to citizens' demands), and collective efficacy (i.e., the belief that a collectivity or group is able to bring about political change if they work together). All three types of efficacy have been found to be related to the levels and types of civic and political engagement in different ways. The more efficacious the individuals perceive themselves or their group to be, the more they tend to engage in individual or collective civic and political action. Similarly, the more responsive the public officials or politicians are perceived to be, the more likely the people are to engage with civic and political action, as it increases their belief that their action will have an effect. The question arising from existing research is what are the conditions that give rise to perceptions of high efficacy.

Empirical research examining the predictors of internal efficacy is not extensive; internal efficacy has been largely treated in the literature as a predictor of other perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors, not as a variable to be explained. Wu (2003), looking at political efficacy in the USA, found that internal efficacy is related to social position (education, income, and social class) and age, but not gender or religion. People with a higher social position as well as younger and middle-aged people were found to perceive themselves as more efficacious than people with a lower social position and of older age did. Wu's results about ethnicity align with those of other researchers, showing that although ethnic minority and immigrant people tend to have lower internal efficacy than majority people do, these differences become nonsignificant when social position (education, income, and social class) and age are controlled.

Another factor that predicts internal political efficacy is political attentiveness; political attentiveness refers to levels of attentiveness to political news (e.g., watching the news on TV or reading about political issues in newspapers; Semetko and Valkenburg 1998). A longitudinal study among German voters revealed that the more attentive the people are to political issues, the more efficacious they perceive themselves to be, even when sociodemographics are controlled (Semetko and Valkenburg 1998). Young people's internal efficacy has been found to depend on the scale of the issues under consideration: Young people report higher levels of efficacy in relationship to issues on a local scale than issues on a national scale (O'Toole et al 2003).

Similarly to internal political efficacy, external political efficacy has been found to be related to young people's level of civic and political engagement (O'Toole et al. 2003; Pachi and Barrett 2011b, 2012b). One of the main reasons young people put forward to explain their low participation levels is the fact that public officials and politicians do not listen to them, even if they claim that they do; this view has been found to be particularly prominent among ethnic minority and immigrant youth, who refer to their ethnic background as the reason for politicians' lack of responsiveness or interest (Pachi and Barrett 2012b). According to young people, their lack of political efficacy is due to two main causes: society's disregard for younger people's desires and needs and society's negative perceptions of young people's cognitive abilities and interests (O'Toole et al. 2003; Pachi and Barrett 2011b). Research examining the relationships between internal and external efficacies and participation has revealed that relationships between internal efficacy and participation are stronger and more consistent than relationships between external efficacy and participation (Craig et al. 1990; Harris 1999; Shingles 1981).

The relation of collective efficacy to civic and political engagement has been largely conceptualized within the framework of social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel 1978). According to the SIT, people engage in collective action when they perceive their group to be effective, which happens when they believe that the disadvantages that they are experiencing are "unstable". This perception enables the group to believe that they have a higher chance of success in changing the situation through collective action. Empirical research examining the effect of collective efficacy on action tendencies has shown that, together with negative emotions such as group-based anger, collective efficacy is an important mediator between perceptions of injustice and collective action such as joining or creating a social movement (van Zomeren et al. 2004).

Trust

The final psychological factor that we consider here is *trust*, and more specifically social trust and political trust. Both types of trust are associated with young people's civic and political engagement and are often considered key prerequisites for the participation of ethnic minority and immigrant people (Kelly 2009; Fennema and Tillie 2001, 1999; Putnam 2000). Social trust (both generalized and specific trust) is one of the core factors necessary to create cohesiveness in a society, and civic participation can operate both by reinforcing social trust and by being a result of social trust.

The effect of political trust, on the other hand, is more complex, as it is a concept that has been defined and analyzed in many different ways. The conceptualization of trust that has been most widely used in the literature on civic and political participation is in terms of the targets of trust—whether the targets are political institutions, the political regime, the political community, or the incumbent authorities (Gamson 1968; Citrin 1974; Easton 1975; Citrin and Green 1986; Weatherford 1987; Mishler and Rose 1997; Citrin and Muste 1999).

In the literature on civic and political participation among ethnic minorities, a clear correlation has been found between political participation and political trust as well as trust within the network of civic-ethnically based organizations (Fennema and Tillie 1999). The presence of a well-organized network of civic organizations is important for ethnic minorities' participation as these organizations become "nests" and "agents" of social trust, as civic organizations require a certain level and a certain quality of trust (whether it is based on shared identities or shared benefits) among their members for the organizations to operate. Studies combining social and political trust have shown that social trust can have a spillover effect on political trust, which can lead to higher levels of political participation (Fennema and Tillie 2001).

As far as youth are concerned, Torney-Purta et al. (2004) found that institutional trust in particular directly predicts a range of forms of civic and political participation, including voting, volunteering, joining a political party, and writing letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns. They also found that institutional trust itself is sometimes predicted by reading articles in newspapers about current affairs (an index of political attentiveness).

Conclusion

The challenges at institutional, social, and individual/psychological levels for ethnic minority and immigrant youth are numerous and interdependent. One thing is certain: not all ethnic minority and immigrant young people are affected at the same level or in the same way by these challenges and therefore should not be expected to respond or to react in the same way to them. Some deal with these challenges by receding from normative societal structures and expectations, to a limited number of opportunities (often culturally defined) and routes in their lives, which they either choose or have been forced onto them by external agents/actors; others, on the other hand, deal with these challenges by embracing the variety and the richness of the cultures with which they live by merging these cultures; and yet others keep their cultural influences separate, alternating between cultures and code-switching according to context.

Whatever route young people take, society and polity have a duty to try to understand young people and offer them the opportunities which they need to make an informed choice that corresponds to their needs and desires and will enhance their personal development and well-being. Civic and political engagements have the potential to provide a range of benefits for ethnic minority and immigrant youth. This includes enhancing their integration into mainstream society and the development of the attitudes, skills, and knowledge that will aid them both professionally and socially. However, opportunities for participation have to be customized to the needs, preferences, interests, and abilities of young people if they are to be taken up by them. The sociopolitical context of each country, as well as the cultural characteristics of each ethnic group, also needs to be taken into consideration, as they clearly constitute important sources of influence for young people. Over-generalized policies should be abandoned in favor of customized reforms targeted at the specific needs of particular groups.

Based on our research findings, a range of detailed recommendations for policy, practice, and intervention have been made to institutional, political, and social actors (PIDOP 2012). Among many others, these include the recommendations that:

a. Political actors should ensure the implementation of EU antidiscrimination laws, which would help to counter the development of feelings of exclusion and alienation among ethnic minority and migrant communities and putting more effort to promote equal access to politics for minorities and migrants. They should also make more effort to promote equal access to politics for minorities and migrants, for instance, by developing more effective links between political parties and ethnic minority and migrant individuals.
b. Young people should be treated more attentively and with greater respect by politicians and other adults. Politicians need to show young people that they do listen and pay attention to their views on civic and political matters, individually and as a group. There should also be better and more concrete responses by politicians and political institutions to specific forms of youth participation—such

as public protests or student demonstrations—so that young people can feel that their voices are being heard.

c. Media producers and organizations should avoid presenting distorted images and stereotypes of ethnic minority and migrant youth in their media productions and ensure that they do not contribute to the dissemination and perpetuation of myths about these groups. Furthermore, they should ensure that ethnic minority and migrant youth have the opportunity to express their own points of view on civic and political matters within media productions that suit both their age and their culture of origin.
d. Schools should recognize the fact that minority and migrant youth may have a fluid sense of their own identities, which combine the culture of their parents' homeland, the culture of the country in which they are living, and other cultures specific to youth. They also need to encourage young people from ethnic minority and migrant groups to take part in projects promoting participation and citizenship in an inclusive and non-tokenistic way.
e. Furthermore, when implementing civic or citizenship education programs, which are aimed at enhancing the levels of political and civic participation, educational professionals need to be mindful that different forms of intervention may be required for younger vs. older individuals, women vs. men, and minority vs. majority individuals. These interventions should ideally target efficacy in particular, as the different forms of efficacy are among the most powerful predictors of civic and political participation.

For the full range of recommendations for actions that may be taken to enhance civic and political participation among ethnic minority and immigrant youth, interested readers should consult the Processes Influencing Democratic Ownership and Participation (PIDOP; 2012) recommendations document. It is our view that it is essential that institutional, political, and social actors fulfill their obligations towards ethnic minority and immigrant youth, so that such youth are empowered to exercise and practice their responsibilities as active and fully participating citizens of the societies in which they live.

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Identity Management Strategies, Perceived Discrimination, and Well-Being Among Young Immigrants in Spain

Magdalena Bobowik, Nekane Basabe, and Darío Páez

Youth and immigration are the human capital of increasingly aging European societies. In spite of the current global financial crisis, in the long term, state economies will still depend on a workforce of immigrant young adults (International Organization for Migration 2010). In fact, without immigration, developed European economies, including Spain, would have suffered annual declines in per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of between 1.5 % and 0.06 % over the last decades (Moreno and Bruquetas 2011).

The well-being of young immigrants may therefore be crucial for the successful functioning of societies and for overcoming the diverse macro-social difficulties they currently face. However, young immigrants, faced with a range of life challenges and changes, report experiences of distress, feelings of shame, instability, lack of competence and sense of belonging, injured pride, and feelings of being unwanted, different, and misunderstood (Walsh et al. 2008). To reach or maintain high levels of well-being, members of ethnic minority groups need to be empowered with sufficient resources for confronting the difficulties they face in a dominant culture (Noh and Kaspar 2003). However, similar stressors and experiences related to the migratory process may be differently interpreted and coped with (Gonzalez-Castro and Ubillos 2011). If the necessary coping resources are accessible, migration can lead to positive outcomes in spite of the negative influence of acculturative stressors. This chapter explores the ways in which immigrant young adults deal with discrimination and stigmatization (see Fig. 1). First, we examine the attenuating role of both individual and collective strategies on the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being. Second, we explore differences in levels of well-being as a function of cultural proximity (in terms of ethnicity). Finally, we test whether identity management strategies buffer the disparities in well-being based on social hierarchy among young immigrants from five different ethnic groups.

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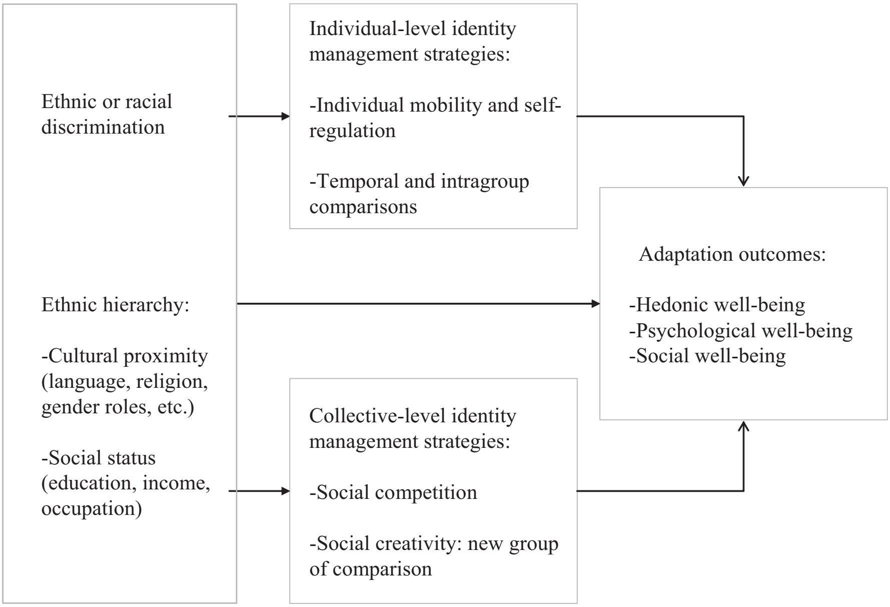
Ethnic or racial discrimination
Ethnic hierarchy:
-Cultural proximity (language, religion, gender roles, etc.)
-Social status (education, income, occupation)
Individual-level identity management strategies:
-Individual mobility and self-regulation
-Temporal and intragroup comparisons
Collective-level identity management strategies:
-Social competition
-Social creativity: new group of comparison
Adaptation outcomes:
-Hedonic well-being
-Psychological well-being
-Social well-being

Fig. 1 Discrimination, ethnic hierarchy, identity management strategies, and well-being

Discrimination Impedes the Successful Adaptation of Young Immigrants

Recent surveys have confirmed that immigrants and ethnic minorities in Europe indeed feel discriminated against, younger groups reporting higher levels of discrimination than older respondents (European Agency for Fundamental Rights 2010). Furthermore, studies have shown that ethnic or racial discrimination is detrimental to the psychological functioning of devalued group members (Pascoe and Smart-Richman 2009). This relationship between the perception of discrimination and adaptation partially explains the lower levels of well-being and/or health among young immigrants (Walseman et al. 2009).

Overall, there is evidence for heightened exposure to discriminatory treatment among young immigrants and its detrimental effects on their well-being, also in the Spanish context (Briones et al. 2012; Pantzer et al. 2006), where immigrants account for 12 % of the population in Spain as a whole and 6.4 % in the Basque Country (Basque Observatory of Immigration 2009). Nevertheless, migrants also differ in their levels of vulnerability as a function of their ethnic origin, which marks the differences in cultural distance between the immigrants and the host culture.

Ethnicity, Discrimination, and Well-Being: Context of the Study

In 2011, the major immigrant groups in Spain included Romanians, Moroccans, Ecuadoreans, Colombians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Bolivians, Peruvians, and Africans (Permanent Observatory of Immigration 2011). Most of the predominant immigrant groups were represented in this study, and they vary in terms of their cultural proximity to Spaniards and Basques. Culturally, the groups most distant from the host national culture are Moroccans and sub-Saharan Africans, because most of them are Muslims, have clearly differentiated gender roles, and are less likely to have ties with Spaniards (Basque Observatory of Immigration 2009; de Miguel and Tranmer 2010); also, Romanians tend to have fewer relations with Spaniards (Basabe et al. 2009). A recent study in the Basque context (Sevillano et al. 2012) showed that sub-Saharan African and Moroccan immigrants presented a more negative social situation in terms of income, education, percentage married/cohabiting with partner, and legal status. In contrast, Colombians and Bolivians share the Spanish language with the host nationals. Colombian immigrants showed a more favorable social situation in terms of net household income, language, and level of education (Sevillano et al. 2012). Also, the social perception of immigrant groups in Spain is more negative for Africans and Romanians than for Latino immigrants (Cea and Valles 2011).

As a consequence of differences in cultural proximity, socioeconomic status, and perception/experience of discrimination, immigrants' well-being varies as a function of their ethnicity. Because of their cultural proximity to Spain and favorable social status, Latin Americans are expected to experience higher well-being than Africans or Romanians. Indeed, a report from the Basque Country (Basabe et al. 2009) revealed that Colombians report the highest levels of mental health, positive affect and satisfaction with life, and economic status, whereas Africans (both Moroccans and sub-Saharans) and Romanians are the groups with the lowest emotional well-being. Furthermore, among immigrant adolescents in Spain, Latino immigrants report better psychological adaptation or life satisfaction than Africans (Briones et al. 2012). In the same vein, also the availability of coping resources may vary according to ethnic origin. Some groups may be more successful in their identity management because of their cultural proximity to the host culture and higher social status.

Coping with Devalued Identity and Adaptation

Research shows that immigrant young adults may lack coping resources for dealing with the experience of immigration distress and that this can affect their functioning (Walsh et al. 2008). In turn, optimal coping resources lead to better adjustment. Immigrants' coping can, however, go beyond classic coping models and individual-level responses. Social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner 1979) offers potential explanations for how members of disadvantaged groups might achieve a positive personal and group identity. Depending on social-structural conditions related to intergroup power relations within a society, people choose to rebuild their positive self-concept by means of individual or collective identity management strategies.

Individual Identity Management Strategies

According to SIT (Tajfel and Turner 1979), a disadvantaged group member will usually opt for individual mobility if the group boundaries are permeable and personal promotion is achievable. Individual mobility, as a strategy accessible to “nonvisible” immigrant groups (such as Europeans, and in this case especially Romanians), is oriented toward achieving personal progress (Miller and Kaiser 2001) and involves an attempt to become a member of the high-status group. If successful, this coping response is associated with personal well-being (Penley et al. 2002). Individual mobility therefore seems to be the most feasible strategy for immigrants from European countries, such as Romanians, who are the least “visible” minority, as well having the advantage of being European Union (EU) citizens. However, in the case of highly “visible” groups, such as sub-Saharan Africans, they may still express their preference for upward mobility, and may choose avoidance coping or detachment from the negative identity through prejudice minimization (Outten et al. 2009). This category of strategies would also be associated with adaptive emotional self-regulation (Penley et al. 2002). Especially for immigrants, upward mobility efforts are associated with a more abrupt and stressful social insertion, so that more intense and effective emotion regulation becomes necessary.

Another individual-level identity management strategy that immigrants might apply to cope with a devalued group identity is positive reappraisal through favorable social comparisons (Blanz et al. 1998). For instance, immigrants may perceive that their current situation in a new cultural context is better in comparison to their experiences in the country of origin. There might be diverse factors contributing to a positive balance as a result of temporal (then-and-now) comparisons, such as better socioeconomic conditions and quality of life (higher income or access to public health care services) or freedom of expression (in the case of refugees). Similarly, downward comparisons involving the positive aspects of one’s personal situation as compared to other individuals who have to face the same stressors can help to restore or maintain a positive self-concept. In particular, immigrants who are relatively successful (such as those from Latin America) or with opportunities to succeed personally (e.g., the “nonvisible” Romanians) can make use of such favorable social comparisons. In contrast, more vulnerable groups, such as Moroccan or sub-Saharan immigrants, who are often unemployed and/or undocumented, can scarcely benefit from such strategies. Social comparison processes are not clearly related to well-being (Fujita 2008), but can be considered adaptive as responses linked to positive reappraisal or cognitive reevaluation.

Collective Identity Management Strategies

In the case that group boundaries are not permeable and there is no possibility to achieve equal treatment as members of a dominant group and access to resources, individuals with a devalued social identity may seek collective solutions that can help to restore positive identity. In such situations, members of disadvantaged groups are most likely to mobilize for social change (Ellemers et al. 1990). For instance, immigrants may express their willingness to fight for equality of the in-group through participation in political action aimed at improving their rights (Miller and Kaiser 2001). Groups for whom the group boundaries are not permeable and/or with low status in the ethnic hierarchy (Africans, undocumented) are particularly likely to turn to group solutions in order to improve their disadvantaged position in the social hierarchy. On the other hand, groups with subjective perception of collective injustice (and not necessarily the objectively lowest status in the ethnic hierarchy) may be those who demand social change most strongly. Previous research has revealed that in the Spanish context, Romanians perceived the highest collective prejudice among the different immigrant groups (Basabe et al. 2009). Social competition might help to restore positive group identity through increased group identification and feelings of empowerment; at the same time, however, strategies oriented toward social change can awaken a perception of threat in the high-status group and therefore not increase well-being (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998).

Just as cognitive individual strategies consist of positive reevaluation, social creativity collective-level strategies involve cognitive changes in the parameters that define the context of intergroup comparison, which enable an individual to restore his or her collective self-concept. For instance, a person may select out-groups with lower status than the in-group for comparison (Blanz et al. 1998; Miller and Kaiser 2001). Instead of comparing the in-group to the dominant high-status group, Latino immigrants, for example, might opt for comparing themselves as a group with another group of immigrants who have a lower position in the societal hierarchy (Africans). Overall, as cognitive restructuration responses, these strategies may be adaptive in the short term; in the long run, however, they tend to maintain the status quo (Miller and Kaiser 2001).

In sum, where individual mobility and social competition are clearly conceptualized as responses serving personal or group goals (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998), social comparison or social creativity strategies may express either individual or collective tendencies. In this study, therefore, we focus on the two extremes of the continuum of individual and collective responses to group disadvantage—individual mobility and social competition—as well as on two examples of social comparison: individual-level temporal and intragroup comparisons and group-level social creativity based on searching for a new group for comparison. In this way, the different functioning of behavioral mobilization and cognitive restructuration based on social comparisons is tested at both individual and collective levels. Importantly, individual mobility and social competition are clearly conceptualized as responses serving personal or group goals (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998), so that we might expect their differential impact on private and public aspects of well-being.

Adaptation: Social and Psychological Well-Being

Till now, the well-being of minorities and minority youth has been mostly measured in negative terms (e.g., Mesch et al. 2008). Few scholars have explored ethnic minorities' well-being in terms of aspects of the individual's functioning currently dominant in positive psychology, such as psychological or social well-being (e.g., Ryff et al. 2003). Whereas hedonic well-being is usually measured in terms of affect balance and satisfaction with life, eudaimonic well-being (including both its personal and public aspects) concerns human potential and the art of living.

For instance, in Ryff et al.'s (2003) study, minority status was associated with higher eudaimonic well-being. In addition, minority young adults (19–39 years) enjoyed higher levels of purpose in life and personal growth than elderly members of minority groups. Based on these previous findings, we expect that differences in well-being according to ethnicity will be more evident in the case of hedonic well-being and less so in that of eudaimonic well-being.

Hypotheses

The aim of this study is to analyze the mediating role of individual and collective identity management strategies between personal discrimination perceived by immigrants and well-being, and between ethnicity and well-being.

First, we expect that the more the perceived personal discrimination, the lower the well-being. However, identity management strategies such as positive social comparisons, individual mobility, and social competition will protect the immigrant young adult's well-being from the effects of discrimination (mediation hypothesis H1).

Second, we hypothesize that immigrants' well-being will differ depending on their cultural proximity in relation to the host culture (operationalized through ethnic origin). Specifically, Colombians are expected to show the highest levels of well-being, followed by Bolivians and Romanians, with sub-Saharan Africans and Moroccans presenting the lowest levels (H2). Nevertheless, we expect the disparities in well-being to be most evident in hedonic well-being.

In addition, we shall test whether identity management strategies mitigate the effects of ethnicity on well-being. Individual mobility will be the most effective mediator between perceived discrimination and well-being for Romanians, while the Africans and Bolivians will not differ in comparison to Colombians (H3). Also, we expect that Latino immigrants, followed by Romanians, will benefit most from social creativity strategies based on temporal and intragroup comparisons, compared to Africans (H4). In turn, social competition is expected to be the mediator more for Moroccans, sub-Saharan Africans, and Romanians than for Latin Americans (H5). Finally, social creativity based on selecting a new group of comparison will attenuate more negative effects of discrimination on well-being among Colombians, followed by Bolivians, as compared to Africans and Romanians (H6).

Method

Participants

A total sample of 232 foreign-born young adult immigrants (aged 18–24) from Bolivia ($n=45$), Colombia ($n=42$), Morocco ($n=53$), Romania ($n=56$), and sub–Saharan countries ($n=36$; e.g., Senegal, Nigeria, and Cameroon) took part in this study. Participation was voluntary, and all responses were confidential. Within this sample, 46.6 % of the participants were female and the mean age was 21.3 years. Participants' average time of residence in Spain was 4 years ($SD=3.09$), with a maximum of 23 years. Almost 11 % of the respondents had no formal education, 33.9 % had completed primary education, 46.5 % had completed secondary education, and 8.8 % had a university degree. Among those who responded, net household income in the case of 56.5 % of the respondents ranged from 600 to 1,800 €, while in the case of 35.9 % it was below 600 €. More than half, lived with their partner (39.8 %). Only 37.9 % of participants were professionally active, 42.7 % being unemployed or looking for a job. The majority of participants had their legal status regularized, but 28.0 % were still living in Spain without a residence permit. Most participants declared themselves as Catholic (39.3 %) or Muslim (28.4 %), or as of other religious confession (24.4 %). More detailed sociodemographic characteristics of the sample by country of origin are presented in Table 1[1].

Procedure

The current cross-sectional data was collected between December 2009 and February 2010 in the Basque Country autonomous region of Spain. A larger sample (aged 18–60) was obtained through a probability sampling procedure by ethnicity, with stratification by age and sex. The selection of countries of origin was based on the statistical records concerning the prevalence of immigrants according to their country of origin, and covers the largest migrant groups in the Basque Country, representing 46 % of all the immigrant nationalities (Basque Observatory of Immigration 2009). The sample was drawn from public records[2] and was selected based on the distribution

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[1] Significant differences were found by country of origin for the distribution by gender, income, education, employment, marital and legal status, and religion, as well by mean length of residence.

[2] According to official statistics, in the Basque Country autonomous region, 91 % of the foreign-born population were registered, and had access to public health services, with a between-country variation: from 97 % for Colombians to 86 % for sub-Saharan Africans. A total of 23 % were undocumented or living in Spain without a residence permit (Basque Observatory of Immigration 2009).

Table 1 Sociodemographic characteristics and descriptive data across five ethnic groups

	Colombia	Bolivia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Morocco	Romania
Age					
Mean (SD)	21.0 (2.21)	22.1 (2.05)	21.1 (2.25)	21.3 (2.03)	21.6 (1.86)
Sex					
Male	45.2	37.8	63.9	67.9	51.8
Female	54.8	62.2	36.1	32.1	48.2
Income (%)					
≤600 €	21.9	17.1	43.5	52.4	42.1
601–1,800 €	59.4	74.3	47.8	47.6	52.6
1,801–3,000 €	18.8	8.6	4.3	–	2.6
≥3,000 €	–	–	4.3	–	2.6
Education (%)					
Without formal education	–	6.7	11.1	15.4	18.2
Primary education	23.8	24.4	47.2	34.6	40.0
Secondary education	66.7	53.3	33.3	44.2	36.4
Further education	4.8	6.7	8.3	5.8	1.8
Higher education	4.8	8.9	–	–	3.6
Employment (%)					
Working	54.8	53.3	19.4	15.1	46.4
Not working	14.3	26.7	66.7	58.5	48.2
Housewife	4.8	8.9	–	13.2	3.6
Studying	26.2	11.1	13.9	13.2	1.8
Marital status (%)					
Single	56.1	52.3	88.2	74.5	39.3
Married/cohabiting	43.9	47.7	11.8	25.5	60.7
Legal status (%)					
Documented	95.1	51.1	57.1	71.2	n/a
Undocumented	4.9	48.9	42.9	28.8	n/a
Religion					
Christian (Catholic, Protestant)	75.6	86.4	38.9	–	14.5
Muslim	–	–	44.4	92.5	–
Other religion (e.g., Orthodox)	9.8	6.8	8.3	–	81.8
Atheist	14.6	6.8	8.3	7.5	3.6
Length of residence					
Mean (SD)	4.95 (2.71)	4.40 (1.59)	5.28 (4.44)	5.32 (4.10)	3.48 (2.38)

Table 1 (continued)

	Colombia	Bolivia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Morocco	Romania
Discrimination, mean (SD)	1.58 (0.71)	1.76 (0.81)	1.81 (1.05)	1.69 (0.99)	1.76 (0.94)
Individual mobility and self-regulation, mean (SD)	3.56 (0.70)	3.56 (0.59)	3.63 (0.83)	3.39 (0.91)	3.91 (0.82)
Temporal and intra-group comparisons, mean (SD)	3.78 (0.78)	3.53 (0.72)	3.26 (0.92)	3.15 (1.09)	3.54 (0.93)
Social competition, mean (SD)	3.86 (0.69)	3.94 (0.68)	3.99 (0.71)	4.04 (0.77)	4.31 (0.57)
Social creativity: new group, mean (SD)	3.82 (0.80)	3.86 (0.80)	3.72 (0.75)	3.25 (1.05)	3.27 (1.09)
Hedonic well-being, mean (SD)	0.15 (0.50)	−0.02 (0.53)	−0.04 (0.64)	−0.19 (0.54)	−0.12 (0.59)
Psychological well-being, mean (SD)	4.56 (0.69)	4.46 (0.72)	4.32 (.69)	4.17 (0.78)	4.43 (0.73)
Social well-being, mean (SD)	3.44 (0.59)	3.41 (0.57)	3.42 (0.62)	3.33 (0.76)	3.26 (0.61)

of immigrants in the provinces, districts of the three cities, and 15 localities with at least 6 % of immigrants. The sample was consistent with the real representation of each locality or district within the Basque Country.

Respondents participated in a fully structured, face-to-face interview in Spanish[3]. In the first phase, participants were recruited by random routes in their households, and, in the second phase, in the adjacent streets according to the assigned routes. In some cases, especially with Africans who are concentrated in certain urban districts and localities, interviews on the street and in public settings were more frequent.

Measures

Perceived Personal Discrimination Experience of discrimination among immigrants was operationalized with five items ($\alpha = 0.88$) (Basabe et al. 2009). Participants were to indicate, on a scale ranging from one (never) to five (very often), how frequently, during their time in Spain, people have given them, for example, hostile treatment that they would never give to other Spanish or Basque people.

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[3] The fieldwork was carried out by a specialist company that meets Spain's legal requirements on data protection. The data were collected by a team of trained interviewers who were provided with detailed fieldwork instructions. Interviews were conducted in Spanish, given that the vast majority of the other immigrant groups in Spain are able to speak and understand it. However, many of the interviewers were bilingual (Spanish- and English- or French-speaking), and they were all backed up with English and French versions of the questionnaire.

Individual and Collective Identity Management Strategies The Coping with Immigrant's Stigma Scale was adapted from Mummendey et al. (1999) by Bobowik et al. (2012) and showed satisfactory construct validity.[4] Its items were generated using the existing literature and based on the taxonomy of identity management strategies developed by Blanz et al. (1998). For this study, we selected two individual responses: individual mobility and self-regulation (five items, $\alpha=0.69$), and temporal and intragroup comparisons (four items, $\alpha=0.82$); and two collective strategies: social competition (three items, $\alpha=0.52$) and social creativity based on seeking a new group of comparison (two items, $\alpha=0.64$). All the items (see Appendix 1) were positively worded, and responses were on a five-point response scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree).

Hedonic Well-Being (HWB) We used an item extracted from the World Value Survey (Inglehart et al. 2004) for general evaluation of one's life ("All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?"). Participants were asked to indicate their response on a ten-point Likert scale (1 = dissatisfied and 10 = satisfied). To measure affect we used the Affect Balance Scale (Bradburn 1969; translated by Echevarría and Páez 1989). Participants rated the extent to which each of the 18 affect items described how they were feeling during the last month on a scale that ranged from one (seldom or never) to four (almost always). Positive affect, reverse-coded negative affect, and life satisfaction items were all standardized to compute a mean score for hedonic well-being. This indicator achieved a satisfactory internal consistency of 0.87.

Psychological Well-Being (PWB) We used the 18-item Psychological Well-Being Scale (Ryff 1989; adapted by Díaz et al. 2006), including six dimensions: environmental mastery (five items, e.g., "I am good at managing the responsibilities of my daily life"), positive relations with others (five items, e.g., "I have warm and trusting relationships with others"), personal growth (five items, e.g., "I've had experiences that challenged me to grow and become a better person"), autonomy (e.g., "I feel confident to think or express my own ideas and opinions"), purpose of life (e.g., "I feel that my life has a sense of direction or meaning to it"), and self-acceptance (e.g., "I like the way I am, and most parts of my personality"). The latter three dimensions were operationalized with a single item due to constraints related to the extent of the survey. All items were measured on a six-point Likert scale (1 = *completely disagree*, to 6 = *fully agree*), and the scale presented good reliability ($\alpha=.88$).

Social Well-Being (SWB) A total of 14 items of the Social Well-Being Scale (Keyes 1998, adapted from Blanco and Diaz 2005; for construct validity see Bobowik et al. 2012b), with response options ranging from one (completely disagree) to five (fully agree), were used to assess five dimensions of participants' social well-being: social contribution (e.g., "I have something important to contribute to

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[4] In Bobowik et al.'s (2012) study, confirmatory factor analyses found nine identity management strategies. In the present chapter, we selected four latent factors that are the most representative, as well as presenting most variability between groups and the best predictive validity.

society"), social integration (e.g., "I feel I belong to something I'd call a community"), social actualization (e.g., "Our society is becoming a better place for people like me"), social acceptance (e.g., "People are basically good"), and social coherence (e.g., "I cannot make sense of what's going on in the world"). Each subscale consisted of three items, except for social coherence (one item was removed due to low factorial loading and low reliability). A mean score of social well-being was computed, with satisfactory reliability ($\alpha = 0.84$).
Means and standard deviations for perceived personal discrimination, identity management strategies, and well-being are presented in Table 1.

Analytical Strategy

In order to test the mediation hypotheses, we used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) macro for bootstrapping indirect effects (Hayes and Preacher 2011), which provides indirect effect estimates for multiple mediators, standard errors (SEs), and the confidence intervals (CIs) derived from the bootstrap distribution. Bootstrapped confidence intervals are superior to the standard forms of estimating SEs of indirect effects (Preacher and Hayes 2008). An indirect effect is significant if the CI does not include the zero value. When analyzing the effect of the multi-categorical independent variable (such as ethnicity), k-1 variables coding groups are automatically generated (where k is the number of groups) using indicator type coding. In this type of coding, each group is compared to the reference group, which in our case were the Colombians as the group with the highest position in the ethnic hierarchy among the five immigrant groups under study (see Introduction). In the case of the multiple mediation models with ethnicity as a predictor, the analyses were controlled for gender, education, and income.

Results

Perceived Discrimination, Identity Management Strategies, and Well-Being

As observed in Figs. 2 and 3, all the direct and total effects were significant, in support of the part of H1 concerning the negative effect of perceived discrimination on well-being. H1 was also largely supported, as it regards the indirect effects of perceived discrimination on well-being through the strategies. The individual mobility and self-regulation (IMSR) strategy was a significant mediator between perceived personal discrimination and psychological well-being ($b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.01$, CI [-0.026, -0.005]), but not in the case of the hedonic and social well-being components. In turn, the indirect effects of perceived discrimination on well-being through temporal

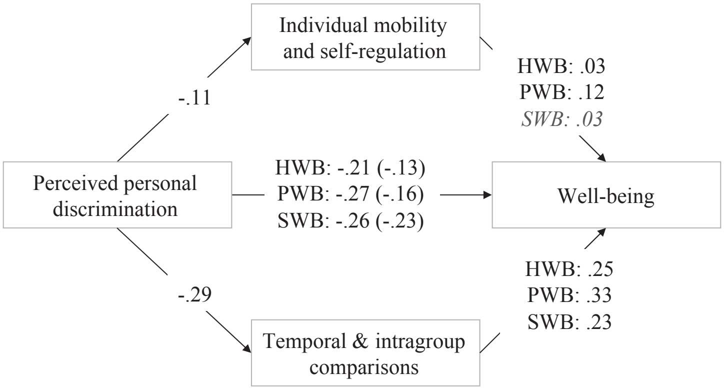

Fig. 2 Results of multiple mediation analysis: perceived discrimination, individual identity management strategies, and well-being. (*HWB* hedonic well-being, *PWB* psychological well-being, *SWB* social well-being. Path coefficients are unstandardized estimates. Total and direct (in parenthesis) effects of perceived discrimination on well-being are shown. Coefficients in italics represent non-significant effects. Solid paths mean that at least one of the effects is significant at $p < 0.05$)

and intragroup comparisons (TIC) were significant for all three components of well-being (HWB: $b = -0.07$, $SE = 0.01$, CI [−0.092, −0.052]; PWB: $b = -0.10$, $SE = 0.01$, CI [−0.124, −0.069]; SWB: $b = -0.07$, $SE = 0.01$, CI [−0.086, −0.047]).

For the collective coping strategies, the indirect effects of perceived discrimination on well-being through social competition (SC) were significant for all three components of well-being (HWB: $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.00$, CI [−0.026, −0.006]; PWB: $b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.01$, CI [−0.077, −0.030]; SWB: $b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$, CI [−0.038, −0.012]). In turn, social creativity based on seeking a new group of comparison (NGC) also had a significant indirect effect on each of the well-being components (HWB: $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.00$, CI [−0.015, −0.002]; PWB: $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.00$, CI [−0.017, −0.001]; SWB: $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.00$, CI [−0.017, −0.002]).

Ethnicity and Well-Being

Hypothesis 2 concerned the disparities in well-being according to ethnicity. Figure 4 presents a model with the IMSR as well as TIC strategies as mediators between ethnicity (Bolivians, and so on, all contrasted with the reference group: Colombians) and the three well-being components. Figure 5 presents a parallel model for the two collective coping strategies.

According to H2, Colombians and Bolivians would show higher well-being than Africans and Romanians—more culturally distant from Spain. As expected (see Fig. 4), the total effects were significant for Moroccans ($b = -0.23$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = -4.18$, $p < 0.001$), sub-Saharan Africans ($b = -0.17$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = -3.03$, $p = 0.002$), and Romanians ($b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = -2.28$, $p = 0.023$), and also for Bolivians ($b = -0.18$, $SE = 0.09$, $t = -3.49$, $p = 0.046$), who showed significantly lower levels

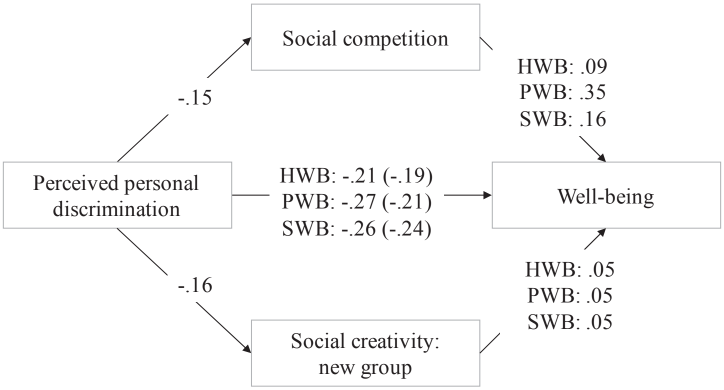

Fig. 3 Results of multiple mediation analysis: perceived discrimination, collective identity management strategies, and well-being. (All abbreviations and symbols are explained in the legend for Fig. 2)

of HWB than Colombians. Similarly, sub-Saharan Africans ($b=-0.23$, $SE=0.07$, $t=-3.23$, $p=0.001$), Moroccans ($b=-0.22$, $SE=0.07$, $t=-3.17$, $p=0.001$), and Bolivians ($b=-0.17$, $SE=0.07$, $t=-2.55$, $p=0.011$), but not Romanians, presented lower levels of PWB compared to Colombians. In the cases of both HWB and PWB, these effects remained significant when individual strategies and collective strategies were controlled for (see Figs. 4 and 5). In turn, the total and direct effects of ethnicity on social well-being were not significant (Figs. 4 and 5), except for a direct effect in the case of sub-Saharan Africans as compared to Colombians, after controlling for individual strategies ($b=0.14$, $SE=0.05$, $p=0.010$). In the case of social well-being, our hypothesis was therefore not supported.

Ethnicity, Individual Identity Management Strategies, and Well-Being

In the following step, we tested H3 and H4 regarding the indirect effects of ethnicity on well-being through individual identity management strategies. As can be seen in Fig. 4, Romanians ($b=0.44$, $SE=0.08$, $t=5.64$, $p<0.001$), followed by sub-Saharan Africans ($b=0.16$, $SE=0.08$, $t=2.06$, $p=0.040$), selected the strategy of IMSR significantly more than Colombians, whereas Africans (sub-Saharan: $b=-0.24$, $SE=0.09$, $t=-2.71$, $p=0.007$; Moroccan: $b=-0.15$, $SE=0.08$, $t=-1.72$, $p=0.086$), but not Romanians and Bolivians, were less likely to make TICs than Colombians. Also, both individual strategies were significantly and positively related to hedonic (IMSR: $b=0.05$, $SE=0.02$, $t=2.66$, $p=0.008$; TIC: $b=0.28$, $SE=0.02$, $t=15.70$, $p<0.001$), psychological (IMSR: $b=0.14$, $SE=0.02$, $t=5.44$, $p<0.001$; TIC: $b=0.37$, $SE=0.02$, $t=16.14$, $p<0.001$), and social well-being (IMSR: $b=0.05$, $SE=0.02$, $t=2.17$, $p=0.030$; TIC: $b=0.28$, $SE=0.02$, $t=14.71$, $p<0.001$).

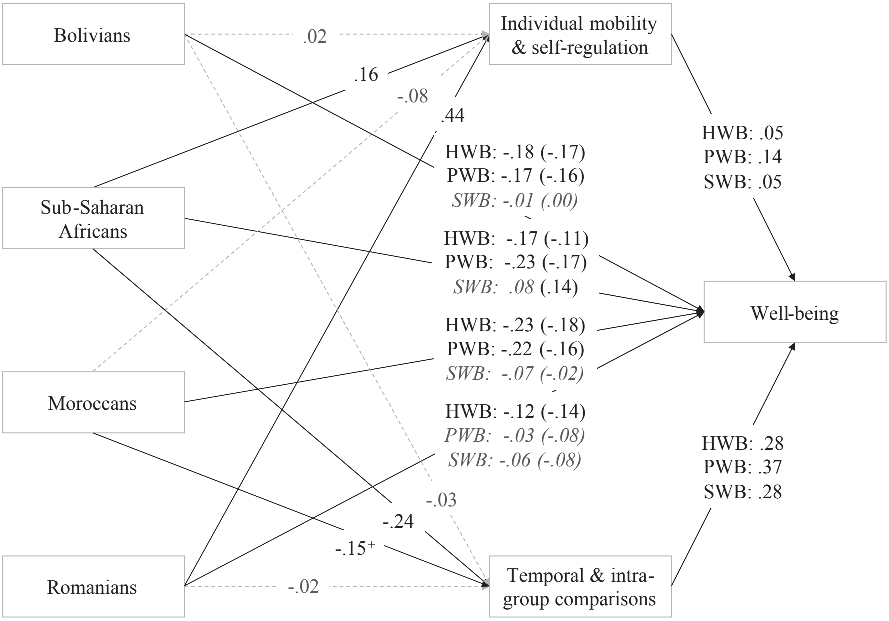
Bolivians
Sub-Saharan Africans
Moroccans
Romanians
Individual mobility & self-regulation
Temporal & intra-group comparisons
Well-being
.02
.16
-.08
.44
-.03
-.24
-.15⁺
-.02
HWB: -.18 (-.17)
PWB: -.17 (-.16)
SWB: -.01 (.00)
HWB: -.17 (-.11)
PWB: -.23 (-.17)
SWB: .08 (.14)
HWB: -.23 (-.18)
PWB: -.22 (-.16)
SWB: -.07 (-.02)
HWB: -.12 (-.14)
PWB: -.03 (-.08)
SWB: -.06 (-.08)
HWB: .05
PWB: .14
SWB: .05
HWB: .28
PWB: .37
SWB: .28

Fig. 4 Results of multiple mediation analysis: ethnicity, individual identity management strategies, and well-being. (All abbreviations and symbols are explained in the legend for Fig. 2)

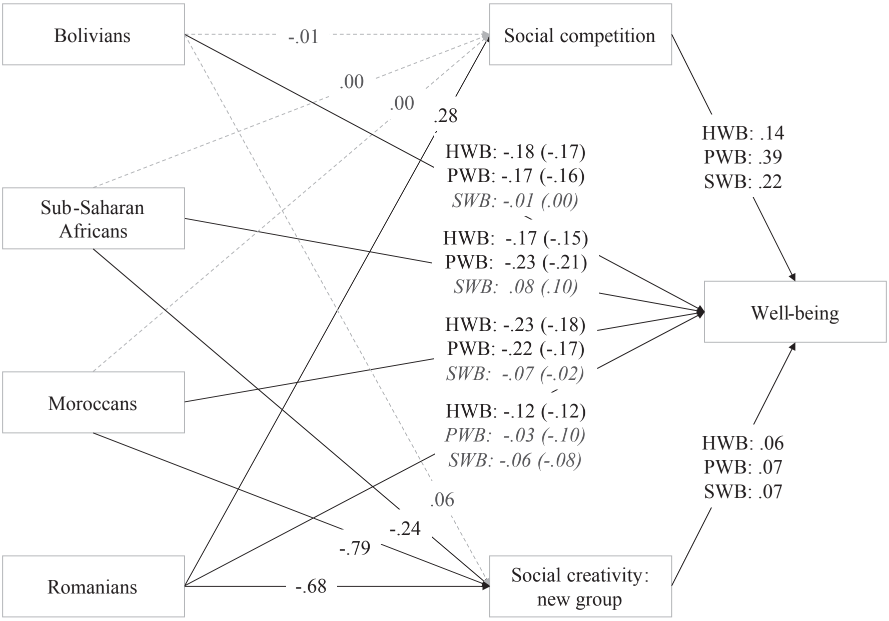
Bolivians
Sub-Saharan Africans
Moroccans
Romanians
Social competition
Social creativity: new group
Well-being
-.01
.00
.00
.28
.06
-.24
-.79
-.68
HWB: -.18 (-.17)
PWB: -.17 (-.16)
SWB: -.01 (.00)
HWB: -.17 (-.15)
PWB: -.23 (-.21)
SWB: .08 (.10)
HWB: -.23 (-.18)
PWB: -.22 (-.17)
SWB: -.07 (-.02)
HWB: -.12 (-.12)
PWB: -.03 (-.10)
SWB: -.06 (-.08)
HWB: .14
PWB: .39
SWB: .22
HWB: .06
PWB: .07
SWB: .07

Fig. 5 Results of multiple mediation analysis: ethnicity, collective identity management strategies, and well-being. (All abbreviations and symbols are explained in the legend for Fig. 2)

In the case of IMSR, the indirect effect was as expected (H3), significant only for Romanians as compared to Colombians for both HWB ($b=0.02$, $SE=0.01$, CI [0.005, 0.046]) and PWB ($b=0.06$, $SE=0.02$, CI [0.033, 0.095]). However, in addition, the indirect effect of IMSR on well-being was significant in the case of sub-Saharan Africans compared to Colombians, but only in the case of PWB ($b=0.02$, $SE=0.01$, CI [0.002, 0.047]). In the case of TIC, the indirect effects were significant and negative for sub-Saharan Africans (versus Colombians) and the three components of well-being (HWB: $b=-0.07$, $SE=0.03$, CI [−0.117, −0.017]); PWB: $b=-0.09$, $SE=0.04$, CI [−0.153, −0.021]; SWB: $b=-0.07$, $SE=0.03$, CI [−0.118, −0.019]). As hypothesized (H4), the sub-Saharan Africans (but not Moroccans) show lower well-being than Colombians do because they are less likely to use temporal and intragroup comparisons.

Ethnicity, Collective Identity Management Strategies, and Well-Being

Finally, we tested whether social competition is a mediator more for the most discriminated and/or low-status Moroccans and sub-Saharan Africans than for the relatively less discriminated and high-status Latin Americans (H5), and whether social creativity is a mediator more for Colombians than for Africans and Romanians (H6).

Romanians were found to use SC more than Colombians ($b=0.28$, $SE=0.07$, $t=4.19$, $p<0.001$). In turn, together with Moroccans ($b=-0.78$, $SE=0.09$, $t=-8.87$, $p<0.001$) and sub-Saharan Africans ($b=-0.24$, $SE=0.09$, $t=-2.72$, $p=0.007$), they used less NGC ($b=-0.68$, $SE=0.09$, $t=-7.59$, $p<0.001$) than Colombians (see Fig. 5). SC was significantly related to all three well-being components (HWB: $b=0.14$, $SE=0.02$, $t=5.34$, $p<0.001$; PWB: $b=0.39$, $SE=0.03$, $t=12.53$, $p<0.001$; SWB: $b=0.22$, $SE=0.03$, $t=8.15$, $p<0.001$), and so was NGC (HWB: $b=0.06$, $SE=0.02$, $t=3.06$, $p<0.001$; PWB: $b=0.07$, $SE=0.02$, $t=2.83$, $p=0.005$; SWB: $b=0.07$, $SE=0.02$, $t=3.45$, $p=0.001$), though to a lesser extent. The total effects on well-being were the same as in Fig. 4. Again, these effects remained significant after controlling for collective coping responses.

At the same time, only in partial support of H5, the bootstrapping indirect effect was significant in the case of SC for Romanians, but not Africans, as compared to Colombians, across the three well-being components (HWB: $b=0.04$, $SE=0.01$, CI [0.018, 0.064]; PWB: $b=0.11$, $SE=0.03$, CI [0.057, 0.168]); SWB: $b=0.06$, $SE=0.02$, CI [0.030, 0.098]). In turn, the effects for NGC were significant and negative in the case of Moroccans (HWB: $b=-0.05$, $SE=0.02$, CI [−0.081, −0.014]) PWB:$b=-0.05$, $SE=0.02$, CI [−0.091, −0.016], SWB: $b=-0.05$, $SE=0.02$, CI [−0.090, −0.021]) and sub-Saharan-Africans (HWB: $b=-0.01$, $SE=0.01$, CI [−0.031, −0.002]; PWB: $b=-0.02$, $SE=0.01$, CI [−0.035, −0.003]; SWB: $b=-0.02$, $SE=0.01$, CI [−0.035, −0.004]), as well as Romanians for private aspects of well-being (HWB: $b=-0.04$, $SE=0.01$, CI [−0.072, −0.013]; PWB: $b=-0.04$, $SE=0.01$, CI [−0.080, −0.014]), compared with Colombians. H6 was thus corroborated: Colombians show higher well-being than Africans and Romanians because they use social creativity based on finding new groups of comparison, whereas Bolivians do not differ from Colombians in this regard.

Discussion

This study aimed to examine the *buffering* effect of identity management strategies on immigrant emerging adults' well-being. We also explored the differences in coping responses to migration hardships among immigrants with different ethnic backgrounds. The study found some evidence for the predicted role of the coping strategies in mitigating deleterious effects of perceived discrimination on immigrants' psychological functioning. Notwithstanding the above, not all the identity management mechanisms serve equally as a buffer for well-being across distinct ethnicities. Importantly, Colombians benefit from both individual- and group-level favorable social comparisons, whereas Romanians restore or maintain their well-being through personal and group mobilization. African (especially Moroccan) immigrants suffer most from the consequences of lack of coping resources on their psychological functioning. Later, we discuss the meaning and implications of our findings in detail.

First, the study confirmed that identity management strategies help immigrants to protect their psychological functioning, in terms of both hedonic and eudaimonic well-being, or in terms of both its private and public aspects. In particular, we demonstrated that, at both the individual and collective levels, mobilization as an active coping strategy and social comparisons embedded in cognitive reappraisal processes can help prevent the perceived experience of immigration from adversely affecting immigrants' psychological functioning. Identity management strategies were related to and attenuated the effects of perceived discrimination on hedonic, psychological, and eudaimonic well-being, with the exception of individual mobility's mediating role between personal discrimination and hedonic and social well-being. Interestingly, individual mobility and self-regulation were successful strategies in the case of psychological aspects of well-being, related to aspects such as personal growth, autonomy, or environmental mastery. That is, striving for personal promotion is a strategy which protects those aspects of well-being related to seeking the satisfaction of needs for growth and engagement with the challenges of life, whereas it might be a costly strategy for both hedonic well-being, strongly related to emotional stress, and social spheres of human functioning, because one might be rejected by other members of the in-group for lack of group loyalty.

Interestingly, favorable temporal and intragroup comparisons were shown to be the most powerful strategy (with the strongest indirect effects) a young adult immigrant can use to deal with his or her disadvantaged group status. More broadly, this finding supports the idea that immigrant young people with an optimistic view of their migratory process do better even in the face of difficulties they encounter in the new country. That is, immigration does not have to be seen only as an adversity, but can also be viewed as an opportunity for personal growth, learning new skills, and better quality of life as compared to one's past experience. Walsh et al. (2008) argue that individuals, especially who at the beginning of the migratory experience show psychological health, have the capability of seeing positive aspects of the immigration because they seem unaffected by the impact of unavoidable acculturative stress.

We also found that perceived discrimination was negatively related to both individual and collective coping and to hedonic, psychological, and social aspects of well-being. The latter association is simple to understand: personal experience of discrimination is detrimental to well-being. However, the negative association of discrimination and coping is more complex, suggesting that low discrimination reinforces coping response overall. We must stress the fact that the measure of perceived discrimination was a personal index, and fraternal or group perceived discrimination was positively related to coping (unpublished data). Our findings show, therefore, that high social integration reinforces all types of coping.

The second and key finding of this research is that depending on their ethnic origin, young immigrants present disparities in levels of well-being. Latinos, as expected, appear to experience higher well-being in terms of private spheres (hedonic and psychological components) than Africans, even when accounting for identity management strategies, though Bolivians also present a disadvantaged position in these aspects of well-being. Such results indicate that young Latino people in Spain avail themselves of the opportunities the host country offers them more efficiently than immigrants of African origin. In turn, Romanians only experience a lower level of hedonic, and not of eudaimonic well-being. Romanians appear to be achieving equally high levels of positive functioning related to the development of human potential and capacities as do Colombians. The results found in the present research confirm that the disparities in well-being are the strongest for Moroccans, who feel more disadvantaged than any group in the EU (European Agency for Fundamental Rights 2010). In particular, young Moroccans in Spain suffer strong negative stereotyping because they are usually associated with violence, delinquency, substance use, and abuse of the social welfare system.

Furthermore, the ethnic groups under study in our research made different use of identity management strategies. As far as individual mobility is concerned, our hypotheses were corroborated: Romanians strive for individual mobility and self-regulate in order to buffer the negative effects of perceived discrimination in private but not public aspects of well-being. Curiously, sub-Saharan Africans also benefit from individual mobility efforts, which mitigate the negative effects of discrimination on their psychological well-being. Sub-Saharan Africans with strong motivation and making efforts to improve their personal situation obtain better fulfillment of their human potential and capacities.

As regards the individual identity management strategy based on temporal and intragroup comparisons, young Latinos in Spain, as a less vulnerable group and with higher status and well-being than other ethnicities, tend to see their personal situation as favorable in comparison to their past experience (personal temporal comparisons) and to others (intragroup comparisons), and their group situation as better than the other immigrant groups (downward comparisons to other immigrant groups such as Africans or Romanians). In turn, Moroccans, as well as sub-Saharan Africans, are highly vulnerable groups, and in the economic crisis many of them in Spain are unemployed. When they compare their situation to their past experience (e.g., they once had a job), the balance is negative. Therefore, temporal and intragroup comparisons are unlikely to be favorable for them.

At the collective level, Romanians, compared to other groups, benefit above all from social competition: the mediation was stronger for this strategy than for individual mobility. This might be explained by the fact that Romanians do not accept illegitimacy of group status differences, whereas, for example, Africans do. This finding is important because it demonstrates the multi-dimensional character of identity management strategies. Individual mobility and social competition, though theoretically at opposite poles of a continuum and activated under different sociostructural conditions (high versus low permeability of group boundaries), are not mutually exclusive. Romanian respondents may express their desire for personal promotion in the host society, but in spite of the apparent permeability of group boundaries (citizenship of EU member states, small cultural distance, and low visibility as a minority), this individual mobility is not as easy as expected. Romanians usually suffer from discrimination because they are associated with the negative Roma stereotype, which has persisted and still prevails in Spain (Cea and Valles 2011).

Finally, as expected, Colombians were found to benefit more from favorable social comparisons than Africans and Romanians, and Bolivians showed a similar profile to Colombians. Taken together, Latino young people have an optimistic view of their migratory project, report a better present, and believe in a better future, at least more than other young immigrant groups. At the same time, Romanians and Africans use less advantageous social comparisons with other groups, and therefore cannot make use of this strategy to protect their well-being. In the case of Romanians, it may be that these emerging adults strongly believe that they are the group which experiences most injustice and prejudice. In turn, Moroccans cannot benefit from a social creativity strategy based on selecting a new group of comparison because of their strong negative in-group stereotype, which impedes making any kind of downward group comparisons. Overall, Latino youth can make use of symbolic differentiation more easily than other ethnic groups.

Taken together, our findings are in line with the existing research demonstrating that Moroccan adolescents suffer from more ethnic discrimination than Ecuadoreans (Briones et al. 2012). Indeed, perceived prejudice and lack of coping resources in African young adults in Spain negatively affects their well-being. In any case, future research should address the shortcomings of this study. The first limitation is its cross-sectional nature. Longitudinal studies are therefore necessary to confirm the causality of the relationship between identity management strategies and well-being. Also, multi-sample analyses should be performed to test the invariance of the factorial structure across different cultural and sociodemographic groups in order to examine the role of factors such as culture, sex, or age. Finally, qualitative research would also enrich the quantitative data about immigrants' well-being.

To recapitulate, immigrant young adults are not passive victims of prejudice and discrimination, but indeed act to deal with it, though varying in their response to the disadvantage depending on their ethnicity. These findings could be of substantial help for interventions with young immigrants in Spain, and especially for government-run social protection programs.

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Appendix 1

Individual Mobility and Self-Regulation

I make an effort to overcome the difficulties I face as an immigrant.
I strive to demonstrate that I am better than people from here in my working life (or whatever else it is that you do).
I try not to let it get to me on an emotional level when immigrants are maltreated.
I try to steer clear of people who think badly of immigrants.
I bury myself in my studies or work so as not to have to think about my situation, and I act as if everything were okay.

Temporal and Intragroup Comparisons

Now I am enjoying the experiences of daily life more than before and I am trying to make the most of them.
My own personal situation is rather better than the situation of most immigrants from my country.
When I think of what my plans and prospects used to be, my situation is better than I expected then.
Compared with the past, my situation is better.

Social Competition

We immigrants ought to have the same services and rights as people from here.
We immigrants from my country can band together to fight for our rights and be like people from here.
I have faith that, in time, justice will be done and prejudice toward us will become a thing of the past.

Cognitive Creativity: New Group of Comparison

There are other groups that are seen in a worse light here than people from my country.
Basques and the Spaniards treat people from my country more kindly than they treat other immigrants.

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Contextual Influences on Subjective Well-Being of Young Ethnic Minority Russians in Estonia

Larissa Kus

This chapter aims at examining the adaptation and identity struggles of Russian youth in postcolonial Estonia. The historical context of power reversal when roles between the former dominant group (Russians) and the oppressed group (Estonians) have been exchanged provides a unique acculturation setting for the investigation of adaptation and well-being of minority youth. Historical developments constitute an integral part of the present minority group adaptation and interethnic relations in general in Estonia. The first part of this chapter describes how societal changes during the last decades have resulted in socioeconomic disadvantages and a lower well-being of Russian youth as compared to Estonian mainstreamers.

Subsequently, three studies over different time periods are introduced examining determinants of subjective well-being (satisfaction) of Russian youth. In the acculturation research, subjective well-being or satisfaction has been conceptualized to be a part of psychological (emotional/affective) adaptation (Searle and Ward 1990), which is situated mainly within the stress and coping approach (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). This approach allows a proper understanding and interpretation of the adaptation experiences of young Russians as the factors affecting adjustment to societal changes are presumably similar to those involved in adapting to other transitional experiences.

Historical and Social Context

Historical Setting

Russian adolescents belong to the largest ethnic minority group in Estonia; ethnic Russians comprise 26.2% of the Estonian population. The current Russian minority

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youth are descendants of Russians who immigrated to Estonia over the period of 50 years when the country was part of the Soviet Union. Intensive Soviet immigration programs were initiated following the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union after World War II (WWII). As a result, the native population dropped from 88 to 61.5 % and the proportion of Russians in the Estonian population rose from 8 to 30 %; these data are derived from a comparison of pre-Soviet and the last post-Soviet census data (Mettam and Williams 2001). Due to the Soviet immigration two large communities—Estonian and Russian speaking—were established in Estonian society, which were rather different. The new political rule did not only change the composition of the population but also shaped the power relations in Estonia. Russians who considered themselves to be the majority ethnic group throughout the Soviet Union obtained many privileges. There was a clear economic segregation as the higher income employment opportunities in selected areas were accessed mainly by Russians (Laar 2006). Russian became a common language in public spheres, such that learning the local Estonian language was not required for the Russian-speaking population. Therefore, although the Russian culture was distinct from the Estonian one, Russians did not seem to encounter serious adjustment problems while living in Estonia.

The Social and Socioeconomic Position of Russians

After Estonia regained its independence in 1991, abolishing colonial legacies became part of a nation-building project, which included large-scale political and economic changes (e.g., Csergo and Goldgeier 2004; Lauristin et al. 1997; Smith 2008; Vetik and Helemäe 2011). The former representations of history according to which Estonia joined the Soviet Union voluntarily were recognized as illegitimate and therefore discredited. The Estonian annexation into the Soviet Union was publicly acknowledged. This changed the status of Russians. Formerly they had the highest status; after independence, they became illegal immigrants and colonizers (Ehala 2009). Discovering oneself to be an illegal immigrant in a newly independent state was not easily accepted by Russians. According to Kymlicka (2000), people perceived themselves to be moving within one country—the Soviet Union—and therefore did not consider themselves as a *minority* or as *immigrants*.

Besides experiencing lowered social status, Russians were profoundly affected in socioeconomic spheres. Reorganization of the economy included restructuring industries that were formerly represented mostly by Russians. Also, new ethnic policies that were implemented required Russians to go through a naturalization process in obtaining Estonian citizenship and to demonstrate Estonian language proficiency for obtaining citizenship and holding certain jobs. Russians lacked Estonian language proficiency, which began to influence individuals' prospects in the job market (Helemäe 2008; Lindemann 2011).

In terms of youth, there is disparity in unemployment between Estonian and minority youth. The percentage of Russian young people aged between 15 and 24 years in 2005 was three times higher than that of Estonians in the same age group (Brosig 2008). Russian youth have a lower proportion of employment and they are overrepresented among low-paid employees, their earnings are smaller, their prospects of being promoted in their currents jobs are lower, and they express more dissatisfaction with their careers in comparison to Estonians (Lindemann and Vöörmann 2010; Vöörmann and Helemäe 2011). Young Russians with Estonian citizenship and language proficiency experience the highest mismatch between expectations and reality in the job market (Lindemann and Saar 2009).

The study on integration of the second generation in Estonia conducted in 2007–2008 as part of the larger project *The Integration of the European Second Generation* (TIES) demonstrates that structural inequalities in economic and social opportunities continue to exist between second-generation Estonian-Russians and Estonians (Vetik and Helemäe 2011). Lindemann (2011) indicates in her analysis that, although being raised and educated in Estonia, Russian youth have limited chances to obtain higher occupational positions compared to Estonian youth. Despite the equal educational level of parents of the second-generation Estonians and Russians, Estonian youth seem to gain more from an advantageous parental background, providing them with better chances in the labor market, while such an effect does not exist for the Russian youth.

Even educational choices for young Russians are reported to be unequal when compared to those for Estonians. Saar (2008) reports that the choices of tertiary education for students who finish Russian-speaking high school are very limited, especially for those whose language proficiency is not sufficient to continue in the Estonian-speaking tertiary educational institutions. This is reflected also in subjective evaluations. Saar (2008) demonstrated that Russian-speaking respondents do not perceive that their educational opportunities are equal to those of Estonians. For example, approximately 60 % of Estonians perceive that the educational opportunities between Estonians and Russians are equal, while the proportion of Russians who think the same is three times smaller. In fact, over half of Russians believe that the educational opportunities of Estonians are much better than those of Russians.

Estonian Integration Monitoring's 2010 data indicate a higher relative deprivation (RD) of Russians perceived by Russian than Estonian 15–24-year olds. On a continuum from 1 to 5 (1= *Estonians have better opportunities*, 3= *opportunities are equal*, and 5= *Russians have better opportunities*), Russians perceived opportunities in different life domains to be much smaller for Russians/greater for Estonians ($M=1.68$, $SD=0.58$) than did Estonian adolescents ($M=2.50$, $SD=0.49$; $t(184)=10.38$, $p<0.001$). European Social Survey 2008 data showed that while there were no significant differences between Estonian and Russian youth (aged 15–24 years) regarding being treated with prejudice because of age or sex, Russian youth experienced significantly higher prejudice because of their ethnic background in comparison to their Estonian counterparts.

Health and Psychological Well-Being

Poor economic well-being has taken its toll on the general health situation of the minority population, as the differences in health indicators have shown Russians to be at a disadvantage. Russian-speaking youth are most affected by drug use and *human immunodeficiency virus* (HIV) infection. Different reports demonstrate that injecting drug users in Estonia are predominantly represented in the young Russians group (Talu et al. 2008), which also suffers the most from drug-related mortality. For example, 81 % of the drug-related deaths in 2006 were ethnic Russians, the majority of them being young men (Abel-Ollo et al. 2007). Related to injecting drug use among young Russians is the high proportion of HIV positives in Estonia. Since the initial outbreak of the Estonian HIV epidemic in 2000, HIV positives have been disproportionally represented in the young Russian-speaking population (Downes 2007; Drew et al. 2008; Rüütel and Uusküla 2006; Uusküla et al. 2008). Downes (2007) relates drug addiction resulting in HIV infections among Russian youth to socioeconomic problems, such as the high rate of unemployment, the high level of early school leaving, social marginalization, and the general low social status of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia.

Russian minorities also exhibit lower *psychological well-being* such as life satisfaction. By analyzing 2006 European Social Survey data, Masso (2009) found that Estonia has the largest gap in the evaluation of life satisfaction between majority and minority groups across 25 European Union countries. Lower life satisfaction among ethnic minorities compared to majority Estonians appeared in the older and in the younger generation. Additionally, an analysis of European Social Survey data indicates significant ethnic differences in subjective evaluations of the well-being among Russian and Estonian youth (15–24 years; see Table 1). Independent *t* tests revealed that Russian youth assessed their life satisfaction significantly lower and their health worse in comparison to Estonians in 2008 and 2010. It can be noted that the well-being indicators were the lowest in 2008, a year after the large-scale ethnic riots in Estonia. Data also showed that while there were no significant differences between Estonian and Russian youth in 2006 and 2010 regarding their subjective level of happiness, Russian youth rated their happiness significantly lower than Estonians in 2008.

Predicting Subjective Well-Being of Russian Youth in Estonia

Societal shifts causing changes in individual lives have clearly required adjustment resources and coping responses from ethnic Russians. The previous studies with other immigrant groups have indicated the clear link between stress-provoking life changes and psychological outcomes (Ward et al. 2001). Despite the stress-provoking social context, the predictors of psychological adaptation of Russian minorities in the changing societal milieu in Estonia have been understudied. Generally, the process of adaptation is believed to depend on (a) situational (e.g., societal characteristics) and (b) individual (e.g., socio-demographic and personality characteristics) variables (Sam and Berry 1995). It is important to distinguish which personality (e.g., identity) and/or situational (e.g., experiences of discrimination) factors function as a source of strength or vulnerability for the subjective well-being of Russian youth.

Table 1 Subjective well-being ratings from European Social Survey

		Russians			Estonians			
	Items (scale)	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*t*-value
Life satisfaction								
2010 Round	1 (0–10)	49	6.82	2.63	199	7.63	1.78	2.05*
2008 Round	1 (0–10)	76	5.83	2.57	153	7.18	1.86	4.08***
2006 Round	1 (0–10)	108	7.17	2.19	125	7.44	1.79	1.05ns
Subjective (poor) health								
2010 Round	1 (1–5)	49	2.04	0.76	199	1.80	0.74	−2.04*
2008 Round	1 (1–5)	77	2.21	0.82	153	1.97	0.743	−2.18*
2006 Round	1 (1–5)	110	2.05	0.66	125	1.94	0.765	−1.08ns
Happiness								
2010 Round	1 (0–10)	49	7.43	2.15	199	7.52	1.64	0.27ns
2008 Round	1 (0–10)	77	6.62	2.28	152	7.36	1.45	2.55*
2006 Round	1 (0–10)	109	7.48	1.81	124	7.60	1.54	0.58ns

Participants with the Russian-speaking home language were coded as Russians and those with solely Estonian-speaking home language were coded as Estonians

* $p<.05$; *** $p<.001$; *ns* nonsignificant

The next part presents three separate studies combining a set of individual and situational variables to examine factors predicting life satisfaction of Russian youth in Estonia. Study 1 (conducted in 2004) examines ethnic and national identities, perceived discrimination, and sense of control on life satisfaction. Study 2 (conducted in 2007) addresses views of Russian youth on their social position in Estonia, using a qualitative method. Study 3 (conducted in 2008) examines the effects of national and ethnic orientations, including identity and history variables, and Russians' RD on life satisfaction.

Study 1

Study 1 aims at investigating the effects of ethnic and national identities, perceived discrimination, and sense of control on life satisfaction of Russian youth. The predictions are based on the Estonian context, theoretical premises, and previous research findings among disadvantaged minority individuals.

Ethnic and National Identities

Ethnic identity has been conceptualized as one's sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group, together with the emotional significance attached to this group membership (Phinney 1990). Overall it has been recognized in acculturation research that it is essential to consider not only one's identification with the minority group but also with the majority group (Phinney 1992). Ethnic minority groups can have a dual identity, ethnic and national, which can exist simultaneously or alternately, show different levels of salience, and relate differently to psychological consequences. These two dimensions of ethnic identity and the majority group identity are usually investigated separately among intercultural samples (Birman 2006; Birman et al. 2002; Gong 2007; Grant 2007, 2008; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2009; Liu et al. 2002; Trickett and Birman 2005).

According to developmental perspectives, a strong and secure ethnic identity produces personal strength and positive self-evaluation and thus supports one's psychological well-being (Phinney et al. 2001). This assumption has been supported in many studies, indicating a positive relationship between ethnic identity, psychological adaptation, and subjective well-being (Abrams et al. 1999; Liebkind 1996; Molix and Bettencourt 2010; Nesdale et al. 1997; Phinney 1990; Phinney et al. 1997; Zagefka and Brown 2005). In line with previous research, both ethnic and national identities of Russian youth are predicted to have a positive effect on their life satisfaction.

Perceived Discrimination

Consistent with the stress and coping framework (Lazarus and Folkman 1984), perceiving discrimination can be a stressful experience that may reduce one's well-being. Perceived discrimination is considered to be one of the major psychological stressors that decreases the psychological adjustment of immigrants (Dion 1986). It has been widely reported that the experience of prejudice and discrimination has a significant negative effect on a person's well-being (Berry et al. 2006; Brondolo et al. 2009). Psychological adjustment of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland is negatively affected by perceived discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind 2001).

Sense of Control

Perceived discrimination can have a negative effect on the well-being not only directly but also indirectly through lowered sense of control (Jang et al. 2008; Moradi and Risco 2006; Verkuyten 1998). Sense of control includes perception of how much power and control an individual has over his or her life and environment (Pearlin and Schooler 1978). Although sense of control has been considered as a dispositional variable, previous research suggests that it can be undermined in a discriminatory social environment and contextual influences on perceived control are especially crucial in developmental years (Sanders-Phillips et al. 2009). While predicted by perceived discrimination, perceived control is in turn directly associated with subjective well-being (see Ward et al. 2001 for a review). It has been shown that a higher sense of control or mastery predicts more life satisfaction, better perceived health, and lower depression (Lachman and Weaver 1998). Consistent with stress and coping framework, the current study hypothesizes that perceived discrimination has a direct negative effect on individuals' life satisfaction and an indirect effect through a reduced sense of control.

Language Proficiency

Culture-specific knowledge and skills, including language proficiency, facilitate psychological adaptation in an intercultural setting and relate positively to subjective well-being (Ward et al. 2001). The present study predicts that language proficiency as a culture-specific skill will predict higher life satisfaction among Russian youth.

Method

Measures

Ethnic Identity Ethnic pride and belonging (EP), a subscale of Ethnic Identity Scale (Valk and Karu 2001), with ten items was used for this study. EP describes feeling of attachment to one's ethnic group, attitudes connected to the group membership, and interest in the culture, history, and customs of the group. Respondents indicated their agreement with each item on a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

National Identity The nine-item scale was developed for this study to measure respect and belonging to Estonian culture. The items were assessed on a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

Perceived Discrimination Items were generated for this study to assess the perceived lack of acceptance and fair treatment due to the ethnic background, and were adapted from existing research measuring limited opportunities for success (e.g., Sandhu et al. 1996). Altogether ten items were assessed on the seven-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Sense of Control The seven-item Mastery Scale (Pearlin and Schooler 1978), measuring the degree to which persons felt they were in control of their lives, was used in this study. Items were rated on a four-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 4 = *strongly agree*).

Life Satisfaction Five statements evaluating a person's judgment about her/his overall satisfaction with life from *Satisfaction with Life Scale* (Diener et al. 1985) were rated on a seven-point agreement scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*).

Language Proficiency Respondents were asked to indicate their level of Estonian proficiency. The language competence was evaluated based on the ability to understand, read, speak, and write in Estonian on a four-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 4 = *very well*).

The participants were also asked about their age, gender, place of living, citizenship, etc.

Procedure and Participants

A Russian-language questionnaire was distributed among (11th and 12th grade) students in the Russian-speaking high schools that agreed to participate in the study, among Russian-speaking students in several universities, and through the individual network of the researcher. A total of 176 Russian-speaking youth (62.5 % females) living in Estonia participated in this study. The majority of participants (87.5 %) were born in Estonia and thus belong to the second (or third) generation, nonnative population. The age of the sample ranged from 15 to 24 years ($M = 18.73$, $SD = 1.74$). Among most of the participants who held an Estonian citizenship (69.3 %), 23.3 % were with undetermined citizenship, and 7.4 % were citizens of Russia or Ukraine. The sample was drawn from three regions—North (29 %), East (50.6 %), and South Estonia (20.4 %). The majority of participants were high-school students (74.4 %), followed by university students (17.6 %), and a nonstudent sample (8 %).

Results

Multiple hierarchical regressions were performed to investigate predictors of life satisfaction (Table 2). Life satisfaction effects were controlled for citizenship status and language proficiency in step 1. Dummy codes were created for *undetermined citizenship* and *other citizenship*, while Estonian citizenship was set as the regression intercept. It enables in determining if Russian youth with Estonian citizenship have higher or lower levels of life satisfaction than those with other or undetermined citizenship. The results revealed that individuals with undetermined citizenship experienced lower and those with other citizenship experienced higher levels of life satisfaction than individuals holding Estonian citizenship. Estonian language proficiency exerted a positive effect on life satisfaction. These effects remained significant in all models. Only ethnic identity was a significant positive predictor of life satisfaction when identity variables were entered into the model in step 2. Perceived discrimination exerted a negative effect on life satisfaction when added in step 3. In the final model, sense of control contributed significantly to the prediction of life satisfaction, while the effect of perceived discrimination became marginally significant.

Table 2 Descriptive statistics and regression output in prediction of life satisfaction (Study 1)

	Items (scale)	Descriptives			Regression			
		α	M (SD)	r	1	2	3	4
1. Undetermined citizenship					−0.24**	−0.22**	−0.21**	−0.20**
Other citizenship					0.17*	0.16*	0.18**	0.18*
Language proficiency	4 (1–4)	0.85	3.32 (0.62)	0.26**	0.25**	0.24**	0.21**	0.19**
2. Estonian identity	10 (1–5)	0.88	3.39 (0.93)	0.23**		0.10	0.04	0.04
Russian identity	9 (1–5)	0.86	3.58 (0.75)	0.17*		0.18*	0.20**	0.15*
3. Discrimination	10 (1–7)	0.82	3.63 (0.94)	−0.24**			−0.20**	$-0.14^{\dagger}$
4. Sense of control	7 (1–4)	0.79	3.14 (0.50)	0.34***				0.21**
R^2 change					0.16***	0.04*	0.03**	0.04**
R^2					0.16	0.21	0.24	0.28
LS	5 (1–7)	0.79	4.05 (1.12)					

†$p<0.10$; *$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$

The significance of hypothesized mediation (i.e., perceived discrimination having an indirect effect on life satisfaction via sense of control) was tested with bias-corrected (BC) bootstrap 95 % confidence intervals (CIs; Hayes and Preacher 2012; Preacher and Hayes 2008). The bootstrap estimates and 95 % CI for the indirect effects were obtained based on 10,000 bootstrap samples using the SPSS version of macro by Preacher and Hayes. There was a significant negative correlation between perceived deprivation and sense of control ($r=-0.27$, $p<0.001$). The total effect of *perceived discrimination* on life satisfaction was − 0.24 ($SE=0.09$, $p<0.001$) with other variables (citizenship, identity, and language proficiency) being controlled for. The effect of perceived discrimination on life satisfaction was reduced to −0.17 ($SE=0.09$, $p=0.06$) after sense of control as a mediator had been considered in the model. The indirect effect of perceived discrimination on life satisfaction was −0.07 ($SE=0.03$). Bootstrapping the indirect effect demonstrated that sense of control was a significant mediator of perceived discrimination and life satisfaction relationship, as CIs did not contain zero (BC 95 % CI of −0.15 to −0.02).

Discussion

Russian ethnic identity showed a positive effect on life satisfaction. Despite their low social status, ethnic identity seemed to provide a source of strength for Russian youth. This study was conducted in the year when Estonia joined the European Union, which might have increased their general optimism for positive attitudes regarding multiculturalism and diversity from the larger society in Estonia.

While experiences of perceived discrimination were related to lower life satisfaction, a meditational analysis showed that this relationship was explained by a reduced sense of control. The experiences of discrimination by Russian youth diminished their sense of control, which in turn reduced their life satisfaction. These results are consistent with the general coping and stress framework. Overall, this study showed that the context that is characterized by potentially stressful experiences of discrimination is likely to erode adolescents' sense of control that in turn has an adverse effect on their life satisfaction.

Study 2

Ehala (2008, 2009) indicated that Russians did not see history as an important part of their identity during the 1990s. At that time, history could not provide them with a source of positive ethnic self-esteem because the old Soviet history was associated with communist crimes and Estonian history did not contain a positive role for Russians. Before new identities are consolidated around new historical representations, members of this society may experience an identity crisis (Kattago 2009). Kattago (2009) emphasizes that "When social identities are fragile and unstable, the past becomes a treasure chest to be ransacked" (p. 163). After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the crisis of identity was experienced by minority Russians in Estonia, until Russian history was *ransacked* to find positive elements in their history to restore their ethnic self-esteem. The change emerged through Russia's new identity project in 2005 that made victory in WWII (emphasizing Russia's *great victory over fascism* and as *liberator of Europe*) the most important part of Russians' identity (Brüggemann and Kasekamp 2008; Ehala 2008; Zhurzhenko 2007). Victory in WWII became a new *well* for Russians from which they could draw their ethnic pride and strength.

Since the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the end of WWII in Russia in 2005, the Soviet memorial *Bronze Soldier*[1] in Estonia started to attract more young Russians around the dates related to WWII. Ehala (2009) argues that the ideological conflict around the Bronze Soldier was an example of Russians' attempt to claim higher status and positive self-esteem in Estonia. Zhurzhenko (2007) emphasizes that "the local Russians struggle for symbolic recognition, for their right to be represented in the national landscape of memory" (p. 9). While for Russian youth the Bronze Soldier carried the meaning of *the end of WWII*, for Estonians it represented *the beginning of the occupation* causing the interethnic tensions and rejection of Russians' identity claims around the historical representations.

When the Estonian government relocated the statue from the Tallinn city center to the Defense Forces Cemetery outside of Tallinn in April 2007 (before the anniversary of the end of WWII celebrated on the 9th of May), this caused the first large-scale ethnic riots by Russian youth in the capital Tallinn, with one person killed and over 1,000 consequently arrested. The Bronze Soldier crisis demonstrated polemical representations of history prevailing in the society (Brüggemann and Kasekamp 2008; Ehala 2009; Kattago 2009; Smith 2008; Vetik 2008).

While the adaptation difficulties of Russian minorities in Estonia have been known since the societal changes in the 1990s (Aasland and Fløtten 2001), a serious conflict in interethnic relations came to the surface only during the ethnic riots in 2007. The ethnic riots were completely unexpected and raised a need for more in-depth investigations of intercultural relations and adaptation of Russian minorities in Estonia. In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the interethnic phenomena in Estonia, a qualitative study was undertaken with the aim of exploring the perceptions of the adaptation problems of Russian-speaking minorities in Estonia.

Method

Participants, procedure, and materials Study 2 is drawn from a larger qualitative study in Estonia among ethnic Russians and native Estonians that was conducted in late 2007 (Kus 2011; Kus et al. 2013). The current study presents an analysis of 11 young ethnic Russians' (18–24 years old) perceptions of the situation of Russian-speaking minorities and the interethnic relations in Estonia. Data collection was conducted through an anonymous open-ended questionnaire which was available online and in hard copy advertised through different means. An open-ended questionnaire was chosen to enable participants, by remaining anonymous, to provide open and honest answers about sensitive interethnic issues that had become a politically laden topic.

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[1] The Bronze Soldier located in the city center of the capital Tallinn was the first Soviet memorial in Estonia, and the only one remaining in the independent Estonia.

The survey questions included, among other things, the participants' views on the ethnic riots; reasons for satisfaction/dissatisfaction of Russian-speaking minorities; Russians' social status before and after the Estonian independence; Russians' identity; and important areas of Russian cultural maintenance.

Results and Discussion

By employing a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006), the qualitative study highlighted the views of young Russians with regard to the identity struggles, the importance of history, and dissatisfaction with deprived status of Russian minorities in Estonia.

With statements such as Russians regard themselves *a step lower than Estonians* and being *second-class citizens*, Russian identity positioning encompassed mostly a devalued identity. (e.g., *The majority of Russians feel themselves as people of the second class. Many of them have accepted it and take it for granted;* a 22-year-old male, Estonian citizen).

Only one participant tried to construct a more positive image of Russians by devaluing Estonians, which can be seen from a social identity theory perspective (Tajfel and Turner 1986) as a form of social creativity:

> A Russian person is worth more than many Estonians. Estonians are more constrained within the boundaries of a small country and bad government than a Russian person with a big heart. (A 21-year-old male, Estonian citizen)

Further, devalued identity included negative perceptions of Russians due to historical reasons (e.g., 'constant rubbing in your face that you are the children of occupiers and bandits'). Liu and Hilton (2005) argue that on the grounds of historical representations, the identity of one group can be positioned or imposed by another group. This can be observed in the current study wherein the label of Russians as *occupiers* was perceived by the Russian participants as an involuntary and imposed social category that was a source of discomfort.

History was seen as a main source of cultural differences between Estonians and Russians, and noted to be an important sphere for preserving one's culture. References to historical memory and importance were particularly related to the monument conflict. Russian adolescents objected to the transfer of the monument and delegitimized the state actions, as it violated their historical memory (e.g., "*One should not disturb the remains of the deceased no matter who they are. These are the people who have fallen for our bright future*"; an 18-year-old female, with undetermined citizenship). The existing conflict about historical perceptions was expressed through statements that saw the alternative history (which participants were aware of) as fictitious or claimed people are *simply brainwashed*:

> It is clear that Russians protect their relatives who gave their lives so that Estonia could be as it is today, but Estonians are simply brainwashed by the local Estonian mass media and the government. (A 24-year-old female, Estonian citizen)

The representations of history are used as the foundation for defining and managing one's social identity (Liu and Hilton 2005). Different representations of history were evidently one of the main reasons why Russians cannot feel positive about their social identity. No matter how *true* their views on history are, they are not maintained by the majority population.

The feeling of being a second-class member of society has been found to be predominantly widespread among Russians, particularly among noncitizens (Trumm and Kasearu 2009). Tajfel and Turner (1986) emphasize that "Subordinate groups often seem to internalize a wider social evaluation of themselves as 'inferior' or 'second class', and this consensual inferiority is reproduced as relative self-derogation on a number of indices that have been used in the various studies" (p. 280). After the unification of East and West Germany, the majority of East Germans tended to describe themselves as 'second class citizens, which was mainly linked to their lower economic status in comparison to West Germans (e.g., Blanz et al. 1998). In this study, the perception of Russians' inferior identity, which had negative implications on their general well-being, was mainly linked to group-level discrimination and deprivation of Russians in economic, political, and cultural domains.

> Oppression can be sensed. For a Russian person it is not realistic to have a management responsibility. The attitude in the work place is initially prejudiced. (An 18-year-old Russian male, Estonian citizen).
>
> A dissatisfaction—the attitude of the fathers of the state towards the representatives of the non-Estonian population of the country: discrimination, attempts of assimilation and basic disrespect for culture and language, but the most important—unwillingness to give citizenship to those who, by rights, deserve it. (A 19-year-old male, with undetermined citizenship).
>
> Dissatisfaction is about the fact that Russians are oppressed. People who were born and lived their whole life in Estonia are not citizens of Estonia, as they lack the citizenship of this country. (A 22-year-old female, Russian citizen).

Only few responses of participants indicated alternative beliefs, such as individualism according to which the status of Russians would depend on individual choices and skills instead of emphasizing group-level disadvantage. Negative associations were almost exclusively elicited among young Russians when they made interethnic comparisons between Russians and Estonians. According to the RD theory, people's reactions to their situation depend primarily on the frame of reference (Runciman 1966; Walker and Smith 2002). Young Russians' satisfaction seems to depend largely on the subjective comparisons they make in which Estonians are the main frame of reference for interethnic comparisons. Social identity theory suggests that intergroup comparisons and perceiving group-level disadvantages are more common among individuals who highly identify with their social group. It could be assumed that participants identified highly with their ethnic group and were therefore more committed to emphasize group-level deprivation. Group-level disadvantages were in turn likely to affect their general satisfaction and well-being.

However, the qualitative study was not able to capture variability in the degree of participants' ethnic (and/or national) identifications or estimate possible relationships with their well-being directly or indirectly through perceived disadvantaged position of Russians. The next study was undertaken to examine more closely the relationships between identification, history, RD, and subjective well-being.

Study 3

Following the qualitative study and considering the consequences of the *Bronze Soldier*, the main purpose of Study 3 was to test the hypothesis that the Russian ethnic orientation (including high ethnic identity and importance of Russian history) predicts lower life satisfaction of ethnic Russian youth and this relationship is mediated by RD of Russians. In other words, ethnic orientation is expected to have an indirect effect on life satisfaction via higher perceived deprivation.

As noted previously, the majority of research results indicate that ethnic identity has a positive effect on subjective well-being. The positive effect of ethnic identity on life satisfaction was also found among Russian youth in Study 1—a few years before an interethnic conflict around the *Bronze Soldier* in Estonia. The conflict was linked to different interpretations of history and its importance to the ethnic identity of Russians (Ehala 2008, 2009). Experiencing the rejection of their representations of history and their identity claims by the majority population might have contributed to Russians' sense of devalued identity. In certain circumstances, identification with one's group can be the source of vulnerability for members of low-status groups as they are more susceptible to being personally affected by the negative treatment of the group (Major and O'Brien 2005; O'Brien and Major 2005). A recent review of existing studies on the positive effect of ethnic identity on psychological well-being among individuals exposed to racism suggests that, although EP produces a general feeling of well-being, these aspects of identity are not sufficient to reduce the negative consequences of perceived everyday racism on mental health (Brondolo et al. 2009).

Although there is no consistent relationship being reported about collective RD, there is evidence for significant associations between group-level deprivation and/or discrimination and individual-level outcomes, such as life satisfaction, life quality, and mental health (Dion 1986; Schmitt et al. 2010; Smith and Walker 2008). By analyzing European Social Survey data collected from 13 European countries across three time points, Safi (2010) demonstrated that perceived discrimination against one's ethnic group had a strong detrimental effect on the life satisfaction of immigrants.

An alternative model is also proposed in which national orientation (including Estonian identity and importance of Estonian history) is expected to predict better subjective well-being through lowered perceived deprivation of Russians. Grant (2008) argues that ethnic and national identifications are *countervailing motivational forces* (p. 691), suggesting that individuals who identify strongly with the nation will be less inclined to perceive discrimination of their ethnic group, which is opposite to ethnic identification. The author demonstrated that immigrants' national identity negatively predicted group discrimination, while cultural identity had a positive effect on group discrimination. It is expected in this study that the positive effect of national orientation on life satisfaction will be mediated by decreased perceptions of Russians' RD.

Method

Participants and procedure Study 3 is derived from a larger survey conducted in late 2008 (Kus, 2011; Kus et al. 2013). Ethnic Russians residing in Estonia were invited to participate in the study by filling out a survey available in hard copy and online versions. The sample of this study consisted of 61 ethnic Russian participants (47.5 % females). The age of the sample ranged from 16 to 24 years ($M = 19.16$, $SD = 2.48$). Most of the participants (93.4 %) were born in Estonia, while 6.6 % indicated Russia as their place of birth. Estonian citizenship was held by 63.9 % participants, while 16.4 % were citizens of Russia, and 19.7 % were with undetermined citizenship. The majority of participants were high school or university students (78.6 %) and came from Northeast Estonia (68.8 %), a border region with Russia, and the capital Tallinn (24.6 %).

Measures

Ethnic (Russian) and National (Estonian) Identities Ethnic Russian (RI) and national Estonian (EI) identities were measured by six items from the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen and Crocker 1992) on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Importance of History The participants rated the importance of preserving the memory of historical events and symbols. Six items reflected facts or common beliefs about Russian history (e.g., "To acknowledge the Soviet Army's contribution in defeating fascism in Europe"), and five depicted Estonian history (e.g., "To commemorate the victims of the Soviet rule (communism) in Estonia"). Two indexes were composed based on two factors, Russian history (explaining 41.57 % of variance) and Estonian history (explaining 25.89 % of variance). Scores of two scales ranged from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating higher importance of Russian (RH) or Estonian (EH) history.

Relative Deprivation Participants assessed the situation of Estonian Russians in Estonia in different life areas compared to Estonians. They rated 12 items of deprivation (e.g., "Employment opportunities") and one item on satisfaction on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *much worse* to 7 = *much better*). On the basis of a 1-factor solution (explaining 58.9 % of the variance), a composite index was constructed. The scores were reversed with higher scores indicating Russians' situation being considered worse compared to Estonians, thus showing higher RD.

Life Satisfaction The same measure was used as in Study 1.

Language Proficiency The same measure was used as in Study 1, but using a five-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very well*).

Demographic Information The same demographic information was asked as in Study 1.

Results

A preliminary correlational analysis (Table 3) showed negative relationships between life satisfaction and Russian identity and importance of Russian history, indicating that the higher the Russian identification and the importance Russian history is given, the lower the participants' life satisfaction. However, higher Estonian identification and the importance of Estonian history showed an opposite trend; they were associated with higher life satisfaction (though the relationship with Estonian identity was marginally significant). RD was negatively related to life satisfaction, indicating that the more Russians are deprived relative to Estonians, the less satisfied they were with their lives.

Furthermore, a hierarchical multiple linear regression (Table 3) was used to predict life satisfaction with the following order of entry of the predictor variables: (1) language proficiency, (2) Russian identification, (3) importance of Russian history, and (4) RD. Initial analyses age and dummy variables of citizenship showed no significant relationships with life satisfaction and were therefore not included in the subsequent regression models.

Each step was significant and accounted for additional variance in the prediction of life satisfaction. Language proficiency was entered in the first step and showed a positive effect on life satisfaction. In the second step (2a), Russian identity was a significant negative predictor of life satisfaction. In the third step (3a), Russian history exerted a significant negative effect on life satisfaction, indicating also that the effect of Russian identity became marginal. In the fourth step, RD was added to the model contributing significantly to the prediction of life satisfaction, while contribution of identity and history variables became nonsignificant. Language proficiency remained significant also in the final model.

A similar regression model was conducted for the prediction of life satisfaction with identity and history variables representing national orientation. In step two (2b), Estonian identity did not contribute significantly to the prediction. Being a significant positive predictor, Estonian history contributed significantly to the prediction of life satisfaction in step three (3b). Step four showed that the effect of Estonian history became nonsignificant after RD was entered in the model.

Table 3 Descriptive statistics and regression outputs in prediction of life satisfaction (LS; Study 3)

		LS	Ethnic orientation				National orientation		
		r	1	2a	3a	4	2b	3b	4
1.	Language proficiency	0.32**	0.32*	0.35**	0.34**	0.29*	0.31*	0.27*	0.25*
2a.	Russian identity	−0.27*		−0.31*	−0.23†	−0.19			
3a.	Russian history	−0.33**			−0.26*	−0.16			
2b.	Estonian identity	0.18†					0.17	0.10	0.06
3b.	Estonian history	0.36**						0.30*	0.14
4.	Rel. deprivation	−0.44***				−0.30*			−0.31*
	R^2 change		0.10*	0.09*	0.06*	0.08*	0.03	0.09*	0.06*
	R^2		0.10	0.19	0.25	0.33	0.13	0.21	0.27
	Items (alpha)	5 (0.84)	4 (0.87)	6 (0.85)	6 (0.89)	13 (0.94)	6 (0.77)	5 (0.87)	
	Mean (SD)	3.61 (1.40)	3.54 (0.79)	5.29 (1.18)	6.28 (0.88)	5.22 (1.04)	3.02 (1.01)	4.10 (1.54)	

All items were measured on seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*)
†$p<0.10$; *$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$

Table 4 Indirect effects of history variables on life satisfaction via relative deprivation (Study 3)

	R^2	Unstandardized coefficient	*SE*	*t*	BC 95 % CI	
					Lower	Upper
Russian history						
Total effect	0.25***	−0.41*	0.19	−2.15		
Direct effect	0.33***	−0.26	0.19	−1.33		
Indirect effect		−0.15	0.08		−0.38	−0.03
Estonian history						
Total effect	0.21**	0.28*	0.11	2.51		
Direct effects	0.27**	0.12	0.13	0.96		
Indirect effect		−0.15	0.08		0.03	0.33

Total effect IV on DV without the mediator being included in the model, *direct effect* IV on DV after the mediator being entered, *indirect effect* IV on DV through the mediator. All effects were controlled for language proficiency and identity variables. Indirect effect is based on BC 95 % percentile bootstrap CIs using 5,000 samples
$^{*}p<0.05$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{***}p<0.001$

The proposed mediation effects were tested with BC 95 % CIs using 5,000 bootstrap samples (Preacher and Hayes 2008). Identity variables did not meet criteria recommended for mediation analysis (Baron and Kenny 1986). The zero-order relationships between Russian identity and RD as a proposed mediator were nonsignificant ($r=0.21$, $p=0.11$) and the correlation between Estonian identity and life satisfaction was only marginally significant as noted earlier. The zero-order correlations were significant between RD and Russian history ($r=0.36$, $p<0.01$) and Estonian history ($r=-0.59$, $p<0.001$). Therefore, the significance of indirect effects on life satisfaction through RD was tested only for history variables. Bootstrapping the indirect effects demonstrated that RD significantly meditated effects of Russian and Estonian history on life satisfaction, as no zero was included in CIs (Table 4).

The results partly support our predictions, showing that effects of ethnic and national orientations on well-being were supported only for history but not for identity variables. While importance of history beliefs common among one's ethnic group (Russians) has a negative effect on well-being due to higher collective RD, the importance of history beliefs common among the majority population (Estonians) has a positive effect on well-being due to lowered perceptions of RD.

Discussion

The previous qualitative study indicated that Russians face a psychological challenge to maintain a positive identity largely due to the lack of appreciation from the wider society. While the subsequent study (Kus 2011; Kus et al. 2013) showed that ethnic orientation in domains of identity and history was significantly related to their lower well-being, the results in the youth sample (15–24 years) show a similar direction of relationships with strong ethnic identity and importance of Russian history being significantly associated with lower life satisfaction. There are only a few existing studies that show similar results between identity and well-being. For example, in a study by Birman et al. (2002) among Jewish refugees from the former Soviet Union, Russian identity was positively associated with psychological symptoms of anxiety and depression. Further, an experimental study by McCoy and Major (2003) revealed that individuals' depressed emotions increased with strong ingroup identification in situations of existing prejudice. Conversely, the national orientation in domain of history reveals the opposite direction of relationship with subjective well-being; the positive effect of Estonian identity on well-being was nonsignificant.

The importance of Russian or Estonian history also showed asymmetrical relationships with RD. Those individuals who value their Russian historical memory seem to be more sensitive in perceiving the situation of their ethnic group as more deprived in comparison to Estonians, which in turn negatively affects their well-being. At the same time, recognizing the importance of Estonian historical memory probably militates against perceiving the situation of Russians as worse off (deprived) compared to Estonians, which in turn leads to the higher well-being of Russians. These results show that history beliefs can function as lenses through which the social environment is perceived, and coped with for maintaining one's well-being. The effects of history on life satisfaction being mediated by RD are novel findings for theories of RD (Runciman 1966) and social representations of history (Liu and Hilton 2005), and deserve further investigation in future studies.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed at examining the subjective well-being of Russian minority youth in the context of historical power reversal in Estonia that resulted in the overall disadvantaged position of Russians. The first part of the chapter with the overview of the sociological studies suggests that existing interethnic disparities are carried over to the second- and third-generation Russian youth. Although they have grown up and have been socialized in the independent Estonia, they experience remarkable socioeconomic disadvantages and unhealthy socialization patterns in comparison to Estonian youth. The second part undertook three empirical investigations to examine the determinants of the well-being of Russian youth at three different time points employing quantitative and qualitative research methods.

Ethnic identity showed a different pattern of relationships with life satisfaction in 2004 and 2008. Using different ethnic identity measures (Luhtanen and Crocker 1992; Valk and Karu 2001) may have played a role, but more likely differences were obtained due to history becoming a more important part of Russian identity since 2005 and developments around the Bronze Soldier conflict in 2007. Previously it has been shown that the Bronze Soldier crisis increased the negative perception of interethnic relations in Estonia among second-generation Russians (Vetik and Helemäe 2011).

Perceived individual or group-level disadvantages of Russians had a negative effect on their life satisfaction in two studies, which is consistent with the stress and coping framework (Lazarus and Folkman 1984), suggesting that discrimination as a potentially stressful experience reduces one's well-being. Study 1 showed that the effect of perceived discrimination was explained by a reduced sense of control. Study 2 showed that perceived deprivation of Russians relative to Estonians explained the effects of historical representations on life satisfaction. The cross-sectional nature of this research makes it impossible to draw causal inferences about relationships between constructs. However, the direction of the current predictions was consistent with theoretical premises and the qualitative data in which, for example, dissatisfaction was clearly expressed due to experienced and perceived disadvantages of Russians. Future studies should employ longitudinal designs to confirm causal relationships. It would also be important to combine individual- and group-level assessments of disadvantage in enquiry of psychological and intergroup outcomes for Russian youth along with the investigation of personality variables, ethnic and national identities, and different social representations of history.

In terms of applications, persisting interethnic disadvantages may increase the marginalization of Russian youth even more, trigger new ethnic conflicts (Vetik and Helemäe 2011), or *push* Russians to emigrate. A qualitative study by Aptekar (2009) shows that Russians from Estonia were primarily motivated to emigrate due to ethnic discrimination and sense of marginalization, while Russians from Latvia and Lithuania emphasized economic reasons more. If the factors that are found to decrease life satisfaction are not addressed properly, there may be negative implications not only for the individual (e.g., health and longevity) but also for the society (e.g., volunteering, trust and confidence toward the government, and support for democracy; for more, see Diener and Ryan, 2009). According to Diener and Ryan (2009), while the subjective well-being of people may depend on the structural factors of society, it may also contribute toward a "more stable, productive, and effectively functioning society" (p. 393).

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Parent and Peer Attachment and Psychosocial Adjustment of Chinese Immigrant Adolescents in Italy

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There is much interest in understanding acculturation processes of Asian immigrants, because they represent one of the prominent immigrant populations in many European and non-European countries. However, knowledge about the relation of acculturation and attachment processes of these groups is still scarce. Most research in the field involves only parenting or adaptation outcomes of Asian immigrant groups primarily in the USA, Canada, and few European countries (Chen et al. 2011, 2012). Understanding acculturation outcomes in Chinese minority groups is a prominent venue of research as they represent one of the largest and fastest growing immigrant groups in Europe. To the best of our knowledge, no study so far has investigated the role of attachment to parents and peers on adaptation outcomes of Chinese immigrant youth in Italy, who are a relatively recent immigrant group characterized by strong ethnic enclaves and cohesive community. Therefore, this chapter addresses the question of whether immigrant youth differ from their native Italian peers with respect to their attachment and adaptation outcomes. Specifically, we examine parent and peer attachment and psychological adjustment of youth of Chinese descent living in Italy.

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Introduction

The Immigrant Paradox

The immigrant paradox refers to the fact that first-generation immigrants show better adaptation than both second generation and natives and that, over time, adaptation levels of immigrants converge toward those of the nationals or surpass them (Sam et al. 2008). Research has provided support for this phenomenon, showing that despite family poverty and neighborhood disadvantage, immigrant adolescents compared to their native peers experience more well-being (Berry et al. 2008; Harker, 2001) and show better emotional, behavioral, and academic outcomes (Beiser et al. 2002; Crosnoe and Turley 2011; Georgiades et al. 2007; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2009).

The study of Chinese adolescents in Italy is located within the broader perspective of current research on immigration, which has provided evidence for exceptionally good outcomes of Chinese immigrant compared to native samples (Breslau et al. 2009; Nguyen 2006). Traditionally, across a variety of contexts, Chinese immigrants have been reported to perform surprisingly well in a number of developmental outcomes. The immigrant paradox outcomes have been extensively documented in Chinese immigrant populations with regard to scholastic performance (Leung and Karnilowicz 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2009), lower risk for externalizing behavioral problems (Georgiades et al. 2007), higher self-esteem, more life satisfaction, and generally good psychological and emotional outcomes (Chiu et al. 1992). However, although research on Chinese immigrants is still scarce in Europe and specifically in Italy, there is some support for the immigrant paradox in this population. Barban and White (2011) found that Chinese students in Italy had higher levels of achievement than their native peers. The term of *model minority* has been adapted to denote such outcomes.

An important characteristic of the earlier-reported studies is that they originate primarily from North-American and Canadian contexts, where the immigrant paradox has been documented to a greater extent than other immigration receiving countries. Results on the immigrant paradox in Europe are much less consistent. Some studies are in line with the immigrant paradox (Dimitrova 2011; Slodnjack et al. 2002), whereas others show exactly the opposite, such that immigrants compared to natives show more adaptation difficulties in a number of developmental outcomes (Di Bartolomeo 2011; Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2008; Sam et al. 2008; Strohmeier and Schmitt-Rodermund 2008; van Geel and Vedder 2010, 2011).

The inconsistent findings regarding the immigrant paradox within the European context could be due to the diversity of migration in Europe and to limitations stemming from a one-size-fits-all approach to the immigration paradox, ignoring generational and ethnic distinctions among immigrant groups (Suarez-Orozco and Carhill 2008) and undervaluing the complexity of acculturation phenomena (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2008). First, immigration in Western Europe, as stated by Sam et al. (2008), is quite different from that of the USA, Canada, and Australia, because of differences in general immigration policies (Berry et al. 2008) and the historical and cultural characteristics of immigrant groups. Part of the immigrants of Western Europe "move from previously colonized countries moving to their former colonizing countries" (Berry et al. 2008, p. 142). Furthermore, in Europe, illegal border crossing is even less manageable than in the USA, Canada, or Australia, thereby increasing the amount of clandestine immigrants. For instance, in Italy, many immigrants try to enter the country over the sea using old, dangerous ships; sending these people back to the sea is no option. Second, the necessity to adopt an approach alternative to the one size fits all should take into consideration the variations among immigrants and among their circumstances (Rudmin et al. 2003; Schwartz and Unger 2010). It is necessary to distinguish between the concept of ethnicity, race, and immigration status. It is critical to consider both the countries of origin and settlement, in addition to which stage of their life they are going through (Georgiades et al. 2007). It is against this backdrop of a lack of knowledge about the acculturation of specific groups, that we designed a study on the analysis of a particular ethnic group, the Chinese, in the process of acculturation into the Italian reality.

Immigration and Psychological Well-Being of Chinese Communities in Italy

According to Fondazione Ismu (2011), as of 2010, in Italy the number of immigrants has reached 5.3 million, as compared to a total population of well over 60 million, thus constituting about 9 % of the population. Approximately, 12 % live in central Italy in the region Lazio and of these approximately 3.9 % are Chinese (Caritas Migrantes 2011). Chinese immigrants are mainly located in big cities in the north of Italy (Milan, Florence), Prato, and in the center of Italy (Rome) (Chang 2012).

From the recollections of adolescent Chinese immigrants, immigration and acculturation appear to be very traumatic in many aspects, and they should reflect on their psychological well-being. Weng Wulian (2008) describes the profound sense of uprooting, the distance from parents and from the original life context, the difficulty of inclusion in the school system because of the language barrier, difficult life conditions, the sharing of living spaces, and racism as examples of common, distressing conditions. Marco Wong (2008) describes the length and the humiliation of procedures that are a part of the asylum process. An immigrant experiences the uprooting from all that is familiar, trouble integrating into the new society due to racism, and a huge language barrier (Mleczko 2011).

At the same time, two elements play in favor of the immigrant Chinese communities: the growing socioeconomic level of the Chinese-Italian communities and their strong sense of cohesion. Chinese immigrants are mainly employed in family businesses specializing in the restaurant industry, import and export of commercial goods, and retail sales, all of which are benefitting from China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Pedone 2011). These activities give them good profits to the extent that the socioeconomic level of the Chinese communities is constantly increasing. The textile business crisis and the favorable position of Italy along the Mediterranean Sea have facilitated the economic expansion and the employment of the new Chinese arrivals (Pedone 2010).

Furthermore, the Chinese collectivistic culture emphasizes a strong sense of community and the quality and intensity of family bonds (Lim et al. 2009; Yamamoto and Li 2012). Their settlement model mirrors the emphasis on the collective, with a strong concentration of the communities within certain zones, a model that in certain cases has given rise, even in Italy, to the habit of denominating certain areas as China Town, such as the one located in the district named *Esquilino*, in the center of Rome. Usually, Chinese families do not interact much with Italian society, and sometimes the Chinese society appears to be impenetrable to Italians (Pedone 2011; Wulian 2008), with consequent difficulties of adjustment (Mleczko 2011). Such a living concentration corresponds to a wide support net that every Chinese immigrant has in Italy ever since their arrival (Dente 2008; Pedone 2011).

Adolescents' Developmental Tasks and Attachment Relations in Chinese Adolescents

Chinese adolescents, like all others, must confront themselves with the fulfillment of developmental tasks typical of their age (Havighurst 1952), such as forming a personal, sexual, and social identity, modifying the bond with parents, and acquiring autonomy and responsibility in interpersonal relationships. A source of psychopathological distress can be caused by the major difficulties relating to facing such tasks (Havighurst 1952; Strohmeier and Schmitt-Rodermund 2008). Chinese adolescents who have immigrated to Western countries need to combine their identity of belonging with new, identifying instances of the host country (Strohmeier and Schmitt-Rodermund 2008) in an educational reality that is much different from their culture of origin, with the request of a more leading role, much less based on discipline. They go from an Eastern educational model in which introversion, modesty, and courtesy are valued to a Western one in which individualistic values of self-expression and attention seeking prevail (Pallini et al. 2011; Yamamoto and Li 2012). For recent immigrants, there is a mismatch between their personal experiences, whereas for adolescents born in Italy (the first foreign-born generation), there would be a mismatch between the private and public domains. As stated by a young Chinese Italian, the challenge posed by the identity development of Chinese youth can be compared to the development of a rice plant in a wheat field (Pedone 2011).

Regarding the parental bond, the adolescent's developmental objective is represented by the need to maintain a positive link with them while at the same time being able to deidealize them, thus forming a more realistic image of them and accepting them as they are, partly transferring the function of a secure base from parents to peers. Chinese culture emphasizes values of filial piety: Chinese children learn to show respect and reverence toward parents in public (Manzi et al. 2011). The values of public respect influence the process of deidealization and the discussion of parental authority, and especially the possibility of being openly critical toward parents.

Regarding processes of autonomy and assumption of adolescent responsibility, Chinese immigrant children feel precociously responsible toward their families and express such preoccupation through doing household chores and participation in family enterprises. They are independent, in many aspects, of their daily life so as not to interfere with their parents' work and are active participants in the latter (Manzi et al. 2011). Most family commercial enterprises engage all family members and induce a sense of responsibility in children (Pedone 2011). At the same time, they need to build social and emotional relationships outside of their own family, overcoming the obstacles of cultural and ethnical diversity.

In spite of the major difficulties relating to facing such tasks (Havighurst 1952; Strohmeier and Schmitt-Rodermund 2008), some immigrant adolescents show better emotional, behavioral, and academic outcomes compared to their native peers (Beiser et al. 2002; Berry et al. 2008; Crosnoe and Turley 2011; Georgiades et al. 2007; Harker 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2009). This has also been evidenced in Chinese adolescents in Italy (Breslau et al. 2009; Nguyen 2006).

To enlighten this crucial point of discussion, John Bowlby's attachment theory (1988) and ensuing empirical research can offer useful clues, emphasizing how the attachment relationships play a determining role in an individual's interpersonal relationship (Laible et al. 2000), in the development of their personalities (Barrett and Holmes 2001; Meeus et al. 2002), in personal satisfaction (Nickerson and Nagle 2004; Wilkinson 2004), in emotional regulation (Buist et al. 2004; Muris et al. 2001), and in the relational competency with peers (Zimmerman 2004). Chinese children usually keep an emotional distance from their parents (Pedone 2011). The parental bonds are characterized by *guan*, an expression that implies control, care, love, and government. Such a concept would be compatible with the idea of parental sensitivity that is typical of attachment theory, according to which the secure parent is capable of gathering the children's signals, deciding if he/she should adhere to their requests, and offer a better alternative whether or not that is possible (Ainsworth et al. 1971).

There are very few studies dealing with attachment bonds between Chinese children and their parents. Hu and Meng (1996) found that in a sample consisting of 31 mother–child pairs 68 % of the dyads were secure dyads, while 32 % were resistant and avoidant. Such percentages correspond to those found in Western samples. Chinese adolescents who experience a secure attachment to their parents could feel a heightened sense of personal satisfaction, a more positive attitude toward themselves and toward others, and more competencies in building satisfactory friendships (Offer et al. 1992).

The Present Study

To our knowledge, this study is the first to investigate parent and peer attachment and psychological adjustment among Chinese immigrant adolescents living in Italy, as compared with that of their Italian-born counterparts. As dependent variables we chose satisfaction with life, psychological problems, parent and peer attachment, and grade point average (GPA), as reported in other studies concerning the immigrant paradox in Europe (van Geel and Vedder 2010, 2011), and ethnicity as an independent variable. Given previous contradictory results regarding the existence of the immigrant paradox, we want to test whether Chinese immigrant adolescents in Italy would show a pattern of adaptation that is indicative of an immigrant paradox. In addition, regarding attachment dimensions, it was expected that parent attachment would be able to explain more of the variance of GPA than peer attachment. This hypothesis is congruent with that of Laible et al. (2000) who have argued in favor of a hierarchical organization of attachment models in which the child's representation of the most salient attachment figure is the most influential and therefore the most predictive of developmental outcomes.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 200 Chinese immigrants (100 boys and 100 girls) and 200 Italian native adolescents (100 boys and 100 girls). The mean age of the national students was 17.07 years ($SD=0.79$; range 17–19), and the mean age of the immigrant students was 17.01 years ($SD=0.87$; range 17–19). Chinese immigrants were classified as being first generation (neither the students nor their parents were born in Italy; mean of residence 5.22 years; $SD=3.76$). The schools were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study ($N=18$). They were from six urban, six suburban, and six more rural areas in the center of Italy. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to assess group differences on age and sociodemographic characteristics. The analyses did not reveal significant differences between native Italian adolescents and immigrant adolescents.

Our survey was reviewed and approved by the Ethics Commission of the Department of Developmental and Social Psychology of Sapienza, University of Rome.

Measures

Demographics Demographic information was collected, such as age, educational history, and socioeconomic status (SES), that was defined by family income and education (Hollingshead 1975). Family income was defined on an eight-point scale, ranging from 1 = 700 € or less to 8 = 4,000 € or more per month. Family education was measured asking the highest level of parents' education on a seven-point scale, ranging from 1 = elementary school to 7 = master's degree. Since the correlation between parental education was high ($r = 0.83$; $p < 0.01$), we created a single measure of educational level making the mean of mothers' and fathers' educational levels (Hauser and Warren 1997).

Attachment to Parents and Peers The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) (Armsden and Greenberg 1987) was used to measure the quality of parent attachment in adolescence and the affective–cognitive dimension of attachment. The first scale measures the attachment to parents and consists of 28 items on a Likert-type scale, with five possible responses ranging from *completely untrue* to *completely true*. The second scale measures attachment to peers; it consists of 25 items. Both scales provide an indication of the level of security that the adolescent feels in the relationship with specific attachment figures (parents and peer). The total score is calculated using dimensions such as the quality of communication, and the extent of anger, alienation, and/or hopelessness resulting from an unresponsive or inconsistently responsive attachment figure. Both scales are composed of three subscales referring to trust (e.g., "My parents/peer respect my feelings"), quality of communication in the relationship with an attachment figure (e.g., "When my parents/peer know that something is bothering me, they ask me about it"), anger, alienation, and/or hopelessness due to unresponsive or inconsistently responsive attachment figure (e.g., "I don't get much attention from my parents/peer"). Internal consistencies for both scales ranged from $\alpha = 0.79$ to 0.85 in the ethnic groups. The IPPA has been used in a number of studies, and its reliability and validity have been shown to be satisfactory (Laghi et al. 2009).

Psychological and Sociocultural Adjustment Outcomes The Symptom Checklist-90-Revised (Derogatis 1977) was used to measure negative functioning associated with personal discomfort of physical and mental health status. The respondents were asked to indicate the level of impact of the symptoms in the last 2 weeks using five alternatives for symptom occurrence (0 = *no symptoms at all* to 4 = *extremely often*). The score of each response constitutes nine symptom dimensions: somatization, obsessive–compulsive, interpersonal sensitivity, depression, anxiety, hostility, phobic anxiety, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism. The main global index of the inventory is the general global index, which is the sum of scores of all items divided by 90 (corresponding to the total number of items) (Table 1).

Satisfaction with Life The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener et al. 1985), which comprises five items, was used to measure one's global satisfaction with life. Each item is rated on a seven-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*) summed in an overall score reflecting the cognitive components of satisfaction with life. In the current study, the internal consistency of SWLS was $\alpha = 0.93$.

Grade Point Average To get an indication of students' GPA, students were asked to report their grades for Italian, mathematics, and English language, as reported in other studies (van Geel and Vedder 2011). For the analysis, the mean of these three grades was used.

Procedure

Prior to participation, an informed-consent procedure was adopted that required active consent from both students and parents. The questionnaires were administered in the classroom during a regular class period and took approximately 30 min to complete. Instructions stated that the questionnaires were voluntary and that responses were anonymous and confidential. All students responded to the same questionnaire battery, in Italian or Chinese language, with measures administered in a counterbalanced order to each group of subjects. Two bilingual Chinese/Italian translators independently translated the original version of the questionnaires in order to make the items as clear and concise as possible. The two different translations were subsequently compared with the purpose of obtaining a unanimously accepted version. The agreed version was then translated back into Italian by one bilingual Chinese/Italian translator with no knowledge of the original version. The Italian version was translated back into Chinese and compared to the original one in order to guarantee syntactic and technical matching and conceptual equivalence.

Results

We conducted multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) for comparisons of attachment and psychological adjustment dimensions across ethnic groups. Concerning parent attachment, the MANOVA revealed a main effect for ethnicity, Wilks' lambda = 0.92, $F(3, 396) = 11.24$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.08$. Subsequent univariate analyses revealed that Italian adolescents obtained higher scores than Chinese immigrant group on the Alienation Scale regarding trust, communication. Concerning peer attachment, the MANOVA revealed a main effect for ethnicity, Wilks' lambda = 0.96, $F(3, 396) = 4.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.13$. Results from the univariate tests revealed that Italian adolescents had significantly higher mean levels of alienation and lower levels of trust, communication than Chinese adolescents. To investigate ethnic differences regarding negative *psychological* functioning, we conducted a MANOVA on Symptom Checklist-90-Revised dimensions. The analysis revealed a main effect for ethnicity, Wilks' lambda = 0.88, $F(9, 390) = 6.15$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. Results from the univariate tests revealed a significant difference between the two groups on scores of all subscales of the SCL-90-R. Consistent with our hypothesis, Chinese immigrant group obtained lower scores on negative functioning, as measured by the SCL-90-R subscales, than Italian adolescents. ANOVA was used to assess overall group differences regarding psychosocial positive functioning, satisfaction of life, and GPA. For these dimensions, ANOVA showed similar patterns: Italian adolescents obtained lower scores than Chinese adolescents.

Table 1 Differences between immigrant and Italian adolescents on attachment, psychological and sociocultural adjustment

	Chinese adolescents *M* (*SD*)	Italian adolescents *M* (*SD*)	$F_{1,\,398}$
Parent attachment			
Alienation	24.84 (7.60)	29.05 (7.93)	29.40**
Communication	28.92 (6.76)	26.73 (7.15)	9.87*
Trust	39.26 (7.20)	35.73 (7.54)	22.98**
Peer attachment			
Alienation	13.37 (4.20)	14.86 (4.51)	11.79*
Communication	29.73 (5.97)	29.02 (6.17)	5.44*
Trust	41.38 (7.36)	38.36 (7.89)	6.98*
Psychological adjustment			
Somatization	0.83 (0.60)	1.06 (0.63)	14.65*
Obsessive–compulsive	1.08 (0.60)	1.42 (0.74)	27.09**
Interpersonal sensitivity	1.00 (0.71)	1.20 (0.71)	8.35*
Depression	0.83 (0.64)	1.25 (0.75)	37.02**
Anxiety	0.80 (0.60)	1.12 (0.72)	24.80**
Hostility	0.96 (0.44)	1.29 (0.87)	5.87*
Phobic anxiety	0.33(0.49)	0.61 (0.56)	17.80**
Paranoid ideation	1.23 (0.75)	1.47 (0.73)	10.48**
Psychoticism	0.56 (0.55)	0.96 (0.47)	25.53*
Satisfaction	25.88 (5.75)	20.90 (7.76)	23.33**
Sociocultural adjustment GPA	7.00 (0.99)	6.01 (0.67)	135.44**

GPA = grade point average
*$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$

Parent and Peer Attachment as Predictors of Grade Point Average in Chinese Immigrants

We used hierarchical multiple regression to examine the associations between parent, peer attachment, and GPA in Chinese immigrants. In the regression, we entered age and gender in the first step. According to Laible et al. (2000) and Tambelli et al. (2012) who have argued in favor of a hierarchical organization of attachment models, parent attachment was entered in the second step and peer attachment in the third step. The inclusion of sex and parent attachment in the model increased the variance accounted for by 27 %. Gender and parent attachment were significantly associated with GPA in the expected directions (Table 2).

Table 2 Hierarchical regression analyses for parent and peer attachment predicting sociocultural adjustment (GPA) in Chinese immigrant youth

	GPA immigrant adolescents			
	b	*SE b*	*β*	R^2
Step 1: sex and age				0.11
Sex (0 = boys; 1 = girls)	3.23	0.71	0.28*	
Age	0.67	0.44	0.09	
Step 2: IPPA parent attachment				0.27
Total score	0.11	0.02	0.37**	
Step 3: IPPA peer attachment				0.27
Total score	0.03	0.02	0.07	
Total *R*				0.52

Cells represent the standardized regression coefficient after step 3
GPA grade point average, *IPPA* Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment
$*p < 0.05$; $**p < 0.001$

Discussion

This study shows a clear immigrant paradox in Chinese adolescents in Italy, regarding attachment to parents and peer, psychological adjustment, life satisfaction, and scholastic performance. Our findings have relevance for the immigrant paradox discussion in Europe (Di Bartolomeo 2011; Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2008; Sam et al. 2008; Strohmeier and Schmitt-Rodermund 2008; Van Geel and Vedder 2011). The presence of the paradox seems to depend on the place of immigration, in addition to the country of origin of immigrant adolescents, and the specific interaction of the cultures at hand (Rudmin et al. 2003; Schwartz and Unger 2010; Suárez-Orozco and Carhill 2008). We concur with Suárez-Orozco and Carhill (2008) who paraphrase the insightful quote by the anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn: “every immigrant is like all other immigrants, like some other immigrants, and like no other immigrant” (1949, p. 89). Furthermore, the process of acculturation is particularly significant in this study, whereas it marks the difference from collective values, held by the family, typical of a non-Western society, to more individualistic ones (Lim et al. 2009).

The phenomenon of the immigrant paradox challenges two psychological paradigms: the hypothesis of the traumatic etiology of psychopathological diseases and the increased likelihood of a problematic outcome if the adolescent process of identity conquest is complicated by contextual difficulties, as it actually happens to immigrant adolescents. It would seem reasonable to expect that the immigrants, who are exposed to traumatic events due to their condition, would have a higher chance of developing a psychopathological disease; however, consistent with the immigrant paradox, the subjects that were interviewed for this study, even though they were exposed to traumatic events, do not show high levels of psychopathological diseases.

The second and related challenge refers to the major complexity of the adolescence process in immigrants, and the major difficulties relating to facing such tasks (Havighurst 1952; Strohmeier and Schmitt-Rodermund 2008), which should result in psychopathological unease. Regardless of such major difficulties, over the course of the adolescent process, in this research it has been found that the interviewed Chinese teens showed a better psychological adjustment than their Italian native peers. In the formulation of psychological theories on the relevance of trauma and on the role of existential difficulties to the genesis of psychopathologies, one must take into account the immigrant paradox. Several explanations may apply here. First, the more positive view of both peer and parent relationships in Chinese adolescents, compared to Italian adolescents, could have been influenced by the particular relevance given in Chinese culture to the respect toward parents in public (Manzi et al. 2011; Wang 2008), which may be a reason why Chinese adolescents could feel the necessity of speaking well of their parents in public and rating positively their relationship with them (social desirability). On the other hand, the more secure attachment relationship with parents, compared to Italian adolescents, could reflect the cultural relevance given to family bonds, which could be strengthened by the necessity of being in solidarity in such a difficult reality. Chinese immigrant adolescents and their parents share the belief in the importance of respecting elders. Sharing such conviction reinforces the strength of their relationship. Cohesive familiar relationships based on open communication and support, constitute an important protective factor against feelings of malaise and dissatisfaction. Italian adolescents do not hold such strong convictions.

This consideration explains the better scholastic performance of Chinese adolescents than native Italians. Chinese adolescents with a strong sense of family are more likely to obey their parents and be motivated to perform well at school. This may be a reason why parents' attachment representations predict the scholastic performance in Chinese adolescents. Immigrant adolescents have an increased level of academic and social adjustment because they share an emphasis on education with their families (Fuligni 1997), experience stronger family bonds (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2009), and have more familial obligations (van Geel and Vedder 2011). In this respect, it is possible to draw a link between psychological well-being and quality of the relationship with the parents. Lim et al. (2009) came to a similar conclusion when they observed that a larger mother–child acculturation gap was associated with higher levels of adolescent distress.

It has been hypothesized that the better parents' attachment relationship reported by Chinese adolescents, compared to Italian adolescents, could also be linked to the tendency of Chinese adolescents to positively describe themselves and their families, deriving from the cultural characteristic to publicly pay respect to their parents: it will be useful to base further research not only on self-report instruments but also on evaluations by teachers and parents (Dimitrova and Chasiotis 2012; Georgiades et al. 2007), on projective measures or deeper interviews.

Another important line of research is to evaluate the relationship between any change on the representation of attachment relationship and the values of adolescent Chinese in the Italian society from a longitudinal perspective. Meaningful studies should longitudinally analyze the psychological consequences of Chinese adolescents' cultural mismatch with the Italian adolescents and any progressive adaptation to Italian adolescents' values. Any cultural changes due to the social adaptation would create a gap between parents and offspring. The parents remain much more faithful to their culture of origin, whereas children are more open to accepting the values of the receiving society (Lim et al. 2009). A crucial topic of further study could be the influence of a possible cultural gap between parents and offspring on any decrease in psychological and social adaptation.

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Well-Being of Immigrant Children and Their Parents: Evidence from Albanian and Serbian Families in Italy

Radosveta Dimitrova and Athanasios Chasiotis

Immigration brings significant challenges for immigrant families who are often faced with the complex task of parenting their children in new places of settlement as well as negotiating both the heritage and the dominant cultures. Little attention has been paid to the ways in which immigration affects immigrant parents' well-being and the consequent psychological and social adjustment of their children (Brody et al. 2002). Even less number of studies have focused on adjustment pathways in immigrant families and their children in Italy, which is facing increasing recent waves of immigration, particularly in comparison to other European countries. Only one study we are aware of has investigated the influence of immigration experience among children from different ethnic groups in Italy as a way of identifying positive or negative outcomes during their acculturation process in the country (Dimitrova and Chasiotis 2012). The present study was designed to build on this prior work by exploring the influence of immigration on children and their parents' well-being in families from Albania and Serbia compared to Italian mainstreamers in Northeast Italy. In the following discussion, we first give an overview of the research findings on well-being and adjustment of immigrant populations into their host cultures before presenting the study.

Migration Morbidity and the Paradox of Adjustment in Immigrant Groups

Two major perspectives have dominated research on adjustment of immigrant groups across a variety of cultural contexts—the *migration-morbidity* and the *immigrant-paradox hypotheses*. The migration-morbidity hypothesis refers to the relationship between migrant status and severe psychosocial problems (Klimidis

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et al. 1994), whereas the immigrant-paradox hypothesis contends that despite disadvantaged socioeconomic conditions, immigrants experience greater psychological well-being and social adjustment relative to natives (Sam et al. 2008).

Extant research across different receiving contexts has provided evidence for both the migration-morbidity and the immigrant-paradox effects. The prevalence of adjustment difficulties in immigrant samples has been widely documented in terms of psychological problems (Derluyn and Broekaert 2007; Leavey et al. 2004; Stevens et al. 2003), delinquent and aggressive behavior (Janssen et al. 2004; Strohmeier et al. 2010), and school difficulties (Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2008). Concurrently, the immigrant paradox has been supported by studies showing that immigrants have less behavioral problems (Georgiades et al. 2007; Strohmeier et al. 2008), less difficulties in school (García Coll and Marks 2009), and generally feel less distressed (Beiser et al. 2002; Harker 2001) than their peers from nonimmigrant families. However, migration morbidity is a well-replicated finding, especially across European studies (Dimitrova et al. 2013), whereas the immigrant paradox is reported prevalently in the Unites States and Canada. Considering early immigration and active receiving policies, it might not be surprising that the paradox has been largely reported in these countries (García Coll and Marks 2009). Additionally, different patterns in outcomes may be viewed in terms of multicultural policies such those in American and Canadian states compared to most of Europe as they also portray differences in the acculturation and adaptation of immigrants.

As far as the Italian context of immigration is concerned, there is a dearth of research examining psychological outcomes in childhood and specifically across ethnically diverse samples. On one hand, some evidence lends support for the immigrant paradox by showing that socioeconomic disadvantage and immigrant children's well-being could portray similar findings in Northeast Italy. However, adaptation outcomes vary greatly across ethnic groups such that Albanian and Serbian immigrant children had lower emotional instability and aggression than their Italian and Slovene native peers, whereas this appears not to be the case for prosocial behavior and depressive symptoms where comparable adjustment levels among groups emerged (Dimitrova and Chasiotis 2012). On the other hand, there are also findings in line with the migration-morbidity hypothesis showing that immigrant adolescents have been found to report worse health status compared to their native peers in terms of psychosomatic symptoms and subjective well-being; they were also less satisfied about their life and less happy overall (Vieno et al. 2009).

The above-presented divergent findings point to the complexity and variations in adjustment outcomes of immigrant groups, since there seem to be both maladaptive and healthy migrant effects in immigrant populations. In Europe and specifically in Italy, there is little research that documents adaptation of immigrant families. Therefore, the current study sets out to investigate adjustment outcomes of Albanian and Serbian children and parents in Italy. We considered these ethnic groups because of their distinctive features of prototypical immigrants, traditionally associated with difficult social integration, discrimination, and negative stereotyping by the dominant Italian majority (Mai and Schwandner-Sievers 2003).

Albanian and Serbian Immigrants in Italy

Italy is one of the favored target countries for Albanian and Serbian immigration, the flows of which became relevant in the late 1990s. Migration from these countries to Italy began after the end of the communist system in 1989 and became even more visible when a significant number of Albanian and Serbian families were allowed to migrate, while Italian, relatively loose, migration laws facilitated immigration to Italy. The presence of these immigrants in Italy increased very rapidly, particularly in the Northeastern region, due to its geographic proximity to the Balkan States. Another attractive characteristic for those immigrants stems from the increased economic growth and local labor opportunities, which sustain the settlement for immigrant families in that region (Marra 2002).

Nowadays, both ethnic communities are settling mainly in North Italy and are representing the largest and most representative ethnicities associated with disadvantaged social conditions, exclusion, and negative stereotyping by the dominant Italian majority. Both Albanians and Serbians belong to socially disadvantaged immigrant groups, but their groups differ in migration history and social status. Serbian immigration has a long-term history of immigration for economic reasons and family reunifications, whereas the Albanian immigration is a more recent phenomenon linked to refugee displacement in the early 1990s (Mai and Schwandner-Sievers 2003). Moreover, the Serbian community has a historical migration tradition to Northeastern Italy, which was facilitated by the policy of "openness" of the former Yugoslavian government. Compared with the Albanian group in the area, therefore, Serbians have had the longest time to adapt to the Italian society as their settlement is also supported by a cohesive Serbian receiving network and organizations available to serve the immigrant Serbian community (Marra 2002). In comparison to Serbians, the Albanian community is characterized by more pronounced negative stereotyping and discrimination because of the greater prevalence of illegal immigrants or refugees making them an ideal target group for ethnic prejudice and occasional exploitations by the media (King and Mai 2009). These unique aspects of both Albanian and Serbian communities make them particularly interesting if one wants to explore how immigration affects children's and parents' well-being within the host Italian context.

The Present Study

The present study aims to investigate the psychological well-being and social adjustment of Albanian and Serbian immigrant children compared to Italian mainstreamers and explore how these outcomes are related to their well-being. In addition, our study adds to the literature by studying how immigration affects the well-being (i.e., self-esteem, optimism, and depression) of both mothers and fathers where most previous studies addressed these outcomes only with regard to maternal psychological outcomes (Chou 2010). Another novel aspect of our study involves the age of the participants as most work on adjustment outcomes of immigrants has been carried out almost exclusively with adolescents (Fuligni 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). This study contributes to the existing literature by investigating psychological and social adjustment in middle childhood, which is a crucial period in terms of developmental sensibility. It is during this period that children acquire skills and develop interactions within broader social contexts beyond their families. Children's positive attitudes toward school and other social environments develop in that period, therefore producing a major impact on their future goals, aspirations, and successful achievements in later periods of life (García Coll and Szalacha 2004).

We made the following predictions: First, with regard to children's well-being, if migration morbidity holds, Albanian and Serbian immigrant children will show more problems compared to mainstream Italian children, whereas we expect less problems in the immigrant rather than in the mainstream group if the immigrant paradox is supported (Hypothesis 1a). Furthermore, we expect that Albanian children will show higher adjustment problems compared to their Serbian and Italian peers because of a less successful integration of the Albanian community in Italy (Hypothesis 1b).

Second, with regard to parental outcomes, we expect that if migration morbidity is supported, immigrant compared to nonimmigrant parents will show lower levels of well-being, whereas in case the immigrant paradox applies, we hypothesize enhanced well-being in the immigrant rather than in the mainstream Italian parents (Hypothesis 2a). We also assume that due to severe discrimination experiences, Albanian, compared to Serbian and Italian, parents will present lower levels of well-being (Hypothesis 2b). Finally, with regard to the relation between children's and parent's adjustment outcomes, we advance the following hypotheses: If the migration morbidity or the immigrant paradox holds true, we expect that immigrant children and their parents' levels of adjustment will be related (Hypothesis 3a). Alternatively, if immigrant children adapt more easily than their parents to their host culture (e.g., Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995), we expect no such relationship between children's and parental outcomes (Hypothesis 3b).

Method

Participants

A total of 292 children (7–13 years old, $M=9.03$, $SD=1.54$) and their parents with Albanian ($N=69$), Serbian ($N=61$), and Italian ($N=162$) backgrounds were involved in the study (See Table 1). All participants were recruited from different elementary public schools situated in the northeastern region of Italy. Prior to data collection, immigrant children who potentially met the inclusion criteria (first-generation immigrants whose parents were both from the same country of origin, i. e., Albania and Serbia) were identified through school records. In addition, data on the average length of stay of the immigrant children were collected, thereby including

Table 1 Descriptive statistics of the sample by ethnic group

	Albanian	Serbian	Italian	*Total*
Gender (m = male, f = female)	22m 47f	25m 36f	67m 95f	114m 178f
Age				
Range	7–12	7–13	7–12	7–13
Mean (*SD*)	9.55 (1.53)	9.48 (1.69)	8.64 (1.38)	9.03 (1.54)
Parental SES, *n* (%)				
Low	59_a (85.5 %)	13_a (21 %)	34_b (21.1 %)	105 (36.6 %)
Middle	9 (13 %)	47 (78.3 %)	102 (63.4 %)	158 (63.4 %)
High	1 (1.4 %)	–	25 (15.5 %)	26 (15.5 %)
Length of residence, *n* (%)				
1–5 years	51 (73.9 %)	29 (47.5 %)	–	80 (61.5 %)
5–10 years	18 (26.1 %)	32 (52.5 %)	–	50 (38.5 %)
SOCAD-S				
Mean (*SD*)	17.38_a (2.21)	17.32_a (2.36)	18.40_b (2.57)	17.93 (2.49)
Cronbach's alpha	0.89	0.88	0.89	0.89
CDI				
Mean (*SD*)	10.51 (5.56)	9.28 (5.43)	9.34 (6.97)	9.61 (6.36)
Cronbach's alpha	0.74	0.75	0.85	0.82

SOCAD-S Social Adjustment Scale, *CDI* Children's Depression Inventory
Means with different subscripts differ significantly among groups at $p < 0.001$

only those who were residing in Italy for at least one academic year. The occupation status of both parents was used to obtain an indicator of the participants' family socioeconomic status (SES). The three categories of low, middle, and high SES were computed following the Italian National Statistical Institute for occupational classifications (Scarnera 2001).

Preliminary analysis of variance revealed significant differences between the three cultural groups with respect to age of participants, with the Italian being younger than Albanian and Serbian children, $F(1, 291) = 12{,}74$, $p < 0.001$. Because there were no significant age effects on outcome variables of social adjustment and depression, age was not controlled for in further analyses. There were no sample differences in gender, $\chi^2(2, N = 292) = 1.94$, $p = 0.378$. However, the ethnic groups differed with respect to SES ($\chi^2(4, N = 290) = 107.17$; $p < 0.001$), with Italian children having higher SES. All subsequent analyses controlled for this effect.

Measures

Children's Well-Being and Adjustment Two scales were used to assess children's psychological well-being and adjustment. First, *the* Children's Depression Inventory (CDI, Kovacs 1988) was applied to assess depressive symptoms in emotional, cognitive, psychomotor, and motivational domains. Children are asked to indicate the sentences that best describe the way they had been feeling over the past two weeks. Each item can be scored from 0 to 2, ranging from a *very seldom* to a *very frequent* presence of a given feeling. The measure has shown good reliability in various ethnic groups of children and has been validated in Italy (Frigerio et al. 2001; Twenge and Nolen-Hoeksema 2002). Second, the Social Adjustment Scale (SOCAD-S) by Caprara et al. (1992) was applied to measure children's social behaviors and adjustment. The scale includes items rated on three-point Likert scale measuring a child's ability to interact adequately in social contexts. Children are asked to indicate how frequently they showed behaviors such as being rude, threatening others, and enjoying being in the company of friends and classmates. Internal consistency coefficients of those measures calculated through Cronbach's alpha for the present sample as well as for the separate ethnic groups are reported in Table 1.

Parental Well-Being Three scales were used to assess the psychological well-being of both parents. First, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE, Rosenberg 1979) assessing self-esteem through ten items was applied. Some of these items were "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others," "I am able to do things as well as most other people,", and "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" rated on a four-point response scale, from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. The RSE has excellent psychometric properties (Kernis et al. 1989; Rosenberg 1979) and has been validated and widely used in Italy (Miretta et al. 1997; Ghaderi 2005). Across ethnic groups, internal consistencies for the present sample ranged from $\alpha = 0.77$ to $\alpha = 0.87$. Second, the Life Orientation Test (LOT, Scheier and Carver 1985) to measure generalized outcome expectancies and optimism was used. Sample items rated on five-point response scale, from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*, were "I am always optimistic about my future," "In uncertain times, I usually expect the best," and "I always look on the bright side of things". Internal consistencies across ethnic groups for the present sample ranged from $\alpha = 0.68$ to $\alpha = 0.72$. Third, the *Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Scale (CES-D)*, developed by Radloff (1977) and validated in Italy (Fava 1983) to measure parents' depressive symptoms, was used. The scale consists of 20 items that cover affective, psychological, and somatic symptoms in the past two weeks such as "I felt depressed", "I felt that everything I did was an effort," "I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor," and "People were unfriendly" with internal consistencies across ethnic groups of the present sample ranging from $\alpha = 0.91$ to $\alpha = 0.95$.

Procedure

Permission was obtained from school authorities and teachers. In order to select suitable respondents, all participants were selected by school staff according to age, ethnicity, and immigrant background. Prior to data collection, parents were sent a letter with a description of the project. They were also requested to provide a signed consent form for their child to take part in the study. Children were asked to complete the two measures individually in a separate room provided by their teachers. Additionally, supervision and assistance was provided by bilingual research assistants. Concurrently, the questionnaires regarding each family were handed over by the bilingual research assistants separately to mothers and fathers, who could complete them at home and return the completed scales to the research team.

Results

The results are presented in three sections. We first investigated mean group differences of social adjustment and depression in the Albanian and Serbian immigrants compared to Italian mainstream children. We then examined group differences of well-being indicators (self-esteem, optimism, and depression) for parents from immigrant and mainstream groups. Finally, we investigated associations between well-being of Albanian, Serbian, and Italian parents and their children.

Ethnic Differences in Children's Well-Being and Adjustment

The first research question addressed differences in well-being and adjustment domains among ethnic groups. We investigated adjustment differences across groups by carrying out a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) with group (three levels) as an independent factor, with depression and social adjustment as dependent variables, and SES as a covariate. The multivariate test of group differences was significant, Wilks' lambda $=0.95$, $F(2, 280)=3.69$, $p<0.001$, $\eta^2=0.026$. The analyses revealed a significant group effect for social adjustment, $F(2, 280)=5.67$, $p<0.001$, $\eta^2=0.039$. Post hoc tests (Bonferroni multiple comparisons) revealed that Albanian and Serbian immigrant children reported higher levels of social adjustment than their Italian mainstream peers (Table 1). No significant ethnic group differences emerged for depressive symptoms, $F(2, 280)=1.07$, $p=0.343$, $\eta^2=0.008$.

Ethnic Differences in Parental Well-Being

In order to test our second hypothesis on the influence of immigration experience on parental well-being, a MANCOVA was performed with group (three levels) as an independent factor, with maternal self-esteem, optimism, and depression as dependent variables, and SES as a covariate. The multivariate test of group differences was significant, Wilks' lambda $=0.78$, $F(2, 171)=7.43$, $p<0.001$, $\eta^2=0.118$. The analyses revealed a significant group effect for self-esteem ($F(2, 171)=7.61$, $p<0.001$, $\eta^2=0.083$) and depression, $F(2, 171)=18.21$, $p<0.001$, $\eta^2=0.178$. Post hoc tests showed that Albanian mothers scored significantly lower on self-esteem and depression compared to both Serbian immigrant and Italian mainstream mothers, which is in line with our hypothesis on ethnic group differences in well-being (Table 2). No significant ethnic group differences emerged for optimism, $F(2, 171)=1.10$,

$p = 0.333$, $\eta^2 = 0.013$. Concurrently, a second MANCOVA was performed with group (three levels) as an independent factor, with paternal self-esteem, optimism, and depression as dependent variables, and SES as a covariate. The multivariate test of group differences was significant, Wilks' lambda = 0.72, $F(2, 146) = 8.35$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.151$. Similarly to mothers' well-being, results showed a significant group effect for self-esteem ($F(2, 146) = 19.22$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.030$) and depression, $F(2, 146) = 11.97$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.143$. Consistent with our prediction, post hoc comparisons showed that Albanian fathers scored significantly lower on self-esteem. In addition, both immigrant Albanian and Serbian fathers showed higher levels of depression compared to Italian mainstreamers (Table 2). No significant ethnic groups' differences emerged for optimism, $F(2, 146) = 1.88$, $p = 0.156$, $\eta^2 = 0.026$.

Associations of Children and Parental Well-Being

In a further step, we investigated the relationship between children's and parents' scores on well-being outcomes by running Pearson linear correlations. Overall, children's self-reports on depression were positively and significantly associated with their mothers' ($r(171) = 0.22$, $p < 0.001$) and fathers' ($r(145) = 0.18$, $p < 0.001$) reports on depression. A similar positive association of depression symptoms of children and parents was found considering specific ethnic groups. The correlations within the Italian group were particularity evident, pointing out to a positive relation of children and their mother's ($r(163) = 0.24$, $p < 0.001$) and fathers' ($r(92) = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$) depression levels. Additionally, in the Italian group, there were negative associations between children's depression and fathers' self-esteem ($r(92) = -0.37$, $p < 0.001$) and optimism ($r(92) = -0.23$, $p < 0.001$). There were no other significant associations between children and parental measures of well-being among ethnic groups (see Table 3).

Discussion

Although affluent European countries are experiencing an unprecedented increase in immigrant families whose well-being is of current interest (Council of the European Union 2007), studies on the topic are rather rare. This is particularly true for Italy, although this country is characterized by very recent waves of immigration compared to other European countries (Hernandez et al. 2010). This study attempted to fill in this gap by investigating the well-being and adjustment of immigrant children compared to their mainstream Italian peers and exploring how these outcomes are related to their parental well-being outcomes.

Our results with respect to children's social adjustment suggest that, despite disadvantaged social circumstances, immigrant children display better outcomes compared to their native peers. In line with the literature on the immigrant paradox, our findings provide evidence in support of the notion that migration is not associated with adjustment problems and that Albanian and Serbian immigrant children,

Table 2 Means (standard deviations) of parental well-being outcomes according to ethnic group

	Albanian ($n=69$)	Serbian ($n=61$)	Italian ($n=162$)	Total ($n=262$)	Group comparison F	η^2
Mothers'						
Self-esteem	28.92_a (4.63)	32.00_b (4.47)	32.50_b (3.98)	31.35 (4.35)	7.61***	0.083
Optimism	16.11 (2.67)	17.79 (2.39)	16.96 (3.37)	16.77 (3.12)	1.10	0.013
Depression	29.70_a (12.92)	25.43_b (13.06)	20.23_c (12.97)	23.57 (13.60)	18.21***	0.178
Fathers'						
Self-esteem	28.76_a (2.46)	31.79_a (3.69)	33.27_b (4.16)	32.07 (4.19)	19.22***	0.030
Optimism	16.88 (2.05)	18.21 (2.14)	17.60 (2.71)	17.32 (2.53)	1.88	0.026
Depression	25.48_a (10.50)	26.32_a (10.69)	18.58_b (12.62)	21.13 (12.36)	11.97***	0.143

Means with different subscripts differ significantly among groups
***$p<0.001$

Table 3 Correlations between children's and parents' outcomes by ethnic group

Parents' reports	Children's reports							
	Depression				Social adjustment			
	Albanian ($n=69$)	Serbian ($n=61$)	Italian ($n=162$)	*Total* ($n=262$)	Albanian ($n=69$)	Serbian ($n=61$)	Italian ($n=162$)	*Total* ($n=262$)
Mothers'								
Self-esteem	−0.06	0.31	0.10	0.23	0.17	−0.36	−0.04	0.08
Optimism	−0.12	0.02	−0.01	−0.05	−0.21	−0.25	−0.02	−0.05
Depression	0.10	0.21	0.24**	0.22**	0.12	0.17	0.08	−0.00
Fathers'								
Self-esteem	−0.04	0.09	−0.37**	−0.25**	0.08	−0.35	0.01	0.10
Optimism	0.10	−0.02	−0.23**	−0.13	−0.28	−0.32	0.01	−0.05
Depression	0.01	0.16	0.23*	0.18**	0.04	0.19	0.14	−0.15

*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.001$

although exposed to higher social disadvantage, manage to adjust quite well to their host sociocultural environment. Analogous results have been reported in Italy (Dimitrova and Chasiotis 2012) and in a variety of countries where immigrants have been shown to be better adjusted than the native populations of their host societies (Georgiades et al. 2007; Harker 2001; Sam et al. 2008). Our results add to the existing literature by replicating these findings in Albanian and Serbian immigrant children living in Northeast Italy. However, contrary to our expectation, we did not find ethnic differences between severely discriminated Albanian and long-term settled Serbian immigrant groups in Italy. Children from both ethnic groups revealed more similarities than differences in their well-being and adaptation within the Italian context. Possibly, a good accommodating context for immigrants in Northeast Italy, where immigrant communities are offered access to good educational and healthcare services, may contribute to the observed similarities in outcomes (Marra 2002).

Contrary to the paradox-related findings in social domains of adjustment, immigrant and nonimmigrant children showed similar levels of depressive symptoms. Analogous findings have been reported in 11- to 18-year-old immigrant children in Belgium, who do not differ from their nonimmigrant peers in prevalence of emotional and depressive symptoms (Derluyn et al. 2008). In a similar vein, Sam et al. (2008) report the immigrant paradox for sociocultural and behavioral adjustment, but not for anxiety and depression in immigrant compared to native youth in five European countries. Arguably, immigrant children may feel less at ease in reporting their emotional problems due to social desirability influences, which pose the need to interpret with caution our findings, mainly based on self-reports. Clearly, it is desirable to include different sources of information on children's adjustment in future studies (Dimitrova and Chasiotis 2012).

Findings regarding group differences in children's self-ratings on well-being and adjustment did not match their parents' reports, which reveal that both immigrant parents experience lower self-esteem and higher depression than their nonimmigrant counterparts. Previous research has suggested that immigrant and minority parents tend to present compromised well-being and adjustment in their host culture (Bornstein and Cote 2004). Obviously, immigration brings challenges in parents' lives, including adapting to a new context, loss of social status, social isolation, and marginalization. Such challenges may negatively affect the parents' psychological well-being including a decline in self-esteem and manifestation of severe depressive symptoms. Additionally, in accordance with our expectations, both immigrant parents with Albanian backgrounds showed significantly lower well-being than their Serbian immigrant and Italian nonimmigrant counterparts. These results suggest that parents might experience significant difficulties in acculturating to their new country of settlement and that such a situation extends to Serbian as well as to Albanian immigrants in Italy.

Finally, we found support for the hypothesized patterns of psychological well-being for children and their parents. On the one hand, in the immigrant group, children's adjustment was not related to their parents' outcomes, supporting prior evidence on integration of immigrant children who show better adaptive outcomes than their parents did (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995). On the other hand, a significant positive relation emerged between child and parental depressive symptoms and this was particularly true in the Italian native group. Although research on the relation between maternal and paternal depression with child depression is relatively sparse and limited (Gotlib and Hammen 2009), studies suggest that children's depression is more closely related to depression in mothers than to depression in fathers (Connell and Goodman 2002; Rohde et al. 2005). Our study reports similar correlations, although small in size, indicating that maternal compared to paternal depression is more related to their children's depressive outcomes.

Limitations and Conclusions Although this study adds a substantial contribution to the literature on well-being of immigrant children and their parents in Italy, some limitations need to be discussed. First, we used only self-reports in investigating children's outcomes. The use of self-reports is one of the most frequently applied methods in obtaining information on subjective perceptions on adjustment and well-being, but self-reports are also susceptible to various sources of bias. For example, prior research with Italian immigrant groups revealed that according to self-reports, immigrants perform better than native children in social outcomes, whereas such group differences were not supported by teachers' reports (Dimitrova and Chasiotis 2012). Future studies should also include parent or teacher reports in order to obtain a multidimensional assessment of child outcomes. As far as our study is concerned, social desirability effects may also relate to the dissimilarity in adjustment outcomes between immigrant children and their parents. Accordingly, it is also possible that immigrant parents may truly report less positive psychological outcomes than natives and it may be that such differences are not reflected by their children's reports. Further investigations relying on multiple sources of information, while also controlling for potential social desirability effects, will provide a more in-depth understanding of adjustment outcomes in immigrant families.

A second limitation of our study is the cross-sectional study design, which hinders the ability to test developmental trajectories of immigration effects on children's and parents' well-being. For example, it is possible that immigrant parents who show more depressive symptoms may have parenting difficulties, so that they use parenting practices that influence negatively their children's well-being. It would be desirable to test this possibility in future studies with longitudinal data. Additionally, stressful parenting may be the antecedent link to depressive symptoms of both parents and children (Lovejoy et al. 2000). An interesting venue of research to be implemented in future studies is whether parenting difficulties may lead to depression among both parents and their children. Further support for the need to go beyond cross-sectional self-report data is provided by a recent meta-analysis of 44 studies on adjustment outcomes in immigrant children and youth in 14 European countries. The clearest effects in this meta-analysis can be found in longitudinal studies in which more rigorous research designs were applied and representative samples drawn from national data sets were used (Dimitrova et al. 2013).

Another limitation concerns the high nonresponse rate of immigrant parents (50 %), which may have been caused by a selection bias in the sample and may thus limit generalizations. It should also be recognized that the assessment of depression is a sensitive topic; therefore, parents might be less willing to report on their symptoms. An alternative explanation of the low response rate may be due to the disadvantaged social status, discrimination, and stigmatization of immigrants in Italy.

Finally, caution is needed in extending our findings to other families and children with immigrant and ethnic background. Although our results showed healthy migrant effects for the Albanian and Serbian children, these should be viewed within the geographical area where the study was carried out. Studies in other Italian regions have shown that immigrants, compared to natives, experience more mental health problems (Vieno et al. 2009). Future research in other regions with other ethnic groups should be conducted to investigate the multiplicity of intervening factors that may influence immigrant children's adjustment.

In conclusion, our study adds to the literature by investigating the well-being and adjustment of immigrant children and their parents in Italy, given that there has been very little consideration toward understanding the process of immigration in Italy. A central point in this regard is that immigrant children fare relatively well compared to their nonimmigrant peers, whereas their parents show significant psychological problems in adjusting to the host Italian context. Although belonging to highly stigmatized and disadvantaged immigrant groups, Albanian and Serbian children compared to Italian mainstream children show less social adjustment problems and equal depressive levels. Conversely, both immigrant parents report less self-esteem and more depressive symptoms than natives, and this evidence is particularly strong for parents with an Albanian background. These findings portray implications for intervention on family and parents, which may influence the adjustment of immigrant children in Italy. Clinical implications of such results include the need for particularly intensive observation of immigrant families who have depressed parents, especially with an Albanian ethnic background. Our results shed light on the cumulative challenges immigrant parents are facing in their acculturation experiences within the host Italian context. Providing adequate support for immigrant families through resources available in their social and community environments is an essential step in helping this increasingly growing population of children and parents to face their acculturation challenges adequately.

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Parenting Practices and Attachment as Predictors of Life Satisfaction of Mainstream Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch Adolescents

Itziar Alonso-Arbiol, Amina Abubakar, and Fons J. R. Van de Vijver

Understanding sources of youth well-being is an important first step in developing effective strategies to ensure positive youth outcomes that contribute to a healthier future citizenship of a society. Family-related factors such as parenting practices (e.g., Baumrind 1991; Dwairy 2008) and attachment to parents (e.g., Gallarin and Alonso-Arbiol 2012; Nada Raja et al. 1992) have been observed to play a key role in mainstream adolescents' well-being from Western countries. However, although an increasing proportion of the population in Western countries originates from non-Western parts of the world, and despite the higher level of difficulties and stress that adolescents of immigrant origin may encounter (Murad et al. 2004), parental factors contributing to psychological well-being remain largely understudied in immigrant youth.

This chapter aims to contribute to the knowledge in this field by presenting the results of a study on mainstream Dutch adolescents and Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands; the latter is an ethnic group that, in the literature, has been associated with major adjustment problems and problem-behavior-related offenses (e.g., Veen et al. 2011; Van Gemert 1998). Whether the effect of parenting styles applies equally to adolescents of immigrant origin has been insufficiently examined, as it has been the joint or independent contribution of parenting practices and parental

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attachment on this population's life satisfaction. We cover these gaps by testing a mediation model across the above-mentioned ethnic groups from the Netherlands. While most scholars have studied the negative aspects of psychological well-being—i.e., poorer mental health or distress—(e.g., Veen et al. 2011) the approach of investigating the positive aspects of psychological well-being (i.e., life satisfaction) has been less often adopted. This latter approach is employed in the present study.

In the remaining sections of this introduction, we first analyze the links between parenting practices and different outcomes of well-being within a cultural framework. Second, we examine the role of attachment in relation to well-being and to parenting practices. Third, the context of the Dutch-Moroccan immigrant population is described. Finally, the hypotheses for the present study are outlined.

Parenting Practices, Culture, and Well-Being

One of the most influential frameworks to understand parenting styles is Baumrind's typology (Baumrind 1971, 1978), which, combining warmth and parental responsiveness, on the one hand, and demandingness and control, on the other hand, classifies the ways in which parents interact with their children into three categories: authoritative (or flexible), authoritarian, and permissive. Although this typology originated in a Western context, studies carried out in very different cultural locations have confirmed the existence of these three styles as a powerful framework to understand adolescent development (e.g., Abu-Rayya 2006; Snoek et al. 2007).

In the cross-cultural literature of parenting and developmental issues, sociocultural factors have been observed to exert an effect on both the preferred parenting styles and the links between parenting style and well-being in adolescents (e.g., Jackson-Newsom et al. 2008). Such sociocultural factors may be explained using Kagitcibasi's (2007) family change model. This model offers a theoretical framework of particular interest for the analysis of non-Western immigrant groups because it addresses how sociocultural and economic changes (i.e., toward a more urbanized and prosperous society) affect family functioning and parenting practices. The model has been successfully applied to the context of acculturation of Turkish immigrants' child-rearing practices in the Netherlands as well (Durgel et al. 2013).

Three family patterns are described in the family change model: independence, interdependence, and psychological interdependence. The independence family pattern is the common pattern in Western urbanized societies that promote values of autonomy and the individuals' well-being. The family pattern of interdependence is characteristic of more traditional, non-Western societies, where family members depend on each other both financially and emotionally; they value a hierarchical and tight structure of family relations and prefer obedience to authority and elderly. Finally, the psychological interdependence family pattern is suggested to be applicable to emerging economies and immigrant families from non-Western, traditional origins living in the Western, prosperous societies. As a consequence of the accommodation process to the new society, a mixed-value pattern characterizes these families: The parents value assertiveness and autonomy, which prevail in the host society, but close family bonds within the family still prevail. Yet, the importance of obedience and compliance values decreases for these families (Kagitcibasi 2007; Kagitcibasi and Ataca 2005).

Authoritative parenting is the preferred style in contexts where the independence family pattern is common: It is considered optimal because it presents a balance between discipline and acceptance (Baumrind 1991). Furthermore, in such contexts an authoritative parenting style is positively associated with social competence, self-esteem, and self-reliance (Baumrind 1991; López et al. 2008; Milevsky et al. 2007). Adolescents who have authoritative parents describe themselves as being happier and they have lower depression levels (Milevsky et al. 2007). On the other hand, an authoritarian style has been associated with maladjustment (Baumrind 1991); adolescents with authoritarian parents are unhappier (Milevsky et al. 2007) and have lower self-esteem and self-confidence (Lamborn et al. 1991). The permissive style has been linked with behavioral problems (Lamborn et al. 1991) but Garcia and Gracia (2009) found that permissiveness was as good as authoritativeness in a sample of Spanish adolescents; so, it seems that the relationship between permissive and authoritative parenting is less conclusive about adolescents' internal problems or positive psychological well-being.

The contribution of parenting styles to adolescents' well-being could well be different in non-Western and more traditional societies. Consistent with the family pattern of interdependence, authoritarianism is more commonly used as a parenting strategy in samples coming from the Arab world (Dwairy et al. 2006). The influence of the authoritarian style on adolescents' well-being is still unclear. Although some evidence has been provided for the positive association between authoritarianism and academic outcomes in East-Asian populations (Chao 1994; Leung et al. 1998), no consistent association has been found for psychological well-being measures of life satisfaction and mental health outcome in Indonesian adolescents (Abubakar et al. under review). In a large sample taken from eight Arab countries (a sample that is somewhat similar to our Dutch immigrant sample), Dwairy and Achoui (2006) observed that adolescents with controlling parenting had the best psychological and sociocultural adaptation. However, it must be noted that controlling parenting, in this study, seemed to refer to a cluster that included both authoritarian and authoritative styles. In another study, also carried out in Arab societies (Dwairy et al. 2006), authoritarian parenting was not observed to be associated with negative effects on the adolescents' mental health. It seems far-fetched to conclude that authoritarianism is less harmful for adolescents' well-being in more traditional, hierarchical societies than in societies characterized by independent family patterns.

The psychological interdependence family pattern would involve less prevalence of authoritarianism as a preferred parenting style because obedience and compliance lose relevance. Durgel et al. (2013) analyzed Turkish immigrant mothers' parenting beliefs and practices in the Netherlands. They observed that, in line with the family change model, Turkish immigrant mothers valued family ties and obedience of children more than their Dutch counterparts. More interestingly, however, acculturation processes accounted for a change in parenting beliefs and practices.

The more they adjusted to and the longer the time they spent in the Dutch host country, the higher was the endorsement of fostering of autonomy and self-control values, while family closeness continued to be highly valued by these mothers. This instance of the psychological interdependence family pattern suggests that authoritarianism may become less popular as a preferred parenting style of immigrants in a Western country such as the Netherlands.

In a study of Dutch adolescents (Wissink et al. 2006), Moroccan immigrant and Dutch majority group adolescents reported similar parenting practices of authoritative control, but Dutch majority group members reported having experienced less strict practices of restrictive control as compared to Moroccan immigrant counterparts. However, parental socioeconomic status (SES) was not controlled in that study, despite having been observed to be an important confounding variable in cross-cultural research of parenting beliefs and practices (e.g., Durgel et al. 2013; Von der Lippe 1999). In the Durgel et al. (2013) study, maternal education was the best predictor of mothers' child-rearing practices when compared with several other pertinent variables such as cultural group, type of residence, and immigrant/mainstream status. It seems that highly educated mothers are aware of the importance of promoting autonomy and self-control in their children for their successful adaptation in Western urbanized contexts, and, thus, they endorse such goals to a higher extent than less educated mothers. This may also apply to parenting practices in adolescence. Therefore, it may be expected that immigrant adolescents' highly educated parents would display less authoritarian styles than less educated parents, as well as parenting practices more similar to those of mainstream Dutch parents.

Parenting Practices, Attachment, and Well-Being

Attachment theory is a framework that has successfully contributed to the understanding of healthy psychological development. Through the establishment of secure emotional bonds with significant others, individuals develop schemes of emotional regulation that promote psychological well-being (for a review, see Mikulincer and Shaver 2008). In adolescence, secure attachment to parents has been observed in a wide range of countries—including the Netherlands (e.g., Dekovic and Meeus 1997; Noom et al. 1999)—to be positively associated with several outcomes of positive well-being, such as self-esteem (e.g., Laible et al. 2004), emotional adjustment (e.g., Armsden and Greenberg 1987), subjective well-being (e.g., Li et al. 2007), and life satisfaction (e.g., Nickerson and Nagel 2004).

Some attachment theorists (Belsky 1999; Cummings and Cummings 2002) have drawn attention to the importance of analyzing the interrelations between attachment and parenting practices. Specifically, the dimension of parental warmth would be more closely linked with the attachment to parents. The emotional closeness in the socialization practices displayed by parents would quite likely lead children and adolescents to feel more connected to them, trust them more, and use them as a secure base when emotional or behavioral difficulties arise. For instance, some empirical studies have tested the links between parenting practices and attachment. In a study carried out among Canadian adolescents, parental control appeared positively linked to insecure attachment, and parental warmth was negatively associated with insecure attachment (Doyle and Markiewicz 2005). Using a similar categorical approach as the one we use here, authoritative parenting, as reported by adolescents, was positively associated with secure attachment (Karavasilis et al. 2003). Likewise, in a Japanese sample of adolescents, different types of attachments were negatively linked with parental warmth and positively with overprotective (controlling) parenting (Nishikawa et al. 2010). Both insecure attachment and overprotective parenting were observed to be interrelated with low self-concept in that study.

Taking into account parenting practices, attachment, and well-being, relationships among these variables have been observed in a sample similar to ours. In a study by Wissink et al. (2006), parenting behavior and quality of the parent–adolescent relationship, theoretically close to the construct of attachment, were examined in a multi-ethnic sample of Dutch adolescents that, among others, included Moroccan-Dutch and Dutch mainstreamers. A negative quality of the relationship and more authoritarian parenting were significantly associated with lower self-esteem, and these links were similar for all ethnic groups.

A Mediation Model For a better understanding and a more complete picture of immigrant adolescents' well-being, it is of interest to discern the role of parenting practices and parental attachment. In other words, it would be relevant to know whether both types of variables make an independent contribution or, on the contrary, parental attachment mediated the association between parenting practices and well-being. From a cause actual perspective, it could be argued that parenting practices will create a socialization climate that will elicit certain attachment patterns. This line of argument leads to a mediation model in which parenting practices are related to well-being through attachment patterns; in addition to an indirect link between practices and well-being, there could also be a direct link.

Some evidence has been provided in favor of the mediation hypothesis. In Doyle and Markiewicz's (2005) longitudinal study with Canadian adolescents (mostly of European descent), parental attachment was observed to mediate the associations between parenting practices and well-being. Specifically, attachment fully mediated the association between parental warmth and well-being on a second-time measurement (after two years) although no such full mediation was observed for the control dimension of parenting, with both control and attachment contributing independently. To the best of our knowledge, no mediation test has been done using the categorical approach of parenting practices used in our study. Yet, because warmth is a defining dimension underlying all three typologies (authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive) studied by us, we expect that the mediation of attachment between parenting practices and well-being will hold for all three parenting styles. We propose a model in which attachment has the same mediating role for Moroccan-Dutch and Dutch mainstreamers.

Dutch-Moroccan Immigrants and the Dutch Context

Moroccans are one of the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands. About 355,000 Moroccans reside in this country, with 47 % of the Moroccan immigrants being born in the Netherlands (Marokkanen n. d.). The socioeconomic position of Moroccans in the Dutch society is unfavorable. The educational level of Moroccans is still low (yet increasing), as compared to mainstream Dutch. More than 55 % of the Moroccans completed only primary school in comparison to 9 % of the Dutch aged 15–65 years (Van Praag 2006). In addition, unemployment is high: 20 % of male Moroccan-Dutch are unemployed (FORUM 2012).

Immigrant adolescents are overrepresented in the population of juvenile delinquents, possibly due to this unfavorable socioeconomic position (Bakker et al. 2005). Not surprisingly, the study of well-being in Moroccan youth in the Netherlands has focused on behavioral problems (e.g., Stevens et al. 2007; Van Gemert 1998). Remarkably, when analyzing positive well-being outcomes (i.e., self-esteem and life satisfaction) of Dutch immigrants, studies have been most often conducted with Turkish samples (e.g., Bengi-Arslan et al. 1997; Murad et al. 2004). Furthermore, many studies involving Moroccans also examined Turkish immigrants, in some cases as a single Muslim immigrant group (e.g., van Geel and Vedder 2010; Vedder et al. 2005). Moroccan-Dutch adolescents have shown a higher general well-being than Turkish-Dutch adolescents (van Bergen et al. 2008). Thus, Stevens et al. (2003) urged to undertake an approach of studying aspects of psychological well-being of these groups separately. As the life satisfaction of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents has received less attention in the literature and little is known about it in comparison to Turkish-Dutch adolescents, our study focuses exclusively on the former group.

The Present Study

We were interested in parenting styles, attachment patterns, and well-being (as well as their relations) in Moroccan-Dutch youth as compared to mainstream Dutch counterparts. The following hypotheses are tested:

Hypothesis 1 Moroccan-Dutch adolescents report lower levels of authoritative and higher levels of authoritarian parenting practices than mainstream Dutch adolescents do;

Hypothesis 2 When parental education is controlled for, there is no difference in the levels of authoritative and authoritarian parenting practices between Moroccan-Dutch and mainstream Dutch adolescents;

Hypothesis 3 Parental attachment is positively associated with authoritative parenting style (Hypothesis 3a) and negatively associated with authoritarian parenting style (Hypothesis 3b) across the two groups;

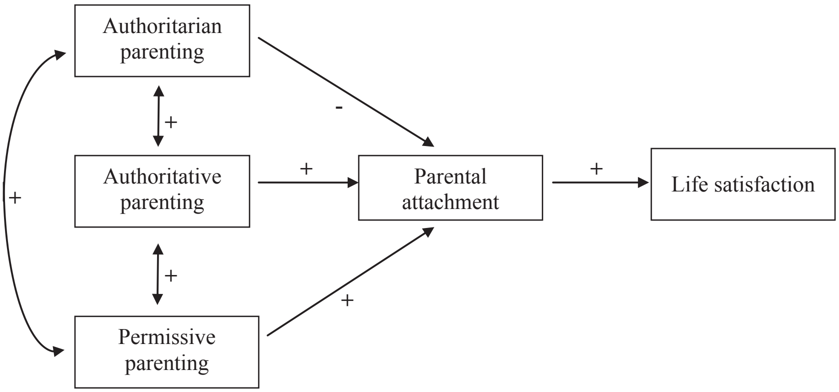

Fig. 1 Expected path model for the relationship between parenting practices and life satisfaction through parental attachment

Hypothesis 4 Life satisfaction is positively associated with authoritative parenting style (Hypothesis 4a) and negatively associated with authoritarian parenting style (Hypothesis 4b) across the two groups;

Hypothesis 5 Parental attachment fully mediates the relationship between parenting styles and life satisfaction in a model that applies to both immigrant and mainstream Dutch adolescents (see model in Fig. 1).

Method

Participants and Procedure

The sample consisted of 267 Dutch adolescents attending secondary schools (136 boys, 131 girls), whose ages ranged between 13 and 21 years ($M = 15.9$; $SD = 1.68$). Two subsamples of different ethnic groups were considered: Moroccan-Dutch adolescents ($n = 89$) and Dutch mainstreamers ($n = 178$). Gender composition was similar across groups: 56.8 % were boys in the Moroccan-Dutch group and 48.3 % in the Dutch mainstreamers' group, $\chi^2(1, n = 267) = 1.469$, $p = 0.226$.

With the exception of a few Moroccan-Dutch adolescents who were approached through informal contacts outside school, data collection took place mostly in school settings. Schools were contacted about the study and once the permission from the principals was granted, teachers were approached to let volunteer adolescents fill in the questionnaires. Adolescents were informed about both the goals of the study and their free choice to participate in it. For an effective data collection from Moroccan-Dutch adolescents, schools were selected on the basis of the distribution of immigrant population, which allocates more often in lower educational levels

(Swertz et al. 2003). Therefore, first, Moroccan-Dutch adolescents were recruited from schools, which were mostly high schools of professional training (VMBO). The sample was complemented by Dutch majority group adolescents from three high schools of academic or preuniversity training (HAVO/VWO).

Measures

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment—Short Form (IPPA-Short; Nada Raja et al. 1992) This self-report instrument assesses attachment security either toward a parental figure or toward peers as perceived by adolescents. In this study, only versions about parents (i.e., mother and father) were used. Each parental version contains 12 items, each rated on a five-Likert-point scale (e.g., "I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about"). Higher values are indicative of a higher attachment security developed for the reference figure. Values of Cronbach's Alpha were as follows for the different versions: 0.85 for mother (0.83 for Moroccan-Dutch; 0.86 for native Dutch) and 0.86 for father (0.87 for Moroccan-Dutch; 0.86 for native Dutch). For this study, a composite for parental attachment was computed by averaging mother and father attachment.

Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ; Buri 1991) This questionnaire includes 30 items to evaluate parenting strategies employed by parents from the son/daughter's perspective. A modified version with shorter statements to make them understandable for the youngest in the sample was used here. It has three dimensions to assess: permissive (e.g., "Most of the time my mother/father allowed me to make my own decisions"), authoritarian (e.g., "My mother/father forced my siblings and me to do things her/his way"), and authoritative/flexible (e.g., "When my mother/father established rules, s/he explained them to me and my siblings") scales. Although the original instrument in English had 30 items for each parent, each subscale containing 10 items, the Dutch version comprised 27 items, the permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative scales having 8, 10, and 9 items, respectively (this version was based on a previous factor analysis we conducted, where the decision of dropping three items was made because their factor loading in the corresponding factor was lower than 0.30). Cronbach's Alphas of scales were acceptable: 0.72 and 0.74 for permissive (mother and father, respectively), 0.85 and 0.82 for authoritarian (mother and father, respectively), and 0.77 and 0.79 for authoritative/flexible (mother and father, respectively). For this study, a composite for each parenting practice was computed by averaging each mother and father parenting style.

Brief Multidimensional Students with Life Satisfaction Scale (BMSLSS; Huebner et al. 2006). This self-report scale assesses perceived life satisfaction with regard to several domains (e.g., family and school). It includes five items, rated on a seven-point-Likert scale, referring to the specific domains (e.g., "I would describe my satisfaction with my family life as") and a sixth general global item. Higher scores reflect higher satisfaction with life. Cronbach's Alpha for the whole sample is 0.79, 0.82 for the Dutch-Moroccan subsample, and 0.77 for the Dutch mainstream subsample.

Ethnicity Adolescent ethnicity was based on the country of birth of both parents and the adolescent (in line with the official definition in the Netherlands). If either the adolescent or the mother or father was born in Morocco, the adolescent was considered to be of Moroccan origin (Moroccan-Dutch group). In studies on ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, this is a common way to determine ethnicity (e.g., Bengi-Arslan et al. 1997; Wissink et al. 2006). If the adolescent and both parents were born in the Netherlands, the adolescent was considered to be in the Dutch mainstreamers' group. It may be noted that this definition does not necessarily reflect self-reported ethnicity, which is usually based on whether a person reports to feel more Moroccan, Dutch, or Moroccan-Dutch.

Sociodemographic Data The following data on adolescents' background were also collected: age, gender, parental education, and place of birth of the adolescents and of their parents and grandparents for the classification of immigration status. The two groups differed in terms of age, $t(265) = 5.66$, $p < 0.001$, (Cohen's) $d = 0.69$; the Moroccan-Dutch adolescents ($M = 16.7$, $SD = 1.40$) were older than the Dutch mainstreamers ($M = 15.6$, $SD = 1.69$). Parental education was recorded from participants according to the following scheme of six categories: 1, basic or primary schooling unfinished; 2, finished primary schooling; 3, secondary schooling unfinished; 4, finished secondary schooling; 5, preuniversity studies; and 6, higher education or university studies. For measurement purposes, the mean of both parents' educational level was calculated in order to extract an index of parental education. The two ethnic groups differed according to parental education, $t(265) = -15.155$, $p < 0.001$, (Cohen's) $d = 1.97$; parents of Dutch mainstreamers ($M = 4.98$, $SD = 0.85$) were more educated than those of the Moroccan-Dutch adolescents ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.27$). Regarding immigration status (data of 87 out of 89 Moroccan-Dutch adolescents), there were 1.1 % third-generation immigrants (adolescents and their parents born in the Netherlands with at least one grandparent having born in Morocco), 83.1 % second-generation immigrants (adolescents born in the Netherlands with at least one parent having born in Morocco), and 13.5 % first-generation immigrants (adolescents born outside the Netherlands).

Results

Differences in Parenting, Attachment, and Life Satisfaction Across Groups

In order to examine whether there were differences in the target variables of the study (i.e., parenting practices, attachment, and life satisfaction) between the Dutch mainstreamers and Moroccan-Dutch youth, and with the aim of controlling possible age and parental education effects, a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was conducted (in an analysis that is not reported here, we observed that these sociodemographic variables were related to the target variables but gender was unrelated). There was a significant multivariate effect of ethnicity on the scores of the target variables, Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.87$, $F(5, 259) = 7.74$, $p < 0.001$; its effect size was large, $\eta_p^2 = 0.13$. There was also a statistically significant effect of age, $\Lambda = 0.93$, $F(5, 259) = 3.97$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta^2 = 0.07$, and of the parental education, $\Lambda = 0.96$, $F(5, 259) = 2.39$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = 0.04$. Mean differences adjusted for age and parental education are shown in Table 1. Unadjusted means and *t*-test comparisons are also provided in the table for a more illustrative picture of ethnic differences of our sample.

In line with Hypothesis 1, Dutch-Moroccan adolescents' parents are described as most frequently using authoritarian and less frequently using authoritative and permissive parenting practices than Dutch mainstreamers' parents. These group differences could be described as small, medium, and large, respectively. Nevertheless, these differences are partly explained by the age and parental education differences between the groups. When these two variables were controlled for, authoritarianism no longer differed across the two groups, and the differences in authoritative and permissive parenting became small, thereby confirming Hypothesis 2.

In our conceptual model, we argue that attachment patterns have a bearing on well-being. Therefore, the question that can be asked is to what extent cross-cultural differences in attachment patterns and parenting practices can account for cross-cultural differences in well-being. An analysis of covariance in which we controlled for attachment and parenting practices, revealed no remarkable cross-cultural differences; although the results showed statistical significance between the two ethnic groups ($F(1, 261) = 8.923$, $p = 0.003$), the effect size was very small ($\eta_p^2 = 0.033$); in other words, after controlling for parental attachment and parenting practices, no differences across the two ethnic groups were observed for life satisfaction.

Associations Among Parenting Practices, Attachment, and Life Satisfaction

The next step involved testing the predictive model for the variability of adolescents' life satisfaction and Hypothesis 5, in which we proposed that parental attachment fully mediates the relationship between parenting styles and life satisfaction for both immigrant and mainstream Dutch adolescents; correlations are presented in Table 2. Structural equation modeling was used to test the proposed mediation model (Arbuckle 2008). The fit of the full mediation model shown in Fig. 1 was tested in multiple-group structural equation models (using maximum-likelihood estimates), with Dutch mainstreamers and Moroccan-Dutch as two different groups. The baseline was an unconstrained model in which all parameters were allowed to vary, and subsequent analyses constrained parameters to be invariant in the search for the most parsimonious model that still showed an acceptable fit.

Table 1 Mean differences in variables between Moroccan-Dutch ($n = 89$) and Dutch mainstreamers ($n = 178$)

Variables	Unadjusted means				Adjusted means[a]			
	Moroccan-Dutch (M (SD))	Dutch mainstreamers (M (SD))	*t*	Cohen's *d*	Moroccan-Dutch (M (SE))	Dutch mainstreamers (M (SE))	*F*	Cohen's *d*
Permissive parenting	20.5 (3.81)	23.0 (3.29)	−5.204***	0.72	21.1 (0.47)	22.7 (0.30)	6.476*	0.39
Authoritarian parenting	26.7 (6.10)	24.7 (5.97)	2.566**	0.33	25.4 (0.81)	25.3 (0.51)	0.006	0.01
Authoritative parenting	25.7 (5.65)	28.2 (4.61)	−3.954***	0.50	26.4 (0.67)	27.9 (0.43)	2.916†	0.25
Parental attachment	45.9 (6.89)	44.4 (7.46)	1.598	0.21	47.4 (0.98)	43.6 (0.62)	8.296**	0.44
Life satisfaction	34.0 (5.42)	32.7 (4.68)	1.969†	0.26	35.0 (0.65)	32.2 (0.42)	10.577**	0.49

[a] Adjusted means for age and parental education

$^{\dagger}p < 0.10$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{***}p < 0.001$

Table 2 Correlations among parenting practices, variables, attachment, and life satisfaction

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Permissive parenting		0.13	0.67***	0.18	0.18
2. Authoritarian parenting	0.07		0.05	−0.36**	−0.16
3. Authoritative parenting	0.13	0.27***		0.56***	0.39***
4. Parental attachment	0.06	−0.54***	0.17*		0.44***
5. Life satisfaction	0.23**	−0.19*	0.15*	0.35***	

Values for Dutch mainstream adolescents ($n=178$) are below the diagonal, values for Moroccan-Dutch adolescents ($n=89$) above the diagonal

*$p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$ (two-tailed)

Several indexes may be used to evaluate the goodness of fit of the model. First, chi-square statistic is expected to be statistically nonsignificant for a good fit (van de Vijver and Leung 1997). The relative chi-square is the chi-square fit index divided by its degrees of freedom (χ^2/df); values of three or less are considered as indications of a good fit (Kline 1998). Adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI), Tucker–Lewis index (TLI), and comparative fit index (CFI) greater than 0.90 are considered to indicate a good fit (Hoyle 1995; van de Vijver and Leung). Values of root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) lower than 0.05 indicate a good fit (van de Vijver and Leung 1997).

The model showed fit measures that were not very poor but clearly left room for improvement; notably the chi-square statistical significance ($p<0.05$) and AGFI (0.893), TLI (0.886), and RSMEA (0.075) values suggested that the model required further modifications. Therefore, one adjustment was made based on the modification indexes provided in the output. Specifically, a new direct path from permissive parenting to life satisfaction was added to account for a better way of explaining the association between these two variables in the Dutch mainstreamers' group. The coefficients of this revised model (a partially mediated model) are shown in Fig. 2. This slightly adjusted model was tested according to the specifications mentioned above. In this case, all fit statistics were adequate for the unconstrained model, whereas more restricted models showed a poor fit (see Table 3). This finding indicates that the basic pattern of paths was common for the two ethnic groups, but that parameter estimates and error variances varied across the groups. The values of the standardized estimates for each ethnic group in the unconstrained model are given in Fig. 2 .

As a previous step, it had been observed across the two groups that parental attachment is positively associated with authoritative parenting style (Hypothesis 3a) and negatively associated with authoritarian parenting style (Hypothesis 3b), and that life satisfaction is positively associated with authoritative parenting style (Hypothesis 4a) and negatively associated with authoritarian parenting style (Hypothesis 4b). In the model, as expected, authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles have an effect, negative and positive, respectively, on life satisfaction through levels of parental attachment; this was true for the two groups. What differed in the two groups was the effect of permissive parenting style on adolescents' life satisfaction. This effect was direct and positive in the Dutch mainstreamers' group but negative and fully mediated through parental attachment for the Moroccan-Dutch group. The

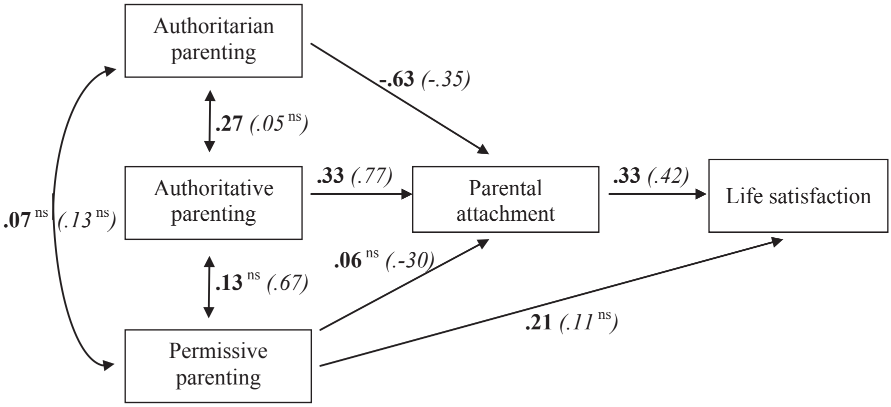

Fig. 2 Path model of partial mediation for the relationship between parenting practices and life satisfaction through parental attachment. (Dutch mainstreamer adolescents' standardized regression coefficients are in bold; Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' standardized regression coefficients are in italics. All the parameters are significant at the level $p<0.01$, except for the ones indicated with ^{ns})

Table 3 Fit indexes for the multigroup invariance models

Model	Model description	χ^2	*df*	χ^2/df	AGFI	TLI	RMSEA	CFI
1	*Unconstrained*	*4.821*	*4*	*1.205*	*0.946*	*0.984*	*0.028*	*0.997*
2	Structural weights	28.314	9	3.146**	0.871	0.835	0.090	0.926
3	Structural covariances	61.480	15	4.099***	0.846	0.761	0.108	0.821
4	Structural residuals	64.543	17	3.797***	0.860	0.785	0.103	0.817

Most restrictive model with a good fit in italics
**$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$

negative effect of authoritarian parenting is stronger for the Dutch mainstreamers, whereas the positive effect of authoritative parenting was higher in the Moroccan-Dutch group. Therefore, Hypothesis 5 is mostly confirmed in that parental attachment mediates the relationship between parenting styles and life satisfaction for both immigrant and mainstream Dutch adolescents, whereas a difference is found for the permissive parenting style, where there is a direct (positive) association in the Dutch group.

Discussion

This study aimed to test a model of psychological well-being explained from perceived parenting and attachment simultaneously in a group of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents and of Dutch mainstreamers. Our results showed that attachment mediates the effect between perceived parenting practices and life satisfaction. For both immigrant and mainstream groups, authoritarian parenting appeared to be detrimental whereas authoritative parenting had a positive effect on attachment and life satisfaction. Parental attachment completely mediated the link between permissive parenting and life satisfaction for Moroccan-Dutch adolescents but there was no mediation effect for Dutch mainstreamers.

In our study, the previously documented detrimental and beneficial effects, respectively, of authoritarian and authoritative parenting on life satisfaction (e.g., Lamborn et al. 1991; Milevsky et al. 2007) were found in both ethnic groups; what the mediation of attachment may suggest is that a more or less behaviorally controlling parenting strategy could influence the development of attachment links in adolescents with their parents. Interestingly, there is a differential pattern (i.e., indirect versus direct) of permissive parenting for Moroccan-Dutch and Dutch mainstream adolescents, respectively. While other possible explanations cannot be ruled out, we may attribute the inverse results for each cultural group to a different view of what being permissive means for each adolescent group. The Netherlands has been depicted as a prototypical society of independence (Hofstede 2001), where a more child-centered view would prevail (Durgel et al. 2013), with a higher expectation for children to play alone and being more independent from their parents (Pels 1991; Willemsen and van de Vijver 1997) and parents displaying a pattern that encompasses both emotional and material independence of the child (Georgas et al. 2006), and being less controlling and more fostering of autonomous behaviors in the child (Gerrits et al. 1996). The sample of our study comprised late adolescents, where the promotion of noncontrolling and completely autonomous and independent behavior (i.e., permissive parenting) could be normative and interpreted by Dutch adolescents as trusting their ability to decide on their own control mechanisms and treating them as fully responsible adolescents; thus, this healthy way of parenting would be unrelated to the emotionally supportive behavior they would expect from their parents (i.e., parental attachment). As a consequence, the focus on adolescent autonomy by Dutch parents can be easily seen as permissiveness. However, this is not the traditional *laissez-faire* permissiveness that is associated with lack of interest; rather, it is a kind of permissiveness that capitalizes on nonintervention by parents, as adolescents are assumed to be fully responsible for their own behavior. In this interpretation, it is not surprising that permissiveness shows a positive association with adolescent well-being. Moroccan-Dutch adolescents experience a very different parenting style; they may expect a parent-centered view with a stronger assertion of power. As most parents were born in Morocco, the absence of control may be interpreted as lack of affection, and, thus, may lead to lower degrees of parental attachment, which in turn, would explain the diminished life satisfaction levels observed in our study. This same pattern of results and interpretation has been observed among Arab samples in the Middle East (e.g., Dwairy 2008).

Although the different distribution in our sample is fairly representative of the situation in the Netherlands (Tesser et al. 1999), using ethnic groups with a lower SES may confound the results of the effects of parent–child relationship on adolescents' outcomes of well-being (Eichelsheim et al. 2010) or lead researchers to attribute differences to culture when these are mere consequences of a different SES (Durgel et al. 2013). Nevertheless, as evidenced by the disappeared differences between the two groups in authoritarian parenting when SES was controlled, it seems that parents of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents of a higher SES realize that exerting a strong discipline and obedience-based parenting is no longer adaptive or desirable in the more individualistic host society (Kagitcibasi 2007) and it may even have adverse effects (Chang et al. 2004). Therefore, when it is argued that Moroccan immigrant parents educate their adolescents in a different manner, it should be made clear that this only reflects the current situation of lower SES parenting of Moroccan immigrants, but it is not a true culture difference. This has important implications for the future, as we can assume that as the educational status of Dutch-Moroccan immigrants living in the country will increase across generations, their vision of which parenting practices are preferred will become more similar to the Dutch vision.

Another interesting finding regards the higher levels of life satisfaction and parental attachment in the Moroccan-Dutch group. Most studies examining psychological well-being of immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands have focused more often on the negative outcomes (i.e., depression or antisocial behavior) (e.g., Stevens et al. 2007; Van Gemert 1998). In our study, a positive outcome of well-being (i.e., life satisfaction) has been examined as well as an important predictor: parental attachment, which would add information to suggest another explanation line. In line with an explanation of more interconnected societies, the family change model would suggest that a more intertwined connection with family still holds for a psychological interdependence family pattern, even though there is a fostering of self-control. In addition, this may be reinforced by the higher attachment connection with parents. However, this effect may be commonly hidden in some studies with immigrant adolescents, as they may be drawn from samples with different SES composition when mainstreamers and immigrants are compared, and because lower levels of (security of) attachment (or more insecure attachment) are linked to lower SES (e.g., Spencer et al. 2013; Van IJzendoorn and Bakermans-Kranenburg 2010). In this study, however, the higher emotional connection of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents raised in families of similar SES to mainstreamer families might have helped explain the higher levels of life satisfaction. In summary, our results suggest that the Moroccan-Dutch group shows considerable variability in acculturation outcomes, with both more behavioral problems and more life satisfaction.

All in all, the present study provides interesting evidence for the similar effect of parenting strategies on life satisfaction, with the mediation effect of parental attachment, in a sample of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents and Dutch mainstreamer counterparts. It also provides a compelling case for some differences on the perception of permissive parenting by immigrant adolescents of Moroccan origin. Finally, the importance of disentangling cultural and socioeconomic effects in the cross-cultural examination of parenting has surfaced again. Now it is the turn of practitioners, educators, policymakers, and administrators to use these data to promote the well-being among Moroccan-Dutch adolescents.

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Immigrant Families in a Global Context: Challenges and Future Directions

David L. Sam

The 15 chapters of this book explore the situation of immigrant families in many different countries, involving different ethnic groups and under different contexts. In terms of countries, the book includes immigrant families in Albania, China, Estonia, Japan, Kenya, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The contexts of these studies have included the school setting, the home and neighborhood, and the larger political environment. The topics of focus in this book have ranged from topics on well-being (as part of psychological adaptation) and school adjustment (as part of sociocultural adaptation) to civic and political participation of immigrant youth. The topics have included both very well-studied (e.g., school adaptation and psychological well-being) and less well-studied topics such as the need to go beyond the two dimensions that have been suggested to underlie all acculturation (see Sam and Berry 2010).

Looking at the scope and the coverage of the book, the title of the book as *Global Perspectives on Well-Being in Immigrant Families* is really apt as it draws on authors with varied backgrounds, having worked in different societies. Against this background, an epilogue to a book of this kind brings to bear on the importance or the implications that context has in making generalizations. Thus, one of the issues this epilogue looks at is the meaning of context in immigrant family studies.

Whereas this book discusses immigrant families, much of the focus has been on children, adolescents, and young adults, with few chapters devoted to immigrant parents. This imbalance is perhaps not surprising because, from economic and demographic points of view, the future of many societies lies in the hands of their children: the children of today will be the leaders, workers, and parents of tomorrow (Sam 2006). Consequently, the welfare of children is seen as having important consequences for societies. Indeed, this book is just one of several in recent years where young immigrant family members have been the main focus (see Garcia Coll 2012; Masten et al. 2012). This epilogue nevertheless argues for the need to direct more attention to immigrant parents and the effect their acculturation may have on

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their children. To date (Chuang and Gielen 2009; Fuligni and Pedersen 2002; Kwak 2003), the focus in this area has been on how parenting in immigrant families impacts on their children. Before delving into the two issues pointed above (i.e., the context and redirecting of attention) regarding family studies, the epilogue will start by looking at some converging findings and some unresolved issues that may have bearing in the future on research.

Converging Findings with Unresolved Issues

All the chapters of this volume underscore the complex nature of individual acculturation, and even more so that of families. Although many of the chapters have directed their attention to one group of family members, families entail interaction among different subsystems (an issue that is discussed a bit later), amplifying the complex nature of family acculturation even further. Consistent with this position, all the chapters of the book, including the integrative papers (see, e.g., Chaps. 3, 4, and 11) and those following ethnographic perspectives (see Chap. 8), pursue a rather complex conceptualization and utilize sophisticated methodological approaches. In spite of the complexities in conceptualization and methodological sophistication, the chapters of this book point to some convergences in research findings in the broader area of acculturation of immigrant families and also within the book itself. Although converging findings may suggest that some form of universality in acculturation research exists and possibly point to a proposition that “we know all that there is to know,” the focus of this epilogue is to emphasize that we still have a long way to go and that it is premature to rest on our oars. In the next section, we will look at three issues: the immigrant paradox, the causal link between perceived discrimination and well-being, and school adjustment, where, in spite of some consistent findings, more questions remain unanswered.

The Immigrant Paradox As the numbers of immigrant children and youth continue to soar in several Western societies, the need to disentangle the underlying mechanism of the so-called immigrant paradox is urgent (Garcia Coll and Marks 2011). The immigrant paradox itself is the counterintuitive finding where, on the one hand, immigrants are found to report better adaptation compared with their native peers and, on the other hand, first-generation immigrants are found to report better adaptation than their second-generation peers, particularly in the area of sociocultural adaptation (Sam et al. 2008). Whereas the Chap. 2 by Rogers-Sirin, Ryce, and Sirin (this book) could not find support for the immigrant paradox between first- and second-generation immigrants in New York, USA, both Dimitrova and Chasiotis (Chap. 15) and Laghi and colleagues (Chap. 14, this book) respectively found support for the paradox, when comparing Albanian immigrants with Italian natives and Chinese immigrants with Italian natives.

These findings here raise a question whether the *paradox* is context dependent, where, for instance, Italy as a society of settlement poses risks to acculturating individuals, and if so, what exactly about Italian society is risky. Indeed, the potential role of the context in the occurrence of the paradox has been suggested by Garcia Coll and her coworkers (see Garcia Coll and Marks 2011; Garcia Coll et al. 2012) as well as Dimitrova et al. (2013) who could not find an unequivocal support for the paradox in Europe.

Examining the psychological and sociocultural adaption of immigrant youth in five different European countries (excluding Italy), Sam et al. (2008) found mixed support for the immigrant paradox. Whereas the pattern of sociocultural adaptation for first- and second-generation immigrants resembled the immigrant paradox, results for psychological adaptation were opposite to the paradox. The researchers pointed to the peculiarities of US immigration history compared to those of Europe as one possible explanation for the difference. In this book, support for the immigrant paradox was found between two different ethnic groups in Italy.

In the integrative chapter by Rogers-Sirin et al. (Chap. 2, this book), two important issues about the paradox are brought to light. The first is that the outcome variables included a number of psychological adaptation indicators. The second is the longitudinal nature of the study. With respect to the first issue, studies seem to suggest that the paradox is particularly so in the area of sociocultural adaptation (where the attention is on school adjustment and problem/risky problem). In the area of psychological adaptation, the paradox is less clear (see Garcia Coll et al. 2012; Sam et al. 2008).

The immigrant paradox is often conceptualized as immigrant vs. nationals, and first- vs. second- and higher-generation immigrants. Particularly with respect to the latter conceptualization, some form of longitudinal design is implied to ascertain clearly whether adaptation deteriorates the longer an individual resides in the society of settlement. In a meta-analysis undertaken by Dimitrova et al. (2013) of 51 European studies, weaker effects for the paradox among immigrant children and youth have been found. However, these effects vary according to geographic area, developmental period, socioeconomic status (SES), gender, and national policy indicators toward immigrant groups. Moreover, one of the conclusions in the review by Garcia Coll and her colleagues (2012) was that the paradox is stronger during the adolescent period compared with early and middle childhood. Do major developmental changes occurring during adolescence (e.g., pubertal changes, identity formulation, and peer network formation) complicate the acculturation changes taking place among immigrant youth? Other than generational status and contextual factors, what exactly about acculturation undermines young people's adaptation in a new society? For instance, does perceived discrimination play a role in the occurrence of immigrant paradox, where first- and second-generation immigrants have different reference groups when they evaluate social and economic conditions? More precisely, whereas first-generation immigrants compare themselves with members of their home country, second-generation immigrants compare themselves with their national peers. By so doing, first-generation immigrants perceive themselves as relatively well off and the second-generation immigrants see themselves as not so well off.

Perceived Discrimination The debilitating effect of discrimination (whether objective or subjective) on the adaptation of immigrants is well documented (see Berry et al. 2006; Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lathi 2000; Paradies 2006; Pascoe and Richman 2009). In this book, the Chap. 12 by Bobowik, Basabe, and Paez clearly demonstrates this negative effect. What is interesting in the Bobowik et al. chapter is the effort made to delineate the (mediating and moderating) pathways between perceived discrimination and well-being. Considering that research to date suggests that there is an invariant negative relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being, it is puzzling that in experimental studies that are aimed at establishing a direct link between perceived discrimination and well-being, the mechanisms of this pathway are generally lacking. An understanding of the mechanisms will go a long way to offset these negative effects of perceived discrimination. In the absence of such experimental studies, it could be argued that poor mental health increases one's susceptibility to (perceived) discrimination (see Mays and Cochran 2001). The need for experimental studies to establish a direct causal link between perceived discrimination and well-being in general cannot be overemphasized. Similarly, the link between perceived discrimination and the functioning of the family as a whole is very much needed. In the absence of experimental studies, we may turn to longitudinal studies: these studies point to the causal link between perceived discrimination and well-being (see Pavalko et al. 2003); however, they are also generally lacking in acculturation research.

School and Academic Adjustment The centrality of schooling in young people's well-being in general and the acculturation of immigrant children and youth is very well documented in acculturation literature (see Reiser 2009; Suarez-Orozco 2009) and the number of chapters in this book (see e.g., Chaps. 2, 4, 5, 14, and 15) focusing on schooling, either in part or wholly, underscore the importance of schooling for migrant children and youth. Whereas some of the chapters point to structural factors within the society in general and within the school in particular (e.g., the Chap. 5 by Chen points to migrant children denied entry to public schools because of urban residence requirements), discriminatory practices akin to exclusion policies (e.g., Japanese laws not making 9-year schooling obligatory for foreign citizens) all combine to undermine the school adjustment of immigrant children. Moreover, teacher perceptions of immigrant parents and involvement in their children's education and differences in immigrant and national parents about the role of the school and teachers in children's education can exacerbate the education of immigrant children. Investigations into a better understanding of how structural practices and perceptions and beliefs all combine to affect the successful education of immigrant children are still needed.

Immigrant parents often embark on emigration with the desire to create a better future for their children (Bacallao and Smokowski 2006; Fuligni and Telzer 2012; Thronson 2008), either in the new country or through sending remittances to their home country (Kofman 2004). In a society of settlement, one way immigrant parents can ensure their children's future is through education (Fuligni and Telzer 2012). Studies abound in the area of immigrant parents' involvement in their children's education (see Carreon et al. 2005, Kao and Tienda 1995). However, studies are lacking on how parents fare, when their dreams and wishes for their children concerning education go down the drain. Although a study among school-grade children has, for instance, found support for the hypothesis that experiences of perceived failure at school increased the likelihood of aversive parent–child interactions after school, there was no evidence of the reverse effect. When children rated self-reported more academic failure events at school, they also described their parents as more disapproving and punishing after school (Repetti 1996). To what extent do immigrant parents become less supportive in the face of their children not doing well in school? What are the acculturation consequences on immigrant parents when their children do not live up to their "Yale University" expectations and end up in "jail" as failures.

The Context

Acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological change that comes about from the meeting between individuals or groups of different cultural backgrounds (Sam and Berry 2010). One result of acculturation is the formation of societies with more than one cultural or ethnic group. Acculturation research therefore normally takes place in societies or contexts involving at least two ethnic or cultural groups of unequal economic and or political dominance. Quite often, the emphasis of the research is on the changes occurring among individual members of the less dominant groups (Berry 2006). To fully understand the acculturation experiences and the outcome, the need to understand the context under which the acculturation is taking place is now greatly acknowledged (Berry 2006) and amply demonstrated (Birman et al. 2005; Nguyen et al. 1999). Many of the chapters of this book have also underscored the relevance of context. The Chap. 9 by Svensson (this book), which demonstrates how parents monitor their children's peer relations and the children's reactions to this monitoring in different neighborhoods, is a clear instance of the importance of the context. Moreover, the Chap. 8 by Iqbal (this book) also shows differences in ethnic–racial socialization in three different families in the UK.

Contexts are rich, multifaceted, and complex; further, the degree of complexity depends on which side of the equation (the dominant vs the nondominant group) the focus is, and the interaction between two contexts and among the subcontexts themselves within the larger respective context (Horenczyk and Tartar 2012). The level of complexity has even been raised higher as attention is now drawn to a *third* dimension (see Chap. 3 by Ferguson and Bornstein, this book), namely that immigrants entering multicultural societies need to orient themselves toward the dominant society and its culture, as well as different aspects of the nondominant culture and simply to a single nondominant cultural group. With respect to the three-dimensional acculturation, immigrants have to orientate themselves to nondominant cultural factors such as nationality (e.g., Russian) vs. religion (e.g., Jewish) vs. race/color (e.g., Black). (See Persky and Birman (2005) for research on how Russian

Jews to the United States mange these three dimensions.) Moreover, many immigrant families do not reside in a predominately same-ethnic community (i.e., ethnic enclaves) but in multiethnic neighborhoods (Berry et al. 2006; Borjas 1995, 1998), implying that the acculturation process is not limited to a single nondominant cultural group but to multicultural nondominant groups. The challenges of operationalizing the two dimensions of acculturation are difficult enough (see Snauwaert et al. 2005), and this undoubtedly becomes more complex in a three-dimensional perspective. Nevertheless, research should take into account the realities of these kinds of acculturating contexts.

As we seek to gain a better understanding of the context of acculturation, that of the immigrant family is still lagging behind. To begin with, contextual information in many acculturation studies still remains at the descriptive level and is often presented from an ethnographic perspective. With increasing sophistication in research methods accompanied by powerful computer software, it is prudent to make use of large multination databases that have quantified contextual information such as settlement policies, ethnolinguistic fractionalization, cultural diversity, and homogeneity. Presently, three such large national databases are available and can be utilized (see Bloemraad 2011; MIPEX 2012; Vigdor 2011).

The Family System as a Context Three chapters in this volume focused on immigrant families (Chaps. 8, 10, and 14). As Chun (2006) points out, the family is a system comprising interconnected and interdependent elements. To understand the individual, we must understand his/her family system. People cannot be understood in isolation from one another. From Gestalt psychology, we know that a family is greater than its individual parts. Moreover, the family system itself is also made up of different subsystems (including the parent–child subsystem, the couple subsystem, and the siblings subsystem), each with its own uniqueness and challenges. There is also the external (extended) family subsystem that may have its impact on the family dynamics. All these subsystems deserve further research. Studying individual members of acculturating families (i.e., the adolescent with an immigrant background or parent–child interaction) only gives limited information of the family as a whole. Studying the family as a unit will be more informative.

Redirecting Research Attention

Building on the previous point, let us take the case of the parent–child subsystem, which has characterized immigrant family research to date. More specifically, a lot of attention has been devoted to the conflicts within the subsystem, parenting styles relating to autonomy and control and how these may affect the younger person (Cheah et al. 2009; Kwak 2003; Phinney and Vedder 2006). Much of the research in this area has focused on the children's experiences and their perception of their parents' experiences to these interactions (see Birman 2006a, b). These studies seem to suggest that immigrant parents are able to take care of themselves and do not need "*support*". Very much absent are parents' reactions to, for instance, intergenerational differences, notably when these differences may give rise to conflicts. How do parents experience failure, when they are unable to meet the acculturation needs, the educational support their children need. How do immigrant parents react when they fail to instill in their children cultural values deemed important by the parents, such as filial obligations, and when children disobey their parents as well as bring dishonor to the name of the family (see de Valk and Schans 2008).

Equally important are studies that look at how immigrant children contribute to the family as a whole. A review chapter by Fuligni and Telzer (2012) sheds light on the contributions of immigrant children to the immigrant family. It is not unusual to regard immigrant children either as helpless pawns in the acculturation of immigrant families,such as being a language broker for their parents and supporting the family economically, or as susceptible to acculturation stresses. The precise effect of the various roles immigrant children take on, which affect their psychological and sociocultural adaptations, is not fully understood. To echo one of Fuligni and Telzer (2012) recommendations, more research is needed to help identify the tipping point, where the important roles immigrant children take on for the family become debilitating and when they may be beneficial. In addition to identifying the tipping point, precisely how these management roles work will be important to know.

Research Designs

In the introduction to the epilogue, the level of sophistication of the chapters was applauded. However, some research design recommendations may still not be out of place. Acculturation is a process that takes place over time and is accompanied by a number of changes. Immigrant families undergo a number of changes at all levels, particularly the differential speed in parents and their children in acquiring the cultural values of the latter. These kinds of changes can best be understood in longitudinal designs. Except for a few chapters (see Chaps. 2 and 9, this book), hardly any of the studies reported in this book takes a longitudinal approach.

Much of acculturation research is interested in understanding the factors and conditions that affect or bring about change or can account for an outcome. To be able to account for the outcome, extraneous and confounding factors have to be excluded or controlled for in our analyses. To achieve this, experimental studies are most ideal (Berry et al. 2011). Although there are several forms of experimental studies, one form that is rather lacking in acculturation research in general and also in the acculturation of immigrant families involves experimentally manipulating the mindsets of children and their parents on various aspects of interest, for instance values, and measuring the resulting changes in behavior.

Although not clearly stated, the underlying motive in bringing together immigrant family researchers across the globe to produce this book is the desire to provide general principles that relate acculturation experiences to acculturation outcomes. Many acculturation studies, including the ones in this book, examine one acculturating group settled into one society. The findings from such studies cannot be generalized beyond the group(s) and the societies where the study has taken place. Most acculturation research has been conducted in Western societies, particularly in the USA, although large numbers of people undergo acculturation in other parts of the world including China and India. Interesting enough, only two chapters in this book are based in the USA, making this book unique. While it is important to know about acculturation phenomena in one group in one society, there is the risk that such limited research findings will be generalized beyond the setting in which they were obtained. The major contribution of this book is the inclusion of acculturation studies of immigrant families in different countries, but it is equally important to study immigrant families comparatively, by including many different countries. With increasingly powerful research tools, acculturation research needs to go beyond the simple comparative approach and become more cross-comparative involving three or more ethnic groups in three or more societies of settlement (i.e., a 3 × 3 (or higher)) research design. As we move on to cross-comparative designs, combined with studying families as a unit and as subsystems, a multilevel design will be a prerequisite. Individuals in immigrant families are nested in subsystems, and subsystems are nested in the families.

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Index

A
Aasland, A., 245
Abel-Ollo, K., 238
Aber, J.L., 23
Abouserie, R., 293
Abraham, S., 240
Abraido-Lanza, A.F., 32, 116
Abrams, D., 240
Abubakar, A., 98, 99, 103, 293
Abu-Rayya, H.M., 122, 292
Abu-Rayya, M.H., 122
Academic gap, 61
Acculturation, 2, 12, 13, 116, 293, 315, 317
  of immigrant families, 317
  Portes and Rumbaut's model of, 13
  research on, 315, 317, 318
  selective, 14
  studies on, 317
  universal models of, 33
Acculturation, bidimensional, 32, 34, 41, 47
  framework of, 32
  model of, 32
Acculturation, bidimensionalBerry, J.W., 31
Acculturation, immigrant families, 312
Acculturation, literature, 79
Acculturation, orientations, 3, 5, 116, 117, 120, 121, 126, 175
  maintenance of, 123
Acculturation, parental, 5, 175
Acculturation, separation, 80
Acculturation, sociolinguistic, 171
Acculturation, theories, 3, 70
Acculturation, tridimensional, 4, 31, 34, 36–39, 42, 47, 48, 315
Acevedo-Garcia, D., 44
Achenbach, T.M., 17, 19, 20, 76, 77
Achoui, M., 108, 293
Ackard, D.M., 108
Adjustment, acculturative, 119
Adjustment, behavioral, 18
Adjustment, linguistic, 5, 174, 177, 181, 184
Adjustment, parental, 171
Adjustment, psychological, 36, 240, 259, 263, 266
Adjustment, social, 87, 88, 175, 277–279, 281
Adjustment, socio-cultural, 6
Adjustment, sociocultural, 45, 183, 184
Adjustment, socio-emotional, 18, 84, 138
Adjustment, sociolinguistic, 5, 171, 173–175, 185
Adler, S.M., 174
Adolescence
  parenting practices in, 294
Adolescents, 4–6, 11, 15, 33, 38, 41, 44, 46, 77, 82, 96, 97, 100, 101, 116, 120, 122, 126, 151–157, 159, 162, 165–167, 196, 246, 262, 264, 266, 269, 291, 293, 294, 305, 311
  examining of, 167
Adolescents, Canadian, 295
Adolescents, Chinese, 261–263, 266–270
  study of, 260
Adolescents, Chinese Canadian, 175
Adolescent's developmental objective, 262
Adolescents, Dutch, 295, 297, 300, 304
Adolescents, immigrants, 263, 276, 296
Adolescents, in collectivistic cultures, 155
Adolescents, in disadvantaged neighborhoods, 154
Adolescents, Indonesian, 293
Adolescents, Italian, 266, 270
Adolescents, Moroccan-Dutch, 296, 297, 299, 302–305
Adolescents–peer relations, 168
Adolescents, Russian, 235
Adolescents, Spanish, 293

R. Dimitrova et al. (eds.), *Global Perspectives on Well-Being in Immigrant Families*, Advances in Immigrant Family Research, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-9129-3,
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Adolescents, Turkish-Dutch, 121, 125–127
Adolescents' well-being, 293
African immigrants
  study of, 196
Aguirre, A.N., 32
Ahmadzadeh, Z., 32
Ahven, A., 238
Aiken, L.S., 124
Ainley, J., 196
Ainsworth, M.D.S., 263
Alden, L.E., 32, 117
Alexander, G.R., 44
Allen, L., 23
Allen, W.R., 136
Allport, G.W., 122, 126
Alonso-Arbiol, I., 101, 305
Altman, A.N., 119
Andrews, K.M., 45
Aptekar, S., 254
Arasa, J., 98
Arbuckle, J.L., 300
Arends-Tóth, J.V., 2, 42, 45, 68, 116, 118, 119, 121, 122, 125, 260
Argyle, M., 117
Armbrister, A.N., 32
Armento, L., 280
Armsden, G.C., 101, 294
Arnett, J.J., 43
Asendorpf, J.B., 35
Asian-Kenyans, ethnic group, 99
Asquith, P., 153, 159, 166
Ata, A.W., 276
Ataca, B., 293
Attachment theory, 294
Atzaba-Poria, N., 171, 173
Authoritarian parenting, 302, 304
  negative effect of, 303
Authoritative parenting, 293, 300, 302, 304
Awad, G.H., 118, 125
Aydin, N., 115
Azevedo, C.N., 197

B
Bacallao, M.L., 21, 22, 314
Bachman, M., 136
Baiocco, R., 265
Bakermans–Kranenburg, M.J., 305
Bakker, B.F.M., 296
Baldassare, M., 202
Baldassari, D., 276
Bankston, C.L., 119
Barankin, T., 171
Barban, N., 260
Barbaranelli, C., 280
Barber, C., 206
Barclay, L.C., 280
Barn, R., 137
Baron, R.M., 252
Barrett, M.P., 171, 189–191, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 263
Bartely, M., 173
Barton, A.C., 315
Bartram, D., 57, 58
Bashi Bobb, V.F., 36, 46
Batson, C.D., 122
Battaglia, M., 280
Battle, J., 33
Baumeister, R.F., 97, 108
Baumrind, D., 292, 293
Baumrind's typology, 292
Beatty, D., 240
Beaumont, K., 174
Becares, L., 138
Behrman, R.E., 59
Beirens, K., 117
Beiser, M., 260, 263, 276
Bell, S.M., 263
Belsky, J., 294
Bender, M., 102, 115
Benet-Martinez, V., 15, 35, 36, 45, 127
Bengi-Arslan, L., 296, 299
Benter, P., 103
Bentler, P.M., 180
Berkman, L.F., 44
Bernal, M.E., 136
Bernat, D.H., 108
Berry, J.W., 12, 23, 32, 34, 35, 38, 42, 44, 56, 76, 79, 80, 89, 116, 156, 175, 184, 189, 190, 203, 238, 240, 260, 261, 263, 304, 311, 314–317
Bettencourt, B.A., 240
Bhadha, B.R., 171
Bhatia, S., 32, 36, 37, 47
Bhavnagri, N., 151
Bian, Y., 82
Biculturalism, 4, 15, 35, 36, 45
Bikmen, N., 14
Birman, D., 32, 47, 240, 253, 315, 316
Blanchard, V.L., 282
Blanz, M., 247
Blatt, S.J., 76
Bloemraad, I., 316
Blom, M., 296
Bochner, S., 238
Boekaerts, M., 296
Boen, C., 316
Bogard, K.L., 195

Bond, M.H., 24, 36, 167
Boocock, S.S., 56
Boog, I., 119
Boomsma, A., 180
Borges, G., 260
Borjas, G., 316
Bornstein, M.H., 32, 34, 37, 38, 45, 126, 285
Boski, P., 116, 127
Bourhis, R.Y., 56, 57, 68, 189, 190
Bouwsema, M., 95
Bove, G., 262
Bowen, N.K., 16
Bowes, J.M., 196
Bowman, P.J., 138
Boykin, A.W., 136
Boyle, M., 276
Boyle, M.H., 260
Brady ver Halen, N., 240
Branscombe, N., 117, 118, 120
Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey's rejection-identification model, 117
Braun, V., 139, 246
Breakwell, G.M., 199
Brehm, J.W., 152
Breslau, J., 260, 263
Brief multidimensional students with life satisfaction scale (BMSLSS), 298
Brody, G.H., 138, 275
Broekaert, E., 276, 285
Brondolo, E., 240, 248
Bronfenbrenner, U., 64, 80, 154, 171, 174, 182
Brook, D.W., 36, 46
Brook, J.S., 36, 46
Brosig, M., 236
Brown, A., 275
Brown, B.B., 152, 167
Brownlow, J., 240
Brown, R., 240
Brüggemann, K., 245
Buchanan, C.M., 292
Buchanan, R.M., 315
Buchan, L., 118
Buhl, M., 197
Buis, K.L., 263
Burdette, A., 120
Buri, J.R., 298
Buunk, B.P., 125
Buxant, C., 117
Byrne, D., 173

C
Cadge, W., 116
Cai, F., 78
Cain, B.E., 202
Cai, R., 78
Calvo, J.V.P., 293
Cameron, D., 135
Campbell, S.B., 76, 77
Campoine-Barr, N., 153
Cantu, C., 118
Cantu, C.L., 240
Cao, R., 79
Caprara, G.V., 280
Carhill, A., 260, 268
Carlo, G., 263, 294
Carlson, J., 13
Carreon, G.P., 315
Carson, V.B., 115
Carver, C.S., 280
Caspi, A., 18
Catherine, T., 17
Cen, G., 79
Chafetz, J.S., 119
Chan, C., 24
Chang, A., 261
Chang, L., 78, 82, 305
Chan, K.W., 79
Chan, Y.Y., 32
Chao, R., 82
Chao, R.K., 16, 120, 155, 293
Charles, C.Z., 37
Chasiotis, A., 102, 115, 269, 275, 276, 285, 286, 313
Chatters, L.M., 136
Chattopadhyay, S., 117
Chavira, V., 15, 137
Cheah, C.S.L., 316
Chen, B-B., 76–78, 82, 86–88
Chen, F., 77, 86
Chen, G., 77, 82, 83
Chen-Gaddini, M., 82
Cheng, L., 83, 85, 88
Chen, H., 82
Chen, L., 136, 137, 141, 174, 175
Chen, S.H., 259
Chen, S.X., 36
Chen, X., 76–79, 82, 86
Cheung, C., 118
Child caregiving, 81
Child-centered view, 304
Children's social behaviors, 86
Children's social development, 87, 88
Children's sociolinguistic adjustment, 177
Child's sociolinguistic adjustment, 181
Chinese collectivistic culture, 262
Chinese-Italian communities
  socioeconomic level of, 261

Chinese minority groups, acculturation
outcomes in, 259
Chiriboga, D.A., 240
Chirkov, V., 126
Chiswick, B.R., 174, 175
Chiu, C., 118, 127
Chiu, M.L., 260
Choe, J., 15
Chou, W.J., 277
Chuang, S.S., 2, 312
Chung, E.A., 57–59, 70
Chun, K.M., 316
Cinnirella, M., 196
Citrin, J., 205
Civic and political participation
  role of family in, 196
Clabaugh, G.K., 16
Clancy, D., 173
Clancy, S.M., 97
Clarke, A.Y., 36, 46
Clarke, V., 139, 246
Clegg, C., 102
Coard, S.I., 136
Cochran, S.D., 314
Codina, E., 36, 46
Cohen, A.B., 118, 126
Cohen, J., 124
Cohen, P., 124
Cohen, R.D., 117
Cohesive familiar relationships, 269
Coker, T.R., 138
Coleman, B., 120
Coleman, H.T., 12
Collective efficacy, 205
Collectivistic adolescents, 163
  in disadvantaged neighborhoods, 165, 166
Collectivistic cultures, 160
Collins, W.A., 18
Cols, S., 127
Conger, R., 174
Congolese culture, 201
Congolese youth, 196
Connectedness, 95
  health benefits of, 97
  in adolescent, 96
  literature on, 97
Connell, A.M., 286
Connolly, H., 140
Constantine, M., 13
Contrada, R.J., 240
Cook, T.D., 152
Cook, W.L., 40
Copeland-Linder, N., 97
Corneille, O., 127
Cota, M.K., 136
Cote, L.R., 285
Coulton, C.J., 88
Craft, S.A., 16, 18
Craig, S.C., 204, 205
Crespo, C., 97, 108
Crijnen, A.A.M., 296
Crocker, J., 20, 249, 253
Crockett, A., 118
Crosnoe, R., 1, 260, 263
Cross, W.E., 203
Crul, M., 119
Cruz-Santiago, M., 152, 154, 155
Csapo, B., 196
Csergo, Z., 236
Çuhadaroğlu, F., 122
Cultural adaptation
  study of, 79
Cultural socialisation, 136
Culture-based beliefs, 69
Cummings, E.M., 294
Cummings, J.S., 294
Cummings, W.K., 57, 62
Cummins, J., 173, 174
Cumsille, P., 195

D
D'Alessio, M., 265
Darmody, M., 173
Das Gupta, M., 200
Davis, G.Y., 138
Davis, J.E., 45
Dawson, M., 203
Deater-Deckard, K.K., 32
Deaux, K., 13, 23, 203
de Bosset, F., 171
Deeds, O., 167
Dekovic, M., 263, 291, 292, 294, 304
Delgado-Gaitan, C., 16, 68
Della Piana, L., 13
Delli Carpini, M.X., 204
Delpit, L.D., 16
Deng, L., 84
Deng, W., 82
Dennis, J., 151
Dente, A., 262
Derluyn, I., 276, 285
de Valk, H.A.G., 317
De Vos, K., 179
Diaz, J.D., 108
Di Bartolomeo, A., 260, 268
Diener, E., 241, 254, 265
Dimas, J.M., 22

Dimitrova, R., 102, 115, 118, 260, 269, 275, 276, 285, 286, 313
Dinsbach, W., 119
Dion, K.K., 200, 201
Dion, K.L., 200, 201, 240, 248
Discrimination
  debilitating effect of, 314
  negative effects of, 85
Dishion, T.J., 45, 167
Ditlmann, R., 23
Dodge, K.A., 82
Doh, H.S., 125
Dolan, S., 263
Dollinger, S.J., 97
Doomernik, J., 119
Doreleijers, T.A., 291, 292
Dornbusch, S.M., 152, 156, 293
Doucet, F., 34
Dovidio, J.F., 23
Downes, P., 238
Doyle, A.B., 295
Doyle and Markiewicz's longitudinal study, 295
Drake, C., 315
Drane, J.W., 298
Drew, R., 238
Dronkers, J., 1
Droogsma, R.A., 118
Duan, C., 75, 83
Duimelaar, P., 298
Dukes, R.L., 97
Duku, E., 260, 276
Dumas, J., 14
Durgel, E.S., 292–294, 304, 305
Dutch-Moroccan adolescents' parents, 300
Dutch society, Moroccans in, 296
Dwairy, M., 108, 293, 304

E
Eade, J., 196
Eastern educational model, 262
Easton, D., 205
Ebata, A., 173
Ebaugh, H.R., 119
Eccles, J., 152
Ecklund, E.H., 116
Education, 16, 17, 19, 25, 55
  cultural values of, 46
  dropout, 96
  enrollment, 56, 60–62, 68
  expectations, 16–18, 65, 68, 71
Education, parental, 39, 40
Education, religious, 17
Edward, M., 44
Egalitarian educational system, 67
Egalitarianism, 62, 135–146, 148
  as a protective parenting tool, 5
  ethnic-racial socialization strategy of, 5
  goals of, 146
  importance of, 148
  literature on, 5
  role of school in, 147
  use of, 147
Egalitarianism-based parenting approach, 145
Egalitarianism celebrating diversity approach, 147
Egalitarianism parenting, 148
Egalitarianism parenting approach, 142
Egalitarianism parenting practice, 144
Egalitarianism socialisation, 144
Egalitarian socialisation, 144
  positive effects of, 148
Egalitarian socialisation messages, 145
Egeland, B., 18
Eggers-Piérola, C., 68
Ehala, M., 236, 244, 245, 248
Eichelsheim, V.I., 304
Eisenberg, N., 78, 259
Elder, G.H., 152
Ellis, C.M., 13
Emigration, 314
Emmons, R.A., 118, 241, 265
Emotional closeness, 294
Emotional regulation, 294
Engagement, 108, 174
  aspects of, 194
Engagement, academic, 96
Engagement, civic, 5, 194, 195, 199, 202, 204–206
  types of, 199
Engagement, political, 5, 194, 195, 199, 202, 204–206
Engels, R., 292
Englund, M.M., 18
Erol, N., 296
Estonia, 3, 237, 244
  ethnic minority groups in, 235, 236
  health and psychological well-being (PWB) in, 238
  integration studies of, 237
  societal changes in, 6
  youth in, 235
Estonian histories
  importance of, 253
Estonian integration monitoring, 237
Estonian youth, 253
Ethnic background, 287
Ethnic communities, 277

Ethnic identity, 239
Ethnicity, 13, 18, 23, 33, 64, 65, 67, 104, 135–137, 140, 142, 148, 195, 204, 264, 280, 300
  effects of, 266
  in parenting practices, 137
  role in belongingness, 108
Ethnicity, adolescent, 299
Ethnic minorities, 184
Ethnic minority cultures, 31, 119
Ethnic minority groups, 119, 125, 139, 189, 190–196, 240, 299
Ethnic minority youth, 138, 198, 200, 202–207
Ethnic-racial socialisation (ERS) practices, 136, 138, 148
Ethnographic studies, 55, 57, 62, 65, 66, 69
  methods of, 69
  reviews of, 56, 67
Europe, 3, 115
  financial crisis of, 172
  immigrant groups in, 117, 118
External political efficacy, 204

F
Fabes, R.A., 78
Falkenstein, C.A., 14
Family change model, 292, 293, 305
Family social economic status, 81
Fang, X., 78, 84
Fang, X-Y., 77
Fanning, B., 196
Farah, A., 293
Farver, J.A.M., 171
Farver, J.M., 305
Feldman, L., 195
Feldman, S.S., 260
Fendrich, M., 16
Feng, S-D., 85
Fennema, M., 193, 205, 206
Ferguson, G.M., 34, 37, 38, 45
Ferrada-Noli, M., 261
Fife-Schaw, C., 199
Fincham, F.D., 262
Finch, B.K., 23
Finch, S.J., 36, 46
Fine, M., 12, 14, 20, 117
Fine, M.A., 136
Fine, S.G., 119
Fischer, A., 205
Fischer, P., 115
Fischer, R., 103
Fisher, L.A., 117
Flanagan, C., 195
Flanagan, C.A., 196, 201
Fleischmann, F., 120
Flórez, K.R., 32
Fløtten, T., 245
Folkman, S., 235, 240, 254
Foner, N., 33, 37
Fong, T.P., 23
Fontaine, J.R.J., 117
Fraillon, J., 196
French, D.C., 76
French, S.E., 23
Fresno-Rodríguez, A., 305
Frey, D., 115
Friedlmeier, M., 120
Friedman, M., 24, 115, 119, 120, 125
Friendships, 38, 41, 77, 137, 155, 198, 263
Frigerio, A., 280
Fujita, H., 56
Fuligni, A., 136, 314, 317
Fuligni, A.F., 36, 46
Fuligni, A.J., 1, 14, 23, 35, 37, 44, 79, 152, 269, 278, 312
Fuligni, A.S., 37
Fuller, B., 68
Furnham, A., 238
Furstenberg, F.F., 152, 154, 165

G
Galambos, N.L., 153, 166
Galand, P., 118, 125
Galchenko, I., 121
Gallarin, M., 101
Gallay, L., 195
Gamson, W.A., 205
Gao, W., 82
Gao, W-B., 83
Garbarino, J., 173
Garbin, D., 196
Garcia, C., 36
Garcia Coll, C.T., 1, 2, 12, 16, 21, 35, 44, 64, 66, 69, 89, 174, 276, 278, 311–313
García-Ramírez, M., 1
Garza, C.A., 136
Gebauer, J.E., 115, 117, 120, 127
Geddes, A., 203
Gee, G.C., 13
Gender, 6, 18, 21, 33, 41, 45, 97, 98, 100, 103, 104, 106, 121, 123, 160, 195, 198, 200, 242, 267, 297, 299, 313
Gender, literature on, 97
General global index, 265
Generation, first, 11, 21, 22, 24, 44, 46, 201, 260, 264, 278, 312, 313
Generation, second, 5, 11, 21, 22, 24, 33, 41, 46, 116, 118, 120, 125, 126, 139, 148, 157, 174, 201, 237, 254, 260, 313
Georgas, J., 304

Georgiades, K., 260, 261, 263, 269, 276, 285
Gerrits, L., 304
Gerton, J., 12
Gestalt psychology, 316
Gettman, D., 153
Ghaderi, A., 280
Ghuman, P.A.S., 196
Gialamas, V., 115, 118
Gibson, C., 44
Gielen, U.P., 2, 312
Gil, A.G., 22
Gilliom, M., 76, 77
Gill, S., 195
Gilman, S., 260
Glatz, T., 167
Gleaner, J., 44
Gluszek, A., 23
Gniewosz, B., 197
Goldberg, D., 102
Goldgeier, J.M., 236
Gong, L., 240
Goodenow, C., 102
Goodman, R., 177
Goodman, S.H., 286
Gordon, J., 56, 61, 62, 66, 67
Gordon, M., 115
Gordon, R., 13
Gorodzeisky, A., 1
Gotlib, D.I.H., 286
Grabow, O., 199, 203
Graczyk, P.A., 286
Grannemann, B.D., 280
Grant, L., 44
Grant, P., 248
Greenberg, M.T., 101, 294
Green, D.P., 205
Greene, M.L., 155
Greenfield, P.M., 16
Griffin, S., 241, 265
Grimmett, M.A., 13
Groenendaal, J., 304
Groves, W.B., 154
Guertin, M., 122
Güngör, D., 120, 125, 126
Guo, L., 77, 78, 85
Guo, W., 77
Gupta, T., 19, 20, 22, 23

H
Hafen, C.A., 38
Hagar, Y., 260
Hagenaars, A.J.M., 179
Hagerty, B.M., 95
Hägglöf, B., 295
Hamanaka, Y., 61
Hamilton, V.J., 314
Hammen, C., 286
Hamm, J.V., 137
Handayani, P., 293
Hankin, B.L., 21
Hardy, G., 118
Haritatos, J., 15, 36
Harker, K., 118, 260, 263, 285
Harmsen, C., 298
Harrington, H., 18
Harris, F.C., 205
Harris, J.R., 89
Hart, C.H., 82
Harvey, R., 117
Hauser-Cram, P., 16, 25
Hauser, R., 265
Havighurst R.J., 262, 263, 269
Hayes, A.F., 244, 252
Helemäe, J., 236, 237, 254
Hernandez, D.J., 282, 311
Hertzog, C., 76
Herzberg, D.S., 178
Herzig, P., 99
He, S.X., 82
He, X., 77, 81, 85, 87
He, Y., 79
Higuchi, N., 61
Hill, N.E., 16, 18
Hill, P.C., 117
Hilton, D.J., 246, 247, 253
Hinkle, S., 240
Hofstede, G., 155, 160
Hofstede, G.H., 304
Hofstede's cultural dimension, 155
Hogg, M.A., 119
Holcomb, M., 95
Holden, A., 137
Holder, M.D., 120
Hollingshead, A.B., 38, 264
Holloway, S.D., 57, 68
Holmes, J., 263
Holt, J., 13
Hong, Y., 127
Hood, R.W.J., 117
Hoogsteder, M., 122
Horenczyk, G., 14, 84, 89, 116, 240, 315
Hou, F., 260, 276
Hou, J., 81, 82
Houskamp, B.M., 117
Hou, Y., 77
Hovey, J.D., 22
Howard, C., 138

Howard, E.E., 119
Howard, K., 263
Hoyle, R.H., 302
Huafen, J., 64, 66
Huang, F., 85
Huang, X-Y., 78
Hu, B., 83
Huebner, E.S., 298
Huebner, S.E., 102
Hughes, D., 136–138, 141, 142, 145, 146, 148
Hughes, J., 16
Hui, M.K., 32
Hu, L., 103, 180
Huntsinger, C.S., 16
Hu, P., 263
Husain, F., 137
Hu, W., 78
Hu, X-Y., 81
Huynh, V.W., 14
Hyman, I., 260, 276
Hypothesized mediation
    significance of, 244

I

Iceland, J., 33
Identity
    bicultural, 15, 36
    ethnic, 3, 4, 14, 15, 22–25, 47, 95, 101
    management strategies, 6
    national, 14
    oppositional, 45
    religious, 4
Immigrant, 1, 2
Immigrant families, 64
Immigrant paradox, 260, 276, 285, 312, 313
    hypothesis of, 275
    paradigms of, 268
Immigrant paradox, in Europe, 264
Immigrants, African, 6, 99, 109
Immigrants, Albanian, 6, 35, 44, 275–278, 281, 282, 285, 287, 312
Immigrants, Arab-Kenyans, 5, 98
Immigrants, Asian, 3, 6
Immigrants, Caribbean, 31, 33
Immigrants, Chinese, 261
Immigrants, Dutch-Moroccan, 292
Immigrants, Morocco, 294, 305
Immigrants, Pakistani, 140
Immigrants, Serbian, 6, 275–278, 281, 282, 285, 287
Immigration, 189
    demerits of, 285
    effect on immigrant families, 275
    research on, 276
Immigration effects, on children and parents' well-being, 286
Inaba, N., 61
Independence family pattern, 292
Influence sources, 197
Information management strategy, 153
Inman, A.G., 119
Integrative theoretical model, 88
Interpersonal relationship, 263
Inui, M., 66, 67
Inventory of parent and peer attachment (IPPA), 101
Ishikawa, A.E., 59, 66
Izzo, C.V., 16, 18

J

Jackson, J., 44
Jackson-Newsom, J., 292
Jacobs, D., 194
Jamal, A., 196
Jamieson, K.H., 195
Jang, Y., 240
Janssen, M.M.M., 276
Janssens, J., 292
Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., 240, 314
Jennings, M.K., 196
Jensen, L.A., 43, 201, 203
Jiang, Q., 85
Jin, C., 76, 77
Jin, S., 82
Jochem, R., 174
John Bowlby's attachment theory, 263
John, D., 17
John, M., 23
Johnson, D.J., 141
Johnson, M.M., 200, 201
Jones, S., 191
Jonsson, B., 196
Jose, P.E., 16, 97, 108
Joy, A., 32
Juang, L., 118
Juang, L.P., 118
Junn, J., 195, 203

K

Kagitcibasi, C., 97, 292, 293, 304, 305
Kaji, I., 61
Kakihara, F., 152
Kalibatseva, Z., 24
Kao, G., 315
Kaplan, G.A., 117
Karavasilis, L., 295
Karcher, M.J., 95–97
Kariya, T., 56, 61

Karlsen, S., 44
Kärnä, A., 276
Karnilowicz, W., 260
Karu, K., 241, 253
Kasearu, K., 247
Kasekamp, A., 245
Kashy, D.A., 40
Kasinitz, P., 33, 36, 37, 44
Kasprow, W.J., 16
Katsiaficas, D., 14
Kattago, S., 244
Keehn, D., 293
Keeter, S., 204
Keleher, T., 13
Keller-Lally, A.M., 59
Kelly, C., 205
Kelly, Y., 138
Kenny, D.A., 40, 252
Kenya, minority youth in, 107
Keogh, A.F., 173
Ke, R., 76, 77
Kernis, M.H., 280
Kerr, D., 196
Kerr, M., 152, 153, 158, 159, 167
Khalil, M., 122
Kielpikowski, M., 97, 108
Kiewiet, D.R., 202
Killian, C.M., 151
Kim, C., 32
Kim, E., 174
Kim, G., 15
Kim, H-S., 155, 167
Kim, S., 275
Kim, S.S., 25
King, D.E., 115
King, M.B., 122
King, P.E., 118
King, R., 277
Kirby, E.H., 199
Klandermans, B., 204
Klein, D.N., 286
Klimidis, S., 276
Kline, R.B., 302
Klink, A., 247
Knight, G.P., 136
Koenig, H.G., 115, 122
Kofman, E., 314
Kohls, R., 79
Kojima, A., 55, 59, 60, 64, 66, 70
Kolody, B., 23
Konstantareas, M.M., 171
Korbin, J., 173
Kos, A., 260
Kosic, A., 32
Kraaykamp, G., 1
Kuklinski, M.R., 19
Kuperminc, G.P., 76
Kurasaki, K., 12
Kurtines, W., 171
Kurtz, D., 118
Kurtz, D.A., 240
Kus, L., 245, 252
Kwak, K., 312, 316
Kwok, O., 16
Kymlicka, W., 236

L
Laar, M., 236
Labissiere, Y., 190
Lachman, M., 241
Ladino, C., 137
Laflamme, D.J., 13
LaFromboise, T., 12
Laghi, F., 262, 265, 267
Lagunes, P., 23
Laible, D.J., 263, 264, 267, 294
Lambert, M.C., 38
Lamborn, S.D., 152, 156, 158, 293, 304
Lamborn, S.L., 167
Lamkaddem, B., 117–119
Lam, M., 36
Lam, W.L., 293
Langrehr, K., 15
Lan, J., 77
Lansford, J., 32
Lansford, J.E., 88, 305
Laroche, M., 32
Larsen, R.J., 241, 265
Larson, R.W., 151
Lasky, S., 16, 25
Lau, A.S., 173
Lauristin, M., 236
Laursen, B., 38
Lau, S., 293
Lawrence, B., 240
Lazarus, R.S., 235, 240, 254
Leach, C.W., 119, 205
Leadbeater, B.J., 76, 77
Leary, M.R., 97, 108
Leavey, G., 276
Ledermann, T., 180
Lee, B.K., 174, 175
Lee, F., 127
Lee, J., 16
Lee, R.M., 15, 98, 125
Lee, Y., 97, 98
Lehman, D.R., 118
Lehmann, R., 195

Lenzi, M., 276
Leondari, A., 115, 118
Leong, F., 24
LeTendre, G., 56
Leu, J.X., 127
Leung, C.Y.Y., 316
Leung, D.C., 260
Leung, K., 293, 302
Levels, M., 1
Levine, D.W., 14
Lewinson, P.M., 286
Lewis, K., 118
Lewis, R.L., 97
Liang, H., 75, 83
Li, B., 78
Li, C.Y., 82
Li, D., 77–79, 86, 87
Liebkind, K., 14, 42, 116, 240, 260, 276, 311, 312, 314
Life satisfaction, 81, 82, 108, 120, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244, 248, 249, 250
  effects of history on, 253
  of ethnic Russians, 248
  positive effect of, 240
Li, J., 262
Lim, M., 14
Lim, S., 262, 268–270
Lindemann, K., 236, 237, 240
Lin, X., 84
Li, N.X., 294
Lin, X-Y., 77, 84, 88
Li, P., 75
Li, Q., 75
Li, S., 78
Li, T.G., 294
Liu, A., 86
Liu, D., 77
Liu, J., 245
Liu, J.H., 240, 246, 247, 253
Liu, M., 78
Liu, X., 81, 84, 85
Liu, Y., 77–80, 82–85, 88
Liu, Z-K., 83
Li, X., 76, 77, 81–88
Li, X-W., 81
Li, Y., 84
Li, Y-X., 85
Li, Z., 78
Locke, D.C., 13
Lodhi, Y.A., 98
Longitudinal Immigrant Families and Teachers Study (LIFTS), 3, 15, 17, 25
  cross-sectional work with, 17
  research on, 25
  studies on, 23
Lonner, W.J., 118
Lopez, M.H., 191, 199, 201, 202
López, S.T., 293
Lopez Turley, R.N., 260, 263
Losito, B., 196
Love, A.S., 36, 46
Lovejoy, M.C., 286
Lu, A., 24
Lubiewska, K., 120
Luhtanen, R., 20, 249, 253
Lunn, P., 172
Luo, J., 82, 84
Lynch-Sauer, J., 95

M
Macartney, S., 282
Macho, S., 180
Maes, J., 248
Magnuson, K., 16
Mahnig, H., 119
Mai, N., 276, 277
Maira, S.M., 200, 201
Major, B., 248, 253
Maldonado, M., 20
Manzi, C., 262, 269
Marcelo, K.B., 191, 199, 201, 202
Market-oriented economic systems, 79
Markiewicz, D., 295
Marks, A., 2, 64, 66, 69
Marks, A.K., 12, 21, 35, 44, 276, 313
Marks, E.K., 312, 313
Markstrom-Adams, C., 136
Marra, C., 277, 285
Marshall, S.K., 153
Marsh, D., 191
Martin, B.G., 98
Martinez, R.O., 97
Martin, P.P., 97
Masgoret, A-M., 1
Masso, A., 238
Masten, A.S., 35, 311
Masuoka, N., 203
Mather, M., 11
Mathijsen, F., 117, 118, 125
Matsumoto, D., 118
Mayer, B., 120
Mays, V.M., 314
Mazrui, L., 98
McAdoo, H.P., 136
McBride-Chang, C., 82
McCoy, S., 173
McCoy, S.K., 253
McCullough, M.E., 115
McDonald, R.M., 292

McGinnity, F., 172, 173
McHale, S.M., 137
McKenzie, J., 43
McNeil, L., 13
McPhee, S.A., 241
McWhirter, B.T., 97
Meesters, C., 263
Meeus, W., 263, 294
Meijer, A.M., 294
Mena, F.J., 20
Menéndez, M.D.R., 293
Menezes, I., 197
Meng, Z., 263
Mercer, C., 194
Merens, J.G.F., 304
Messe, L.A., 315
Messina, A., 192
Mettam, C.W., 236
Metzger, A., 153
Mielke, R., 247
Migrant generational status, 201
Migration-morbidity hypothesis, 275
Mikulincer, M., 294
Milevsky, A., 293, 304
Miller, P.W., 174, 175
Milne, B.J., 18
Minas, I.H., 276
Mirandola, M., 276
Miretta, P., 280
Mir, M., 16
Mishler, W., 205
Miyajima, T., 57, 70
Miyares, I., 33
Mleczko, A., 261
Moffitt, T.E., 18
Moïse, L.C., 56, 189
Molix, L., 240
Molteni, M., 280
Moneta, G., 151
Moradi, B., 240
Morita, K., 62, 63, 70
Moroccan-Dutch group
    parental attachment in, 305
Moroccan-Dutch immigrants
    educational status of, 305
Morris, M.W., 127
Mossakowski, K.N., 314
Motti-Stefanidi, F., 35, 43, 44, 260, 268, 276
Mounts, N.S., 151–155, 158, 166–168, 293
Mukherjee, P.P., 155
Mukkaley, S., 102
Multicultural societies, 45
Multi-ethnic neighborhoods, 316
Mummendey, A., 247
Murad, S.D., 296
Muris, P., 263
Murray, A., 176, 178, 179, 185
Murry, V., 275
Murugami, M., 98
Muste, C., 205
Muthen, B.O., 180
Muthen, L.K., 180
Myers, S.M., 117

N
Nabeshima, Y., 57, 62
Nada Raja, S., 298
Nagel, R.J., 294
Nagle, R.J., 263
Narang, S.K., 171
Nazroo, J., 44, 138
Neberich, W., 115
Neblett, E.W., Jr., 136, 138
Neckerman, H.J., 86
Nelson, D.A., 82
Nesdale, D., 240
Neto, F., 260, 276, 312
Netter, S., 293
Neuman, G., 286
Neumark-Sztainer, D., 108
Ngo, V., 15
Nguyen, A.D., 35, 36, 45
Nguyen, H.H., 260, 263, 315
Nickerson, A.B., 263, 294
Niemi, R.G., 204
Nie, N.H., 195
Ninomiya, M., 60, 61
Nishikawa, S., 295
Noack, P., 197
Noh, C.Y., 125
Noom, M.J., 294, 304
Notari, V., 267

O
Oakes, P.J., 119
Oberg, K., 79
O'Boyle, N., 196
O'Brien, L.T., 248
Ocampo, K.A., 136
O'Connell, P., 173
O'Connor, B.P., 124
Odorisio, F., 267
O'Dowd, M., 84
Offer, D., 263
O'Hare, E., 286
Okano, K.H., 56
Okubo, Y., 60

Okulicz-Kozaryn, A., 115
Oliva, E.M., 18
Olsen, J.A., 82
Ong, A.D., 15
Ong, L.Z., 15
Oomagari, Y., 61
Oortwijn, M., 36, 46
Oosterwegel, A., 263
Openness, 141
Organista, K.C., 12, 13
Organista, P.B., 12, 13
Ostrov, E., 263
Oswald, H., 195
Ota, H., 55–57, 59–61, 63, 70
O'Toole, T., 191, 204, 205
Ou, Y., 83, 136

P
Pachi, D., 191, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205
Pacoe, E.A., 314
Padilla, A.M., 20
Page, B., 194
Pakalniskiene, V., 159
Palinkas, L.A., 87
Pallini, S., 262, 265
Palmer, N.A., 1
Paloutzian, R.F., 118
Pandia, W.S., 293
Paradies, Y., 314
Pardini, D., 122
Parental attachment, 295
Parental authority questionnaire (PAQ), 298
Parental control, 158
Parental linguistic acculturation, 183
Parental outcomes, 278
Parental–peer management, 151, 152, 154, 155, 159, 162, 166, 167
Parental practices, 165
Parental warmth, 294
Parent-child subsystem, 316
Parenting, 4
Parenting behavior, 295
Parenting beliefs, 293
Parenting issues, 292
Parenting practices, 291, 293–295
Parenting styles, 292
Parents, 2, 3, 5, 12, 13, 16–18, 25, 37, 44, 46
Parents–peer management, 157
  hypothesis of, 160
Parke, R.D., 151, 153, 154, 166
Pasek, J., 195
Passini, S., 191
Pastorelli, C., 280
Patel, N., 99
Paternal peer management, 166
Patrico, A., 313
Patterson, G.R., 45, 167
Pattie, C., 199
Patton, F., 313
Patusky, K.L., 95
Paulhus, D.L., 32, 117
Pavalko, E.K., 314
Pawliuk, N., 171
Pearlin, L.I., 240, 241
Pedersen, S., 312
Pedone, V., 261–263
Pedroza, A., 17
Peer relations
  monitoring of, 152
Peers, 4, 35, 38, 40, 43, 44, 55, 63, 84–86, 88
Peer–social interactions, 86
Pei, L., 86
Pels, T., 291, 292, 304
Pels, T.V.M., 296
Pelucchi, S., 262
Pencille, M., 240
Penninx, R., 119
Perceived discrimination, 240, 314
  effect of, 244
Perkins, D.D., 1
Permissive parenting, 300
Perreault, S., 56, 189
Perry, C., 108
Persky, I., 32, 315
Pesenti, S., 280
Peters, M.F., 136
Phalet, K., 116, 120, 126
Phelps, E., 191
Phinney, J., 14, 15, 23, 32, 42, 89, 101, 116–118, 137, 175, 184, 189, 190, 203, 240, 260, 314, 316
Phoenix, A., 137
Piers, E.V., 178
Pike, A., 171, 173
Plante, T., 122
Polek, E., 174
Political participation, 189, 190
Political representation, 198
Poll, J., 115
Poor economic well-being, 237
Poortinga, Y.H., 304
Portes, A., 13, 15, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 44, 68, 69, 175, 183, 278
Portes and Rumbaut's longitudinal study, of second generation immigrants, 14

Portes, P., 241
Postmes, T., 204
Pottinger, A.M., 34
Pouliasi, K., 127
Poulton, R., 175
Preacher, K.J., 244, 252
Preliminary correlational analysis, 250
Preparation for bias, 136
Prins, K.S., 125
Prinz, R.J., 14
Promoting autonomy
  importance of, 294
Promotion of mistrust, 136
Prosocial behaviors \t see outcomes, sociocultural, 177
Prosocial behaviors\t see outcomes, sociocultural, 4, 76, 78, 89
Pryor, J., 97, 108
Psychological factor
  efficacy, 203
  trust, 205
Psychological interdependence family pattern, 292, 293
Psychological sense of school membership scale (PSSM), 102
Psychological well-being (PWB), 2, 5, 97, 102, 117, 125, 171, 238, 248, 261, 269, 279, 293
Psychopathological diseases, traumatic etiology of, 268
Putnam, R.D., 205

Q
Quinn, E., 172
Quintana, S.M., 136
Quiroz, B., 16
Qu, K., 84, 85

R
Race, 13, 33, 135–138, 140–142, 144, 146, 148, 203
  importance of, 20
  in parenting practices, 137
Racism, 13, 36, 46, 261
  effects of, 13
  experiences of, 138, 140, 148
  perception of, 138
Radloff, L.S., 21
Radloff, S.L., 280
Raeff, C., 16
Raffaelli, M., 263
Ram, A., 32, 36, 37, 47
Ramakrishnan, S.K., 202
Rambaund, M.F., 68
Ramíres García, J., 152, 154, 155
Reactance theory, 152
Reactive egalitarian based conversations, 143
Regalia, C., 262
Regnerus, M.D., 120
Reicher, S.D., 119
Reiser, L., 314
Relationships, 67
  causal, 254
  children–teacher, 84
  emotional, 263
  family, 65, 166, 200
  interpersonal, 262
  parent-child, 2, 82
  parent–peer, 269
  peer, 85, 86, 151, 166, 167
  social, 24, 83, 84, 263
  teacher–peer, 88
  teacher–student, 86
Religion, 108, 115, 118–120, 122, 127, 141, 142, 145, 177, 184, 193, 198, 200, 204
Religiosity, 118, 120, 122, 126
  as a cultural group marker, 115
  literature on, 115
Repetti, R.L., 315
Rescorla, L.A., 17
Resnick, M.D., 108
Reynolds, T., 193, 194, 200
Reynolds, W.M., 38
Richards, M.H., 151
Richardson, W.K., 206
Richman, L.S., 314
Risco, C., 240
Ritter, H.A., 119
Rivadeneyra, R., 115
Rivas-Drake, D., 136, 138
Robbins, S.B., 98
Roberts, R.E., 14
Robins, R., 174
Robinson, V., 140
Rodrigues, P.R., 119
Rodriguez, L., 117
Roer-Strier, D., 173
Roesch, S.C., 294
Roeser, R., 118
Rogers, B., 137
Rogers-Sirin, L., 19, 20, 22, 23
Rohde, P., 286
Romer, D., 195
Rooney, R., 240
Rosenberg, M., 120, 280
Rosenberg self-esteem scale, 122, 280

Rosengren, K.E., 236
Rosenthal, D.A., 260
Rose, R., 205
Rose, R.A., 21
Ross, J.M., 122, 126
Ruble, D., 136
Rudmin, F.W., 32, 35, 261, 268
Ruhs, D., 203
Rumbaut, R.G., 13, 15, 68, 69, 175, 183, 278
Runciman, W.G., 247, 253
Rural children's social behaviors, 79
Russell, H., 172
Russian ethnic identity, 244
Russian history, 253
  importance of, 250
Russian minorities, in Estonia, 245
Russian minority youth, 253
Russians' inferior identity, 247
Russian youth
  qualitative study of, 254
  studies on, 235
Russian youth, in Estonia, 239
Rüütel, K., 238
Ryan, A., 13
Ryan, K., 254
Ryce, P., 16, 18, 19, 20
Ryder, A.G., 32, 117
Ryff, C.D., 120

S
Saar, E., 237
Sabatier, C., 35, 120
Saggar, S., 192
Sagoff, J., 199
Saharso, S., 296
Sakamoto, F., 61, 70
Sakuma, T., 56, 70
Salmivalli, C., 276
Sam, D., 23, 32, 44, 115–117, 175, 189, 190, 238, 240, 260, 268, 276, 285, 311–315
Sameroff, A., 152
Sampson, R.J., 154
Sanders-Phillips, K., 240
Sandhu, D.S., 241
Santinello, M., 276
Saroglou, V., 115, 117–120, 125–127
Scarnera, C., 279
Schalk-Soekar, S.R.G.G., 122
Schaller, M., 118
Schans, D., 317
Scheier, M.F., 280
Scheonrade, P., 122
Schlechter, M., 293
Schmitt, M., 117, 248
Schmitt-Rodermund, E., 2, 260, 262, 263, 268, 269
Schneider, B.H., 76
Schnepf, S.V., 173
Schofield, T., 174, 175
School, 25
  activities of, 25
  immigrant children's experiences in, 15
  parental involvement in, 16
School adjustment *see* outcomes, sociocultural, 6, 63, 85, 312, 314
School-based family, 4
School belonging, 4, 95, 102
Schooler, C., 240, 241
School, Japanese, 55–57, 59–64, 66–69
Schoon, I., 171, 173, 182
Schrover, M., 194
Schultz, D.A., 316
Schulz, W., 195, 196, 204
Schuyten, G., 285
Schwandner-Sievers, S., 276, 277
Schwartz, D., 82, 305
Schwartz, S.J., 32, 33, 36, 43, 117, 261, 268
Scopilliti, M., 33
Scribner, J.D., 17
Searle, W., 235
Sedikides, C., 115, 117, 118
Seegers, G., 296
Seeley, J.R., 286
Seidman, E., 23
Seif, H., 201
Selective migration *see* migration morbidity, 2, 3
Self-control, 305
Self-esteem, 77, 86, 118–120, 123–125, 127, 244
  assessment of, 122, 280
  in adolescent immigrants, 116
  in adolescents, 5
  in religious believers, 115
  role of parental culture on, 123
Seligson, J.L., 102
Sellers, R.M., 97, 136
Semetko, H.A., 204
Semyonov, M., 1
Senecal, S., 189
Senécal, S., 56
Senior, O., 36
Settles-Reaves, B., 240
Seyd, P., 199
Shaver, P., 294

Shaw, D.S., 76, 77
Sheblanova, E., 196
Shek, D.T.L., 82
Sheldon, S.B., 16
Shema, S.J., 117
Shen, J-L., 81, 84, 85, 88
Shen, Y., 77
Sheridan, L.P., 118, 127
Sherman, A., 122
Sherrod, L.R., 195
Shields, M.K., 59
Shimizu, K., 57, 63–67
Shimizu, M., 55, 57, 58, 63–67, 70
Shingles, R.D., 205
Shi, X., 85
Siblings, 67, 96
Silbereisen, R.K., 82
Silva, L., 14, 117
Silver, G.E., 204
Simon, B., 199, 203
Singh, A.A., 13
Sirin, S.R., 12, 14, 16, 17, 19–22, 25, 117
Skinner, M.L., 167
Skolbekken, J.A., 261
Slodnjak, V., 260
Small, B.J., 240
Smetana, J.G., 153, 159, 166
Smith, C.O., 14
Smith, D.J., 236
Smith, E.P., 14
Smith, H.J., 247
Smith, L., 240
Smith, T.B., 14, 115, 117
Smit, J.H., 296
Smokowski, P.R., 21, 22, 314
Smyth, E., 173
Snauwaert, B., 316
Snider, J., 280
Snoek, H.M., 292
Social and educational inequalities, 173
Social-cultural level, 79
Social domain theory, 153
Social identity theory, 247
Social interactions, in schools, 83
Socialisation strategy, 137
Socialization, 98, 315
  in children, 65
  in Chinese societies, 82
  in estonian youth, 253
  longitudinal research on, 70
Social-learning theory, 79
Social support, 3, 20, 22, 24, 25, 85, 88, 119
  of migrant families, 183
Sociocultural adaptation, 312
Socioeconomic status, 5, 18, 56, 183, 199, 294
  importance of, 69
  in immigrant children's educational processes, 66
  role of, 64
Socioeconomic status (SES), 88, 109, 181, 182, 184, 185, 264
  in immigrants, 99
  studies on, 171–173
Socioemotional behaviors\t See outcomes, psychological, 76, 80, 87, 89
Socio-psychological adaptation, 84
Soenens, B., 316
Solheim, E., 240
Soobader, M.J., 44
Spain
  young immigrants of, 6
Spears, R., 119, 204, 205
Spencer, M.B., 136, 137
Spencer, R., 305
Spilka, B., 117
Spinrad, T.L., 78
Spracklen, K.M., 45
Stattin, H., 152, 153, 158, 159, 167
Stayton, D., 263
Stehlik-Barry, K., 195
Steinberg, L., 152, 156, 167, 293
Stepick, A., 190, 193, 196, 200, 201, 203
Stepick, C.D., 190, 193, 196, 200, 201, 203
Stevens, G.W.J.M., 276, 291, 292, 296, 305
Stevenson, H.C., 138
Stevenson, H.W., 62
Stewart, S.M., 167
Stigler, J.W., 62
Stipek, D., 25
Stockard, J., 200, 201
Stollak, G.E., 315
Stoolmiller, M., 167
Stormshak, E.A., 14
Story, M., 108
Strawbridge, W.J., 117
Stress
  acculturative type, 3, 11–13, 15, 19, 22, 24, 317
    assessment of, 20, 22
    negative impacts of, 12
    source of, 13, 15
  economic type, 13, 82
  social type, 82
Stress-coping theory, 79
Stride, C., 102
Strohmeier, D., 2, 260, 262, 263, 268, 269, 276
Structural equation modeling, 300

Stuart, G., 276
Stuart, J., 126
Stuber, M.L., 117
Study Child's self-concept, 178
Suarez, G.A., 313
Suarez-Orozco, C., 12, 13, 20, 34, 260, 263, 268, 269, 278, 285
Suarez-Orozco, M., 84, 278, 285, 314
Suarez-Orozco, M.M., 12, 13, 20, 34
Sue, D., 13
Sue, D.W., 13, 23, 25
Suldo, S.M., 102, 298
Sun, D., 86
Sundbom, E., 295
Suryani, A.O., 293
Swaminathan, S., 44
Sweden
  immigrant and non-immigrant youth of, 5
  parental peer management in, 155, 156
Swertz, O., 298
Syed, M., 118
Szalacha, L., 278
Szapocznic, J., 171
Szapocznik, J., 32
Szente, J., 83

T
Tabusa, Y., 66, 68
Tahseen, M., 316
Tajfel, H., 205, 246, 247
Takatani, S., 61
Takenoshita, H., 55, 60, 63
Talu, A., 238
Tamaki, M., 61, 70
Tambelli, R., 267
Tamis-LeMonda, C.S., 82
Tancredi, D., 260
Tang, Y., 80
Tartar, M., 315
Tatum, B.D., 136
Taylor, R.J., 136
Teachers, 5, 16–18, 24, 25, 33, 57, 71, 83, 85
  impact on migrant children, 85
  means of socialisation amongst, 136, 194
  practices and beliefs of, 16
Teachers, Japanese, 62
Telzer, E.H., 314, 317
Teresi, J., 122
Tesser, P.T.M., 304
The Longitudinal Immigrant Families and Teachers Study (LIFTS), 12
The Netherlands
  acculturation policies of, 119
  adolescents in, 123, 126, 291, 299, 305
  culture of, 47, 123, 174
  immigrants in, 35
  Moroccan immigrants in, 296
  Moroccan youths in, 296
  parenting styles in, 293
  sociodemographic status of, 121
  Turkish immigrants in, 119
  Van Heelsum's study in, 193
  Van Heelsum's study of, 192, 194
  youths in, 3, 6
Theory of acculturation, 56
Thijssen, J., 298
Thomas-Hope, E., 37
Thornton, M.C., 136
Thronson, D.B., 314
Tienda, M., 315
Tillie, J., 193, 194, 205, 206
Tilton-Weaver, L., 152
Tilton-Weaver, L.C., 153, 166
Titzmann, P.F., 175
Todorova, I., 20
Tomlins, M., 240
Toms, F.D., 136
Tong, Y., 78
Torney-Purta, J., 195, 206
Torres, M., 44
Tousignant, M., 260, 276
Townsend, K.C., 97
Trees, V.M., 296
Trickett, E., 315
Trickett, E.J., 240
Trombaccia, F., 280
Trommsdorff, G., 120
Tseng, V., 36, 46, 82
Tsubotani, M., 56, 59–61
Tsuneyoshi, R., 56–58, 62
Turiel, E., 153
Turner, J.C., 119, 246, 247

U
Uhlaner, C.J., 202
Umana-Taylor, A.J., 14, 136
Underwood, L., 122
Unger, J.B., 32, 261, 268
United Kingdom
  Africanization program in, 99
  ethnic minority population of, 139
  ethnic population of, 140

United States
  adolescents in, 32
  Asian and Latino immigrant youths of, 35, 36
  Asian immigrants in, 13
  bidimensional model of, 32
  educational system in, 12
  immigrant ethnics of, 34
  immigrant families of, 3, 11
  western cultural standards of, 16, 18
Updegraff, K.A., 14
Utsey, S., 13
Uusküla, A., 238

V
Valdés, G., 68
Valiente, C., 259
Valk, A., 241, 253
Valkenburg, P.M., 204
Vallone, R., 280
Valois, R.F., 102, 298
Vals, K., 238
van Aken, M.A.G., 263
van Ameijden, E., 296
van Balkom, A.J.L.M., 296
Van Bergen, D.D., 296
Vanbeselaere, N., 316
Van Cappellen, P., 127
van der Ende, J., 296
van de Vijver, F.J.R., 2, 42, 45, 56, 67, 68, 98, 102, 115, 116, 118, 119, 121, 122, 125, 260, 276, 292, 293, 302, 304, 313
Van Donselaar, J., 119
van Geel, M., 35, 44, 264, 265, 268, 296
Van Gemert, F., 291, 305
van Heelsum, A., 191–193
Van IJzendoorn, M.H., 305
van Melick, M., 263
Van Oort, F.V.A., 76
van Oudenhoven, J.P., 1, 125, 174
Van Pachterbeke, M., 117, 119
Van Praag, C., 296, 304
van Strien, T., 292
van Zomeren, M., 119, 204, 205
Vasta, E., 119
Vedder, P., 14, 23, 32, 35, 36, 42, 44, 46, 84, 89, 116, 175, 189, 190, 240, 260, 264, 265, 268, 276, 296, 312, 314, 316
Veen, V.C., 291, 292
Vega, W.A., 22, 23
Vera, E.M., 136
Vergeer, J., 298
Verhulst, F.C., 296
Verkuyten, M., 115–118, 120, 123, 125, 127, 240
Vermeulen, F., 194
Vermeulen, H., 119
Vertovec, S., 135
Vetik, R., 236, 237, 254
Vieno, A., 276, 287
Vigdor, J.L., 316
Vihalemm, P., 236
Viladrich, A., 116
Vinokurov, A., 240
Virta, E., 260, 276, 312
Voas, D., 118
Vollebergh, W., 263, 291, 292, 296
Von der Lippe, A., 294
Vöörmann, R., 237

W
Walberg, A., 296
Walker, D., 240
Walker, I., 247
Wallace, J.M., 120
Wall, T., 102
Wang, A., 269
Wang, F., 77
Wang, H., 77
Wang, L., 77, 79, 82, 83
Wang, W., 82
Wang, W-Z., 83
Wang, Y., 85, 259
Wang, Z., 77
Ward, C., 1, 115–117, 126, 127, 235, 238, 240, 241, 245
Ward, L.M., 115
Warner, R.S., 119
Warren, J., 265
Warr, P., 102
Waters, M., 34, 36, 37, 43–46
Watson, D., 172, 173
Way, N., 138, 155
Weatherford, M.S., 205
Weaver, S., 241
Weibull, L., 236
Wei, L., 77, 82
Weinstein, R.S., 19
Weissberg, R.P., 16
Weisskirch, R.S., 117
Well-Being, 2, 240, 247, 248, 252, 312, 314
  positive outcomes of, 305
Well-Being, adolescents, 4, 95, 107, 108
Well-Being, children, 3, 4, 7, 25, 87, 108, 174

Well-Being, immigrants, 3, 6, 7, 286
Well-Being, Moroccan-Dutch adolescents, 305
Well-Being, parents, 3, 4, 7
Westrick, J., 167
West, S.G., 124
Wetherell, M.S., 119
White, A., 140
Whiteley, P., 199
White, M.J., 260
Whittaker, S., 118
Whyte, J., 173
Widaman, K., 174, 248
Wilkinson, R.B., 263
Willemsen, M.E., 304
Williams, J., 179
Williams, P., 13
Williamson, L., 15
Williams, S.W., 236
Wimmer, A., 119
Wingate, M.S., 44
Winkelman, M., 79
Wissink, I.B., 294, 299
Witherspoon, D., 138
Witkow, M., 35, 36, 44
Wittner, J.G., 119
Wohrle, J., 174
Wong, D.F.K., 82, 83
Wong, M., 261
Wu, C-L., 204
Wulian, W., 261, 262
Wu, Q., 85, 87, 88
Wu, X., 77
Wu, Y., 78

X
Xia, C., 83
Xiao, L., 85
Xie, Y., 85
Xie, Z., 77, 88
Xing, Y-Q., 78
Xin, T., 82
Xu, C-X., 86
Xu, X., 82
Xu, Z., 77

Y
Yağmur, K., 56, 67
Yagmurlu, B., 292
Yamamoto, Y., 57, 68, 262
Yamanaka, K., 57, 59, 70, 71
Yancey, S., 122
Yang, B., 77
Yang, C., 82
Yang, R., 313
Yang, T., 78
Yang, Y., 86
Yao, Y., 77
Yasumoto, H., 64, 66
Yeh, M., 268
Yeung, J.W., 118
Yildiz, A.A., 115, 117, 118, 120, 125
Ying, P., 77
Yin, Z., 36, 46
Yoo, H.C., 125
Yoon, E., 15
Young adults, 3, 34, 311
Young, M.D., 17
Youth, Moroccan-Dutch, 296, 299
Youth participation, 207
Yuan, L., 84
Yuan, X., 84, 85
Yule, W., 260

Z
Zaal, M., 14
Zagefka, H., 240
Zaidi, A., 179
Zaidi, M.A., 179
Zamboanga, B.L., 32, 43, 117
Zambrano, E., 95
Zapata, J., 36, 46
Zeng, S., 77, 81, 82, 84–86
Zhang, C., 36, 46
Zhang, J., 77, 86
Zhang, L., 79
Zhang, L-P., 78
Zhang, W., 79
Zhang, Y., 78, 83
Zhou, H., 77, 81–83, 85, 86, 88
Zhou, M., 25, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 44
Zhou, Q., 259
Zhun, H., 77
Zhurzhenko, T., 245
Zhu, Y., 294
Zimmerman, K.F., 172, 173
Zimmermann, P., 263
Zou, H., 76, 77, 81, 84–86
Zukin, C., 190, 191, 194, 196
Zwambag, L., 263