Advances in Immigrant Family Research
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Derya Güngör
Dagmar Strohmeier *Editors*

Contextualizing Immigrant and Refugee Resilience

Cultural and Acculturation Perspectives

Advances in Immigrant Family Research

Series Editor

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Contextualizing Immigrant and Refugee Resilience

Cultural and Acculturation Perspectives

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To Kris and Kaylan De Bruyn, my rocks
To my migrant mother (Anneme) and all migrant mothers, so resilient
Derya Güngör

To Amela, Edvana, Ilknur, and Kolë with love and respect
To my immigrant students who made me understand what resilience really means
Dagmar Strohmeier

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Chapter 1
Contextualizing Immigrant and Refugee Resilience: Cultural and Acculturative Perspectives

Derya Güngör and Dagmar Strohmeier

In 2017, 260 million people have been living as foreign-born immigrants worldwide. Together with people who moved within their own nation, every seventh person changed the place of residence and therefore is a national or international migrant (United Nations, International Migration Report 2018). In the age of "super-diversity" (Titzmann & Jugert, 2019; Vertovec, 2007) characterized by highly diversified migration flows, receiving societies get more and more culturally heterogeneous. Immigrants are not a monolithic group, because they differ in many aspects, e.g., their legal status, country of origin, or length of stay. Adding to this complexity, receiving societies also differ in terms of their policies and ideologies regarding "integration", how experienced, willing, and ready they are to integrate immigrants. To capture this heterogeneity, contextualized studies as in this book are needed to better understand pre-conditions, processes, and outcomes of adaptation of different groups of immigrants living in increasingly "super-diverse" societies.

This book aims to contribute to a better understanding of the complexity of immigrant and refugee resilience by collecting 12 theoretical, empirical, and intervention-based studies. When people move, their cultural context, hence the meaning system surrounding them, also changes. Realizing cultural differences in understanding the self, relationships, and the world and learning new ways of existence lie at the heart of the adjustment of both immigrants and the members of the receiving society (Sam & Berry, 2010). All chapters collected for this book unpack

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the role of culture and acculturation from a developmental or social psychological perspective.

Migration, whether forced or voluntary, permanent or temporary, documented or undocumented, can be both a challenging and empowering experience for national and international immigrants. Challenges arise from interrupted life courses, loss of social support and status, unpredictability of the future, broken family ties, structural barriers for social and economic integration, homesickness, discrimination, and identity confusion, all of which require major personal and collective effort to overcome. Given the prevalence of heightened mental health problems of immigrants, psychologists have typically focused on identifying vulnerabilities, pathologies, losses, conflicts, and many other problematic aspects of immigrant and refugee adjustment. As a result, the default mode of psychological research has been the examination of psychological barriers that complicate the adjustment process and undermine the integration of immigrants in academic, work, and other intercultural spheres. However, a focus on problems and vulnerabilities is limited given that many immigrants and refugees do well, even thrive, when they are able to navigate to or negotiate for relevant resources (Ungar, 2008). Therefore, more research is needed on resources, processes, strengths, competencies that empower immigrants and refugees, and the qualities of their socio-ecologies that facilitate their good adjustment.

Contrary to the deficit perspective, a resilience perspective sheds light on processes causing average or good adaptation despite having faced adversities (Masten, 2014). There are many different definitions of resilience (Southwick, Bonanno, Masten, Panter-Brick, & Yehuda, 2014), but basically, resilience is an inferred capacity when observing a positive or average outcome despite the presence of risks and high odds for psychopathology (Masten, 2014). Importantly, a resilience perspective acknowledges the role of context, or the quality of exchange between individuals and their settings that are mutually beneficial and conducive to positive outcomes (Lerner, 2006). This relational or contextual nature of resilience is evident when different adjustment outcomes are observed among individuals who are exposed to the same risks. Person x context interactions also explain why the same prevention or intervention attempts result in different outcomes in different contexts. Thus, a resilience framework provides a unique theoretical perspective in understanding the conditions and processes for positive outcomes before, during, and after migration. A socio-ecological understanding of resilience, therefore, focusses on the qualities of dynamic and interacting socio-ecological systems. The assumption is that when facing adversities, the locus of change does not reside in either the individual or the environment alone, but in the processes by which environments provide meaningful resources that are accessible by individuals (Ungar, 2011). Outcomes at the individual level are understood as results of interactive adaptive processes caused by individual-level and system-level capacities.

Whereas resilience is an outcome of immigrants' interaction with their social ecology (family, school, neighborhood, community), the role of culture in resilience has been typically ignored. Some resilience researchers have proposed ways of integrating culture as a key social ecology that determines the paths and processes of

resilience (e.g., Panter-Brick & Eggerman, 2012; Ungar, 2008). However, the applications of these perspectives to immigrant and refugee resilience are rare (Arrington & Wilson, 2000; Castro & Murray, 2010). Extant studies tend to focus on culture solely in terms of what immigrants bring with them, such as cultural identities based on ethnicity or religion, fostering the assumption that resilience lies in certain attributes of individuals. However, research on the role of ethnic identity is far from conclusive. For example, while a strong co-ethnic identification emerged as a meaningful contributor to resilience among various groups of immigrant youth (e.g., Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, & Chance, 2010), it was also found to be a risk factor for depression among undocumented Latino/a immigrants (e.g., Cobb, Xie, Meca, Schwartz, 2017). Similarly, immigrant generations were found to be variably at risk in the United States and Europe, leading to doubts for the generalizability of a well-known "immigrant paradox" (i.e., attenuated health advantage in successive generations) outside the United States (Motti-Stefanidi & Coll, 2018). These striking differences between immigrant groups call for specific attention to contextualizing resilience by unpacking the reciprocal relations between individuals and their immediate and larger sociocultural environments.

To this end, the chapters of this book provide theoretical and empirical insights for various systematic ways of applying cultural and acculturation perspectives to resilience in different immigrant and refugee groups and their receiving communities. Each chapter delineates the role of cultural contexts, cultural meanings, or cultural participation in various positive outcomes in the face of risks and challenges.

The book contains three sections consisting of integrative theoretical perspectives, theory-based empirical studies, and promotive applications that contextualize immigrant and refugee resilience. Part I presents recent and novel theoretical approaches that relate immigrant children and youth resilience to its sociocultural context and acculturation. Part II consists of quantitative and qualitative studies on various immigrant and refugee groups and generations. Part III contains examples of promotive and preventive approaches to enhance resilience.

Part I presents integrative theoretical perspectives on immigrant children and youth resilience in various life spheres. The resilience models presented in this section aim to disentangle age-related, cultural, and acculturative challenges and identify assets and resources toward positive adaptation. In Chapter 2, Frosso Motti-Stefanidi and Ann S. Masten provide an integrated cultural and developmental science approach to analyse the resilience of immigrants. Development always emerges from interactions of individuals with their contexts. The authors argue that culture is an integral part of defining and understanding resilience, because the criteria for evaluating positive adaptation and for defining adversities are grounded in cultural, historical, and developmental contexts. Furthermore, immigrant youth live and grow in the context of at least two cultures. The encounter of different sociocultural groups brings cultural change in both immigrant and non-immigrant individuals, even though the acculturation changes may be greater for immigrants. The chapter discusses the core concepts and principles of a developmental resilience framework, examines the role of culture in resilience, and examines the role of

acculturation in the conceptualization of immigrant youth resilience and presents an integrative conceptual framework.

In Chapter 3, Philipp Jugert and Peter F. Titzmann present an integrative review of empirical findings on the impact of acculturation on the mastering of developmental tasks among immigrant youth. Developmental tasks describe societal expectations about milestones that should be reached by individuals in specific life phases. Because developmental tasks are tied to societal expectations, they are influenced by sociocultural changes across historical periods and differ between sociocultural groups. For each of the eight developmental tasks suggested by Simpson (2001), the authors review empirical evidence on how acculturative challenges hamper or foster the successful attainment of these normative developmental tasks among immigrant youth. The authors demonstrate that all eight developmental tasks are affected by immigration or minority-related experiences and call for more carefully designed comparative future research to gain an even deeper understanding between the interplay of development and acculturation in the adolescent years.

Metin Özdemir and Sevgi Bayram Özdemir introduce a novel four-fold classification of adjustment outcomes and provide a literature review on educational outcomes of immigrant children and youth in Chapter 4. In their conceptual model, four groups of adjusted individuals are distinguished based on the interaction between risk conditions and the nature of adjustment outcomes. Individuals who display positive adaptation in high-risk conditions are resilient, individuals who display positive adaptation in low-risk conditions are competent, individuals who display poor adaptation in high-risk conditions are vulnerable, and individuals who display poor adaptation in low-risk conditions are fragile. The literature review demonstrates that the vast majority of studies conducted on different indicators of educational outcomes of immigrant children and youth such as academic performance or psychological school adjustment did not consider different subgroups of (mal)adjusted youth, but usually compared the mean levels of different outcomes between (different groups of) immigrant and non-immigrant youth. The authors demonstrate that the mean-level comparison approach is biased against immigrant youth, because it neglects the existing heterogeneity within immigrant youth and recommend person-oriented approaches of data analyses in future studies.

Part II contains theoretically informed empirical perspectives on immigrant and refugee resilience. In Chapter 5, Sophie D. Walsh and Eugene Tartakovsky focus on the attitudes of the host population towards immigrants and introduce a threat-benefit model of appraisal of immigrant groups. The model proposes that local populations appraise immigrant groups as representing a number of different threats and benefits that vary according to the characteristics of the immigrant group, the receiving society, and the value preference of the individual doing the appraisal. The authors suggest that the positive appraisal of immigrants and the ability of a host population to promote immigrants' rights and welfare represent a form of societal resilience. Based on the findings from two empirical studies, the chapter demonstrates that the host population's appraisals of certain immigrant groups are associated with their behavioural and emotional responses towards these immigrant groups.

In Chapter 6, Aysun Doğan and Dagmar Strohmeier examine different aspects of psychosocial functioning among Turkish immigrant youth living in Austria applying a risk and resilience developmental perspective. Analyses revealed that early adolescents had lower levels of psychosocial functioning compared to middle adolescents, and second-generation immigrants had higher levels of self-esteem compared to first-generation immigrants. Different forms of discrimination experiences and different acculturation variables predicted the four aspects of psychosocial functioning. High proficiency in German language and older age were the most consistent protective factors, while high levels of discrimination by peers was the most consistent risk factor for psychosocial functioning. Implications for educational practices and policies are discussed.

In Chapter 7, Derya Güngör examines the predictors of psychological and sociocultural adjustment among Turkish internal migrants who searched for a better life, education, work, security, and solace in a metropolitan city of Turkey. It was hypothesized that perceived dissimilarity between one's culture of origin and the culture of the new city and involuntary migration would be risk factors for psychological and sociocultural adjustment, while individual, relational, communal, and cultural resources would be protective factors. The analyses largely confirmed these hypotheses. Cultural distance and involuntary migration predicted less positive adjustment. Cultural and communal resources, but not individual and relational resources, emerged as protective factors against these risks. The author discusses the theoretical implications of these findings for acculturation research and the psychology of migration.

In Chapter 8, Aylin Demirli Yildiz unravels the processes underlying involuntary migration by analyzing narrations of Syrian and Iraqian asylum seekers' pre-war, war, and post-war period experiences. Qualitative data analysis revealed that hope and resilience were the underlying processes for asylum seekers to cope with life challenges in restricted environments and were the sources for their strength and motivation. Five phases of the migration process characterized by a series of goals and individual pathways were identified in the narratives. Understanding these goals, pathways, and sources of strength of asylum seekers within restricted contexts can guide social workers, counselors, and other professionals to enhance the efficacy of their practice, inform policy development and form the basis for future research.

In Chapter 9, Jaime Spatrisano, Rebecca Volino Robinson, Gloria D. Eldridge, and Rosellen M. Rosich elaborate an ecological resilience framework and examine the resilience of Nepali speaking Bhutanese refugees living in the United States. Qualitative interviews with refugees about life in Bhutan (pre-flight), refugee camps in Nepal (flight) and the United States (post-flight) were conducted. Analyses revealed a holistic interconnected and consistent view of well-being (i.e., psychological, physical, social, and spiritual). Importantly, the analyses revealed that the processes for regaining well-being despite adversity were context-dependent (e.g., Bhutan - assimilate into mainstream culture; refugee camps - work illegally for basic needs; United States - learn and follow laws). In conclusion, this study supports the conceptualization of resilience as resulting from a combination of individual and situational factors that embody cultural, contextual, and process variables.

Part III introduces examples of promotive and preventive approaches to foster resilience for immigrant youth. In Chapter 10, Steven M. Kogan and Sophie D. Walsh outline the main ideas of prevention science, give an empirical overview of prevention needs of immigrant youth, and present a heuristic framework for intervention that is tailored to the needs of immigrant youth. The heuristic framework specifies the protective processes on the community, family, peer, and intrapersonal level that are associated with positive youth development. The authors demonstrate the utility of this heuristic framework by describing the adaptations of a family skills program to suit the needs of immigrant youth. The chapter closes with prevention recommendations for program providers and program developers.

In Chapter 11, Svein E. Nergaard, Hildegunn Fandrem, Hanne Jahnsen, and Kirsti Tveitereid investigate how different indicators of inclusion are experienced and emphasized in multicultural classrooms in Norway. A resilience perspective was adopted because immigrant pupils may be in a more vulnerable situation compared to their native peers in terms of feeling included in a class. A thematic analysis showed that although most youth described their classrooms as safe and secure, the feeling of membership in a subgroup seemed to be stronger than the feeling of membership in the class, especially among the immigrant youth. Acceptance of diversity seemed to be the norm; however, diversity did not seem to be appreciated, encouraged or used in teacher practices aiming to increase feelings of inclusion. The authors discussed these results in relation to the vision of inclusive education, which posited that all pupils should learn together as a class community.

Finally, in Chapter 12, Dagmar Strohmeier, Elisabeth Stefanek, Takuya Yanagida, and Olga Solomontos-Kountouri examined whether the implementation of a whole school anti-bullying program was able to increase cross-cultural friendships among non-immigrant and immigrant youth. The social competence project was implemented over a period of 1 year and structured to foster the cross-cultural friendship potential in the classes by utilizing equal status, common goals, cooperation, and authority support. Controlling for several class-level variables, multilevel growth modelling revealed no program effects regarding reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences. However, a buffer effect on unilateral same cultural friendship preferences among Turkish immigrant youth was found. The value of real-world teacher-led contact interventions to foster cross-cultural friendships was discussed.

In summary, this volume brings together researchers from different parts of the world who shed light on the conditions, processes, and contexts of the resilience of different groups of immigrants and refugees. The chapters provide evidence that it is important to take the cultural contexts and acculturative pathways into account when studying and promoting resilience. The book aims to develop an awareness of the importance of the migration context in providing and facilitating meaningful resources as well as of the resources of immigrants and refugees that are otherwise being overlooked, ignored, or undervalued by the dominant non-immigrant groups researchers, and policy makers. Identifying and mobilizing these resources to enhance immigrants' and refugees' resilience do not only advance the scientific knowledge, they also contribute to the well-being and welfare of the societies as a whole. Therefore, it is our ultimate hope that this book will help academics, stu-

dents, policymakers, and service providers to gain insight on the culturally determined dynamics underlying resilience and, eventually, form a building block in understanding what it takes to create a resilient society and community in an increasingly globalizing and interacting world.

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Part I
Integrative Theoretical Perspectives to Immigrant Youth Resilience

Chapter 2
Immigrant Youth Resilience: Integrating Developmental and Cultural Perspectives

Frosso Motti-Stefanidi and Ann S. Masten

Millions of young people reside in countries different from those where they or their parents were born. Their families may have migrated voluntarily to seek a better future or they may have been forcibly displaced by war and atrocities. Increasing, often unprecedented, rates of immigration are changing the face of receiving societies, with ethnic diversity becoming the rule rather than the exception in most Western countries. Public opinion has not always been positive in light of these changes, which can be accompanied by economic and political conflicts. In Europe, additionally, recent terrorist attacks have fueled heated public debates over immigration and diversity (Motti-Stefanidi & Salmela-Aro, 2018).

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, a key barometer of how well immigrants are integrated in receiving societies is the adaptive success of their children (OECD, 2012). This observation is particularly important because positive adaptation in childhood and adolescence is a harbinger of future adaptation, and failure to adapt early in life may have negative and possibly cascading consequences for the future (Huebner et al., 2016; Masten, 2014b). Thus, positive adaptation of young immigrants is consequential for the future success and well-being of both immigrants and receiving societies (Motti-Stefanidi & Salmela-Aro, 2018).

Substantial diversity in immigrant youth adaptation has been observed, with many young immigrants following positive developmental pathways, whereas others fare less well (García Coll & Marks, 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017;

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Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015; Suárez-Orozco, Motti-Stefanidi, Marks, & Katsiaficas, 2018). To explain individual and group differences in the quality of adaptation among immigrant youth, it is important to acknowledge that immigrant children, like all children, are developing organisms, and that development always emerges from interactions of individuals with their contexts. Cognitive, affective, and social developmental processes, as well as normative developmental contexts, such as family, school, and peer group, all play a role in their adaptation and development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Furthermore, immigrant youth live and grow in the context of at least two cultures. The encounter of different ethnic groups in the course of migration brings cultural change in both immigrant and nonimmigrant individuals, even though these acculturation changes may be greater for immigrants (Berry & Sam, 2016). Consequently, acculturation is a significant influence on the quality of adaptation of immigrant youth. In addition, immigrant youth face unique contextual influences not faced by their nonimmigrant peers, including discrimination and prejudice. As a result, explaining variation in immigrant youth adaptation requires integration of developmental, acculturative, and social psychological perspectives (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012).

In this chapter, we address the question, "Who among immigrant youth do well and why?" Immigrant youth in this chapter refer to individuals who migrated themselves (first generation) or who were born in the receiving country to immigrant parents (second generation). Our approach is grounded in a developmental resilience framework that integrates acculturation and social psychological perspectives (Motti-Stefanidi, 2018; Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018).

The chapter includes four sections. First, we discuss core concepts and principles of a developmental resilience framework to set the stage for organizing extant scientific evidence examining immigrant youth adaptation. Second, we examine the role of culture in resilience. The third section examines the role of acculturation in the conceptualization of immigrant youth resilience. The fourth section presents an integrative conceptual framework for describing and understanding group and individual differences in immigrant youth adaptation, integrating acculturation and social psychological perspectives into the developmental resilience framework.

Developmental Resilience Framework

Resilience science is a close "cousin" of developmental psychopathology, with many intertwined roots and common perspectives (Masten & Kalstabakken, 2018). Both perspectives study normative adaptation as well as deviations from the norm, viewing divergent pathways as mutually informative (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1996). The full range of functioning among individuals exposed to adversity are studied, aiming to understand processes leading to positive adaptation and mental health, as well as problematic pathways.

Resilience is manifested in observable pathways and patterns of positive adaptation during or following significant risk or adversity (Masten, 2014b). In contemporary resilience science, from a developmental systems perspective, resilience refers to the capacity for adapting effectively to significant challenges (Masten, 2018a). Individuals draw on complex internal, relational, and external resources and adaptive tools to counter adversity and adapt in response to disturbances, yielding resistance, recovery, or transformation. Resilience is a dynamic process because individuals, their relationships, and their environments are always changing. It is not a trait, although there are characteristics of individuals that support positive adaptation under many circumstances, such as good problem-solving skills and self-regulation. The capacity of an individual to respond effectively to a challenge will depend on the nature of the challenge, its developmental timing, and protective processes embedded in the organism, relationships with other people, and external systems.

Two basic judgments are required to identify manifested resilience or infer resilience capacity in an individual: (a) whether the individual is functioning or adapting adequately well, by some explicit criteria and, (b) whether there is currently or has been a serious threat to the adaptive function or development of the individual (i.e., adversity, risks, stress; Masten, 2014b). If a young person clearly has experienced adversity and subsequently shows what is judged to be positive adaptation, then it is reasonable to infer that resilience (i.e., capacity for adaptation to this adversity) was present and made this possible, even if the processes are not well understood. In the absence of a challenge, when many resources and established protections are clearly available (and measurable), then it would be reasonable to expect the individual to manifest resilience when challenged, but that is not a certainty until it actually happens. Resilience refers to available capacity for responding well to challenges, whereas manifested resilience refers to the adaptive outcomes (e.g., well-being, school success) that resilience makes possible. Typically, we infer resilience from its manifestations in successful adaptation during or following adversity.

Successful human adaptation can be judged on the basis of different criteria, ranging from happiness or health to academic or work achievement. A key index of positive adaptation in children and youth is how well they are doing with respect to age-salient developmental tasks (Masten, 2014b). These tasks reflect the expectations and standards for behavior and achievement that parents, teachers, and society set for them, and that they themselves usually come to share. Developmental tasks can be organized in broad domains, such as individual development, relationships with parents, teachers, and peers, and functioning in the proximal environment and in the broader social world (Sroufe, Egeland, Carlson, & Collins, 2005). Positive adaptation with respect to developmental tasks may be judged based on external behavior, such as success in school, having close friends/being accepted (and not rejected) by peers, exhibiting positive conduct, civic engagement, or on internal adaptation, such as development of self-control, of a cohesive and integrated sense of identity, and an increasing individuation and independence from parents (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). Success in meeting these developmental expectations and standards for behavior and achievement does not require that children

exhibit "ideal" effectiveness, but rather that they are doing "adequately well" (OK) with respect to developmental tasks (Masten, Narayan, Silverman, & Osofsky, 2015).

The second criterion for inferring resilience is that the individual has experienced threat, trauma, or negative life events which predict higher rates of problematic and undesirable outcomes (Masten, 2014b). Without the presence of risk, positive adaptation is not necessarily a manifestation of resilience, although it is a sign of competence. In resilience science, a wide range of risks and threats to adaptation and development have been studied, including sociodemographic risk indices (e.g., low SES, immigrant status, single parent family), exposure to traumatic and stressful experiences (e.g., maltreatment, discrimination, community violence, war, natural disasters), or biological markers of risk (e.g., low birth weight, physical illness). It was noted early in the literature on risk in development that adverse conditions and events often pile up in the lives of children, with evidence of a dose–response relationships between level of cumulative risk and indicators of worse outcomes in multiple domains of function or achievement (Obradović, Shaffer, & Masten, 2012).

An important goal of resilience research is to explain why some individuals do well while others falter in the context of high cumulative risk or exposure to a specific adversity. Two major categories of resilience factors have been described: promotive factors and protective factors (Masten, 2014b). *Promotive factors*, directly associated with better outcomes regardless of risk level (Sameroff, 2000), are also referred to as assets, resources, compensatory factors, or social and human capital. They promote positive adaptation both in high- and low-risk conditions. *Protective factors*, on the other hand, show greater importance when risk or adversity is high, reflecting interaction effects; they appear to moderate or buffer against risk (Rutter, 1987). The expected positive link between the protective factor and adaptation is either more pronounced or only present when risk is high. Some factors fit both categories. Good parenting, for example, promotes positive development at any risk level but also has particularly important roles among high-risk children (Masten, 2014b; Masten & Palmer, 2019).

Resilience factors reflect processes that can be studied at multiple levels of context and analysis (Luthar, Crossman, & Small, 2015; Masten & Cicchetti, 2016; Ungar, 2012). Research is underway to identify resilience processes within and across different levels of analysis and function, including neurobiology (e.g., epigenetic, stress regulation, brain plasticity), behavior (e.g., self-control, problem-solving skills), social systems (e.g., caregiving, perceived social support), and other key systems important to the lives of young people and their families, such as education, health care, religion, public safety, and both governmental and nongovernmental systems (Masten, 2018b; Masten & Cicchetti, 2015; Ungar, 2018). For example, interventions to improve the quality of caregiving by parents or foster caregivers (social level) has effects on the stress regulation system of young children (biological level); results are congruent with biological embedding of protection and cascade effects across levels (see Masten & Palmer, 2019).

Core principles of developmental systems theory guide the study of resilience as well as developmental psychopathology (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1996; Masten & Cicchetti, 2016). Three principles are of particular relevance to this chapter. First,

individual development is coherent, and adaptive functioning shows continuity over time (Sroufe et al., 2005). The coherence of individual development is reflected in the observation that the way developmental tasks of an earlier stage are negotiated prepared individuals for the developmental tasks of the future. Accomplishing earlier developmental tasks increases the probability of subsequent successful adaptation, and, as a result, promotes continuity in adaptive functioning. Indeed, one of the reasons that parents and communities take note of developmental task achievements is because they know that competence in these tasks are a harbinger of future competence and success (Obradović et al., 2012).

The argument that adaptive functioning shows continuity over time, however, does not preclude the possibility for change. According to a second principle, called multifinality, individuals with similar levels or quality of adaptation at an earlier point may follow different developmental trajectories over time (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1996). Both risks and resources for positive adaptation and development stem from interactions of the individuals (genetic and hormonal systems, personality, and cognition) with the proximal environment (e.g., family and school systems) and distal ecology (e.g., governmental or societal systems) in which their life is embedded (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

A third principle emphasizes the role of children themselves in this process. Children are active agents and processors in their own experiences and thus shape their own development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). They are expected to exert their human agency, influencing the course of their own development, within the opportunities and constraints of historical and social circumstances.

The Role of Culture in Resilience

Early research on resilience in children was studied primarily in North America and Great Britain, with limited attention to cultural issues (Luthar et al., 2015; Masten & Cichetti, 2016). Culture is a socially interactive process of construction including shared activity between its members in the form of cultural practices and shared meaning expressed as cultural interpretation (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003). In multiple ways, however, culture was always present, implicitly, in every aspect of a resilience framework, from the criteria of adaptation identified as developmental tasks or desirable adjustment to the conceptualizations of assets and protective processes. It is, thus, an integral part of defining and understanding the phenomenon of resilience (Motti-Stefanidi, 2018).

The criteria for evaluating positive adaptation are always grounded in cultural and historical, as well as developmental, contexts (Masten, 2014b; McCormick, Kuo, & Masten, 2011; Theron, Liebenberg, & Ungar, 2015). What is considered desirable behavior and accomplishments varies over the course of development, historical time, and culture. For example, the salience of these developmental tasks has varied across historical and developmental time, as well as cultures: learning to hunt or to weave; going to school; learning to read; or working outside the home.

Similarly, cultural perspectives influence what is viewed as a risk factor and also the interpretation of adversity. For example, some kinds of trauma may be viewed as worse for one gender than another, because of cultural perspectives on the experience. Thus, research on child soldiers and other victims of war has found that young girls in multiple cultures experience more stigma from rape trauma than young boys (Masten et al., 2015).

Culture also profoundly shapes the form and practices of fundamental protective influences, including parenting, faith, or social support. Diverse studies from around the world have implicated a broad set of such protective factors in human resilience (Masten, 2001) and these continue to be corroborated (Masten & Cicchetti, 2016). These include close relationships, problem-solving skills, self-regulation, self-efficacy, hope, and belief that life has meaning. Masten (2001) suggested that these represent powerful human adaptive systems and capabilities that evolved in biological and cultural evolution because they promote adaptation and survival under diverse circumstances. Yet the actual behaviors practiced by loving and effective parents or recognized as good self-regulation and thus encouraged by families and communities in their socialization practices can vary widely. Similarly, different religions embody protective influences in their spiritual beliefs and practices, social supports, and rituals for coping with the challenges of life (Crawford, Wright, & Masten, 2006).

Additionally, cultures can provide unique protective practices and beliefs that convey resilience (Masten, 2014a, 2014b). The unique traditions of diverse human cultures undoubtedly encompass a wealth of strategies and practices passed down from generation to generation intended implicitly or explicitly to support the resilience of individuals and families over the life course (Greenfield, Suzuki, & Rothstein-Fisch, 2006). Until recently, however, the rich array of such protective beliefs and traditions have been the province of cultural anthropologists rather than resilience scientists.

Over the past two decades, research on the role of culture in resilience has surged. Ungar (2012) proposed a social ecological model of resilience that stresses the role of culture and context. Ungar and colleagues founded the Resilience Research Centre in Halifax which has played a leading role in facilitating international research and conferences on the role of culture in resilience (Theron et al., 2015). This group has generated a considerable body of quantitative and qualitative data, both expanding and challenging traditional resilience models.

Other evidence of this shift to consider the cultural aspect more deeply in resilience science can be found in recent theory, research, reviews, and conferences (Masten, 2014a, 2018b). The World Bank sponsored a book that reviewed, through the lens of a resilience developmental framework, international evidence on the effect of global economic recessions on youth's adaptation, development, and mental health (Lundberg & Wuermli, 2012). Similarly, cross-cultural studies, conducted primarily in North America and Europe and focusing on immigrant youth acculturation and development, also contributed to our understanding of resilience in cultural context (García Coll & Marks, 2012; Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018).

Culture also guided interventions based on resilience models. Interventions to improve parenting have had success across cultures, particularly when the programs are adapted to the cultural context. For example, the Oregon Model of Parent Management Training has shown efficacy in multiple studies and diverse cultures (Forgatch & Gewirtz, 2017). The Incredible Years program developed by Webster-Stratton (1987) and colleagues has been adapted for other cultures, with growing evidence of efficacy (Leijten, Raaijmakers, Orobio de Castro, van den Ban, & Matthys, 2017). Similarly, humanitarian agencies that intervene in diverse cultures and countries have increasingly adopted a resilience framework with a cultural lens (Masten, 2014a). Some agencies aim to stimulate child survival and thriving (Black et al., 2017; Britto, Engle, & Super, 2013) while others promote recovery from war or aim to support refugees of war and other disasters (e.g., Panter-Brick et al., 2017). There is growing recognition that humanitarian interventions must be culturally sensitive and grounded.

The Role of Acculturation in Immigrant Youth Resilience

Migration brings individuals of different cultures into contact. The concept of acculturation refers to cultural changes that result from this contact (Berry & Sam, 2016). However, often migrants move to cultures that prioritize different values and promote different behavioral repertoires in their children, compared to their culture of origin (Bornstein, 2017; Greenfield et al., 2003; Kağitçibaşi, 2012). Immigrants' cultures of origin in recent decades often have a more collectivistic orientation, emphasizing the well-being of a collective, such as connection to the family, orientation toward the larger group, respect, and obedience (Greenfield et al., 2003; Kağitçibaşi, 2012). The needs of the individual in such cultural models are less important. The boundaries of the self in these cultures tend to overlap with those of close others and the development of a heteronomous-related self is the key developmental goal (Kağitçibaşi, 2012). The preferred endpoint of development in the collectivistic model is a mature, non-questioning, respectful, obedient, caring, polite adult who is embedded in a network of relationships and responsibilities to others (Greenfield et al., 2006).

In contrast, the cultures of receiving societies often have a more individualistic orientation. They tend to prioritize values promoting self-enhancement, such as personal choice (vs. obligation) in social relationships, intrinsic motivation (being internally driven to achieve one's goals), self-esteem (feeling good about oneself as key to positive outcomes), and reaching one's full potential (Greenfield et al., 2003; Kağitçibaşi, 2012). The self in these cultures is clearly bounded and separate from others, and the development of an autonomous-separate self is an important developmental goal (Kağitçibaşi, 2012). The preferred endpoint of development in the individualistic model is an independent, autonomous, self-fulfilled, self-reliant adult, who is assertive, competitive, and decisive.

Ideal endpoints of development, which are culturally defined, serve as developmental goals for socialization agents. Parents, teachers, and society set for children and youth, and promote, the achievement of developmental goals which will lead the latter to these culturally defined preferred endpoints of development (Greenfield et al., 2003). However, immigrant families and their children may have to deal with the conflicting values of the ethnic and receiving cultures. Parents, who represent a particular ethnic culture, may consider a sign of positive adaptation that their adolescent children be close to the family, respectful, and obedient, whereas teachers, who represent the receiving culture, may expect them to become independent, self-reliant, assertive, and competitive (Kağitçibaşi, 2012). This challenge for immigrant families and their children becomes greater with the larger cultural distance between ethnic and receiving cultures (Sam & Berry, 2016; Bornstein, 2017).

Similarly, parenting practices that are considered normal and expected in some cultures may seem problematic and even abusive in others. For example, controlling and at times punitive parenting is widely implemented in collectivistic cultures, although it takes place in a family context of relatedness and warmth (Kağitçibaşi, 2012). Such parenting is labeled as "authoritarian" and viewed as a risk factor for youth's positive adaptation in many individualistic cultures. However, its effects on child development and well-being depend to a large extent on how children perceive these parenting practices in their cultural context. For example, Lansford et al. (2010) reported that even though corporal punishment predicted anxiety among children across countries in their study, the adverse effect of corporal punishment was more pronounced in countries in which it was less normative.

In an immigration context, the question arises whether and how parents' and teachers' ideas about positive adaptation in youth, who may represent different cultural models, can be reconciled. How can young immigrants make sense of these contradicting values and find an acculturative strategy that works for navigating multiple cultures?

Immigrant Youth Resilience: An Integrative Conceptual Framework

A culturally grounded, developmental model of resilience can provide the structure for asking research questions related to risk (is being an immigrant a risk factor for adaptation and why?) and promotive or protective influences (why do some immigrant youth do well while others do less well?) for immigrant youth adaptation. Furthermore, the integration of acculturation and social psychological perspectives into the resilience model can guide the formulation of specific research questions and hypotheses acknowledging the fact that immigrant youth are developing and acculturating at the same time, in the context of at least two cultures and of challenging social conditions.

To understand the diversity in immigrant youth adaptation, Motti-Stefanidi and colleagues (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018) developed a multilevel integrative framework. This framework was influenced by theory from multiple fields, but especially the following conceptual approaches: Masten's (2014b) developmental resilience framework; Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006); Berry's cultural transmission model (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006); and the three-level model of immigrant adaptation proposed by Verkuyten (2005), a social psychologist studying issues of ethnicity and migration.

The framework has three levels. The individual level refers to youth's personal attributes, such as their personality, cognition, and motivation. The level of interaction is focused on youth's proximal contexts, such as the school, the family, and neighborhoods, which constitute their lived space and where they are in direct contact with close others (parents, teachers, peers). These contexts constitute important influences both for immigrant youth's development and acculturation. Some represent the home culture (family, ethnic peers, ethnic group) and others the receiving culture (school, native peers). Finally, the societal level refers to cultural beliefs, social representations, and ideologies, as well as to social position variables (e.g., social class, immigrant status, ethnicity) that have an impact on immigrants' adaptation.

The three levels of the model are interconnected and nested within each other. Influences from each of these levels of context may promote, or may instead present challenges or obstacles for immigrant youth adaptation. Thus, they may function either as risk, or as promotive and/or protective factors.

Criteria for Positive Adaptation

The integrative model has implications for the criteria for evaluating the quality of immigrant youth adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018). For young immigrants, it is important to consider not only how well they deal with age-appropriate developmental tasks but also how well they negotiate acculturative tasks and manage the challenges of acculturation. An additional index of immigrant youth resilience to consider is their psychological well-being and mental health.

Immigrant youth, like all youth, face the developmental tasks of their historical time and developmental age (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). However, they live and grow in the context of at least two cultures, i.e. the culture of origin, mainly represented by their family, and the receiving culture, mainly represented by their school. Some of the developmental goals that parents and teachers hold for young immigrants may agree but other goals may be seriously at odds. For example, immigrant parents and teachers usually share in the goals and expectations for immigrant youth to be engaged, do well, and exhibit positive conduct in school (García Coll & Marks, 2012). They also agree that a young person should form an identity and

commit to key life goals. However, they may well differ on how they expect the young person to achieve these goals (Côté, 2009; Motti-Stefanidi, 2015).

Young immigrants also are faced with acculturative challenges as they address developmental tasks (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). An important acculturative challenge that they confront is the development of cultural competence in two or more cultures (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). Multiculturally competent immigrant youth are able to communicate effectively in ethnic and national languages, have friends from both their ethnic and the national group, know the values and practices of both groups, and are able to "code-switch" between languages and cultures as necessary. A related criterion is the development of strong and secure ethnic and national identities, which is another aspect of acculturation (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Thus, an important criterion of positive adaptation with respect to acculturative tasks is that immigrant youth learn and maintain both ethnic cultures and receiving cultures (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). In a meta-analysis, Nguyen and Benet-Martinez (2013) found an overall positive association between biculturalism and adjustment. They also found that bicultural individuals tended to be as psychologically adjusted (e.g., higher self-esteem) as they were adjusted with respect to developmental tasks (e.g., better academic achievement and conduct); all three being key indices of positive adaptation for immigrant youth.

Another key goal is that immigrant youth make sense of, navigate between, and bridge their different worlds (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Motti-Stefanidi, 2018). To achieve this goal, they need to select, interpret, resist, or manage competing messages stemming from their families, schools, peers, as well as from the media, and actively construct their own unique working models of culture (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013). These models of culture will help them accommodate the often-contradictory messages emanating from parents, peers, and teachers. The degree to which they achieve this goal is another sign of positive adaptation.

Finally, psychological well-being is often viewed as a key criterion of immigrant youth adaptation. The presence of self-esteem and life satisfaction and the absence of anxiety and/or emotional symptoms are common indices of psychological well-being used by both developmental and acculturative researchers (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Masten, 2014a).

In multiple ways, developmental and acculturative tasks are closely linked. Performance with respect to these tasks may reflect both how development and acculturation are proceeding (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). For example, to maintain positive relations with parents, which is an important developmental task during adolescence, presupposes that immigrant youth are able to strike a balance, through the processes of accommodation and negotiation with parents, between demands for autonomy and willingness to adhere to family values, which is an acculturative task (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013; Kwak, 2003).

Moreover, immigrant adolescents, like all adolescents, need to have friends, and be accepted by their peers (regardless of the ethnicity of these peers), which is an

important developmental task. At the same time, they also need to learn to navigate successfully between intra- and inter-ethnic peers, which is an important acculturative task (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Titzmann, 2014). Evaluations about the adaptation of immigrant youth with respect to peer relations rests on both these criteria (Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf, & Masten, 2012; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018).

Developmental and acculturative tasks are also intricately linked over time. The acquisition of acculturative tasks is in some cases expected to precede the acquisition of developmental tasks. For example, immigrant youth's competence in the language of the receiving country, a key acculturative task, is crucial for doing well academically in school, which is a developmental task (e.g. Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008).

Risks

A key step for testing a resilience model of immigrant youth adaptation is to establish risk: Is immigrant status a risk factor for youth's adaptation? Studies conducted particularly in North America reveal a mixture of vulnerability and resilience. An immigrant paradox has been described, whereby immigrant youth adaptation is more positive than expected and, in some cases, better than the adaptation of their nonimmigrant peers (Berry et al., 2006), or first-generation immigrants are found to be better adapted than later-generation immigrants (García Coll & Marks, 2012), whose adaptation converges with that of their nonimmigrant peers (Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto, & Virta, 2008). Studies conducted mainly in the USA and Canada show that first-generation immigrant children exhibit fewer risky behaviors, such as substance use and abuse, unprotected sex, and delinquency, have more positive attitudes toward school, and present fewer internalizing problems than their second-generation counterparts. However, the immigrant paradox has not been observed consistently. It seems to depend to a large extent on the domain of adaptation and the ethnic group (García Coll & Marks, 2012), an observation congruent with Bornstein's (2017) specificity principle, asserting that one needs to focus on variations as well as commonalities to understand among contemporary migrants and their circumstances.

In Europe one finds less evidence of an immigrant paradox. In a comparative study including five European countries, Sam et al. (2008) found some support for the immigrant paradox in two of these countries (Sweden and Finland), particularly for adaptation with respect to developmental tasks, such as school adjustment and conduct, but not with respect to psychological well-being. In contrast to expectations, second-generation immigrant youth reported better psychological well-being compared both to their first-generation counterparts and to national peers. Furthermore, a meta-analysis based on 51 studies conducted across the European continent revealed that immigrant status was a risk factor for academic adjustment and externalizing and internalizing problems (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, & van de Vijver,

2016). Nonetheless, although immigrant status has been linked to worse academic achievement, school engagement, and conduct in some studies, it has not been linked consistently to worse psychological well-being (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf, & Masten, 2012).

To consider whether immigrant status is a risk factor for adaptation problems, it is important to identify an informative and appropriate comparison group. Studies often compare immigrant youth to their nonimmigrant peers. However, such comparisons may lead to the conclusion that immigrant youth are inferior in some way. This "deficit" approach to the study of immigrant youth adaptation has been denounced in favor of studying immigrant youth adaptation in its own right (e.g., Garcia Coll, Akerman, & Cicchetti, 2000).

Another related issue concerns the values by which to evaluate immigrant youth adaptation. Should the point of reference be the values of the receiving country or those of immigrants' home country?

Motti-Stefanidi and Masten (2017) argued that there is no uniform answer to these questions. Instead, it depends on the domain of adaptation. Behaviors and achievements that belong to the public (functional, utilitarian) domain (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006) and have consequences for immigrant youth's future adaptation in the receiving society should be compared to those of their nonimmigrant peers. For example, two widely used criteria for doing adequately well in school are receiving grades comparable to the normative performance of nonimmigrant students and staying in school rather than leaving school early. These criteria indicate that immigrant youth development and acculturation are proceeding well, and they are important harbingers of future adaptation in the receiving society. However, a different approach may need to be adopted when the focus is on private values related to linguistic and cultural activities, to religious expression, and to the domestic and interpersonal domains of the family. We cannot compare immigrant youth and their families with their nonimmigrant counterparts to evaluate risks or success in these areas (Motti-Stefanidi, 2018). It is more informative in these cultural and private spheres to judge adaptation from the perspective of cultural informants or through comparisons to peers in communities of origin.

Complications also can arise when values of immigrating cultures and receiving host cultures collide in areas of legal standards and human rights. Receiving societies often prohibit child marriage, for example, regardless of traditions in an immigrating culture. Similarly, conflicts and prohibitions arise over cultural practices that violate children's basic human rights under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. For example, punitive child-rearing, trafficking of children, or female genital mutilation violate international standards of children's rights and also have adverse effects on youth's development and mental health (Petersen, Koller, Motti-Stefanidi, & Verma, 2016).

Being an immigrant is linked to a host of social challenges. Thus, immigrants often face normative developmental and immigration-specific challenges in a societal context replete with prejudice and discrimination. Perceived discrimination has been shown to have deleterious consequences on immigrant youth's adaptation with respect to developmental tasks, psychological well-being, and mental health (Marks,

Ejesi, McCullough, & García Coll, 2015; Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016). It is a risk factor for academic outcomes, for conduct, as well as for mental health and psychological well-being. Furthermore, longitudinal studies show that the negative consequences of perceived discrimination tend to persist (Marks et al., 2015).

Perceived discrimination is also linked to the way immigrant youth handle acculturative tasks. Whether they feel accepted or, in contrast, discriminated against in the receiving country is related to the attitudes they will develop toward cultural adaptation in their new home and toward ethnic culture maintenance. In this line, Berry et al. (2006) in a 13-country cross-sectional study found that adolescents higher in orientation toward the receiving culture, compared to adolescents higher in cultural maintenance, reported lower discrimination.

A question arises as to the direction of effects between perceived discrimination and acculturation. A cross-lagged study conducted in Greece found that immigrant youth reporting higher involvement with the receiving culture also reported over time decreases in perceived discrimination. However, against expectations, the reverse path from higher perceived discrimination to decreases over time in involvement with the Greek culture was not significant (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, & Asendorpf, 2018). This is a question that needs to be further examined to identify when perceived discrimination is a risk, since findings may have significant policy implications.

Resources

While studies indicate risk among immigrant youth, there is also substantial variation in their adaptation. Social and personal resources may account for differences in adjustment in the context of risk. Resources for immigrant youth's positive adaptation may stem from any of the three levels of context in the integrative, multilevel conceptual model (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012). According to this model, both the individual and society (i.e., both sociocultural circumstances and structures), and human agency contribute to the diversity in their adaptation.

Why do some immigrant youth adapt well whereas others falter? This question will be addressed from multiple system levels, starting from a societal level of context and ending with the individual level. At the societal level, the acculturation ideology and acculturation preferences of receiving societies significantly contribute to the quality of immigrants' adaptation (Sam & Berry, 2016; van de Vijver, 2017). Societies that value cultural diversity and adopt a multicultural ideology support the maintenance of immigrants' ethnic culture and promote the adoption of the new culture (Sam & Berry, 2016). Receiving societies whose immigrant laws are more liberal and grant more rights to immigrants support them in learning the mainstream language and culture, help them develop a sense of belonging to the larger society, and, thus, promote immigrants' (and their children's) well-being, as well as that of society (van de Vijver, 2017).

Societal-level variables often have an impact on youth indirectly, by filtering through the contexts of youth's proximal context (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012). Two key proximal contexts that contribute to individual differences in immigrant youth adaptation are schools and families, which are key acculturative and developmental arenas for them (Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016).

Schools are an important social context for immigrant youth. They represent the receiving society and contribute both to their development and acculturation (Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016). The educational programs that foster equality and inclusion and/or value cultural pluralism reflect an acknowledgement that schools are culturally diverse (Schachner, Noack, van de Vijver, & Eckstein, 2016). Such educational programs create a classroom climate that has beneficial effects on both immigrant and nonimmigrant youth development, acculturation, and psychological well-being (Schachner et al., 2016).

Families exert significant influence on immigrant youth adaptation and, just as schools, contribute both to their acculturation and development (Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016). Parents' own acculturation (i.e., the degree to which they maintained the ethnic, and learned the receiving, culture) has an effect on their children's adaptation (Bornstein, 2017). However, immigrant parents and their children may work through acculturation issues at different rates. Children adopt characteristics of the new culture at a faster rate compared to their parents. Such differences in the rate of acculturation between parents and their children may intensify normative challenges of adolescence. The acculturation gap between them that may result in a parent–adolescent conflict are significant risk factors for immigrant adolescents' adaptation and psychological well-being (e.g. Bornstein, 2017).

In spite of a potential acculturation gap, immigrant parents often seek to find a balance between their wish that their children, on the one hand, succeed in the new culture and, on the other, adopt values rooted in the beliefs of their culture of origin. How does a potential acculturation gap affect the achievement of these parental goals? Costigan and Dokis (2006) found, in a study of Chinese-American families living in Canada, that youth's higher engagement in Canadian culture did not lead to more parent–adolescent conflict or worse adaptation, even when parents did not share their children's orientation toward the receiving culture. However, children's low orientation toward the Chinese culture was linked with adaptation difficulties when parents were themselves highly oriented toward the Chinese culture. Thus, the negative effect of an acculturation gap between immigrant parents and their children on youth's adaptation was limited to differences in the extent to which they support the ethnic culture and is unrelated to the extent to which they adopt the receiving culture.

The challenge for immigrant parents is that their internal working models of culture, specifically, their beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices, were formed in their culture of origin (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013). They bring from their home culture internalized conceptual models of the attributes and achievements that a successful adult should have, which may be at odds with the criteria for positive adaptation set by teachers and the majority culture. Thus, immigrant parents need to reevaluate and reconstruct their internal working models of culture and to adapt

their parental ethnotheories (i.e., the values and beliefs that parents consider important for their children's positive adaptation in their culture) (Harkness & Super, 1996), to their new reality (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013). Adaptive ethnotheories allow parents to transmit to their children core elements from their ethnic culture, thus "choosing their battles" (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013), and to support them in getting along and succeeding in the culture of the receiving society (Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

How can parents transmit their ethnic values to their children when the wider society is unsupportive of their efforts? Some immigrant parents use strategies which are designed to shield immigrant youth from the potentially negative influence of the receiving culture. Hughes and colleagues (Hughes et al., 2006) proposed two such strategies: (a) cultural socialization which refers to teaching children about their ethnic heritage and history, promoting cultural customs and traditions, as well as their ethnic pride, and (b) preparation for bias, whereby parents prepare their children to recognize discrimination and to be able to cope with it. Cultural socialization, in particular, has been generally linked with positive outcomes in minority youth, including higher self-esteem and ethnic identity, better academic achievement, and fewer externalizing and internalizing symptoms. However, findings regarding the effect of preparation for bias on youth's adaptation are mixed (Hughes et al., 2006).

Some immigrant families choose to reside in ethnic enclaves and enroll their children in schools of their neighborhood with high ethnic composition. Thus, they receive support from their ethnic group in their efforts to inculcate their children with the ethnic culture (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013). However, ethnic enclaves and classrooms with high ethnic composition often present a double-edge sword for immigrant youth's development and acculturation (Asendorpf & Motti-Stefanidi, 2017; Bornstein, 2017; White et al., 2017). For example, Asendorpf and Motti-Stefanidi (2017) found that at first contact in the classroom immigrant youth were less liked and had fewer friends compared to their nonimmigrant classmates. However, the classroom context differentiated these results. When immigrants were the majority in the classroom, they were more liked and had more friends than the students who were the minority. Over time, immigrant students who were the minority in their classrooms became increasingly more liked by their nonimmigrant classmates. These results suggest that classrooms with high immigrant composition may promote positive youth development. First, they promote immigrant students' positive peer relationships (to have a friend and to be liked by peers) and second, they protect them from experiences of discrimination and prejudice (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2013). However, they may at the same time contribute negatively to immigrant youth acculturation. The best outcome regarding acculturation is that immigrant youth be liked and accepted by both intra- and interethnic friends. In contrast, classrooms with low immigrant composition promote positive acculturation but present a risk for immigrants' development since they place them at risk for low peer acceptance as well as for discrimination. Overall, segregation of immigrants in classrooms with a high proportion of immigrants may not conducive to positive outcomes.

Even though the societal and proximal contexts play a significant role for immigrant youth adaptation, they are clearly not its sole determinant. Young immigrants are active agents and contribute to the diversity in their adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). As mentioned earlier, immigrant adolescents need to make sense of, navigate between, and bridge their different worlds. Toward this goal, they need to exert their personal agency and develop their own working models of culture by selecting, interpreting, resisting, or managing contradictory messages stemming from their immediate environment (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013). As Kağitçibaşi (2012) argued, they need to learn how to act willfully, particularly, in the public domain, but that they also need to keep and nurture their closely knit human ties with their family and significant others, which is important in the private domain. Thus, they will develop an autonomous-related self which will allow them to integrate the requirements of the receiving and ethnic cultures and, thus, to better adapt to both. Achieving these goals signals that both development and acculturation are on track.

Conclusions

This chapter addressed the question of "Who does well?" among immigrant youth from an integrative developmental perspective, drawing on theory and evidence from studies of resilience, acculturation, and social psychology. This question is complex because the influences of culture, development, and acculturation are highly intertwined and difficult to disentangle. The role of culture is central in understanding, first, how developmental tasks are defined and promoted by socialization agents and, second, what acculturation challenges immigrant youth face in the receiving society. Culture also sheds light on the way immigrant youth, and their families, address the acculturative challenge of living between at least two cultures. Adapting to this complex reality demands that parents and immigrant youth exert their personal agency. However, acting as an active agent may not be prominent in the behavioral repertoire of immigrant people from more collectivistic societies (Greenfield et al., 2003). One could argue that due to self-selection of who migrates, migrants are better suited compared to their compatriots to actively engage their challenges (García Coll & Marks, 2012). However, these questions remain open for investigation.

Evidence to date suggests that a number of resilience promoting influences, situated at different levels of context, play a role in immigrant youth's adaptation. An accepting and welcoming receiving society with a multicultural ideology is a key resource for immigrant youth positive adaptation. Its effect will filter mainly through schools and neighborhoods to reach immigrant youth. Evidence indicates that the societies, communities, and schools that provide supports to bolster the school and work success of immigrant youth play key positive roles, as do positive attitudes of the receiving contexts toward immigrants. Efforts to provide positive intergroup contact among students and mitigate discrimination appear to be important for the

adaptation of immigrant youth. Strategies that afford immigrant youth opportunities for positive identities as a member of the host society while also allowing youth to retain traditions and values of their home culture are associated with psychological well-being as well as success in the developmental tasks of the host context. Parents' ability to support their children in learning and maintaining their ethnic culture and in adapting to the new culture, as well as in dealing with discrimination, is another key resource. Last but not least, immigrant youth's own ability to integrate and manage competing messages and expectations stemming from their family and school will also contribute to their positive adaptation.

While there is a growing body of knowledge, nonetheless, many questions remain to be addressed on the best ways for societies, schools, and families to promote resilience of immigrant and native youth in these times of mass migration. Research has yielded important but broad clues about realizing the potential of immigrant youth for themselves and receiving societies. Much remains to be learned about the interplay of individual and cultural differences, developmental timing, and adaptive processes to inform efforts to mitigate risk and promote resilience of societies, families, and youth in the context of migration.

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Chapter 3
Developmental Tasks and Immigrant Adolescent's Adaptation

Philipp Jugert and Peter F. Titzmann

Adolescents with immigrant backgrounds[1] are simultaneously confronted with challenges and opportunities related to processes of growing up and, in addition, with challenges and opportunities related to their immigrant or minority status and related acculturative processes (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). However, development and acculturation are not just cumulative sources of influence on immigrant adolescents, they can also be intertwined so that it is sometimes difficult to disentangle them (Titzmann & Lee, 2018). The aim of this chapter is to draw attention to how development and acculturation interact.

Developmentally, individuals in the adolescent years undergo several changes that are almost universal across cultures. Biologically, this stage is marked by pubertal changes, such as hormonal changes as well as the development of primary and secondary sexual characteristics (Kulin & Müller, 1996). In addition, neuropsychological brain developments can be observed, such as decreases in gray matter (mainly consisting of cell bodies and axons with only little myelination) and

[1] Immigrant background refers to persons that have either migrated themselves or who have at least one parent that was born without citizenship of their respective country of residence (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020). Note that in a number of countries (including Germany) children of immigrants do not automatically become citizens of the country they are born in. We will try to distinguish between first and later generations of immigrant youth where this is possible. The terms immigrant background and immigrant youth are used interchangeably throughout the chapter.

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increases in white matter (e.g., long myelinated axons) (Fuhrmann, Knoll, & Blakemore, 2015). Changes in the neurological system lead to increased reward-seeking associated with higher risk-taking behavior that decreases with later developments in the brain's cognitive control system and better self-regulation (Steinberg, 2016). These biological changes are accompanied by changes in the social and psychological functioning of adolescents, such as the development of more complex relations to parents and peers (Brown & Klute, 2006) and changes in relations to parents (McElhaney, Allen, Stephenson, & Hare, 2009). These rather normative changes in the adolescent years are well represented in the concept of developmental tasks (Havighurst, 1948).

Havighurst (1948) proposed that individuals move through different stages during development and that each stage (childhood, adolescence, adulthood) is characterized by certain tasks that need to be accomplished before they can move on to the next stage. These age-graded tasks are based on societal expectations about the developmental milestones that should be reached in specific life phases (Hutteman, Hennecke, Orth, Reitz, & Specht, 2014). According to Havighurst (1948), the developmental tasks during adolescence are: accept one's body, adopt a masculine or feminine role, achieve emotional independence from parents, develop close relationships with peers of the same and opposite sex, prepare for an occupation, prepare for marriage and family life, establish a personal value or ethical system and achieve socially responsible behavior. Havighurst's (1948) idea that successful achievement of developmental tasks is predictive of well-being and happiness while failure leads to problem behavior is generally well supported (Seiffge-Krenke & Gelhaar, 2008).

However, because developmental tasks are by definition tied to societal expectations, they may differ between cultures and are strongly influenced by sociocultural changes across historical periods (Hutteman et al., 2014). For example, preparing for marriage and a family may no longer be seen as a universally accepted goal for adolescents in many Western individualized societies of today. Also, there are cultural differences. Achieving emotional independence from parents is not a valued or accepted goal in many collectivist cultures (Keller et al., 2006). There is also uncertainty about exactly when certain developmental tasks have to be accomplished (Seiffge-Krenke & Gelhaar, 2008), as due to sociocultural changes the time frame for the adolescent period has been extended and the transition to adulthood is being delayed – particularly in many Western countries (Arnett, 2000).

Consequently, scholars have since amended the list of developmental tasks devised by Havighurst over half a century ago. We will focus on a more up-to-date list of developmental tasks, specific to the adolescence period, adapted from Simpson (2001). These developmental tasks include to: (1) renogotiate relationships with parents, (2) identify meaningful moral standards, values, and belief systems, (3) meet the demands of increasingly mature roles and responsibilities, (4) establish key aspects of identity, (5) form friendships that are mutually close and supportive, (6) adjust to sexually maturing bodies and feelings, (7) develop and apply abstract thinking and perspective-taking skills, and (8) develop and apply socio-emotional skills.

These tasks are part of normative development in the sense that they apply to all adolescents residing in Western individualized countries, irrespective of ethnic background or immigrant status (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). Thus, developmental tasks reflect what parents, peers, and teachers expect from all adolescents in a particular context and time in history. In general, most adolescents do surprisingly well in accomplishing these developmental tasks (Simpson, 2001).

Among immigrant and minority adolescents, the normative developmental tasks co-occur with acculturation-related tasks that are due to the immigrant or minority situation. Acculturative tasks focus on the cultural and psychological adaptation that result from having to manage and reconcile two different cultures (i.e., the host culture and the ethnic heritage culture). These include, for example, the acquisition of the new language, the familiarization with new social and cultural norms of behavior and the coping with acculturation-related stressors, such as discrimination, the exploration of an ethnic identity, or daily hassles of being "the other" (Bochner, Furnham, & Ward, 2001). Thus, on the one hand, these acculturation-related tasks may pose a risk factor for attaining the universal developmental tasks as there is often discord between the values of the host society and those in the family of the immigrant adolescent. This may lead to intergenerational discrepancies in and conflict about cultural values within immigrant families, also described as acculturation gap (Telzer, 2010). On the other hand, knowledge about the specific challenges immigrant adolescents face when tackling developmental tasks may be an asset for counselors, as it can provide new culturally sensitive approaches in dealing with such tasks. In this chapter, we review empirical evidence on how acculturative challenges specific to immigrant adolescents can either hamper or foster successful attainment of normative developmental tasks (as presented in Table 3.1) and how the attainment of each task fosters resilience.

Developmental Tasks of Immigrant Adolescents

Renegotiate Relationships with Adults in Parenting Roles

A developmental task that is crucial in adolescence is the negotiation of autonomy and relatedness with adults – particularly with parents (Allen, Hauser, Bell, & Oconnor, 1994). In general, this means that adolescents have to negotiate more freedom in their daily activities by simultaneously maintaining good emotional ties with parents so that they continue to receive intergenerational support. Adolescents who are able to establish such a relationship to their parents usually report more positive developmental outcomes (McElhaney et al., 2009). In immigrant families, adolescents may achieve this developmental task under different circumstances than adolescents in native families, because parents and children often have a different pace of acculturation. Research has shown that younger individuals often adapt to a new culture more easily and quickly than older individuals (Cheung, Chudek,

Table 3.1 Developmental tasks in adolescence

	Developmental task	Potential immigration-related change in developmental task
1.	Renegotiate relationships with adults in parenting roles	More pronounced cultural adaptation can lead to role reversal and accelerated development in selected outcomes
2.	Identify meaningful moral standards, values, and belief systems	Acculturative stress can lead to development of maladaptive and anti-normative moral standards and values and/or to higher levels of empathy and higher critical consciousness
3.	Meet the demands of increasingly mature roles and responsibilities	Adolescents often take the role as language broker in their families, which can accelerate development and generalize to other family responsibilities
4.	Establish key aspects of identity	Adolescents face the task of integrating ethnic and national identities, which may lead to a delayed completion of this task but also to greater social identity complexity
5.	Form friendships that are mutually close and supportive	Need to navigate through same- and cross-ethnic friendships while dealing with parental expectations
6.	Adjust to sexually maturing bodies and feelings	Cultural differences in the acceptance and timing of romantic behavior can lead to asynchrony between immigrant adolescents and their peers as well as different developmental trajectories in forming romantic relations
7.	Develop and apply abstract thinking and perspective-taking skills	Potentially greater and faster attainment of perspective-taking abilities by looking at the social environment through two cultural lenses
8.	Develop and apply socio-emotional skills	Need to develop socio-emotional skills in two cultures to be able to deal effectively with social situations in heritage (e.g., extended family) and host culture (e.g., school) environments

Adapted from Simpson (2001)

& Heine, 2011). The result for immigrant families is that adolescents are often better prepared to deal with demands in the new society than their parents, a phenomenon that has been termed the acculturation gap (Telzer, 2010) or acculturation dissonance (Frazer, Rubens, Johnson-Motoyama, DiPierro, & Fite, 2016).

Acculturative gaps can be both a risk and a development-promoting factor in the lives of adolescents with immigrant background. On the one hand, acculturation gaps can lead to family alienation and family conflict (Titzmann & Sonnenberg, 2016), which can also hamper the well-being of immigrant adolescents (Frazer et al., 2016). On the other hand, acculturation gaps often indicate a better adjustment of adolescents to the new society as compared to their parents. This difference can also have positive effects. Better sociocultural competence can lead adolescents to take on the role as family language brokers (Weisskirch, 2017), which can result in adolescents' taking on more general responsibilities in immigrant families (Portes, 1997). In this situation, adolescents were observed to promote the sociocultural knowledge and adaptation of their parents (Titzmann & Gniewosz, 2018). Also, adolescents who were language brokers for their families developed a more mature communication with their parents that would be expected

normatively at a later age or at a later developmental level of autonomy (Titzmann, Gniewosz, & Michel, 2015). In sum, research has demonstrated that adolescent immigrants' developmental task of autonomy development and their interaction with parents can be accelerated through acculturation-related processes of intergenerational differences in pace of adaptation and sociocultural adjustment to the majority culture.

Identify Meaningful Moral Standards, Values, and Belief Systems

Adolescents typically undergo changes in moral development due to becoming more autonomous from their parents. This means they have to develop their own standards and principles of justice and fairness – of what is right or wrong. During this process, adolescents often engage in more risk-taking activities including acts of minor delinquency (e.g., petty theft or using public transport without a valid ticket) in order to impress their peers (Allen, Porter, McFarland, Marsh, & McElhaney, 2005). Research has shown that stressors and frustrations (usually termed strain) can contribute to the development of antisocial and delinquent behavior, because such behavior can help in regulating negative emotions in adolescence (Agnew, 2016). Immigrant adolescents are confronted with additional acculturative strain that pose them at greater risk for deviant behavior (e.g., delinquency or radicalization). Accordingly, studies have shown that adolescent immigrants showed higher levels of delinquency because they were more likely to face general strain, such as low socioeconomic status and family violence (Kilchmann, Bessler, & Aebi, 2015). In addition, they have been shown to be more likely to become delinquent due to migration-specific strain, such as experiences of discrimination and general adaptation problems (Bayram Ozdemir, Ozdemir, & Stattin, 2017; Titzmann, Silbereisen, & Mesch, 2014).

However, there is no direct pathway from strain to delinquency as a lot (but not all) of immigrant adolescents experience strain and only few become delinquent. Research on resilience suggests that most youngsters develop successfully despite adverse life circumstances. While research on immigrant adolescents using a risk and resilience framework is still in its infancy (Motti-Stefanidi, 2014), it is possible that acculturative stress may also have positive effects on moral development. Two studies with slightly older samples (college students) support this view. One study showed that acculturative stress was positively linked with prosocial tendencies among Mexican-American college students (McGinley et al., 2009) while another study showed that acculturative stress helped Asian American college students with lower levels of self-reflection to better understand how people with a different ethnic background think and feel (i.e., ethnocultural empathy; Wei, Li, Wang, & Ko, 2016).

Meet the Demands of Increasingly Mature Roles and (Family) Obligations

Adolescence has been initially conceptualized as a period of "storm and stress" (Hall, 1904) and for a long time many authors followed this deficit-oriented view on adolescence by concentrating on developmental challenges and problems, such as delinquency, drug consumption, or unsafe sex. More recently, however, a more positive perspective has emerged that shifted the focus on adolescents' positive characteristics, such as responsibility, agency, and intentional self-regulation (Lerner, 2009). Adolescents are seen more as individuals who contribute to society, rather than being creators of trouble and stress (Larson, 2011).

This more positive perspective on adolescent activity is increasingly promoted in the study of immigrant adolescents. Evidence suggests, for example, that adolescent immigrants are substantially engaged in various family obligations. For example, studies have repeatedly found that about 90% of immigrant adolescents translate documents for their parents - at least occasionally (Fuligni & Telzer, 2012), a behavior that has been termed language brokering. However, family obligations in immigrant families are not restricted to language brokering. Immigrant adolescents have also been found to assist their parents in daily household management and financial matters (Fuligni & Telzer, 2012) as well as in the provision of instrumental and emotional support (Titzmann, 2012). Some data support the view that acculturation-specific responsibilities (e.g., language brokering) generalize to general responsibilities so that immigrant adolescents take on even more responsibilities at home than their native peers (Titzmann, 2012). These findings seem to be contrary to observations about the lower involvement of immigrant adolescents in traditional forms of civic and social participation (Seif, 2011). However, taken together, research suggests that adolescent immigrants are not less involved in social obligations, but they are involved in different activities – activities that are more often associated with the needs of their family or their ethnic group rather than the needs of society. The effects of substantial family involvement vary. If the adolescents see this behavior as part of their filial role, they can feel proud (Fuligni & Telzer, 2013) and instrumental, and their self-efficacy can be elevated (Titzmann, 2012). However, negative effects have also been observed, for example if the help occurs at an inappropriate age (Titzmann & Michel, 2017) or if the help involves having to regulate the emotions of their parents (Titzmann, 2012).

Establish Key Aspects of Identity

Identity formation is one of the most important developmental tasks of adolescence. Building upon earlier work by Erikson (1950), Marcia (1966) developed his identity status model, which holds that identity achievement necessitates strong commitments in various life domains after having explored alternative commitments. In

contrast, individuals without commitments are more likely to have unstable identities (Meeus, van de Schoot, Keijsers, Schwartz, & Branje, 2010), to be less well-adapted (Meeus, van de Schoot, Keijsers, & Branje, 2012), and to be at higher risk for becoming radicalized (Meeus, 2015). While this applies to all adolescents, one particular domain, in which adolescent immigrants need to engage in both exploration and commitment, is their ethnic identity. Consequently, various scholars have developed scales to capture exploration and commitment of ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004). Overall, research with these scales shows that ethnic identity exploration and commitment are positively associated with psychological adaptation outcomes among adolescent immigrants (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Having a strong ethnic identity also buffers against the negative effects of discrimination (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014).

Ethnic identity alone, however, may be insufficient to master the acculturative task of successful integration into the host society. Acculturation research suggests that a successful psychological and sociocultural adaptation requires both heritage culture maintenance and host culture adoption (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Similar conclusions were drawn for the development of immigrants' identity where best long-term developmental outcomes were observed among adolescents who develop a so-called bicultural identity integration (Schwartz et al., 2015). Commitment to a specific ethnic identity, however, requires that immigrant adolescents self-identify with a particular ethnic or national group. However, not all immigrant adolescents, particularly those in the second or third generation self-identify with their family's country of origin and may instead self-identify with their host country (Jugert, Leszczensky, & Pink, 2018). Furthermore, experiencing mismatches between ethnic self-identification and meta-perceptions (i.e., what ethnicity they believe their classmates presume them to be) is associated with lower well-being (Nishina, Bellmore, Witkow, Nylund-Gibson, & Graham, 2018). Overall, research suggests that accomplishing the developmental task of identity formation is beneficial for adolescent immigrants, but that they need to find ways to balance being part of two cultural worlds.

Form Friendships That Are Mutually Close and Supportive

As adolescents become more autonomous from their parents, friendships to same-aged peers gain special significance as a source of social support. This means that friendships in adolescence need to move beyond shared interests and activities, which are typical of childhood friendships. Friendships in adolescence are much more about sharing ideas and feelings that enable trust and mutual understanding (Simpson, 2001). When it comes to finding friends, immigrant adolescents may be at a disadvantage compared to their native peers. Research suggests that friendships are more likely to be formed along ethnic lines (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), and this ethnic homophily also extends to immigrant status (Titzmann, 2014). Ethnic friendship homophily seems to be associated with ethnic diversity in

u-shaped form, such that homophily increases with rising levels of ethnic diversity in a given context and only decreases at very high levels of ethnic diversity (Moody, 2001). Because of this, adolescent immigrants from ethnic groups that are not well represented in a social setting (e.g., school) may find it harder to make friends in this setting (Smith, McFarland, Tubergen, & Maas, 2016).

In addition, research suggests that immigrant parents, particularly those from collectivist cultures, are less accepting of outgroup friendships for their adolescent children than parents without immigrant background, which poses another challenge (Munniksma, Flache, Verkuyten, & Veenstra, 2012). Partly, this parental behavior may be explained by (collectivist) immigrant parents' greater concern for family reputation and their fears that their children's friendships with ethnic outgroup peers may undermine the continuation of their ethnic ingroup values and norms (Munniksma et al., 2012).

Friendships in adolescence typically become more intimate and more stable (Simpson, 2001). However, research suggests that cross-ethnic friendships are less intimate and less stable, compared to same-ethnic friendships (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003; Jugert, Noack, & Rutland, 2013). Nevertheless, both same- and cross-ethnic friendships are valuable and likely to serve different and unique functions. Whereas cross-ethnic friendships may serve both an acculturative (e.g., learning about the host culture) and protective (e.g., reducing risks for ethnic discrimination) function (Graham, Munniksma, & Juvonen, 2014), same-ethnic friendships are important for ethnic identity development (Syed & Juan, 2012). Whether or not immigrant adolescents form interethnic friendships depends on various factors, such as immigrants' identification with the heritage and host culture (Jugert et al., 2018) or whether peer group and school norms support such contacts (Jugert, Noack, & Rutland, 2011). Despite some documented challenges, it seems vital for today's multicultural societies to support interethnic friendship formation to enhance adolescents' resilience, because it is one of the best and most effective way to reduce intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998) and societal segregation. In sum, friendships are a central developmental task in adolescence and immigrant adolescents have to navigate through a world of same- and cross-ethnic friendships. This navigation entails several challenges but also provides the opportunity for better interethnic relations in a society.

Adjust to Sexually Maturing Bodies and Feelings

A central biological process of maturation is puberty with the associated hormonal and bodily changes. This biological maturation co-occurs with social changes, and the first romantic involvement is certainly a major developmental task in adolescence (Zimmer-Gembeck, 1999). Romantic involvement differs from other social relationships, because it is usually dyadic (in contrast to relationships with peers), and it is characterized by the expression of mutual affection and the initiation of sexuality and passion (Connolly & McIsack, 2009). Immigrant adolescents are also

affected by these biological changes, but cultures vary substantially with regard to the rules and timing in which romantic relations are established. Romantic love, for example, seems to be a concept that is more important for the formation of steady partnerships in Western individualistic cultures and less important in the formation of partnerships in collectivist cultures (Levine, Sato, Hashimoto, & Verma, 1995). In the latter, romantic love can even be frowned upon because it might interfere with family obligations and family closeness (Medora, Larson, Hortacsu, & Dave, 2002).

Such cultural differences in the establishment of romantic relations can also be observed within multicultural societies: Ethnicity remains to be one of the fundamental characteristics that young people deem important in the selection of a partner (McPherson et al., 2001). Furthermore, ethnic groups within societies differ substantially with regard to what happens in romantic relationships. In a study in Germany and Israel, ethnic groups varied little with regard to the share of 15- to 17-year-old adolescents who reported to have had a romantic relationship. But the experiences in the relationship were very different across groups. Holding hands and kissing were the norm rather than the exception among Russian immigrants in Germany and a substantial share (about one-fourth of the adolescents) reported to have had intercourse with the partner (Nauck & Steinbach, 2014). Other groups were more restricted. Turks in Germany, for example, also reported experiences of holding hands and kissing, but hardly reported any experience of intercourse, whereas Arab adolescents in Israel reported hardly any physical contact with their romantic partner (Nauck & Steinbach, 2014). These different experiences may also be one reason why the experience of having a romantic partner has different developmental effects across ethnic groups. In most ethnic groups, romantic relationships were associated with a development of dating competences, but among Arab adolescents, this association was not found. Instead, it was associated with lower self-esteem, which may signify the social inappropriateness of such relations (Titzmann et al., 2014). These results suggest that the developmental task of sexuality and physical maturation differ across ethnic groups even within a society. Thus, adolescent immigrants sometimes must balance competing expectations from peers and their families with regard to romantic relationships in order to accomplish this task.

Develop and Apply Abstract Thinking and Perspective-Taking Skills

Owing to significant changes in brain development, particularly in the prefrontal cortex, adolescents develop greater potential for abstract thinking and perspective-taking. Yet, the degree to which adolescents acquire executive functions varies between individuals. Adolescents are producers of their own development (Lerner, 2002) and developing abstract and strategic thinking and perspective-taking abilities crucially depends on making requisite experiences. Larson (2011) suggests that organized youth programs (i.e., community-based programs and extracurricular

activities) offer such experiences that help adolescents acquire emotional, motivational, cognitive skills, and civic competence. However, research suggests that immigrant and ethnic minority adolescents have limited opportunities for civic learning and participation compared to nonimmigrant and ethnic majority adolescents (Levinson, 2010). As a response, many youth programs specifically target low-income adolescents who also often have an ethnic minority or immigrant background (Youniss & Levine, 2009). Research also suggests that, despite facing obstacles, immigrant adolescents are not necessarily less civically engaged than their nonimmigrant peers (Jugert, Eckstein, Noack, Kuhn, & Benbow, 2013) - at least when taking a broad definition of civic engagement that also includes civic involvement in their (ethnic) community.

There is some indication that immigrant-specific activities immigrant adolescents are involved in have positive effects on prosocial development (including perspective-taking abilities). Studies found that intra-ethnic engagement (i.e., language brokering for parents) was positively associated with transcultural perspective-taking (understanding of divergent cultural values) and empathic concern among college students from ethnically diverse immigrant families (Guan, Greenfield, & Orellana, 2014) as well as among adolescent immigrants (Kam, Guntzviller, & Pines, 2016). Comparative studies are missing but one implication of these findings is that immigrant adolescents may even be at an advantage over nonimmigrant adolescents when it comes to developing perspective-taking abilities due to immigrant-specific activities (e.g., language brokering) that they are often involved in. Thus, immigrant adolescents' resilience seems to be strengthened through organized youth programs, where adolescents find ways to become civically active and thereby develop abstract and strategic thinking and perspective-taking abilities.

Develop and Apply Socio-emotional Skills

Adolescence is a period in life where coping skills become increasingly important. These coping skills include social skills in dealing with others and emotional skills for self-regulation. Reasons for the growing demands in coping skills can be found in the many biological (i.e., bodily and hormonal) and social (i.e., relationships to parents) changes adolescents have to cope with (Adams & Berzonsky, 2006). More importantly, during adolescence, these changes often co-occur so that adolescents have to simultaneously deal with stressors in various life domains, which can overburden their coping abilities and may result in elevated levels of depressive symptoms (Petersen, Sarigiani, & Kennedy, 1991). This may also explain the general increase in depressive symptoms observed during the adolescent years (Angold, Costello, & Worthman, 1998). Over time, however, adolescents develop competences in dealing with these demands and depressive symptoms start to decline again in the ages between 18 and 25 (Galambos, Barker, & Krahn, 2006). Adolescent immigrants face additional demands due to acculturation-related stressors such as language hassles, experiences of discrimination, and family hassles (Titzmann,

Silbereisen, Mesch, & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2011). In particular, experiences of discrimination have been found to predict lower levels of well-being (see Schmitt et al., 2014, for a meta-analysis on this topic).

Given the evidence of these stressors, it is not surprising that stress-coping approaches have become a major theoretical underpinning in explaining the well-being of adolescent immigrants (Berry, 1997; Ward, 2001). Several strategies have been identified as being effective to improve and keep the well-being for immigrant adolescents at a high level. One successful strategy is associated with immigrants' development of social and emotional ties and skills in both the minority and the majority culture. An acculturation orientation that combines contact with members of both heritage and majority culture, for example, was repeatedly found to be beneficial for the sociocultural and psychological adaptation of adolescents (e.g., Berry et al., 2006). As noted above, both same- and cross-ethnic friendships are also important because they serve a protective role in buffering against ethnic discrimination and are important sources for the development of ethnic identity. But society can also provide a context that helps immigrant adolescents by reducing the level of stress and by the provision of resources that help in coping with these challenges. Anti-discrimination legislations and the development of pluralistic and egalitarian diversity climates in schools may be steps in this direction as the latter have shown to promote both mainstream and cultural heritage orientation and through that better school adjustment (Schachner, Noack, Van de Vijver, & Eckstein, 2016). Such environments can help adolescent immigrants to successfully develop and apply socio-emotional skills needed to regulate emotions and improve well-being.

Integration and Suggestions for Future Research

In our view, the concept of developmental tasks is useful in examining positive adaptation and resilience among immigrant and ethnic minority adolescents. Research has shown that accomplishment of developmental tasks can lead to a positive long-term adaptation and well-being. This review showed that adolescents with immigrant background or minority adolescents are also confronted with these rather universal developmental tasks and, hence, should be seen primarily as adolescents and less as immigrants or minorities. Nevertheless, immigration- or minority-related experiences can change the ways and the timing for achieving developmental tasks, and it is important to take into account these immigration-specific experiences.

If (immigrant and minority) adolescents are not able to achieve developmental tasks in an appropriate time frame, they may face the risk of developing spurious competencies (a misleading compensation of missing skills). For example, a lack of social competencies may be compensated by aggressiveness (Crick & Dodge, 1994). So, instead of searching for cultural sources for why some immigrant adolescents may show externalizing (e.g., delinquent) behavior, it may be better to identify ways to help immigrant or minority adolescents in achieving developmental tasks

(e.g., through training of social competencies). Also, practitioners (e.g., teachers, youth workers) need to be provided with knowledge about the differential timing and meaning of developmental tasks among immigrant adolescents. These immigration- or minority-specific aspects identified in this chapter may help in navigating minority or immigrant adolescents through their accomplishment of developmental tasks. Examples of how this can be done are the provision of opportunities to explore their ethnic identity, support in language brokering tasks, or learning opportunities in both heritage and host culture skills.

There are also a lot of areas that deserve more research attention. How can we explain that the vast majority of adolescent immigrants are surprisingly well adapted despite facing additional acculturation-related challenges? To answer this question, more work should combine a resilience framework with the concept of developmental tasks (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi, 2014). Research on developmental tasks should also pay greater attention to variability in social contexts (e.g., different host societies with differing expectations regarding developmental and acculturative tasks) and variability between different groups of immigrants (e.g., recent refugees from Syria vs. more established immigrant groups). Clearly, more carefully designed comparative research is needed to shed light on whether results concerning immigrant adolescents' adaptation is specific to one particular immigrant group or context or can be generalized across different groups and contexts. This research may address not only the question of whether or not the developmental tasks are the same across contexts but also how developmental tasks are attained.

It is also important to note that as society changes developmental tasks may change as well. Thus, Hurrelmann and Quenzel (2013) included the domain of consumption in their concept of developmental tasks. This includes the responsible use of all forms of media (including social media) and useful ways to spend one's free time. Research by Twenge (2017) showed the profound ways that the internet and the use of social media in particular have influenced adolescent behavior and social-emotional development in recent years. For immigrant adolescents, this may be a potential new area of research, because immigrants use modern communication technologies to keep in contact with extended family and friends in the heritage country (Portes, 2003). Adolescents often have more technological competences than their parents have and may play an important bridging role in this regard. However, we know very little about how social media may affect adolescent immigrants in particular and how this may relate to practices of transnationalism. It is for instance an open question whether having close contacts (e.g., via social media) with their country of origin is helpful or hindering adaptation of adolescent immigrants in their societies of settlement.

Another question is whether the societal structures that help adolescents in the accomplishment of developmental tasks are also appropriate for immigrant and minority adolescents. Nurmi (1993) showed that adolescents grow up in an age-graded context that provides contextual facilitators for accomplishing developmental tasks (e.g., age-graded access opportunities to discotheques or activities). However, it is likely that these opportunities are primarily oriented toward the needs of ethnic majority adolescents. Future research may profit from a more thorough

analysis of opportunity structures, because a mismatch of opportunities and needs may also reduce the likelihood of accomplishing developmental tasks successfully – particularly among immigrant adolescents.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to show that immigrant adolescents are confronted with similar developmental tasks as their native peers. We hope that our examples show that developmental tasks are indeed more similar than different between immigrant/minority and majority adolescents. Nevertheless, nearly all developmental tasks of immigrant adolescents are affected by their immigrant status. Table 3.1 summarizes the developmental tasks as well as immigration-related experiences that may alter the solution/timing of these developmental tasks. Of course, in one chapter, we were not able to dive deeper in each developmental task and, hence, could not present a comprehensive review on the interplay of each developmental task with the many immigrant-specific challenges and opportunities. Instead, we have chosen one particular acculturation-related experience of adolescents and its interplay with one developmental task. For all these examples, we identified empirical studies so that we can conclude that the interplay between development and acculturation, which is the basic idea behind all examples, is not just a theoretical argument but is also supported by existing data. Future research may profit from developing an even deeper understanding of this interplay that may include analyses of developmental contexts and a more dynamic understanding of developmental and acculturative changes during the adolescent years (Titzmann & Lee, 2018).

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Chapter 4
Why Do Some Immigrant Children and Youth Do Well in School Whereas Others Fail?: Current State of Knowledge and Directions for Future Research

Metin Özdemir and Sevgi Bayram Özdemir

Introduction

Millions of people unwillingly leave their country of birth every year, because of war and conflict, economic strain and poverty, natural disaster, or corrupt government. A major destination for people who have fled their home country is Europe, especially the west European and Nordic states. Today, around 10% of the European Union (EU) population consists of first-generation (i.e., foreign-born) immigrants (Eurostat, 2018). The proportion of immigrants increases substantially if second-generation immigrants (i.e., children and youth who were born into foreign-born families) are included. Students of immigrant background constitute around 10–20% of the school-aged population in most EU countries. In some countries, the proportion of immigrants has risen to well above 20% of all school-age children (Eurostat, 2018). The proportions will not decrease in the coming decades but are most likely to increase substantially.

Settling in an affluent and safe country does not always help immigrants have optimal living conditions. Even in the EU states that are most generous in their integration policies, there are persisting challenges to their educational, social, and economic integration (OECD, 2015, 2017). Low education among adults and poor educational outcomes among youth are a pervasive problem (OECD, 2017). Over 15% of working-age immigrants living in EU states are unemployed, and a majority of them have no or only pre-secondary education (OECD, 2015). Entering the labor

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force and acquiring job security require the holding of qualifications that can only be achieved through formal education. Thus, education is one of the keys to successful adaptation, integration, and life quality among immigrants. Promoting better educational outcomes among children and youth of immigrant background is likely to be a central strategy in helping them to develop self-sustaining lives and to become integrated members of host societies.

Most immigrants face a challenging and stressful resettlement process. They need to learn a different language and cultural codes and acquire an understanding of the dynamics of the social system and its institutions to be able to navigate their way successfully in the host society. In particular, the processes involved place children and youth at risk of developing adjustment problems in multiple domains (e.g., academic, social, behavioral, and psychological) (Berry, 1997). Accordingly, reviews and meta-analyses (e.g., Dimitrova et al., 2017; Dimitrova, Chasiotis, & Van De Vijver, 2016) provide support for the migration morbidity hypothesis, which emphasizes the vulnerability of immigrants with regard to psychological and behavioral problems. Specifically, studies across the EU states generally conclude that immigrant children and youth, albeit with some exceptions, are more likely than others to have educational, psychological, and behavioral adjustment problems (e.g., Dimitrova et al., 2016, 2017). Also, the so-called immigrant paradox (Coll & Marks, 2012), where children of first-generation immigrants have better psychological, behavioral, and educational outcomes than their second-generation or native peers, has not been generally supported in Europe, where immigrants are persistently disadvantaged (Dimitrova et al., 2017).

Even though immigrant children and youth in Europe are characterized by disadvantageous developmental outcomes compared to their native peers, there is a substantial degree of heterogeneity among immigrants. A number of immigrant youth display clear signs of academic resilience – performing at about the average or higher in academic tests and school – despite all the risks in their lives (e.g., van Geel & Vedder, 2011). Nevertheless, the current literature has limitations in identifying and understanding the conditions and processes that may lead to academic resilience among immigrant youth. An important one concerns ambiguities in conceptual definitions and methodological approaches in the study of resilience. An example of such ambiguity is related to defining and measuring resilience as a stable personal characteristic (see Cassidy, 2016 as an example), despite it being an inferential concept based on the adaptive success of a person in the presence of risk conditions (Luthar, Crossman, & Small, 2015). Ambiguities related to the definitions and inferences of resilience are not confined to European studies of the educational outcomes of immigrant youth. They are also key concerns in the resilience literature in general (see Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Masten & Obradović, 2006).

Another limitation of the current studies is their uneven focus on characteristics of contexts that are not changeable and cannot be targeted in intervention and promotion programs. For example, there has been greater interest in aspects of school context like school-level (low) socioeconomic status (SES) and school demographic characteristics (e.g., Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2011; Geven, Kalmijn, & van Tubergen, 2016; Jensen & Rasmussen, 2011; Scharenberg, 2016; Song,

2011) than in malleable aspects like peer relations, teacher-student relations, (non-) inclusive school policies, and (un)equal treatment in school (e.g., Buyse, Verschueren, Verachtert, & van Damme, 2009; Schachner, Van de Vijver, & Noack, 2018). Understanding the characteristics of school context that may pose risks to the academic resilience of youth may help direct the attention of decision-makers toward measures to counteract adversities in schools. However, bringing these contextual and structural risk markers to the fore does not always help practitioners and policy-makers to develop new research-based practices and strategies to enable disadvantaged youth beat the odds (Kraemer et al., 1997). By contrast, inter-ethnic school climate and teacher-student relations can be transformed using effective intervention strategies (Leeman, 2003). The field of practice requires knowledge regarding how the school context can be transformed so as to promote the educational outcomes of disadvantaged groups.

In this chapter, we first propose a framework that may resolve ambiguities concerned with the conceptualization of resilience, with a particular emphasis on academic resilience among immigrant youth. Our own conceptualization embraces four potential interpretations of a given adjustment outcome in the presence or absence of risk. Next, we provide an overview of the literature on the educational outcomes of immigrant youth in a European context and highlight the factors that may promote academic resilience. In this section, we provide a critical review of the current state of the literature on the educational outcomes of immigrant youth. Then, we consider the evidence available for identifying the assets, acculturative factors, and resources that are linked to academic resilience. Lastly, we engage in a discussion of future research directions to increase knowledge that may translate into practice regarding the promotion of favorable academic outcomes among immigrant youth in educational settings.

Four Potential Interpretations of Adaptive Success (or Failure): Resilient, Competent, Vulnerable, Fragile

Evaluating the adaptiveness of a developing person requires consideration of the characteristics of the living context. *Adjustment* and *maladjustment*, terms that are often used to denote the two poles of the adaptive success continuum, do not reflect a nuanced definition of a person's adaptive success. Presence or absence of risk is the key to meaningfully defining an adjustment outcome. The terms resilience, competence, and vulnerability have been consistently used in past research to describe different adjustment outcomes and the adaptive success or failure of individuals (Goldstein & Brooks, 2013; Luthar et al., 2015; Masten & Obradović, 2006). However, these three terms do not suffice to describe all potential adjustment outcomes.

In Fig. 4.1, we present a fourfold classification of adjustment outcomes. Four groups represent the interaction between two levels of *risk conditions* (high versus low risk) and two levels of *adjustment status* (good versus poor adjustment). Well-

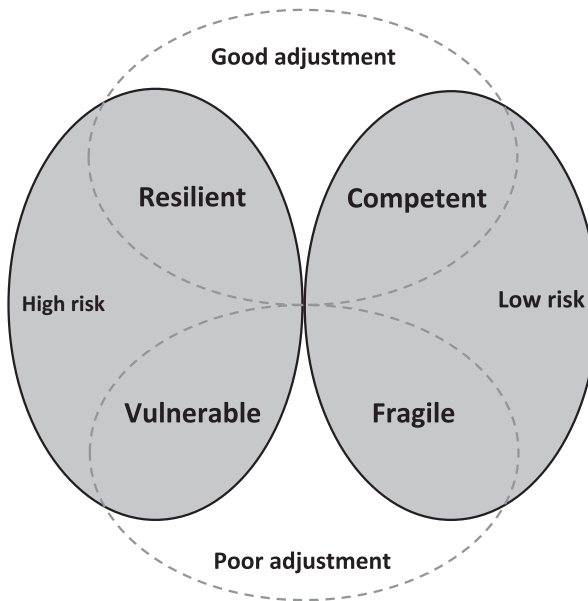

Fig. 4.1 A fourfold classification of adjustment outcomes

adjusted individuals are grouped into two categories according to their exposure to risk conditions. We define *risk conditions* as risks that are external to the individual, such as being in poverty or having minority or immigrant status. These are unlike the risk factors that refer to personal features or processes directly or indirectly related to the individual, such as low self-efficacy beliefs, ethnic victimization, and family conflict. Individuals who display positive adaptation in high-risk conditions that may reduce their ability to adjust well can be called *resilient* (Masten & Obradović, 2006). For example, given the adversities associated with immigrant backgrounds, an immigrant student who excels in school can be considered academically resilient. By contrast, displaying signs of adjusting well in low-risk conditions can simply be called *competence* (Masten & Gewirtz, 2006). Thus, high academic performance among low-risk groups, such as native students, is an example of competence. Good adjustment, or competence, among youth who enjoy low-risk conditions can be seen as a normative adjustment outcome. What is unexpected is resilience – beating the odds in face of the risk conditions.

Like with good adjustment, people with poor adjustment can be evaluated in two categories. Those who are exposed to high-risk conditions and display poor adjustment outcomes can be called *vulnerable*, since they are open to the adverse effects of the unfavorable conditions surrounding their lives (Goldstein & Brooks, 2013). Poor adjustment, or vulnerability is, in fact, the expected outcome given exposure to the risk conditions that impair the ability of individuals to adapt well. It is also possible to display poor adjustment under low-risk or optimal conditions, which may be a sign of a *fragile* disposition in a given domain, but members of the fragile

group are often not represented in research (simply ignored because of their low frequency) (Masten & Obradović, 2006). Fragility is an unexpected outcome for low-risk groups, as is resilience for high-risk groups.

This fourfold categorization may act as a guide to the conceptualization and empirical analysis of adjustment and help develop a systematic approach to understanding the conditions and processes that lead to different adjustment outcomes. For example, conceptualizing adjustment in a given domain, such as academic performance, on a simple continuum, may fail to acknowledge the different conditions that youth experience. However, using the proposed fourfold classification may help researchers to identify different types of adjustment outcomes (i.e., resilient, competent, vulnerable, fragile) and to guide empirical analyses in elucidating the promotive factors that are associated with resilient or competent adjustment outcomes and the risk factors that explain vulnerability or fragility. In sum, the proposed classification may provide a useful framework not only for the conceptualization of adjustment outcomes and interpretation of findings but also for the designing of research.

It should be noted that the conceptualization of these four types of adjustment outcomes is dependent on the outcome of interest and the definition of risk. Resilience research has shown that a person who displays good adjustment in one domain, in the face of risk conditions, may not display the same ability to adapt in other domains or the same ability to adapt well over time (Luthar et al., 2015; Masten & Obradović, 2006). For example, an academically resilient student can display vulnerability with regard to social or emotional outcomes. In addition, academic resilience in childhood may not extend through adolescence. Thus, our proposed model does not give a static classification of individuals but acknowledges the domain-specific and dynamic nature of youth adjustment. This aspect of the proposed model may inform the design of research intended to identify how and why individuals change over time in their adjustment status (e.g., from being resilient to vulnerable, or vice-versa) and how changes in promotive and risk factors may influence adjustment over time even when risk conditions remain the same.

Academic Resilience

Based on the resilience literature, we define academically resilient students as those who achieve average or higher-than-average educational outcomes despite the presence of conditions that increase their risk of doing poorly in school (Martin & Marsh, 2006). Although early research on resilience prioritized signs of adaptation that are externally measurable (e.g., school grades, an academic degree or not) (Masten & Obradović, 2006), researchers have also recognized the importance of internal, psychological adaptation (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2013). We consistently focus on two educational outcomes in assessing the evidence for academic resilience among immigrant youth: *academic performance* and *psychological school adjustment*.

Resilience theory highlights strengths rather than deficits in understanding adaptation in the face of risk. Assets and resources are the two types of promotive factors that may help youth overcome the odds in adverse conditions (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). *Assets* refer to positive internal characteristics of individuals, such as skills and abilities. By contrast, *resources* are external to individuals and refer to characteristics of the social environment, such as parental support, positive peer relations, and favorable school climate. Understanding immigrant youth's academic resilience also requires acknowledgment of a set of factors that are related to their acculturation process. *Acculturative factors* may include ability to use the language of the host country, cultural identification, and involvement in the host culture. Thus, in this chapter, we focus on the role of individual-level assets; resources in the family, peer, and school contexts; and acculturative factors.

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Youth in Europe: Resilience or Vulnerability

The educational outcomes of immigrant youth in Europe have been assessed on the basis of different indicators. These indicators may be grouped into two categories: academic performance (e.g., performance in standardized tests and school grades) and psychological school adjustment (e.g., satisfaction with school, school belonging, school engagement). Although attempts have been made to examine different types of outcomes within the same study (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradovic, Dalla, et al., 2008; Schachner et al., 2018), most studies have focused exclusively on one of these categories. However, a thorough understanding of academic resilience among immigrant youth requires a systematic overview of how they perform simultaneously on different measures of educational outcome.

Academic Performance

Studies focusing on academic performance have used different measures to assess how well students of immigrant background do in school compared to their native peers. These measures primarily include performance in the cross-national assessments of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Azzolini, Schnell, & Palmer, 2012; Jensen & Rasmussen, 2011; Wolfgramm, Morf, & Hannover, 2014) and school grade point average (GPA) (Fekjær & Leirvik, 2011; Jonsson & Rudolphi, 2010; van Geel & Vedder, 2011). The studies that have compared immigrant and native youth on PISA reading and math scores have consistently demonstrated that students of immigrant background score lower than native youth in certain parts of Europe: in the north (Jensen & Rasmussen, 2011), the west (Hannover et al., 2013; Wolfgramm et al., 2014), and the south (Azzolini et al., 2012;

Schnell & Azzolini, 2015). The gap between native and immigrant youth's PISA scores is especially large among immigrants who arrive in a host country after they have passed the starting age of grade school (Schnell & Azzolini, 2015). In sum, youth of immigrant background have consistently performed less well than native students in standardized tests such as PISA.

The studies focusing on GPA present a similar picture of how well students of immigrant background do in school. Unlike the studies based on PISA assessments, some have reported comparisons across different immigrant groups and shown that not all immigrant youth underperform in school. In a study using nationally representative data from Sweden, Jonsson and Rudolphi (2010) showed that immigrant youth from the Middle East and South America lagged behind native youth in their school grades. However, immigrants of Iranian descent performed as well as or even better than Swedish youth. Similarly, immigrant youth of Chinese descent performed better than Italian youth in the national school-completion examination in Italy, whereas youth from former Yugoslavia, Morocco, and Tunisia underperformed even after taking account of their family socioeconomic status (e.g., Barban & White, 2011). In Greece, Albanian immigrants performed worse in school than their native Greek peers, whereas there was no difference in GPA between youth of Greek background who had migrated from the former Soviet Union and native Greek adolescents (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008). Despite exceptions, the studies using PISA scores and school grades consistently provide evidence of the lower performance of immigrant youth compared to native youth, especially in math and language. The studies using GPA, however, show somewhat mixed results, suggesting that certain immigrant groups perform well, or even outperform native youth, on school grades.

Predictors of Academic Performance Among Immigrant Youth

Evidence regarding the role of individual assets mostly relates to the predictors of school GPA. For example, a high sense of self-efficacy and also locus of control emerged as important assets in predicting higher school grades among immigrant youth in Greece (e.g., Anagnostaki, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, Masten, & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016). These two personal assets were also found to predict positive educational outcomes among other youth of minority status and those with the experience of poverty (Lent, Brown, & Larkin, 1984; Multon, Brown, & Lent, 1991). Students with high self-efficacy beliefs and internal locus of control were likely to exhibit high academic motivation and persistence, and, in turn, they displayed high performance on school tasks (e.g., Findley & Cooper, 1983; Schunk, 1984). Thus, self-efficacy beliefs and locus of control may be key individual-level assets that promote resilience among at-risk youth in general.

The studies that have examined the predictors of performance in PISA tests highlight the role of acculturative factors. For example, speaking the language of the host country at home (Azzolini & Barone, 2013; Jensen & Rasmussen, 2011), or with peers (Hannover et al., 2013), was found to be positively linked to PISA reading test scores. Further, identification with the host and heritage culture, and feeling a part of the host culture, positively predicted the reading comprehension and math skills of immigrant students in PISA tests (Hannover et al., 2013; Schotte, Stanat, & Edele, 2018). Consistently, Motti-Stefanidi and her colleagues (2008) found that active involvement in the host culture positively predicted the school grades of immigrant youth in Greece. By contrast, involvement in heritage culture and engagement with one's own ethnic group emerged as a vulnerability factor that could be linked to low school grades among Albanian immigrants in Greece (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008). In sum, language skills and identification with and engagement in the host society were important acculturative factors that were linked to the educational outcomes of immigrant youth.

Dealing successfully with expectations in school requires immigrant students to acquire basic language skills and an understanding of host cultural norms (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). Among the acculturative factors, ability to speak the language of the host country can be the key acculturative factor in predicting academic resilience (Santiago, Gudiño, Baweja, & Nadeem, 2014). Proficiency in the host language may not only offset barriers in school but also help youth engage actively in relationships with native youth and in the society. By contrast, students with limited host language skills may not only fail in various school subjects but may also tend to seek engagement with their own cultural group and, in turn, identify with that group rather than members of the host society. Thus, understanding the effects of ethnic identification and engagement in the ethnic group on academic vulnerability requires consideration of the language skills of the students.

Regarding resources that may promote academic performance among immigrant youth, previous studies have highlighted the roles of three groups of family resources: parental socioeconomic status (SES), availability of educational resources at home, and parental involvement and support. The role of parents' socioeconomic background has been widely studied in relation to explaining differences in academic performance between native and immigrant youth (e.g., Azzolini et al., 2012; Hvistendahl & Roe, 2004; Schnell & Azzolini, 2015). Some studies have shown that immigrant youth's low achievement level persists even after accounting for family socioeconomic factors, such as parents' education and occupation (Jackson, Jonsson, & Rudolphi, 2012; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008). On the other hand, several other studies have suggested that parental SES and education may explain why immigrant youth underperform in PISA tests relative to native youth. For example, parents' education has been found to explain a large proportion of the achievement gap between immigrant and native youth in reading and math in Italy (Azzolini et al., 2012; Azzolini & Barone, 2013; Hvistendahl & Roe, 2004; Schnell & Azzolini, 2015). Interestingly, a Dutch study reported slightly, but significantly, higher grades for immigrant youth compared to native Dutch students, after accounting for family socioeconomic status (van Geel & Vedder, 2011). The researchers speculated that the

higher performance of immigrant youth in school may be related to family obligations, whose effects become more salient when socioeconomic differences across students are accounted for. A high level of family obligations among immigrant students may motivate them to invest in and persist with school tasks to a greater extent than their native Dutch peers (van Geel & Vedder, 2011). In sum, youth with educated parents were found to be advantaged in terms of academic performance and were more likely to be academically resilient than peers whose parents' education level was low.

The importance of parental education and occupation seems to vary according to characteristics of the broader context. For example, in Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, where economic resources are scarce relative to western and northern European countries, economic indicators, such as parental occupation and family economic resources, explain more of the gap between native and immigrant youth than does parents' education (e.g., Schnell & Azzolini, 2015). However, in countries high on economic resources, immigrant parents' educational background explains the gap between immigrant and native youth's academic achievement and adjustment more than do family economic resources (e.g., van Geel & Vedder, 2011). The countries that are high on economic resources often have extensive and well-functioning social welfare systems, ensuring that different social classes and immigrant groups have the ability to meet their basic needs. This is achieved through, for example, health care, financial support, and quality education. Such systems may diminish the potentially debilitating effects of low family finances on student achievement and adjustment in school (e.g., van Geel & Vedder, 2011). On the other hand, limited financial resources may lead to greater differences in adaptation between social classes as well as between immigrant and native students. Overall, the role of family-related factors in explaining academic and school adjustment may be dependent on characteristics of the broader context.

A second family-related resource is the availability of educational materials at home. Immigrant parents, on average, may not be able to afford as many educational resources for their children than native parents (Hvistendahl & Roe, 2004). It is likely that immigrant parents with a good education and a stable income provide their children with more resources to stimulate their cognitive development, which, in turn, may impact their school achievement and adjustment (Sirin, 2005). Accordingly, the availability of educational materials and the number of books at home have been found positively to predict language skills and PISA reading and math test scores in Germany (Hannover et al., 2013; Hoti, Heinzmann, Müller, & Buholzer, 2017). The positive effect of having educational resources at home has been consistently observed across several European countries among immigrants of different backgrounds (e.g., Jensen & Rasmussen, 2011; Schnell & Azzolini, 2015; Song, 2011). Overall, the findings suggest that having educated parents and access to educational materials at home may be key factors in promoting academic resilience among immigrant youth.

In addition to parents' socioeconomic background, several studies have examined the role of parents' involvement and support in immigrant youth's educational outcomes. The Athena studies have shown that parents' involvement in school is a

key predictor of youth's school grades, even more so than students' self-efficacy beliefs (Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf, & Masten, 2012). Immigrant students whose parents were highly involved in school have been found to have better school grades than Greek youth whose parents were less involved. Similarly, parents' school involvement, such as parents' asking questions about school and maintaining communication on school-related issues, has been found to be related to the reading achievement of immigrant youth in Norway (Hvistendahl & Roe, 2004). On the other hand, experiences of conflict with parents (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, & Tantaros, 2011) and parents' expectations of obedience and subordination (Fekjær & Leirvik, 2011) are negatively linked to school performance. Overall, the current literature provides consistent evidence that what parents do in parenting their youth may impact the youth's academic performance. Parental involvement in school, maintaining conversations on school-related issues, and providing social and emotional support may promote academic resilience, whereas conflict with parents may add to the risk of academic vulnerability, especially among youth of immigrant background.

Most studies of the school context have focused on academic vulnerability rather than resilience. Two contextual aspects that have received attention are school composition in terms of migration status and the socioeconomic background of the school's students. Evidence suggests that youth of immigrant background have performed poorly in math compared to their native peers in immigrant-dense schools in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland (Song, 2011) and also in Belgian schools where most immigrant students have been from low SES families (Agirdag, Phalet, & Van Houtte, 2016). But schools with a high number of immigrant and low SES students face other adversities, which may explain poor academic performance. For example, Song (2011) observed that immigrant students are more likely to attend schools with inadequate resources, such as a shortage of school materials or a low proportion of teachers with advanced degrees or teaching certificates, than their native peers. As a result of poor conditions, students in such schools may not be able to perform well academically. A concentration of immigrant students and students' generally low family SES may be correlates of other important adversities that can lead to poor educational outcomes.

In sum, several assets, acculturative factors, and resources appear consistently to predict academic resilience among immigrant students. Among the assets, high self-efficacy beliefs and an internal locus of control positively predict academic resilience among immigrant youth. In addition, proficiency in the host culture's language and identification with and engagement in the host society are among the key acculturative factors related to high academic performance. Regarding resources, having educated parents and access to educational materials at home, and also parents' involvement in school and the provision of social and emotional support to their children, help immigrant youth beat the odds and show signs of academic resilience.

Psychological School Adjustment

Studies of the psychological adjustment of immigrant youth in school have focused on both positive and negative indicators of adjustment in school. The positive indicators include students' school satisfaction (Salmela-Aro, Read, Minkkinen, Kinnunen, & Rimpelä, 2018; Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto, & Virta, 2008), school belonging (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002), and engagement in school work (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). The negative indicators include burnout (Salmela-Aro et al., 2018) and truancy (Motti-Stefanidi, Masten, & Asendorpf, 2015).

These studies provide mixed findings regarding the psychological school adjustment of immigrant students relative to their native counterparts. For example, Scharenberg (2016) reported significantly higher school satisfaction among immigrant youth than ethnic German youth. A cross-national comparison of native and immigrant students from the Netherlands, Norway, Finland, Portugal, and Sweden reported similar findings (i.e., of higher school satisfaction among first-generation immigrants, although second-generation immigrants did not differ from native youth in these countries) (Sam et al., 2008). These findings suggest that students of immigrant origin are just as, or even more, satisfied with their overall experiences in school.

Despite the evidence suggesting positive adjustment of immigrant students in school, there have also been indications of poor adjustment. For example, students of immigrant origin, especially first-generation boys, have reported higher levels of burnout than native students in Finland, and they have become increasingly cynical about the utility of education over time (Salmela-Aro et al., 2018). Similarly, Moroccan students in the Netherlands have reported greater cynicism about the value of school work for future jobs than native Dutch students and have displayed a greater reluctance to go to school (Van Tubergen & van Gaans, 2016). In Greece, not only are both first- and second-generation immigrants more likely to skip school and cut classes than native students, but also the gap in absenteeism has increased over time (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2015). Despite several studies suggesting that immigrant students are satisfied with the school context to just as great an extent or even more than native students, they do not display indications of positive adjustment on other measures, such as attitudes toward the utility of education, burnout, school engagement, and absenteeism.

Predictors of Psychological School Adjustment Among Immigrant Youth

One line of research has highlighted the importance of individual assets, such as mental health and general psychological adjustment. For example, positive feelings of immigrant students in Norway toward school were found to be negatively associated with depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic symptoms (Noam, Oppedal, Idsoe,

& Panjwani, 2014). Similarly, stress and satisfaction with school were inversely related to each other among Vietnamese students in Finland (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004). As well as stress, self-evaluation emerged as an important individual-level predictor of the school adjustment of immigrant students. Specifically, students with high self-esteem and with a perceived competence in coping with social interactions in school reported high levels of school satisfaction (Liebkind et al., 2004). Overall, the existing literature indicates the importance of having a well-functioning emotional state and positive self-evaluation for the successful psychological school adjustment of immigrant students.

Despite the importance of acculturation factors for academic performance, especially that of language skills, there is mixed evidence regarding the link between psychological school adjustment and proficiency in the host language. For example, no significant association was found between proficiency in the host country language and school satisfaction among second-generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands or in Sweden (Vedder, 2005; Vedder & Virta, 2005) or among Surinamese immigrant youth in the Netherlands (Vedder, 2005). By contrast, proficiency in the host language was positively linked to self-esteem and negatively linked to psychological problems among Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands (Vedder, 2005). Similarly, whether the youth was engaged in ethnic or host culture did not have any apparent association with school adjustment among Pontian immigrants in Greece (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, & Masten, 2008) or among Moroccan or Turkish refugees in the Netherlands (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002).

The mixed findings regarding the role of language proficiency do not necessarily indicate that acculturative factors are irrelevant to the academic resilience of immigrant youth. The role of language proficiency, and identification with and engagement in the host or ethnic culture, may have conditional or indirect effects on the psychological adjustment of immigrant students. For example, students tend to evaluate their own competencies and skills with the other students in their classroom as reference – a phenomenon called the big-fish-little-pond effect (Marsh, 1987). Consistent with this effect, proficiency in the host language may be an important aspect of the experience of immigrant youth who attend a school where most other students are of native background. Low host language proficiency can be easily identified in environments where most others are highly proficient and, in turn, leads to low self-evaluation and poor school adjustment. By contrast, low proficiency in the host language may not be a concern among immigrant youth in schools where most other students are also of immigrant origin. Students with low language skills may not develop poor evaluations of their own competence in such schools. Yet, these speculations need a thorough examination.

By contrast with the emphasis on the link between family socioeconomic status and academic performance, there has been only a limited focus on the association between family resources and psychological school adjustment. However, the studies available have highlighted the potential role of family resources in immigrant youth's psychological school adjustment. For example, the Athena studies found that parents' involvement in school was a key predictor of students' academic, behavioral,

and social adjustment (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). Similarly, immigrant Vietnamese youth in Finland who perceived the relationship with their mother as supportive were found to be more likely to be satisfied with school and less likely to skip school or display problem behaviors in school (Liebkind et al., 2004). Perceived parental support was also associated with school adjustment, indirectly through low perceived discrimination. Specifically, perceived parental support was found to promote school adjustment by enhancing ethnic identity, which lessened the negative effect of discrimination on school adjustment. Overall, the current literature provides consistent evidence that what parents do in parenting their youth may impact youth's psychological school adjustment and, in turn, their academic resilience.

Regarding school-level resources, there has been an emphasis on relationships, particularly with peers and teachers, in the school context. For example, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin (2014) examined the role played by immigrant youth's experiences of being harassed by their peers due to their ethnic origin in their school adjustment in Sweden. Their findings suggest that immigrant youth who are ethnically harassed by peers have decreased school satisfaction, increased expectation of academic failure, and increased absenteeism. Another study found that not only actual experiences of ethnic harassment but also exclusion from peer relations imposes a burden on the academic adjustment of youth in Israel (Eshel, Sharabany, & Bar-Sade, 2003). Both harassment by peers and unfair teacher treatment have predicted emotional disengagement from school equally well for both immigrant and native youth in Sweden (Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir, Dasci, & Celik, 2020).

On the positive side, there is evidence that teachers can be a key resource for students. A study in the Netherlands reported that, although Dutch students perceived greater support from their teachers than their immigrant counterparts, immigrant students regarded teachers as more important providers of emotional and instructional support than their parents (Vedder, Boekaerts, & Seegers, 2005). In addition to teachers' support, what teachers expect from students has also been related to the students' academic aspirations. Specifically, when students believed they were encouraged by their teachers and when teachers asked them to do their best, immigrant students perceived themselves as having high academic aspirations (Hoti et al., 2017). From a different perspective, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin (2014) examined whether positive relationships with teachers could protect the youth who were harassed ethnically by their peers from having school adjustment problems. They found that immigrant students in Sweden who perceived high levels of positive and supportive relationships with teachers were not negatively affected by experiences of ethnic harassment. In a recent study, Bayram Özdemir and Özdemir (2019) also demonstrated that the positive effects of fair and supportive teacher relationships transcended context. Specifically, in Swedish schools, immigrant youth who consistently felt that they were cared for, understood, and fairly treated by their teachers during middle school (grades 7–9) were more likely to report higher levels of school satisfaction and value achievement, and less failure anticipation in high school, even after controlling for their earlier school adjustment. Overall, these findings indicate that how teachers approach, treat, and relate to their students may play an important role in promoting students' psychological school adjustment.

Generally, the existing literature provides evidence that several factors may promote academic resilience among immigrant youth. First, psychological well-being and positive self-evaluations are among the important assets that promote psychological school adjustment. In addition, parents' emotional support, supportive teacher relations, and fair treatment by teachers are important resources for immigrant youth's academic resilience. However, studies of acculturative factors, such as language proficiency and engagement in the host culture, have produced mixed findings, which suggests that, although these factors may predict the psychological school adjustment of immigrant youth, they do so only under certain conditions.

Future Directions

The current review provides some insights into the academic performance and psychological school adjustment of immigrant youth relative to their native peers in European countries. Despite the evidence suggesting that some immigrant groups do well or even better than their native peers, a great majority of the studies draw rather pessimistic conclusions (Dimitrova et al., 2016, 2017). However, there are also clear signs of academic resilience among immigrant youth, who face unique stressors and challenges due to their resettlement process or disadvantaged living conditions. Despite advances in recent decades, research on the educational outcomes of immigrant youth suffers from weaknesses that limit our ability to draw strong enough conclusions to guide policy and practice for the promotion of academic resilience.

An important limitation of the current literature concerns ambiguities in the conceptual definitions of and methodological approaches to the study of resilience. These limitations are not unique to European studies of the educational outcomes of immigrant youth but are also key concerns in the resilience literature in general (see Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Masten & Obradović, 2006). A precondition for inferring resilience in a person is to observe positive adjustment in the presence of risk conditions (Masten & Obradović, 2006). In Fig. 4.1, we grouped adjustment outcomes of youth into four categories based on the interaction between two levels of risk conditions (high versus low risk) and two levels of adjustment status (good versus poor adjustment). Future studies of immigrant youth adjustment can use this classification to clarify the nature of the outcome and the developmental context that is central to the actual research question.

Most of the studies reviewed in the current chapter have conceptualized immigrant background as a potential risk condition for youth adjustment (e.g., Anagnostaki et al., 2016; Berry, 1997). This conceptualization implicitly suggests that native youth have an advantage in terms of low exposure to risk conditions. The discrepancies in various indicators of social, economic, and educational outcomes provide concrete support for this proposition (OECD, 2017). If immigrant youth overwhelmingly experience high-risk conditions while native youth in general enjoy low-risk conditions, the studies that compare immigrant youth with their

native peers contrast two groups that are exposed to inherently different conditions. An expected outcome for youth who face high-risk conditions is to display poor adaptation (i.e., vulnerability) rather than resilience. By contrast, an expected outcome for youth who enjoy low-risk conditions is to display competence rather than poor adaptation (i.e., fragility). Thus, the studies that compare immigrant youth to their native counterparts on adjustment outcomes may be biased against immigrant youth. These studies may be more likely to suggest poor adjustment of immigrant youth compared to native youth although many immigrants are in fact resilient. Thus, risk conditions should be carefully taken into account in comparative studies. Ideally, comparing the outcomes of immigrant youth to those of native youth who experience similar risk conditions, or come from a similar socioeconomic background, will provide unbiased estimates of the potential differences.

The potential assessment bias against immigrant youth in valuations of academic performance is illustrated in the following example (see Fig. 4.2). Although comparative studies consistently provide evidence for the lower academic performance of immigrant youth, albeit with some exceptions, there has been a certain degree of heterogeneity. This heterogeneity is often overlooked when the average academic performance of students is compared across different groups. To support our argument, we performed a brief analysis of the math scores of the 2015 PISA assessment (for the data, see http://

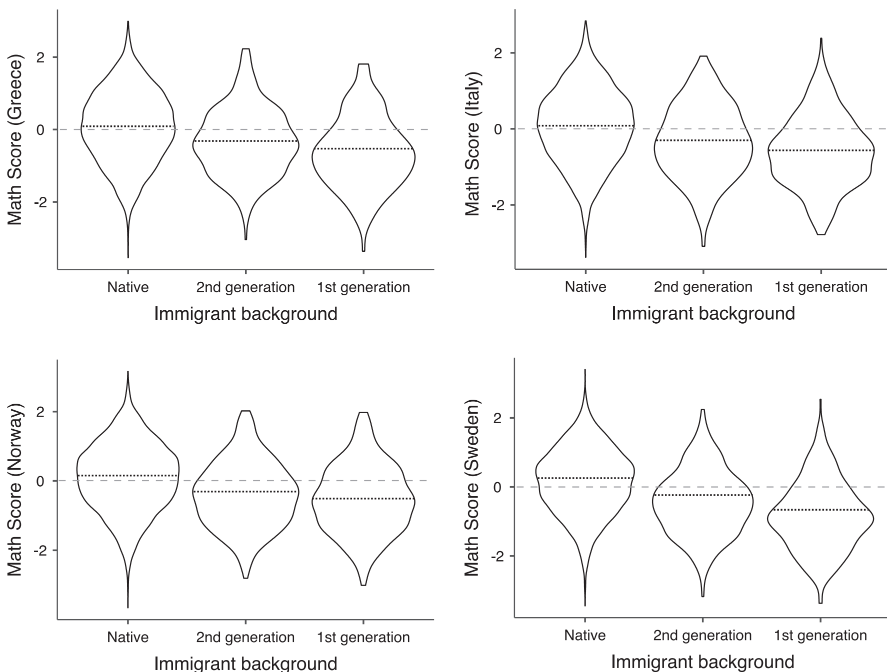

Fig. 4.2 Violin plots of native and first- and second-generation immigrant youth's performances in the 2015 PISA math test in four countries: Greece, Italy, Norway, and Sweden. The dashed lines mark the country averages (z-score transformed) and the dotted lines mark the group averages

www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2015database/). Interested readers may request detailed information about the analyses and findings from the authors.

Figure 4.2 presents native and immigrant youth's math performances in 2015 PISA assessments in four countries: Greece, Italy, Norway, and Sweden. The scores were standardized (i.e., *z*-transformed with 0 mean and 1 standard deviation) within each country, so zero represents the average math score of all students in each country. The country averages are marked by dashed lines. The dotted lines represent the average math performance of each group: native and second- and first-generation immigrant students. The gap between the dashed and dotted lines gives a visual depiction of the math performance gap between the groups. Statistical analyses have shown that, consistently across all four countries, native students performed significantly better than second-generation immigrant students and also first-generation immigrant students. In addition, first-generation immigrant students performed significantly worse than second-generation, except in Norway, where there was no significant difference between first- and second-generation students.

The purpose of focusing on Greece, Italy, Norway, and Sweden was to demonstrate how native and immigrant students perform in contexts where there are major structural differences. The schools in Greece and Italy provide relatively limited or no extra resources for immigrant youth (Azzolini et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi, 2015). However, the schools in Norway and Sweden often provide generous educational support to immigrant students, such as additional language classes, educational assistance, and tutoring. Across these four countries, immigrant students come across as disadvantaged when average performance scores are compared. The figures that lie above the dotted line (i.e., the country average) represent the students who perform at about or above the level of the average student in each country. Clearly, a substantial number of immigrant youth performed above the national average and the average of the native youth in each country. These figures indicate that the low performance of immigrant youth in school at group level should not be generalized to all immigrants. A substantial number of immigrant youth display signs of academic resilience. Understanding what makes these academically resilient students different from academically vulnerable youth may help researchers and practitioners develop strategies to promote positive educational outcomes. It is equally important to understand the underlying factors that may explain why some youth who enjoy low-risk conditions fail in school (i.e., the fragile) whereas other perform well (i.e., the competent).

Immigrants, especially in a European context, are characterized by remarkable heterogeneity in terms of ethnic, cultural, religious, and socioeconomic background (Salmela-Aro et al., 2018). Most research has adopted the practice of grouping immigrants according to their country of origin and conceptualized heterogeneity in the larger community of immigrants by reference to ethnicity and heritage culture. But these studies ignore the fact that even immigrants from a single country may display major differences. For example, immigrants in Europe originating from Turkey may have an Armenian, Greek, Kurdish, or Turkish background, and these groups can have different religious denominations or orientations. They may display major differences in their political and life values. Similar heterogeneity may be

observed among immigrants from the Middle Eastern countries, north Africa, or elsewhere. In addition, clustering immigrants on the basis of their cultural background or ethnicity may lead researchers to seek explanations for their findings with reference to factors that are distal to the immediate life context of the people concerned. A youth of Moroccan heritage in the Netherlands does not fail in school subjects because of his/her cultural heritage, and the parents of the youth are not less involved in school because of their ethnic background. The current conditions in which the lives of children, youth, and parents are embedded probably have more explanatory power than does ethnic or cultural heritage. In fact, there are persisting socioeconomic differences within the European states, and these differences affect all people, although immigrants are overly represented in the lower strata of European societies (OECD, 2017).

A potentially fruitful strategy would be to utilize the value that person-centered data analysis strategies can provide. Using person-centered approaches, such as cluster analysis, researchers can identify naturally occurring groups of youth who are exposed to similar types and level of risks across contexts, concurrently and over time (Bergman & El-Khouri, 2003). Cluster analysis may also help to identify the groups of youth who display different types and levels of adjustment outcomes. Once these groups are identified, it may be possible to establish in which ways, regarding assets, acculturative factors, and resources, they differ from each other. Recent advances in statistical modeling allow the use of group membership (high vs low risk, or resilient vs vulnerable) as an outcome, predictor, mediator, or moderator, in both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs (e.g., Iacobucci, 2012; Jung & Wickrama, 2008). Combining person-centered approaches and advanced modeling techniques may give new opportunities to develop and test conceptually robust questions regarding resilience that may help identify how best to promote the educational outcomes of immigrant youth in school.

Conclusions

The current literature on immigrant youth's educational outcomes in a European context overwhelmingly emphasizes the domains in which immigrants differ from their native peers. Immigrant youth in general underperform in standardized academic assessments, such as PISA tests. However, a good number of immigrant youth display clear signs of academic resilience by performing as well as or above the averages of their native peers in these assessments. In fact, immigrant youth, regardless of their origin, possess a number of resources and strengths that may help them thrive academically and contribute to society (Steward, 2017). Just a glance at the literature reveals certain factors that are consistently related to both immigrant and native youth's educational outcomes, such as level of language skills, family socioeconomic status, parents' education, educational resources at home, parents' involvement in schooling, and teacher relationships. These are the common denominators of achievement in school for all youth. An important challenge for research and practice is to develop

strategies to promote immigrant youth's skills in overcoming their unique challenges and beat the odds despite their disadvantages. Schools and teachers can assume key roles in this endeavor. Immigrant youth are more likely to experience negative conditions that are not malleable, such as parental unemployment or low education, lack of educational resources, or an impoverished school context. Thus, they may need additional resources. A school environment providing optimal conditions for learning and development and for positive treatment and support from teachers may help immigrant youth achieve their potential in school.

In the current chapter, we have proposed a fourfold conceptualization of youth adjustment that can be applied to the analysis of any domain-specific adjustment outcome, such as academic adjustment. The proposed model may not only enable clear conceptualization of the adjustment outcomes in the presence or absence of risk conditions but also govern the empirical analysis of data and interpretation of the findings. Following such conceptual modeling, research on youth adjustment may move beyond the comparison of groups on the basis of their mean scores, which may generate biased conclusions about the adaptive success of youth experiencing high-risk conditions. What is needed is understanding of the specific promoting and risk factors that lead to different outcomes under both high-risk (e.g., resilience versus vulnerability) and low-risk (e.g., competence versus fragility) conditions.

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Part II
Theoretically Informed Empirical Perspectives to Immigrant and Refugee Resilience

Chapter 5
Receiving Population Appraisal as Potential Risk or Resilience for Immigrant Adaptation: The Threat-Benefit Model

Sophie D. Walsh and Eugene Tartakovsky

Empirical research suggests that among the factors relevant to understanding the adaptation and resilience of immigrant populations, it is critical to understand the attitude of the host population to the immigrant group (Berry, 2013). Whether it is through the acculturation strategies encouraged by the receiving populations (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997) or the levels of perceived threat (integrated threat theory, ITT) (Stephan, Lausanne Renfro, Esses, White Stephan, & Martin, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 2000), a social psychology perspective in which attitudes influence behaviors highlights the relationship between the attitudes local people hold toward immigrants and their behaviors toward immigrants. Negative perceptions of immigrants can lead to policies restricting immigrant rights, welfare, health and education, avoidance of contact, and negative intergroup interactions, threatening immigrant integration and well-being (Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009; Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, & Martin, 2007).

However, to date, such theories (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 2000) have tended to emphasize the negative or threat component of appraisal toward immigrants. In this chapter, through an integrative synthesis of two previously published studies (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a, 2016b), we put forward a conceptual threat-benefit model (TBM) which aims to advance previously theoretical understandings by examining not only the threats that a particular immigrant group may represent but also the benefits or contributions that they may bring to a society. Informed by a resilience perspective (Masten & Powell, 2003), we suggest that positive appraisal of immigrants can be considered to be a form of "social resilience" incorporating a

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sense of acceptance and belonging and providing conditions for immigrant integration and well-being. In a context whereby immigration inevitably brings with it stressors which a society needs to accommodate, the ability to continue positive societal growth will relate to the ability to perceive the newcomers as contributing and benefitting the society.

Appraisal of Immigrants

The most popular theory of appraisal of immigrants is the integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Stephan, & Gudykunst, 1999). The main assumption of ITT is that local people perceive immigrants as a threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). There are four types of threats that immigrants may possess for local people, including (a) realistic threat (competition for resources), (b) symbolic threat (perceived incompatibility in cultural values), (c) intergroup anxiety (out-group fear), and (d) negative stereotypes (anticipated negative behavior). Yet, ITT can be seen to have two major limitations. The first is that it does not delineate the predictors or the antecedents of appraisal of threats – what makes individuals perceive threats differently? The second is that its' focus on threats ignores the fact that many people regard immigration positively and support immigration to their countries (Lee & Fiske, 2006; Leong, 2008; Mayda, 2006; Velasco Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008), despite the fact that empirical studies have also shown strong anti-immigration attitudes within local populations (Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet, & Schmidt, 2008; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Raijman & Semyonov, 2004).

In the current chapter, we explore a threat-benefit model which includes the appraisal of immigrants as both potentially threatening and beneficial (in different aspects) to the receiving society. It advances current theoretical perspectives in two ways which are as follows: (1) it enables an understanding of appraisal of immigrants as bringing with them positive contributions (benefits) to the receiving society as well as threats, and (2) it posits antecedents to appraisal in the form of personal values (Schwartz et al., 2012) that an individual holds, thus proposing that attitudes that individuals hold are related to personal motivations (Ponizovskiy, Grigoryan, Kühnen, & Boehnke, 2019). TBM therefore suggests a psychological mechanism explaining the origin and maintenance of both positive and negative appraisal of immigrants, and (3) it provides a framework for understanding behaviors as a consequence of values and attitudes held (Roccas & Sagiv, 2010).

A Threat-Benefit Model of Appraisal of Immigrants

The threat-benefit model (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a, 2016b) of appraisal of immigrants delineates four different threats and four different benefits that an immigrant group can represent for the local population. In the current section we explore the potential threats and benefits that a particular immigrant group may represent.

Immigrants as a Threat A particular immigrant group can represent any or all of a number of areas of threat, including threats to physical, economic, social cohesion, and modernity. *Physical threats* reflect a fear of local people that immigrants may cause physical harm, including the harm to the local people's body and property and terrorism (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). *Economic threats* reflect a fear of local people to lose their dominance over economic resources by competing for jobs and/or for welfare with the immigrants (McLaren, 2003). *Threats to societal cohesion* reflect a fear that immigrants will alter the existing value system and introduce new behavioral norms, customs, and rituals (Huddy & Sears, 1995). *Threats to modernity* reflect the fear that immigrants will bring non-modern values and behavioral norms.

Immigrants as a Benefit In addition, an immigrant group can also represent a range of potential benefits that it can bring with it to a new country, including economic, social cohesion, cultural diversity, and humanitarian. *Economic benefits* reflect the immigrants' potential to contribute to the economic development of the receiving country. The immigrants' potential to contribute economically is related to their readiness to work at the jobs local people do not want or lack the skills to do, as well as the immigrants' readiness to work longer hours and for a lower salary (Leong, 2008). In addition, immigrants' consumption of local goods and services may also benefit the local economy (Borjas, 2001). Finally, immigrants may bring the needed skills and international connections that may promote economics of the receiving country. *Social cohesion benefits* are related to the potential ability of some culturally close groups of immigrants to strengthen the majority group in the receiving country (Bourhis et al., 2013). *Cultural diversity benefits* are related to the new cultural elements (food, clothes, music, etc.) that immigrants bring with them, which may be perceived by local people as culturally enriching the receiving society (Leong, 2008; Vecchione, Caprara, Schoen, Castro, & Schwartz, 2012). *Humanitarian benefits* are related to the satisfaction of helping immigrants to save their lives and to improve their quality of living (Leong & Ward, 2006).

A threat-benefit model proposes that local people consider immigrant groups as representing both threats and also benefits for the receiving society. The model puts forward a three-level cognitive construct. At the most general level, an immigrant group is seen as generally benefitting or threatening the host society. These threats and benefits can then be divided into realistic and symbolic threats and benefits, and then, at the most differentiated level, we detail threats and benefits in different domains of society. This three-level model was confirmed in previous studies (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a, 2016b).

Research suggests that levels of appraisal in each domain vary across immigrant groups (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2019). For instance, social cohesion benefits may be relevant only for Diaspora immigrants (e.g., Jewish immigrants in Israel, or immigration of Latino immigrants to the United States which may strengthen the Latino community) (Amit, 2012). In addition, different groups of immigrants may be perceived as representing a threat, while other groups may be perceived as beneficial in the same area. A threat-benefit model assumes that for all immigrant groups, the

various domains of threats are positively correlated to each other, as well as the domains of benefits. Yet, we suggest that the strength of association between different aspects of appraisal will vary. When local people have less information regarding an immigrant group (from personal experience of contact with them and from the mass media), they are more likely to appraise it in a less detailed manner, as either entirely threatening or beneficial (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2019; Timberlake & Williams, 2012). The groups more familiar to the local population are appraised in a more detailed manner, and the different aspects of their appraisal are less strongly related to each other.

On a theoretical level, according to cultural conflict theories, which consider differences in attitudes toward various immigrant groups as related to ethnocentrism and symbolic threats (e.g., Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015), the higher the cultural distance between an immigrant group and the local population (measured as a difference in the skin color, ethnicity, religion, and language), the more negative will be attitudes toward the group (Dustmann & Preston, 2007; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). Several studies conducted in both the United States and Europe have supported these theories (Dustmann & Preston, 2007; Valentino, Brader, & Jardina, 2013). Similarly, receiving society members for whom certain values are more important (e.g., those with a higher level of religiosity and a higher preference for the conservation value) expressed more negative attitudes toward immigrants than receiving society members with lower levels of those values (Beierlein, Kuntz, & Davidov, 2016).

Antecedents of Appraisal of Immigrants: Values The threat-benefit model of appraisal of immigrants suggests that the appraisal one holds toward immigrants may be related to the system of personal values (Schwartz, 1992, 2006b; Schwartz et al., 2012) that an individual holds. Personal values theory (Schwartz, 1992, 2006b; Schwartz et al., 2012) defines values as desirable trans-situational goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives. It specifies a comprehensive set of 12 motivationally distinct values: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, humility, tradition, conformity, security, and face (Schwartz et al., 2012). Personal values theory assumes the existence of dynamic relations between these values in that pursuit of each value has consequences that may conflict or may be congruent with the pursuit of other values. The conflicts and congruities among all 12 values yield an integrated structure of four higher-order value types arrayed along two orthogonal dimensions: self-enhancement (including values of power and achievement) versus self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) and openness to change (self-direction and stimulation) versus conservation (conformity, tradition, and security). Three of the 12 values are considered to overlap two higher-order value types: face (conservation and self-enhancement), hedonism (openness and self-enhancement), and humility (self-transcendence and conservation).

Personal Values and Attitudes toward Immigrants Psychologists assume that human cognitive structures are organized according to a hierarchy (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). Values constitute the most general and abstract part of this hierar-

chy; they reflect individual preferences across a wide range of situations and have a motivational property (Schwartz, 2006a; 2006b). Attitudes are defined as the disposition to evaluate an attitudinal object with some degree of favor or disfavor, and therefore, they represent the individual's preferences for specific conditions and/or in relation to a specific social object (Maio & Haddock, 2014). One of the prominent functions of attitudes is to assert value preferences (Hitlin, 2003; Schwartz, 2006a). Researchers have found that attitudes toward minorities are positively associated with some values and contradict others (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995; Schwartz, 2006a). Specifically, researchers found from studies of value and attitudes among locals in 19 nations that self-enhancement values (especially power) align with negative attitudes toward minority groups, while self-transcendence values (especially universalism) are associated with positive attitudes toward these groups. In addition, conservation values are associated with negative attitudes toward minority groups, while openness to change values is associated with positive attitudes (Davidov et al., 2008).

Schwartz (2006a) differentiates between anxiety-free values (openness to change and self-transcendence) which relate to self-growth, as opposed to anxiety avoidance values (self-enhancement and conservation) in which the individual is motivated toward self-protection against threat. Schwartz (2010) suggests that if people are preoccupied with pursuing specific values to control their anxiety, they have fewer psychic resources to be open to the "other," suggesting a relationship between anxiety avoidance values and negative appraisal of immigrants. These theoretical assumptions have been supported in empirical studies on attitudes toward immigrants conducted on both the individual level (Feather & McKee, 2008; Leong, 2008; Vecchione et al., 2012) and at the level of societal value preferences (Davidov et al., 2008; Leong & Ward, 2006). These findings suggest that negative appraisal of immigrants can allow attainment, expression, or fulfillment of anxiety avoidance values, while positive appraisal can enable the attainment or fulfillment of anxiety-free values.

Behavioral and Emotional Responses Toward Immigrants The threat-benefit model also suggests that the appraisal a member of the host society holds will have implications for their responses or behaviors directed toward immigrant groups. Appraisal of immigrants is likely to impact diverse responses such as levels and types of interaction and attitudes they will hold toward immigrant rights and behaviors. Critical to this is the understanding that while the threat-benefit model postulates an overall negative correlation between threats and benefits, they are not two ends of a unidimensional continuum (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a). Examining benefits expands the ability to understand responses to immigrants, over and above a focus on threats. As such, we increase our conceptual understanding and may be able to explain greater variance of local population responses. For instance, in an examination of predictors of voluntary contact (e.g., socializing, dating, visiting homes) of young adults with immigrants from the FSU in Israel (Walsh, Tartakovsky, & Shifter-David, 2018), perception of threats helped understand why young people chose to avoid contact but not necessarily why they would choose to get close to

immigrants. By examining the benefits that the immigrants bring with them (such as cultural diversity and social cohesion), we add in our ability to appreciate the positive relationships created.

In addition, we suggest that positive appraisal of immigrants within a society promotes a form of societal resilience, which, in turn, enhances immigrant resilience. We consider that positive appraisal of immigrants is a sign of health and resourcefulness of the society and a sign of a high level of self-assurance and a low level of "societal anxiety". Resilience (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten & Powell, 2003) has been considered the ability to continue toward positive development and growth despite stressors which can challenge the individual or group. The incoming of immigrant groups can increase stressors in a society in its process of absorbing and integrating the newcomers. It may be that growth of the receiving society can be represented by positive attitudes to immigrant rights (e.g., education, health, and welfare), ability to provide effective services with immigrant groups and sought contact with the newcomers.

Empirical Studies: An Overview In the following sections, we relate to two studies (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a, 2016b) which explored the threat-benefit model and how it related to two outcomes among social workers: attitudes toward immigration policy toward asylum seekers (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016b) and feelings of burnout when working with Diaspora immigrants (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a). The focus on social workers was chosen because this professional group, along with other human services professionals (e.g., educators, law enforcement officers, and medics), is at the forefront of working with immigrants and is pivotal in enabling positive adaptation and integration of immigrant groups. Since most social workers are placed in the government or governmentally subsidized agencies, they are responsible for distribution of state welfare resources (Ayalon, Kaniel, & Rosenberg, 2008). In addition, in Israel and in many other countries, social workers affect policy regarding immigrants and asylum seekers, through different nongovernment bodies, court rulings, and parliament commissions (Kritzman-Amir, 2012). Despite their centrality in processes of integration and adaptation of immigrant groups, to the best of our knowledge, former studies have not examined predictors and outcomes of their attitudes toward the populations they work with.

The two studies took place in Israel. Israel is a special immigration context in which Jewish Diaspora groups are formally encouraged to immigrate to Israel (Amit, 2012; Titzmann & Stoessel, 2014). Recent years, however, have seen an influx of additional immigrant groups, including asylum seekers, especially from Eritrea and Sudan, and both legal and illegal foreign workers from countries such as Romania, Thailand, and the Philippines who are involved in caretaking, the building industry, and agriculture, making Israel more similar to other countries.

The first study focused on appraisal of asylum seekers, and the second study examined the appraisal of two Diaspora immigrant groups from the Former Soviet Union and from Ethiopia. The decision to explore the appraisal of asylum seekers was guided by the fact that the number of asylum seekers in the world is rapidly growing (Kritzman-Amir, 2012; Yaron, Hashimshony-Yaffe, & Campbell, 2013).

Debates on policy regarding asylum seekers are heated both in Israel and in the world (Stratham, 2003). An understanding of predictors of appraisal held by the receiving population toward asylum seekers may provide important suggestions for improving positive attitudes toward this group. In 2019, there were around 38,500 asylum seekers living in Israel. Ninety percent of them were from Eritrea and Sudan, and the rest were from other African countries (IPA, 2015). Asylum seekers constitute the most culturally distant immigrant group in Israel, and Israeli mass media has repeatedly reported conflicts between them and the local people (African Refugee Development Center, 2012; Kritzman-Amir, 2009).

Public debate in Israel has been heated around whether asylum seekers should be strongly encouraged to return to their countries of origin and around the issue of building detainment centers for asylum seekers. Due to the cultural gap between asylum seekers and the local population and their non-Jewish status, the position of social workers in their contact with asylum seekers may be ambivalent: on the one hand, they are supposed to help asylum seekers to adjust and to defend their rights, while on the other hand, they are supposed to defend the interests of receiving society (Ayalon et al., 2008).

Diaspora immigrants from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and Ethiopia are the top two groups that have arrived in Israel during the last 25 years. Together with their children born in Israel, it has been estimated that about 1,200,000 immigrants were from the FSU and 100,000 immigrants from Ethiopia (CBS, 2016). The wave of immigrants from the FSU following 1990 took place after the breakup of the FSU, in the socioeconomic crisis and instability that ensued (Remennick, 1999). FSU immigrants came with high levels of education and human capital, and studies have documented impressive levels of employment and integration (Amit, 2012; Remennick, 2012). Yet, they have been subject to discrimination on the basis of their perceived symbolic and realistic threat (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a) and questioned Jewish status (Remennick, 2012).

Ethiopian immigrants, who make up around 2% of the Jewish population in Israel, came to Israel in two major waves of immigration in 1984 and 1991, with continued immigration into the twenty-first century. Difficulties in integration have resulted from deep cultural differences (Kaniel, 1990; Tannenbaum, 2008), such as the transition from poor rural living to an urban society, significant illiteracy, and a more patriarchal culture with religious and community leaders acting as high authority (Kurman & Ronen-Eilon, 2004), as well as racism and discrimination on the basis of skin color (Offer, 2007).

Research showed the overall disadvantaged socioeconomic status of the Ethiopian community, as well as substantial gaps in educational and occupational attainment (Offer, 2004, 2007). In 2015, waves of protest among the Israeli-born ("second-generation") Ethiopian-heritage young people, following the videotaped attack on a young Ethiopian man by police (Abu, Yuval, & Ben-Porat, 2017; Wahle, Ponizovsky-Bergelson, Dayan, Erlichman, & Roer-Strier, 2017), highlighted the still existing feelings of racism, disadvantage, and unequal opportunities that Ethiopian-heritage young people in Israel experience today, despite their full participation in the army and the workforce.

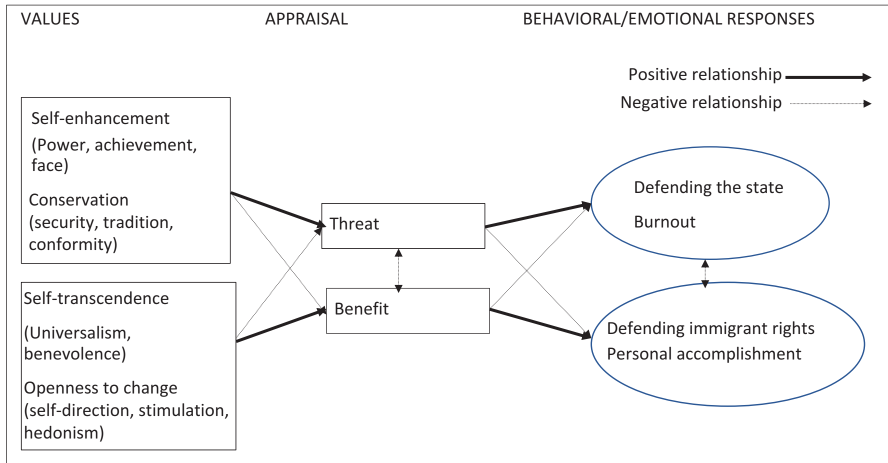

Fig. 5.1 Conceptual model

Both studies examined a model in which personal values (Schwartz et al., 2012) predict threat-benefit appraisal which in turn predict behavioral and emotional outcomes (see Fig. 5.1). Our model is in line with the value-attitude-behavior hierarchy (Homer & Kahle, 1988) in which we suggest that opinions toward immigrant policy are attitude-directed behavior intentions and burnout is an emotional and behavioral response and hence may be assumed to follow appraisal. In the model, we suggest that self-transcendence and openness to change values (anxiety-free values) are related to a higher appraisal of benefits of immigrants, while higher levels of self-enhancement and conservation values (anxiety avoidance values) are related to greater levels of threat appraisal. We suggest that threat-benefit appraisal mediates the relationship between personal values and behavioral and emotional responses.

Study 1: Attitudes of Social Workers Regarding Immigration Policy in Israel

In the first study (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016b), we used the threat-benefit model to understand the appraisal of social workers toward asylum seekers and attitudes toward immigration policies. In line with former studies (Ajzenstadt & Shapira, 2012; Ayalon et al., 2008; Dhont, Cornelis, & Van Hiel, 2010; Kritzman-Amir, 2012), we suggest a conceptualization of the local people's opinions regarding immigration policy as lying along two dimensions: (1) preserving the interests and rights of the immigrants (promoting their culture and providing them with rights and socioeconomic benefits) and (2) defending interests of the local people (preserving the dominant culture and immediate economic, security, and other interests of the local population).

Main Hypotheses of the Study

Based on previous literature, we hypothesized that higher preference for the anxiety-free values (especially universalism and self-direction) would be associated with a more positive appraisal of asylum seekers (i.e., a higher perception of them as beneficial and a lower perception of them as threatening for Israeli society). A higher preference for the anxiety avoidance values (especially tradition, conformity, security, and power) would be associated with a more negative appraisal of immigrants (i.e., perceiving them as threatening). In addition, we hypothesized that a tendency to perceive asylum seekers as beneficial for Israeli society would be associated with stronger support of policy defending immigrants' rights, while perceiving them as a threat would be associated with supporting policy aimed toward defending Israeli society. Lastly, we hypothesized that appraisal of asylum seekers as threatening or beneficial for Israeli society would mediate the relationship between personal value preferences and opinions on immigration policy regarding asylum seekers.

Method

Sample and Procedure

Two hundred eighty-three social workers living across Israel and working in different social service organizations participated in the study. The sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., gender, education level) of the participants were similar to the characteristics of social workers in the most recent survey of all social workers in Israel (Bar-Zuri, 2004). Self-report anonymous questionnaires were distributed by research assistants in organizations focusing on different fields of social work across Israel. In addition, the questionnaires were distributed through professional Internet forums and social networks. The study was approved by the Tel Aviv University Ethical Research Board.

Instruments

Personal Value Preferences Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ-R) (Schwartz et al., 2012). This questionnaire uses a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *not like me at all*; 6 = *very much like me*) to measure the extent to which a respondent sees himself/herself as similar to a person described as holding various aspirations, goals, and wishes. The PVQ-R contains 57 items which measure the 12 different basic values. Example items include "It's important for him/her to be very successful" (achievement) and "It's important to him/her for everyone to get fair treatment, including

people she/he doesn't know" (universalism). Scores for each value are calculated as means of the relevant items. Internal consistency of the scales for the 12 values was satisfactory (Cronbach alphas = 0.64–0.86).

Threat-Benefit Appraisal Appraisal of asylum seekers by social workers was measured by the Threats-Benefits Inventory (TBI) (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a, 2016b). The initial inventory consists of 45 items (reduced to 38 in the second version) measured on a 5-point scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Threats are examined in four areas: economic threats ("Asylum seekers drain welfare funds."), physical threats ("Asylum seekers commit many violent crimes against Israelis."), threats to social cohesion ("Asylum seekers are a threat to the Jewish character of Israel."), and threats to modernity ("Asylum seekers bring nonprogressive rules of raising children, e.g., physical punishment."). Benefits are measured in four areas: economic benefits ("Asylum seekers bring new knowledge and skills needed in the Israeli economy."), cultural diversity benefits ("Asylum seekers bring cultural diversity to our population and give us an opportunity to learn about cultures we might never learn about otherwise."), humanitarian benefits ("Accepting asylum seekers can help to save lives."), and physical benefits ("Asylum seekers are quiet and nice people."). Confirmatory factor analysis was used to confirm a three-level structure of the questionnaire. Individual threats and benefits were loaded onto four factors of realistic and symbolic threats and benefits with loadings above 0.50. These in turn were loaded onto two factors of threat-benefit with loadings above 0.72. Measures showed a good fit for the hypothesized model (see Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a for further details).

Immigration Policy The Immigration Policy Questionnaire (IPQ) was developed for the study to examine opinions toward different aspects of immigration policy. Twenty-one items measured on a 5-point scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), were divided into two scales: (1) policies directed toward defending the particularistic and distinct interests of Israelis and Israeli society (11 items; e.g., "The Israeli government should invest more to fortify the state borders and strengthen border control to prevent illegal immigration.") and (2) policies directed toward defending asylum seekers' rights (10 items; e.g., "Asylum seekers should be permitted to work so as to be able to support themselves and their families financially."). Confirmatory factor analysis supported a two-factor structure with loadings of the items above 0.40. Further details of the construction of the scale can be seen in Tartakovsky and Walsh (2016a).

Results

We used structural equation modeling (SEM) to test the suggested theoretical model of the connections between values, appraisal of immigrants, and opinions regarding immigration policy (Fig. 5.1). Analysis was carried using AMOS (Arbuckle, 2006)

in SPSS version 25. SEM using observed variables based on the average scores of the scales was used to test the connections between the variables in the study. In the initial model, values predicted the two aspects of the local's appraisal of asylum seekers (threats and benefits), which, in turn, predicted opinions regarding the two aspects of immigration policy (defending the state and defending the immigrants' rights). In addition, direct connections between all values and the two policy aspects were included in the model in order to test for mediation effects. All values were permitted to correlate with each other. Finally, four sociodemographic variables (age, gender, education, and religious affiliation as an ordinal variable [atheist, secular, traditional, religious, ultrareligious]) were included as control variables on all study variables.

In the best-fit model (Fig. 5.2), only social security values directly predicted immigration policy of directing the state. Appraisal of asylum seekers as a threat or a benefit was predicted by four values (universalism, power, social security, and tradition). Attitudes to policy were, in turn, predicted by threat-benefit appraisal. The only sociodemographic variables which were significantly related to other variables in the study were age and religious affiliation. The resulting model demonstrated a very good fit. It explained a substantial proportion of variance in appraisal of asylum seekers as a benefit ($R^2 = 0.39$) and as a threat ($R^2 = 0.43$). It also explained a significant amount of variance regarding opinions to policy directed at defending the asylum seekers rights ($R^2 = 0.55$) and directed at defending the state ($R^2 = 0.67$).

The total effects of the two sociodemographic variables (age and religiosity) and the four values (power, social security, universalism, and tradition) on the opinions regarding immigration policy were decomposed into indirect and direct effects, to examine the mediating role of threats and benefits. All indirect effects on the opin-

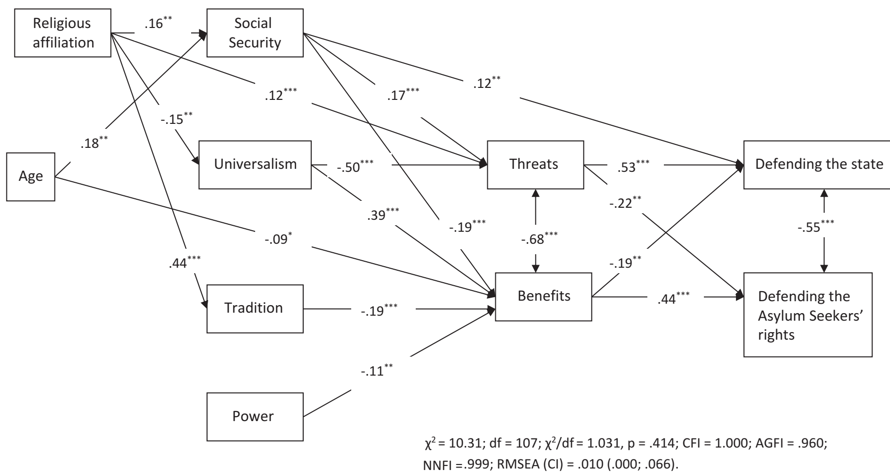

Fig. 5.2 Study 1, the best-fit structural equation model including sociodemographic variables, values, appraisal, and immigration policy

ions regarding immigration policy were significant, as well as a direct effect of the social security values on policy directed at defending the state. As such, threat-benefit appraisal could be seen to fully mediate the relationship between the other three values (power, universalism, and tradition) on both aspects of policy and social security values on immigration policy directed at defending the asylum seekers' rights. In addition, values partly mediated the effects of sociodemographic variables (age and religiosity) on threat-benefit appraisal.

In sum, results partially confirmed our hypotheses. As hypothesized, threat appraisal was positively predicted by the conservation value of social security and negatively predicted by the self-transcendence value of universalism, while benefits were positively predicted by universalism and negatively predicted by conservation values of security and tradition and the self-enhancement value of power. Thus, higher levels of anxiety-free values were related to greater benefit and lower threat appraisal, while higher levels of anxiety-provoking values predicted the opposite. Threat-benefit appraisal mediated the relationship between values and opinions toward policy, with the exception of social security which also directly positively predicted defending the state. Older participants were less likely to see benefits of asylum seekers, while more orthodox religious affiliations were related to higher levels of threat and conservation values (tradition and security) and lower levels of universalism.

Study 2: Burnout Among Social Workers Working with Diaspora Immigrants

In this second study (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a), we applied the threat-benefit model to examining social workers' experiences of burnout in their work with immigrants from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and Ethiopia in Israel. Work with immigrants can be exhausting and draining and lead to burnout (Tatar & Horenczyk, 2003). Burnout is a complex concept reflecting the individuals' work-related well-being/distress (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001) and has been considered to manifest through (1) overwhelming exhaustion; (2) feelings of cynicism, accompanied by detachment from the job, and depersonalization and dehumanization of the clients; and (3) a sense of ineffectiveness and lack of personal accomplishment (Maslach et al., 2001). Burnout can have serious implications for social workers as well as for their clients. It can impact negatively on the quality of service that the social workers provide (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) and impair treatment outcomes. In addition, burnout can have implications for the physical and mental welfare of workers and be responsible for high levels of turnover (Toppinen-Tanner, Kalimo, & Mutanen, 2002). There can be a number of specific stressors and difficulties when working with immigrants, such as fear, a lack of cultural and language understanding, and a conflict between helping one's own community and helping newcomers (Fong, 2004; Hepworth, Rooney, Rooney, Strom-Gottfried, & Larsen, 2009), which are likely to impact on burnout among those working with immigrants.

We assumed that social workers who appraise immigrants as more threatening to the receiving society may have greater difficulty in providing them with adequate psychosocial help. Such social workers may experience strong negative emotions toward the immigrants (e.g., fear, anxiety, and anger). In addition, they may have greater difficulty in understanding these immigrants and in empathizing with them. This cognitive-emotional reaction prevents the establishment of good therapeutic contact with immigrant clients and contradicts ethics of the social work profession (IASW, 1994; NASW, 2008). Therefore, social workers who appraise immigrants as threatening to the country may make efforts to conceal their negative feelings toward immigrants. However, management of negative feelings requires additional emotional investment and thus may constitute an additional burden for the social workers leading to greater work fatigue. As a result, they may suffer from a stronger sense of burnout than those social workers who consider immigrants as a potential benefit for the receiving country.

Main Hypotheses of the Study

Based on differences in the sociodemographic characteristics between the two immigrant groups (see overview of studies), we hypothesized the existence of differences in the social workers' attitudes toward immigrants from the FSU and from Ethiopia. We expected that immigrants from the FSU would be appraised as more beneficial economically and as less threatening to modernity as compared to the immigrants from Ethiopia. We, however, expected that Ethiopian immigrants would be appraised as more beneficial in the humanitarian and social cohesion aspects, yet as less threatening in physical aspects. In addition, as in study 1, we hypothesized that the self-transcendence and openness to change (anxiety-free) values would be associated with the social workers' appraisal of immigrants as beneficial for the receiving society, while the self-enhancement and conservation values (anxiety avoidance) would be associated with the appraisal of immigrants as threatening for the receiving society. Lastly, we hypothesized that higher levels of perceived benefits would be associated with a lower level of burnout (lower emotional exhaustion and depersonalization and higher professional achievement), while higher perceived threats would be associated with a higher level of burnout among social workers.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The study included 358 social workers (mean age 37.6; 91% female) who had significant experience in working with immigrants from Ethiopia and the FSU. Of the participants, 177 filled in questionnaires regarding immigrants from Ethiopia and

181 regarding immigrants from the FSU. The average experience in social work was 9.8 years. The samples of social workers were representative of social workers in Israel (Bar-Zuri, 2004) in regard to sociodemographic characteristics. The data collection was carried out as in study 1.

Instruments

As in study 1, the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ-R) (Schwartz et al., 2012) and the Threats-Benefits Inventory (TBI, Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a) were completed. In contrast to the previous study, due to the difference in the population (the Diaspora nature of the two populations who can strengthen the Jewish state, in contrast with asylum seekers), we included a measure of social cohesion benefits and removed the physical benefits due to inadequate loadings.

Burnout Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) – Human Services Survey (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996), adapted to the context of work with immigrants. The MBI consists of three scales, with a total of 22 items: emotional exhaustion ("I feel emotionally exhausted by my work with immigrants."), depersonalization ("I have become more and more cynical about the possibility that my work with immigrants makes a contribution."), and personal accomplishment ("I feel that I have a valuable contribution to make in my work with immigrants."). As suggested by Maslach et al. (1996), depersonalization and exhaustion were combined into one scale of "burnout," because of the high correlation between them. Half of the sample were asked about their feelings toward each of the groups of immigrants (FSU and Ethiopian), on a 5-point scale (from 1 = *completely disagree* to 5 = *completely agree*). The questionnaire has been well used and validated in Israel (Hamama, 2012; Tartakovsky, 2016).

Results

As in study 1, we used structural equation modeling (SEM), using observed variables based on the average scores of the scales to test the suggested theoretical model of the connections between values, appraisal of immigrants, and burnout for each population separately (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4). The analyses were carried out with AMOS (Arbuckle, 2006) in SPSS version 25. In the initial model, values predicted the two aspects of the local's appraisal of immigrants (threats and benefits), which in turn predicted burnout and personal accomplishment of the social workers. In addition, direct connections between all values and the two aspects of burnout were included in the model in order to test for mediation effects. All values were permitted to correlate with each other.

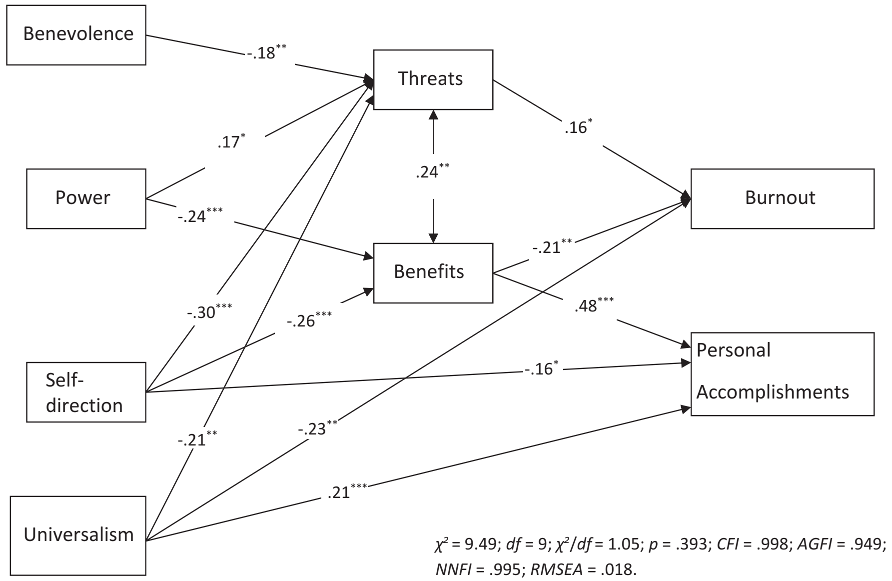

Fig. 5.3 Study 2, the best-fit structural equation model including values, appraisal, and burnout: immigrants from Ethiopia

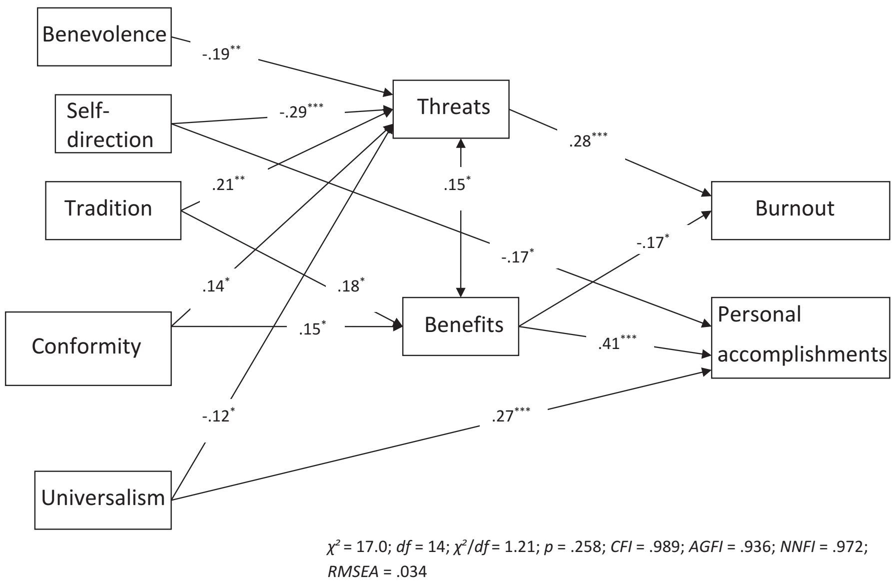

Fig. 5.4 Study 2, the best-fit structural equation model including values, appraisal, and burnout: immigrants from the FSU

For the model examining attitudes toward Ethiopian immigrants, the model demonstrated excellent fit (see Fig. 5.3). Result showed that benefits were negatively predicted by self-direction and power values. Threats were positively predicted by power and negatively by benevolence, self-direction, and universalism. In addition, burnout was negatively predicted by benefits and positively predicted by threats. Benefit appraisal positively predicted personal accomplishments. Lastly, universalism (positively) and self-direction (negatively) predicted personal accomplishment. A significant proportion of variance in personal accomplishment (R^2 = 0.34) and burnout (R^2 = 0.15) threat (R^2 = 0.34) and benefit (R^2 = 0.11) were explained by the model.

To examine the mediating role of the appraisal of Ethiopian immigrants as threatening and beneficial for the local population, we decomposed the total effects of the four values (benevolence, universalism, power, and self-direction) on the burnout variables (burnout and personal accomplishment) into indirect effects and direct effects. The results indicated significant indirect effects of power and self-direction on personal accomplishment and power on burnout. In addition, significant direct effects of universalism and self-direction on personal accomplishment and universalism on burnout were found. Therefore, perceived threats and benefits fully mediated the effect of benevolence, conformity, and power and partially mediated the effect of universalism and self-direction.

The model examining attitudes toward FSU immigrants (see Fig. 5.4) explained a significant proportion of variance in personal accomplishment (R^2 = 0.26) and burnout (R^2 = 0.09) and showed excellent fit. Personal value preferences explained a significant proportion of variance in appraisal of immigrants as a benefit (R^2 = 0.06) and as a threat (R^2 = 0.39). Threats were negatively predicted by benevolence, universalism, and self-direction and positively predicted by conformity and tradition. Tradition and conformity positively predicted benefits. As in the model for immigrants from Ethiopia, threats positively predicted burnout, while benefits negatively predicted burnout and positively predicted personal accomplishments. In addition, universalism (positively) and self-direction (negatively) predicted personal accomplishments.

To examine the mediating role of the appraisal of FSU immigrants as threatening and beneficial for the local population, we decomposed the total effects of the five values (benevolence, universalism, conformity, tradition, and self-direction) on the burnout variables (burnout and personal accomplishment into indirect effects and direct effects). The results indicated significant indirect effects of conformity and tradition on personal accomplishment and significant indirect effects of benevolence, universalism, and self-direction on burnout. In addition, significant direct effects of universalism and self-direction on personal accomplishment were found. Therefore, perceived threats and benefits fully mediated the effect of benevolence, conformity, and tradition and partially mediated the effect of universalism and self-direction.

In sum, across the two populations, the study hypotheses were partially confirmed. For both populations, threat and benefit appraisal significantly predicted levels of burnout and personal accomplishment. Emphasizing the importance of benefit

appraisal in a resilience perspective, only benefit (and not threat) appraisal predicted personal accomplishment. Threat appraisal (partially) mediated self-transcendence values of benevolence and universalism for both populations, openness to change values (self-direction) for FSU immigrants, self-enhancement values (power) for Ethiopian immigrants, and conservation values (tradition and conformity) for FSU immigrants. Benefit appraisal (partially) mediated conservation values (tradition and conformity) for FSU immigrants and self-enhancement (power) and openness to change (self-direction) values for Ethiopian immigrants. Thus, as in study 1, higher levels of anxiety-free values were related to greater benefit and lower threat appraisal, while higher levels of anxiety-provoking values predicted the opposite.

Discussion

Immigration is a societal stressor. The reception of immigrants, whether asylum seekers or more "desired" groups (Ford, 2011), inevitably places stress on the society and its resources. The host society is faced with the challenges of absorbing and integrating the newcomers, providing housing and employment, social services, and education (Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). In contrast, integration of immigrants may contribute to the process of growth and positive development of the receiving society (Holmes, 2015).

In the current chapter, with the use of a threat-benefit model, our findings have advanced current theoretical understandings in a number of ways. Firstly, TBT extends social psychological understandings in the area of intergroup relations to posit that receiving host members can see immigrants as bringing with them benefits to the new society such as economic contributions and cultural enrichment, as opposed to just being a core of threat as has been generally highlighted (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This perspective stresses to researchers to place greater attention to the strengths and resources of the individual as well as the group.

Secondly, findings suggest that the attitude toward or appraisal of immigrants that a person holds is related to the personality of the individual in the form of personal values that the individual holds. As Ponizovskiy et al. (2019) stated, "value-initiating beliefs" are beliefs that an individual holds which can allow them to express their values. In continuation, TBT suggests that the appraisal of immigrants as bringing with them benefits is related to the existence of anxiety-free values, where the intrinsic lower level of anxiety can leave the individual open to receiving newcomers, whereas anxiety-provoking values can motivate a negative appraisal (Schwartz, 2006a; 2006b). Thirdly, the current studies based on the values-attitude-behavior paradigm (Homer & Kahle, 1988) showed that the appraisal that individuals hold toward immigrants would have implications for a host of behavioral consequences, including attitudes toward immigration policy (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a), levels of burnout in work with immigrants (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016b), and levels of sought contact with immigrants (Walsh et al., 2018; Walsh & Tartakovsky, submitted).

The examination of not only the negative (threat) but also positive (benefit) appraisal is important conceptually and practically. By examining the ability of the local population to appreciate the benefits that an immigrant group can bring, we suggest that we are better able to understand and predict more positive emotions and behaviors of a local population. While a threat-oriented model may explain conflict, avoidance, and negative intergroup relations, it is an understanding of the way that a local population may experience the benefits of the group that may explain more positive responses. These may include the wish to grant extensive rights, the openness and willingness to form relationships (Walsh et al., 2018) and experience new cultures, the ability to feel a sense of accomplishment in work with immigrants, and a societal openness to integrating the ingoing group.

TBT also posits the antecedents to appraisal of immigrants. Specifically, it examines the role of personal values (Schwartz, 2006a, 2006b; Schwartz et al., 2012) as predicting positive and negative appraisal. Schwartz (2006a, 2006b) differentiates between what he terms anxiety-free values (self-transcendence and openness to change) as opposed to anxiety avoidance values (self-enhancement and conservation). Individuals who are preoccupied with avoiding anxiety lack the resources to be open to "the other." In the case of immigration, this can be seen to overlap with the concept of intergroup anxiety from ITT (Stephan et al., 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The present results do support or reinforce a model in which anxiety-free values predict more positive appraisal of immigrants and, in turn, more positive behavioral and emotional responses. Personal values are an individual characteristic and differ between people. However, past studies also found that societies and cultures may differ in their endorsement of particular values (Hofstede, 1984; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990).

We take what we have termed a "societal resilience" perspective to describe a situation by which, despite the stressors involved, the host society is able to regard the immigrant group as providing benefits and contributions, becoming part of a healthy, rich, and growing society. We suggest that such positive appraisal is related to behaviors such as sought contact (Walsh et al., 2018), encouraging immigrant rights (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016b) and emotional responses as represented here by lower levels of burnout (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016a). A threat-benefit model suggests that the ability to perceive "the other" as a benefit is a societal resilience resource as it can strengthen the ability of the receiving society to welcome a new group and bring them into the new society, enabling more positive integration and harmonious intergroup relations. Considering immigrants only a threat prevents using their potential benefits for growth and development of the receiving society.

A concept of societal resilience has relevance not just for the growth of the society but also the well-being of the individuals within it. The attitudes that the host population holds toward the immigrant population have been found to impact on the levels of integration of the immigrant group and on the relationships between the groups (Zagefka et al., 2007). The current studies found that appraisal of immi-

grants has a direct association with behavioral and emotional responses such as attitudes toward policy. We suggest that appraisal of immigrants will relate to societal openness which will be reflected by rights given to the immigrants and ease in finding employment, housing, and so forth. As empirical studies have previously found, there is a relationship between employment experiences and immigrant well-being (Aycan & Berry, 1996). While not within the framework of the studies presented, we suggest that societal resilience may characterize societies with higher levels of anxiety-free values, societies that may have greater resources to integrate newcomers within it. The findings in the current study point toward the importance of encouraging self-transcendence and openness to change values in diverse and heterogeneous societies.

The threat-benefit model has important practical implications. An appreciation of the potential benefits that a group can bring to a country can enable the development of policy initiatives to highlight to the local population the positive contributions of the new population. Understanding the particular threats that a particular group of immigrants represents for the host population can enable authorities to direct efforts to ease levels of concern, through educational directives which can clarify to the host population the real situation of the immigrants (in contrast with threats which may be media-driven) and to increase resources in areas where real competition of resources may make harmonious relationships more challenging. Results suggest the necessity of explaining the potential benefits of immigrants to the receiving society to counteract anti-immigrant populistic propaganda. For many reasons, the threats of an out-group may be more obvious and attended to than the benefits. Reducing levels of perceived threat and increasing awareness of benefits to the local population can, we believe, significantly enhance the integration process of immigrant populations.

The studies that we have presented have their limitations. They focus on a population of social workers who, while critical for the integration of immigrant groups, are unlikely to be representative of the general population. Indeed, their tendencies to hold higher levels of self-transcendence values (Tartakovsky, 2016) and their more positive leanings toward vulnerable populations may explain why smaller levels of benefits (in contrast to threats) were explained, since we would expect less variance than among the general population. The studies also take place in Israel among three immigrant groups. Israel is a special immigration context and further studies are needed to explore the model in additional cultural contexts.

Despite these limitations, a model emphasizing the ability of local population members to appreciate the benefits that a newcomer can bring is an essential part of building a society which encourages positive integration and harmonious intergroup relations. It strengthens a resilience perspective in which the ability to see the "other" as beneficial and bringing with them positive capital can enable healthy societal growth in the face of the stressors involved in immigration.

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Chapter 6
The Role of Discrimination, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity in Predicting Psychosocial Functioning of Turkish Immigrant Youth

Aysun Doğan and Dagmar Strohmeier

European cities have become more ethnically diverse due to international migration caused by economic, social, and political turbulences in low-income countries. Research shows that in Europe, rising numbers of children and adolescents are experiencing resettlement problems and acculturative stress due to migration (Motti-Stefanidi, 2018). In turn, they exhibit emotional and behavioural difficulties as well as sociocultural adaptation problems (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). A recent meta-analysis capturing 51 studies revealed that immigrant youth in European countries have lower levels of academic adjustment and psychosocial functioning compared to their non-immigrant peers. After controlling for geographical area, developmental stage, gender, and socio-economic status, immigrant youth displayed more internalizing and externalizing adjustment problems compared to their non-immigrant peers (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, & Van de Vijver, 2016). Thus, immigrant status constitutes a risk factor for psychosocial functioning in European countries. However, immigrant youth are not a monolithic group and there is a variation between them in terms of psychosocial functioning (Strohmeier & Doğan, 2012).

Many of the studies examining immigrant children and adolescents in European countries adopted a deficit perspective and focused on risk factors that contribute to their integration and psychosocial adaptation problems (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Dimitrova et al., 2016). The present study applies a strengths-based perspective and aims to shed light on resilience processes that contribute to the

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positive adaptation of immigrant youth (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012; Suárez-Orozco, Motti-Stefanidi, Marks, & Katsiaficas, 2018). By focusing on a strengths-based perspective, the present study not only expands the scientific knowledge but also aims to produce suggestions how families, teachers, and policymakers are able to promote protective factors to strengthen resilience among immigrant youth. An integrative model was developed combining concepts from developmental resilience research (Masten, 2014), models on the developmental competencies of minority youth (Garcia Coll et al., 1996), and acculturation models (Berry, 1997). Thus, this chapter focuses on (1) whether there is variability of psychosocial functioning among Turkish immigrant youth depending on background variables (e.g. age, gender, and generational status), and (2) whether background variables, discrimination experiences, acculturation orientations, and multi-ethnic identities predict different forms of psychological functioning (e.g. depression, loneliness, social anxiety, self-esteem) differently. These questions were examined among first- and second-generation Turkish immigrant youth living in Austria – a high-income middle European country with less than optimal integration policies towards immigrants (Mipex, 2019).

Risk and Resilience Developmental Perspective

Resilience – the capacity of a dynamic system to withstand and rebound from disruptive challenges – has become an important topic in developmental science over the recent years (Masten, 2014). The concept of resilience involves multilevel and dynamic processes and outcomes that foster adaptation, recovery, or even growth in the face of serious challenges (Masten & Cicchetti, 2016). Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2012) argued that resilience research should adopt a developmental perspective, because children and adolescents are developing organisms who have to cope with a set of age-related developmental tasks. Importantly, Ungar, Ghazinour, and Richter (2013) emphasized the socio-ecological nature of resilience processes operating on different but interactive dynamic levels. As Ungar (2008) explained, “in the context of exposure to significant adversity, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to *navigate* their way to psychological, social, cultural, and physiological resources that sustain their well-being, and their capacity individually and collectively to *negotiate* for these resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaningful ways” (p. 225). Thus, Ungar (2011) suggested shifting the focus from understanding resilience only as an individual capacity to understanding resilience also in terms of the quality of the individual’s social and physical ecologies.

Although Lerner and the positive youth development movement (Lerner, Lerner, Bowers, & Lewin-Bizan, 2012) already proposed that researchers need to consider the person-environment interactions, the majority of the resilience literature still primarily centres its inquiry on individual-level outcomes (Ungar, 2011). In contrary, a socio-ecological understanding of resilience focuses on the qualities of dynamic and interacting socio-ecological systems. The assumption is that when

growing up under adversities, the locus of change does not reside in either the individual or the environment alone, but in the *processes* by which environments provide meaningful resources that are accessible by individuals. Advantaged environments are characterized by a multitude of promotive socio-ecological processes allowing more individual potential to be realized. Thus, outcomes at the individual level are understood as results of interactive adaptive processes caused by individual- and system-level capacities (Ungar, 2011; Ungar et al., 2013). The present study is conducted in Austria, a high-income country that provides more constraints than opportunities to immigrants (MIPEX, 2019).

Garcia-Coll and colleagues (1996) developed another insightful model to better understand the developmental competencies of minority youth in the United States. This model puts social position variables such as race, ethnicity, social class, and gender in the centre of the normative development of minority youth and argues that social positions have a strong impact on the quality of environments via racism, prejudice, discrimination, oppression, and segregation. Specifically, developmental competences (e.g. cognitive, social, emotional, linguistic) are considered as products of promotive or inhibiting environments and the child, family, and cultural characteristics.

This model has been widely applied to better understand developmental competencies of ethnic minority children in the United States (Marks & Garcia Coll, 2018), but comparatively few empirical studies investigated the associations between discrimination experiences and developmental competencies among immigrant youth in Europe (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). For example, Vedder, Sam, and Liebkind (2007) examined Turkish immigrant adolescents living in six European countries. The findings revealed that perceived discrimination was the strongest negative predictor for adolescents' psychological adaptation. In another study, Verkuyten (2002) examined personal and group discrimination among early adolescents living in the Netherlands and found that participants reported more group discrimination compared to personal discrimination. Thus, given the rise of anti-immigration movements in Europe, discrimination experiences are highly important macro-system influences of developmental processes in immigrant youth.

Perceived global discrimination refers to any negative behaviour or unfair treatment that is attributed to one's membership in a social group by the target (Brown & Chu, 2012; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Spears Brown & Bigler, 2005). Immigrant youth face discrimination across multiple contexts such as educational settings, neighbourhoods, or public places by peers, teachers, or others (Benner & Graham, 2013; Tynes, Umana-Taylor, Rose, Lin, & Anderson, 2012). There is wealth of research on perceived global discrimination and its detrimental effects on youths' psychological and sociocultural adaptation, including increased depression, anxiety, behaviour problems, academic and school adjustment problems, and decreased self-esteem, life satisfaction, and national identity (Motti-Stefanidi & Asendorpf, 2012). A recent meta-analysis found that perceived global discrimination is related to poor psychosocial functioning (e.g. depression, loneliness, social anxiety, and low self-esteem) with moderate effect sizes ($r = -.24$, Schmitt et al.,

2014). Similarly, Benner and Graham (2013) reported that differential influences on developmental outcomes were dependent on the perpetrators. For example, while greater discrimination from school personnel was associated with poorer academic performance, greater discrimination from peers was associated with more psychosocial problems, and greater societal discrimination was associated with heightened racial awareness in a study of Latino, African-American, and Asian-American adolescents. Thus, it is imperative to not only investigate levels of global discrimination but to differentiate discrimination perpetrated by teachers and peers or in public places.

The Importance of Acculturation Processes

Acculturation is a complex process that includes various dimensions such as acculturation orientations, generational status, language abilities, and identity development. Similar to non-immigrants, immigrant youth are faced with age-related developmental tasks (Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008). In addition, they also have to cope with a host of acculturative challenges like forming acculturation orientations, achieving proficiency in the mother and host languages, and developing multi-ethnic identities (Strohmeier & Doğan, 2012). The nature of these challenges are described in the following.

Acculturative challenges are characterized by changes that occur when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact. According to Berry (1997), two basic dimensions are involved in the acculturation process: (1) maintenance of the heritage culture and (2) relationships sought with people from the host culture. Based on these two dimensions, four acculturation orientations are differentiated among individual immigrants as well as in the larger (receiving) society. High expression in both dimensions (i.e. the orientation to maintain aspects of the heritage culture while also seeking relationships with people from the host culture) leads to an integration orientation on the level of individual immigrants. Low expression in both dimensions (abandoning and/or devaluing both the culture of heritage and the host culture) leads to a marginalization orientation, while the other two combinations lead either to assimilation or to separation on the level of individual immigrants. In societies that are characterized by an increased level of ethnic and cultural diversity, the distinction of only two cultural contexts might be overly simplistic to capture the full complexities that are present in multicultural contexts (Titzmann & Jugert, 2019; Van de Vijver, Blommaert, Gkoumasi, & Stogianni, 2015; Vertovec, 2007). Nevertheless, an integration or separation orientation was most beneficial for psychosocial functioning, whereas a marginalization orientation was associated with the poorest mental health outcomes of immigrant youth residing in 13 different countries (Berry et al., 2006).

From an acculturative stress perspective, immigrant generational status is an important variable to take into account. Being a first- versus a second-generation immigrant is associated with higher levels of acculturative stress in the United

States, which, in turn, works as a risk factor for lower levels of psychosocial functioning (Sirin, Ryce, Gupta, & Rogers-Sirin, 2013). First-generation immigrants have lower proficiency levels in the host language, higher levels of return intentions, and stronger ethnic identities compared to second-generation immigrants who are native speakers of the host language and who have stronger acculturation orientations towards the host culture in European countries (Kunuroglu, Yagmur, van de Vijver, & Kroon, 2015). High levels of proficiency in the host language was found to be associated with higher levels of academic achievement and good psychosocial functioning (Suárez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Identity development is the pivotal developmental task during adolescence. For immigrant youth, their ethnic identity becomes salient as part of the acculturation process. A changing sense of the ethnic identity and a developing sense of the national identity are central aspects of acculturation (Verkuyten, 2012). In the ICSEY study, all 40 immigrant groups from the 13 countries showed higher levels of ethnic identity compared with their national identity (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). One explanation for this finding is the shared minority position of the immigrant groups in the receiving countries (Verkuyten, 2012). Multi-ethnic identity is not a unitary construct; however, it is best understood applying a multidimensional model of group identification. Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevey, and Eidelson (2008) suggested distinguishing four modes of identification: (1) importance, (2) commitment, (3) superiority, and (4) deference. The majority of studies have typically focused on the modes of importance and commitment to the ethnic versus the national identity when studying the multi-ethnic identity in the development of immigrant youth (Musso, Moscardino, & Inguglia, 2018; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Among immigrant youth, the development of a bicultural identity (i.e. a secure sense of belonging to both the native and the host culture) is the optimal identity style for better psychosocial functioning (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). To capture the full complexity of identity development among immigrant youth, national, ethnic, and bicultural identities need to be studied.

Turkish Immigrants in Austria

As the third largest immigrant community, approximately 185,000 (2.2% of the population) Turkish people live in Austria with the majority residing in Vienna. The migration of Turks to Europe was launched more than 55 years ago when Turkish people were invited as “guest workers”. The first legal agreement was signed between Turkey and Germany in 1961, while Austria signed a similar agreement in 1964 (Uslu & Cassina, 1999). Thus, Turkish immigrants constitute a substantial proportion of the European population for decades, yet they are still perceived as “foreigners” by the locals and experience high levels of discrimination in many European countries including Austria (European Commission, 2017; Statistic Austria, 2018). Austria offers more constraints than chances to immigrants (Mipex, 2019) and is ranked 34 (out of 38 countries investigated) when it comes to access to

nationality. Austria does not implement any kind of multicultural policy for immigrants (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006). In Austria, immigrants are faced with a high level of assimilation pressure, for instance, dual citizenship is not possible, the educational system does not respond well to the needs of immigrant youth, and polylingualism is not considered an asset (for more details, see Mipex, 2019). There is ample evidence that Turkish immigrant youth are not equally well performing in schools compared to non-immigrant youth. Even after controlling for socio-economic status, both first- and second-generation Turkish immigrant children have a substantial disadvantage regarding their academic achievement in nearly all OECD countries including Austria (European Commission, 2017). In Austria, Turkish immigrant youth also face higher levels of peer rejection compared with immigrants from other countries and non-immigrant youth (Strohmeier & Spiel, 2003).

The Present Study

Based on the theorizing of García Coll and colleagues (1996), it can be assumed that discrimination experiences are constitutive for the normative development of Turkish immigrant youth that create inhibiting environments in schools and neighbourhoods in Austria. To capture the complexities of discrimination, a new instrument including negative and unfair treatment by peers and teachers and in public places as well as global discrimination was developed. Applying a risk and resilience developmental perspective (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012), the protective function of background characteristics, acculturation variables, and multi-ethnic identities for psychosocial functioning was also examined. In line with conceptualizations of meta-analytic studies (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014), four indicators of psychosocial functioning were differentiated. The conceptual model of the present study is presented in Table 6.1.

Assuming that there is variability of psychosocial functioning depending on the background variables, we expected differences in the mean levels of depression, loneliness, social anxiety, and self-esteem depending on age, gender, and generational status. More specifically, we expected that older (Dimitrova et al., 2016), second-generation (Kunuroglu et al., 2015), and male (Güngör & Bornstein, 2009) immigrant youth would have better psychosocial functioning compared to younger, first-generation, and female adolescents. Moreover, we hypothesized that perceived discrimination experiences would be negatively related to all forms of psychosocial functioning (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014), while high levels of an integration orientation, high proficiency in German language, and high levels of Austrian and Turkish-Austrian identity would promote psychosocial functioning (Berry et al., 2006).

Table 6.1 Conceptual model of the present study

Sets of predictors	Psychosocial functioning
Background characteristics	1. Depression
Gender (boy vs. girl)	2. Loneliness
Age group (11–13 years vs. 14–17 years)	3. Social anxiety
Immigrant generation (first vs. second)	4. Self-esteem
Perceived discrimination	
Global	
By teachers	
By peers	
In public places	
Acculturation variables	
Integration orientation	
Separation orientation	
Assimilation orientation	
Marginalization orientation	
German language proficiency	
Turkish language proficiency	
Multi-ethnic identity	
Austrian-Turkish identity	
Turkish identity	
Austrian identity	

Method

Participants

A total of 284 adolescents (50% girls) between the ages of 11 and 17 participated in this study; 140 were early adolescents (M = 12.03 years, SD = .77) and 144 were middle adolescents (M = 15.28 years, SD = .97). Adolescents who were born in Turkey and whose mothers (N = 82) or fathers (N = 80) were also born in Turkey were classified as first-generation immigrants (N = 82). Adolescents who were born in Austria but whose mothers (N = 196) or fathers (N = 194) were born in Turkey were classified as second-generation immigrants (N = 202). The majority of these youth lived together with their married parents (87%), had an employed father (83%), but an unemployed mother (61%), and stated that work was the main reason for their migration to Austria (72%). Except for maternal employment, there were no differences between first- and second-generation youth (see Table 6.2).

Procedures

After the approval of federal school council and the school principals, active parental and student consent was obtained. Students were recruited in 29 schools and 90 classrooms in Vienna, Austria. Only students with Turkish origin were invited to

Table 6.2 Sample description

	Whole sample $N = 284$	First generation $N = 82$	Second generation $N = 202$	p
% girls	50	44	53	ns
% early adolescents	49	56	47	ns
% married parents	87	92	86	ns
% uneducated father	16	14	17	ns
% uneducated mother	24	25	23	ns
% unemployed father	17	18	16	ns
% unemployed mother	61	84	51	<.01
% work as reason for migration	72	75	67	ns
% education as reason for migration	20	20	22	ns
% asylum as reason for migration	3	1	7	ns
% migrated before age 7		50		
Years passed since migration (*M*, SD)		6.72 (3.43)		

participate in the present study, because they were the target group of this research. Early adolescents were recruited in secondary schools and middle adolescents were recruited in high schools. Participants could choose to answer either the German or the Turkish version of the questionnaire that they completed individually during regular teaching hours under the supervision of one bilingual research assistant.

Measures

Demographic information Adolescents were asked to indicate their date of birth and gender as well as the education, marital, and employment status of their parents. Adolescents were also asked in which city and country (a) they, (b) their mother, and (c) their father were born.

Perceived discrimination A new measure consisting of four subscales was designed for the purpose of this study, including global discrimination (4 items; e.g. during the last 6 months, how often has anybody insulted or hurt you because you are Turkish?), discrimination by teachers (5 items; e.g. how often has a teacher graded you unfairly because you are Turkish or Muslim?), discrimination by peers (4 items; e.g. how often have your classmates excluded you because you are Turkish or Muslim?), and discrimination in public places (3 items; e.g. how often somebody on the street or in a park treated you badly because you are Turkish or Muslim?) (complete list of items are presented in the Appendix). The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *always*). The construct validity of the new scale was analysed with a series of CFA's in Mplus 7.0. The four subscales were constructed as latent variables using the 16 manifest items as indicators and they

were allowed to correlate. For the whole sample, the model fit was excellent, $\chi^2(98) = 149.41$, $p < .01$, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .043. Assuming factor form, factor loading, and intercept invariance between first- and second-generation immigrants, the model fit was again excellent, $\chi^2(220) = 303.28$, $p < .01$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .052, implying construct validity of the new measure for both immigrant groups. For first- and second-generation immigrants, the global discrimination (α's = .88, .84, respectively), discrimination by teachers (α's = .90, .94, respectively), discrimination by peers (α's = .90, .86, respectively), and discrimination in public places (α's = .87, .86, respectively) subscales were also reliable.

Acculturation orientations Acculturative orientations were measured with 20 items taken from the ICSEY study (Berry et al., 2006). The four dimensions of acculturation (integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization) were assessed in five domains (language, friends, music, television, leisure time). The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all true, 5 = very true). Example items were as follows: "I prefer to have both Turkish and Austrian friends" (integration orientation), "I prefer to watch only Turkish television" (separation orientation), "I prefer to listen only Austrian music" (assimilation orientation), and "I want to spend my leisure time neither with Turkish nor with Austrian friends" (marginalization orientation). For the first- and the second-generation immigrants, the integration (α's = .69, .68, respectively), separation (α's = .62, .73, respectively), assimilation (α's = .64, .65, respectively), and marginalization (α's = .80, .77, respectively) subscales were reliable.

Language proficiency It was assessed with eight items taken from the ICSEY study (Berry et al., 2006) referring to the self-rated ability to read, understand, write, and speak both German and Turkish language. The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = very good). For the first- and the second-generation immigrants, the German language (α's = .79, .74, respectively) and the Turkish language (α's = .89, .81, respectively) subscales were reliable.

Multi-ethnic identity Multi-ethnic identity was assessed with three items. Two of the items were taken from the ICSEY study (Berry et al., 2006; i.e. for ethnic identity, "I think of myself as being Turkish", and for national identity, "I think of myself as being Austrian") and one item was newly developed (i.e. for bicultural identity, "I think of myself as being Turkish and Austrian at the same time"). The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree).

Depression The Child Depression Inventory (CDI; Kovacs, 1981) was used to measure adolescents' depressive symptoms. The CDI was previously applied and validated in both Turkish (Öy, 1991) and German languages (Stiensmeier-Pelster, Schürmann, & Duda, 2000). Participants responded to items on a 3-point scale such as 1 = I am sad once in a while, 2 = I am sad many times, and 3 = I am sad all the time. For first- and second-generation immigrants, the 27 items formed a reliable scale (α's = .71, .81, respectively).

Loneliness Loneliness was assessed with 16 items developed by Asher and Wheeler (1985). This scale was previously used in Turkey (Tarhan, 1996). The adolescents responded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all true, 5 = always true) to items such as “I can find a friend when I need one” (reverse coded). For first- and second-generation immigrants, the 16 items formed a reliable scale (α’s = .82, .81, respectively).

Social anxiety To assess social anxiety, 18 items from a questionnaire developed by La Greca and Lopez (1998) were used. Adolescents responded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = never, 5 = always). This scale was previously validated in both Turkish (Aydın & Tekinsav-Sütçü, 2007) and German languages (Melfsen, 1998; Melfsen & Florin, 1997). The first subscale, fear of negative evaluation, included eight items (e.g. “I worry about what others say about me”). The second subscale, general social avoidance and distress, included four items (e.g. “It’s hard for me to ask others to do things with me”). The third subscale, social avoidance and distress in new social situations, included six items (e.g. “I get nervous when I meet new people”). For the purpose of the present study, these three subscales were combined. For first- and second-generation immigrants, the 18 items formed a reliable scale (α’s = .91, .89, respectively).

Self-esteem Self-esteem was assessed with the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). This measure was previously validated in both Turkish (Çuhadaroğlu, 1986) and German languages (Ferring & Filipp, 1996). This scale comprises 10 items (e.g. I feel that I have a number of good qualities) rated on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = I strongly disagree, 4 = I strongly agree). For first- and second-generation immigrants, the 10 items formed a reliable scale (α’s = .70, .71, respectively).

Results

Gender, Age, and Generational Status Differences

The means and standard deviations of the study variables depending on gender, age, and immigrant generation are displayed in Table 6.3. Four 2 (gender) × 2 (age) × 2 (generational status) MANOVAs (multivariate analyses of variance) were performed for the indicators of psychosocial functioning, perceived discrimination, acculturation variables, and multi-ethnic identity. Regarding psychosocial functioning, the main effect of age was significant according to multivariate tests, $F(4, 272) = 7.72$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .10$; all other variables were not significant. Regarding perceived discrimination, the main effect of generational status was significant according to multivariate tests $F(4, 272) = 2.63$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .04$; all other variables were not significant. Regarding the acculturation variables, the main effects of age,

$F(4, 272) = 3.83$, $p <.01$, $\eta^2 = .08$, and generational status, $F(4, 272) = 12.33$, $p <.01$, $\eta^2 = .22$, were significant; all other effects were not significant. Regarding multi-ethnic identity, the main effects of gender and generational status were significant, $F(4, 272) = 3.27$, $p <.02$, $\eta^2 = .04$ and $F(4, 272) = 2.51$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$, respectively; all other effects were not significant. The results of the univariate *F*-tests are displayed in Table 6.3.

According to the findings, age was an important variable. For example, early adolescents aged 11–13 years reported higher levels of loneliness and social anxiety, but lower levels of self-esteem compared to older adolescents aged 14–17 years. Early adolescents also reported higher levels of discrimination experiences by teachers, higher levels of assimilation and marginalization orientations, but lower levels of proficiency in Turkish language compared to older adolescents. In addition to age, generational status was also an important variable. Second-generation immigrants reported higher levels of self-esteem, lower levels of discrimination by peers, lower levels of marginalization orientations, higher levels of proficiency in German language, lower levels of proficiency in Turkish language, and higher levels of Austrian-Turkish identity compared to first-generation immigrants. Furthermore, gender differences were found only for multi-ethnic identity showing that girls reported higher levels of Austrian and Austrian-Turkish identity compared to boys.

Predictors of Psychosocial Functioning

As a first step, bivariate correlations of the study variables were examined. As shown in Table 6.4, interesting patterns of correlations emerged. The four indicators of psychosocial functioning were moderately associated with each other. Small associations were found between the four indicators of psychosocial functioning, the four different types of discrimination, separation, marginalization, and proficiency of German language. Psychosocial functioning was not related to three types of identities. An interesting finding was that Austrian and Austrian-Turkish identity correlated highly ($r = .60$, $p <.01$), while Austrian and Turkish identity was negatively related ($r = -.15$, $p <.05$).

Block-wise linear regression analyses were conducted with SPSS Version 24 to examine whether background characteristics, discrimination experiences, acculturation orientations, and multi-ethnic identities predict four forms of psychological adaptation (e.g. depression, loneliness, social anxiety, self-esteem) differently. The results of the final model (including all four blocks) are presented in Table 6.5. The explained variance for depression was 16% but ranged between 26% and 32% for the other forms of psychosocial functioning.

Depression The block 1 variables (background characteristics) explained 2% of the variance, adding block 2 variables (discrimination) explained 8%, adding block 3 variables (acculturation) explained 15%, and adding block 4 variables (identity) explained 16% of the variance. In sum, being a female, having higher levels of dis-

Table 6.3 Gender, age, and generational status differences

	Boys $N = 142$	Girls $N = 142$	$F(1, 274)$	11–13 years $N = 140$	14–17 years $N = 144$	$F(1, 274)$	First gen. $N = 82$	Second gen. $N = 202$	F(1, 274)
Psychosocial functioning									
Depression	1.44 (.23)	1.48 (.25)	2.15	1.45 (.23)	1.47 (.25)	.35	1.50 (.21)	1.45 (.25)	3.90
Loneliness	1.69 (.53)	1.76 (.55)	2.17	1.83 (.57)	1.62 (.48)	9.32**	1.80 (.59)	1.70 (.52)	2.00
Social anxiety	2.23 (.70)	2.27 (.78)	.68	2.50 (.78)	2.02 (.61)	20.03**	2.39 (.80)	2.20 (.71)	2.91
Self-esteem	3.11 (.46)	3.02 (.48)	2.94	2.99 (.45)	3.15 (.48)	5.99*	2.94 (.47)	3.12 (.46)	8.43**
Perceived discrimination									
Global discrimination	1.65 (.90)	1.47 (.77)	1.08	1.61 (.87)	1.51 (.82)	.01	1.67 (.97)	1.52 (.79)	1.78
Discrimination by teachers	2.04 (1.24)	1.81 (.97)	.55	1.78 (.94)	2.06 (1.25)	3.65*	2.04 (1.10)	1.88 (1.12)	1.48
Discrimination by peers	1.42 (.65)	1.45 (.76)	.97	1.49 (.77)	1.37 (.64)	.22	1.57 (.89)	1.38 (.62)	3.65*
Discrimination in public	1.64 (.90)	1.71 (.85)	1.62	1.67 (.92)	1.69 (.84)	.06	1.61 (.90)	1.71 (.87)	.51
Acculturation variables									
Integration orientation	3.68 (1.02)	3.75 (.99)	1.34	3.92 (.89)	3.77 (.85)	2.96	3.96 (.87)	3.80 (.87)	2.32
Separation orientation	3.21 (1.05)	3.29 (1.05)	.28	3.16 (.98)	3.21 (.91)	.56	3.14 (.92)	3.20 (.95)	.09
Assimilation orientation	2.41 (.93)	2.44 (.96)	.34	2.71 (.85)	2.52 (.81)	2.42**	2.62 (.84)	2.61 (.84)	.01
Marginalization orientation	2.17 (1.27)	1.98 (1.17)	.86	2.27 (1.10)	1.84 (1.04)	9.73**	2.57 (1.18)	1.84 (.98)	26.28**
Proficiency in German	4.40 (.57)	4.42 (.52)	.01	4.39 (.53)	4.43 (.56)	.02	4.16 (.62)	4.51 (.48)	−22.76**
Proficiency in Turkish	4.16 (.77)	3.99 (.86)	1.66	3.93 (.88)	4.21 (.74)	7.96**	4.33 (.85)	3.96 (.79)	14.64**
Multi-ethnic identity									
Turkish identity	4.56 (.95)	4.52 (1.02)	.67	4.52 (.91)	4.55 (1.05)	.45	4.52 (1.03)	4.54 (.96)	.09
Austrian identity	1.84 (1.18)	2.37 (1.43)	8.55**	2.15 (1.34)	2.06 (1.33)	.07	1.91 (1.33)	2.18 (1.32)	1.62
Austrian-Turkish identity	2.73 (1.49)	3.20 (1.45)	6.90**	3.14 (1.45)	2.80 (1.51)	2.22	2.59 (1.48)	3.12 (1.47)	7.11**

Note: $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$

Table 6.4 Correlations between study variables

	2. LON	3. ANX	4. SE	5. DG	6. DT	7. DPe	8. DPu	9. INT	1. SEP	11. ASI	12. MAR	13. PGE	14. PTU	15. TI	16. AI	17. ATI
1. Depression (DEP)	**.36****	**.25****	**−.51****	.18**	.19**	.24**	.14*	−.09	.21**	.07	**.12***	−.13*	−.02	.02	−.07	−.05
2. Loneliness (LON)	–	**.51****	**−.36****	.24**	.17**	.40**	.20**	−.11	.13*	.01	**.17****	−.20**	−.02	.01	−.01	−.05
3. Social anxiety (ANX)		–	**−.38****	.32**	.08	.31**	.21**	.12*	.08	.14*	**.24****	−.24**	−.08	.07	.08	.13*
4. Self-esteem (SE)			–	−.04	−.01	−.21**	.01	.03	−.17*	−.08	**−.33****	.28**	.04	.03	.06	.03
5. Global discrimination (GD)				–	**.44****	**.50****	**.51****	.06	.07	.03	.01	−.05	−.01	.06	.07	.10
6. Discrimination by teachers (DT)					–	**.38****	**.45****	.07	**.12***	**−.12***	.03	.02	**.14***	.05	−.01	−.05
7. Discrimination by peers (DPe)						–	**.54****	.09	.10	.10	.02	−.11	−.01	.06	.11	**.14***
8. Discrimination in public (DPu)							–	.06	.08	.01	.05	−.02	−.05	.04	.11	**.14***
9. Integration orientation (INT)								–	**−.33***	**.24****	.07	.06	.10	.10	**.18****	**.29****
1. Separation orientation (SEP)									–	.08	−.01	**−.13***	.06	**.20****	−.02	−.10
11. Assimilation orientation (ASI)										–	.03	.08	**−.21****	**−.13***	**.18****	**.26****
12. Marginalization orientation (MAR)											–	**−.24****	.03	−.05	−.01	**−.13***
13. Proficiency in German (PGE)												–	**.15***	.11	.08	**.13***

(continued)

Table 6.4 (continued)

	2. LON	3. ANX	4. SE	5. DG	6. DT	7. DPe	8. DPu	9. INT	1. SEP	11. ASI	12. MAR	13. PGE	14. PTU	15. TI	16. AI	17. ATI
14. Proficiency in Turkish (PTU)													**–**	**.24****	−.09	**−.17****
15. Turkish identity (TI)														–	**−.15***	−.11
16. Austrian identity (AI)															–	**.60****
17. Austrian-Turkish identity (ATI)																–

Note: $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$

Table 6.5 Prediction of psychosocial functioning

Model	R^2	Predictors	β	*t*	*p*
Depression	16%	Gender (girl)	.13	2.06	.040
		Discrimination by peers	.16	2.03	.043
		Marginalization orientation	.14	2.08	.039
		Separation orientation	.18	2.73	.007
		Austrian identity	−.16	−2.11	.036
Loneliness	26%	Age (11–13 years)	−.18	−3.02	<.001
		Gender (girl)	.14	2.43	.016
		Discrimination by peers	.35	4.87	<.001
		Integration orientation	−.13	−2.07	.039
		Proficiency in German	−.13	−2.01	.046
Social anxiety	32%	Age (11–13 years)	−.24	−4.13	<.001
		Global discrimination	.23	3.39	<.001
		Marginalization orientation	.15	2.48	.014
		Proficiency in German	−.20	−3.22	<.001
Self-esteem	28%	Gender (boy)	−.15	2.64	.009
		Discrimination in public	.17	2.31	.022
		Discrimination by peers	−.26	−3.56	<.001
		Marginalization orientation	−.26	−4.27	<.001
		Proficiency in German	.21	3.29	<.001
		Austrian identity	.17	2.47	.014

Note: Results of the final model including all four blocks. Only significant standardized β-coefficients are displayed. Dummy variables: gender (reference group: girls), age (reference group: 14–17 years), first-generation immigrant (reference group: second-generation immigrant)

crimination by peers, higher levels of marginalization and separation orientations, but lower levels of Austrian identity predicted higher levels of depression.

Loneliness The block 1 variables (background characteristics) explained 5% of the variance, adding block 2 variables (discrimination) explained 19%, adding block 3 variables (acculturation) explained 26%, and adding block 4 variables (identity) explained 26% of the variance. In sum, being an early adolescent, being a female, and having higher levels of discrimination experiences by peers and lower levels of integration orientation and proficiency in German language predicted higher levels of loneliness.

Social anxiety The block 1 variables (background characteristics) explained 12% of the variance, adding block 2 variables (discrimination) explained 24%, adding block 3 variables (acculturation) explained 31%, and adding block 4 variables (identity) explained 32% of the variance. In sum, being an early adolescent, having higher levels of global discrimination experiences, higher levels of marginalization orientation, and lower levels of German language proficiency predicted higher levels of social anxiety.

Self-esteem The block 1 variables (background characteristics) explained 8% of the variance, adding block 2 variables (discrimination) explained 12%, adding block 3 variables (acculturation) explained 26%, and adding block 4 variables (identity) explained 28% of the variance. Being a male, having higher levels of perceived discrimination in public places, but lower experiences of discrimination by peers, lower levels of marginalization orientation, but higher levels of German language proficiency, and higher levels of Austrian identity predicted higher levels of self-esteem.

Testing Alternative Models

Because acculturation variables could also be conceptualized as mediators explaining the link between discrimination experiences and psychosocial functioning, alternative models were tested using Mplus 7.0 (Muthen & Muthen, 2017). The indirect effects of the four acculturation orientations, German and Turkish language proficiency, Turkish, Austrian, and Turkish-Austrian identity were tested in a series of structural models using the Sobel test. Discrimination was introduced as latent variable in the models, with the subscales of global discrimination, discrimination by teachers, discrimination by peers, and discrimination in public places as the manifest indicators. The standardized coefficients between discrimination and depression ($\beta = .26$, $p < .001$), discrimination and loneliness ($\beta = .40$, $p < .001$), and discrimination and social anxiety ($\beta = .36$, $p < .001$) were substantial, while no associations were found between discrimination and self-esteem ($\beta = -.07$, $p = .30$). Total indirect, specific indirect, and total effects were specified with the result that there were no significant indirect effects.

Discussion

The present study aimed to investigate risk and promotive factors for good psychosocial functioning among Turkish immigrant youth in Austria. This research was motivated by evidence demonstrating that immigrant status constitutes a risk factor for positive development in European countries (Dimitrova et al., 2016). In this study, applying a risk and resilience developmental perspective (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012), the importance of background variables, discrimination experiences, acculturation processes, and identity for good psychosocial functioning among Turkish immigrant youth living in Austria were examined. Based on the theory of Garcia Coll et al. (1996), it was assumed that discrimination experiences create inhibiting environments in schools and other public places and are therefore constitutive to understand the normative development of immigrant youth. Because Austria is a country that puts a high level of assimilation pressure on immigrants (Eurobarometer, 2017; Mipex, 2019; Statistic Austria, 2018), we interpret the results

of the present study in terms of person-environment interactions rather than general mechanisms of resilience (Ungar et al., 2013).

The present findings revealed that in Austria, developmental period and generational status but not gender were important variables for positive developmental processes of immigrant youth. Early adolescents showed lower levels of psychosocial functioning compared to middle adolescents and they reported higher levels of assimilation and marginalization orientations. Being an immigrant in a foreign country might be more challenging for younger adolescents, because they are living in the host country for a shorter duration compared to middle adolescents; therefore, they might have less time to adjust to the new environment. It is also possible that younger adolescents experience more acculturative stress and feel more overwhelmed in coping with these stressors and other daily hassles compared to older adolescents (Stefanek, Strohmeier, Fandrem, & Spiel, 2012).

Furthermore, second-generation immigrant youth had a more favourable profile compared to first-generation immigrant youth. They reported higher levels of self-esteem, lower levels of discrimination by peers, lower levels of a marginalization orientation, higher levels of proficiency in German language, and higher levels of Turkish-Austrian identity compared to first-generation immigrants. Their lower levels of Turkish language proficiency might be explained by the wider societal context, because it is neither easy nor very accepted to maintain high levels of proficiency in Turkish in Austria.

Overall, the findings revealed that discrimination experiences and acculturation variables were important predictors of psychosocial functioning. Because immigrant youth face discrimination across multiple contexts and by different perpetrators, four different forms of discrimination were differentiated in the present study. As previously found, higher levels of discrimination by peers are risk factors for higher levels of depression and loneliness and lower levels of self-esteem (Benner & Graham, 2013). Interestingly, young immigrants with higher levels of self-esteem reported higher levels of discrimination in public places possibly indicating that these adolescents were more likely to attribute ambiguous negative incidents to discrimination. Benner and Graham (2013) found that racial awareness was positively related to the perception of societal discrimination. Thus, discrimination may be more harmful for the psychosocial functioning of immigrant youth when it is perceived from peers than from strangers on the street. However, the direction of effects remains speculative since there is a lack of longitudinal studies.

As expected, it was found that a marginalization orientation is a risk factor for high levels of depression and social anxiety and low levels of self-esteem (Berry et al., 2006). However, high levels of proficiency in German language turned out to be a protective factor against loneliness and social anxiety and a promotive factor for high levels of self-esteem. Higher levels of Austrian identity were protective against depression and promotive for high levels of self-esteem. These findings are meaningful when the sociopolitical context in Austria is taken into account, because Austria places high assimilation pressure on immigrants and does not endorse multicultural policies in the school settings (Strohmeier & Fricker, 2007). In more assimilative contexts, features of multicultural classrooms were shown to be risk

factors for school engagement triggering identity threat, even in the absence of overt prejudice or discrimination (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011). As illustrated in the present study, in assimilative contexts, adopting bicultural identities and polylinguistic skills may not be adaptive for good psychosocial functioning of immigrant youth. It is not surprising that our results are not consistent with results of previous studies that were conducted in other national contexts such as Belgium (e.g. Güngör & Bornstein, 2009) with relatively favourable migration policies aiming at the integration of immigrant minorities (Reijerse, Vanbeselaere, Duriez, & Fichera, 2015; Weldon, 2006).

Strengths and Limitations

The large number of adolescents who were recruited from an exceptionally wide range of schools and classes is a strength of the study. Another strength is the inclusion of both first- and second-generation immigrants. While previous studies mostly focus on first-generation immigrants (Dimitrova et al., 2016), this study differentiated between generation status of youth. Moreover, we examined a wide range of psychosocial functioning variables such as depression, anxiety, loneliness, and self-esteem and different forms of acculturation orientations and discrimination experiences. These constructs were measured by well-established and culturally validated instruments. The survey was provided in both German and Turkish language to prevent excluding recently migrated Turkish adolescents with a limited German language proficiency. This strategy further increased the validity of the present findings.

Taking these strengths into consideration, there are several limitations of the current study that should be noted. First, the design of this study is cross-sectional and descriptive in nature. Therefore, it is not possible to understand the causal relationships of the study variables. A 2-year longitudinal study showed a decline of internalizing problems among the first- and second-generation immigrant youth in the United States between grade 10 and 12 and demonstrated that low levels of acculturative stress predicted this decline over time (Sirin et al., 2013). Thus, it is suggested that acculturative variables may be the causes of psychosocial functioning among immigrant youth than the other way around. However, future longitudinal studies should examine this issue in-depth as even more complex temporal processes are possible. Second, we exclusively relied on self-reports to measure all of our study variables. It is possible that adolescents may have under- or over-reported their experiences due to social desirability. Multi-informants such as classmates, teachers, and parents would provide a fuller picture and should be included in future studies. Third, it could be worthwhile to dig even deeper into discrimination experiences by distinguishing whether the perpetrators are non-immigrants or immigrants from other countries of origin (Reitz, Asendorpf, & Motti-Stefanidi, 2015). Fourth, our sample included only Turkish immigrant adolescents who belong to the third largest ethnic minority group in Austria; thus, Turks are an important group to

investigate. However, in order to generalize the findings of this study, more studies are needed with different ethnic minority youth living in different European countries. Such designs are necessary to empirically test person-environment interactions to better understand resilience pathways (Ungar et al., 2013) that were assumed but not investigated in the present study.

Overall, the findings demonstrate the importance of investigating age and generation status in relation to the role of discrimination experiences, acculturation processes, and personal characteristics for good psychosocial functioning. Longitudinal studies can provide more insight about the experiences of immigrant youth living in Europe.

Practical Implications

The results of the present study have several implications for educational practices and policies. Based on a literature review, Liebenberg et al. (2016) identified four core resilience processes that teachers ideally should implement in their classes. Teachers should (a) develop warm, respectful connections with their students and their students' families; (b) communicate and enable achievable, consistent expectations for respectful classroom interaction and student success; (c) engage students as capable agents and facilitate mastery; and (d) invest in effective teaching, safe learning environments, and resilience-supporting classroom practices. To help teachers implement these processes for *all* students, teacher education needs to capture topics like discrimination and acculturation because of their high importance for the normative development of immigrant youth.

Educational policies that foster an integration orientation among immigrant youth and enable a fast learning of the language of the host country can also be recommended based on the results of the present study. As importantly, educational programs that foster positive peer relations can be recommended for multicultural schools as such programs are likely to indirectly foster higher levels of psychosocial functioning among immigrant youth.

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Appendix

Global Discrimination

1. During the last 6 months, how often has anybody insulted or hurt you because you are Turkish?

2. During the last 6 months, how often has anybody insulted or hurt you because of your language or accent?
3. During the last 6 months, how often has anybody insulted or hurt you because of your religion?
4. During the last 6 months, how often has anybody insulted or hurt you because you are an immigrant?

Discrimination by Teachers

When answering the following questions please think about your current school and incidents that happened during this school year.

1. How often has a teacher treated you in an unfriendly or distant way because you are Turkish or Muslim?
2. How often has a teacher liked you less than one your classmates because you are Turkish or Muslim?
3. How often has a teacher expected lower school performance from you compared to your classmates because you are Turkish or Muslim?
4. How often has a teacher graded you unfairly because you are Turkish or Muslim?
5. How often has a teacher treated you unfairly because you are Turkish or Muslim?

Discrimination by Peers

1. How often have your classmates treated you in an unfriendly or distant way because you are Turkish or Muslim?
2. How often have your classmates excluded you because you are Turkish or Muslim?
3. How often have your classmates teased or insulted you because you are Turkish or Muslim?
4. How often have your classmates treated you badly because you are Turkish or Muslim?

Discrimination in Public Places

When answering the following questions please think about public places outside school, e.g. parks, streets, cinemas, bus stops, neighbourhoods, hospitals, etc. or similar.

1. How often has somebody on the street or in a park treated you in an unfriendly or distant way because you are Turkish or Muslim?
2. How often has somebody on the street or in a park teased or insulted you because you are Turkish or Muslim?
3. How often somebody on the street or in a park treated you badly because you are Turkish or Muslim?

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Chapter 7
Positive Adjustment Among Internal Migrants: Acculturative Risks and Resources

Derya Güngör

Migration is a stressful experience that requires effective coping before, during, and after relocation (Berry, 2006; Sam, 2000; Szabo, Ward, & Fletcher, 2016). Psychological research has identified various migration stressors and ways of coping with them but it has primarily focused on international migrants living in North America and West Europe (Berry, 2006; Güngör & Bornstein, 2008; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Comparative studies suggest that migration is also stressful for people who relocate within their nation (Hendriks, Ludwigs, & Veenhoven, 2016; Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Strohmeier & Dogan, 2012). For instance, research in Turkey, Germany, and China found that internal migrants, whether they are recent or established, tended to be less happy with their lives than were locals (Aksel, Gün, Irmak, & Çengelci, 2007; Hendriks et al., 2016; Knight & Gunatilaka, 2010). However, the factors that elicit stress among internal migrants and how they cope with these stressors are unclear.

Two important stressors for migrants are the perceived cultural distance between one's origin and destination culture (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Galchenko & van de Vijver, 2007; Ward, Leong, & Low, 2004) and whether the migration was by force or occurred voluntarily (Berry, 2006; Bornstein, 2017). Perceived cultural similarity between the social and physical aspects of one's cultures of origin and destination facilitates contact with the locals and acceptance by them (Nesdale & Mak, 2003). Conversely, high perceived distance between one's origin and destination culture is associated with anxiety and feelings of alienation, emotions that impair social competence and positive adjustment (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980; Galchenko & van de Vijver, 2007). Research showed that people who felt that their migration was caused by personal choice were better equipped for relocation both psychologically and logistically, had a higher sense of control, and experienced less psychological

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symptoms and better social adjustment compared to forced migrants (Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Contemporary nations are culturally diverse in terms of ethnic, linguistic, religious, or economic differences – differences that are often accompanied by group-level hierarchies, conflicts, and disadvantages. Therefore, cultural distance and involuntary migration may complicate the adjustment process not only for international migrants but also for internal migrants (Aksel et al., 2007).

The present study aims to investigate the role of perceived cultural distance and migration motivation in the adjustment of internal migrants by extending the resilience framework to theories of acculturation. Resilience denotes the capacity of a dynamic system to positively adjust to stressors and maintaining psychological well-being in the presence of adversity (Masten, 2001; Ungar, 2008). To overcome risks and adversities, internal migrants activate the capacities of navigating, mobilizing, and negotiating internal and external resources. From a resilience perspective, positive adjustment (e.g., life satisfaction or social competence) refers to the outcome of this process (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Acculturation researchers identified similar outcomes as the key manifestations of positive adjustment to migration stressors (e.g., psychological and sociocultural adjustment) and described their contextual and psychological antecedents (Berry, 2006; Schachner, Van de Vijver, & Noack, 2017).

Resilience and acculturation perspectives are also distinct from each other. The resilience perspective focuses on protective resources and mechanisms that promote positive adjustment in face of a wide range of risks (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Masten, 2001), whereas the acculturation perspective aims to better understand the role of cultural context and allegiances (i.e., identities, attitudes, and behaviors) in adaptation to cultural change. Acculturation psychology has mostly focused on the adaptation of migrants and ethnic/racial/religious minorities because intercultural contact and ensuing demands have greater impact on these nondominant groups and individuals compared to the majority group (Berry, 2006). Hence, combining insights from acculturation and resilience research provides a more comprehensive and culture-sensitive explanation for the factors affecting positive adjustment among internal migrants (Castro & Murray, 2010; Güngör & Perdu, 2017; Han, Berry, & Zheng, 2016). To date, resilience processes have not been investigated in depth in migration contexts, and only a few studies considered acculturative processes as potential resources for positive adjustment (Güngör & Perdu, 2017; Han et al., 2016).

Resilience and Adjustment

The resilience paradigm is a strength-based approach to human functioning in challenging conditions. Traditionally, resilience research focuses on protective factors against risk (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Masten & Powell, 2003). The protective factors are individual (e.g., self-efficacy, intelligence), relational (e.g., parental and peer support, quality of relationships with close others), and communal resources

(e.g., the availability of role models or mentors, extracurricular activities, neighborhood cohesion) that help individuals bounce back from negative experiences and attain well-being (Masten, 2001). More recently, researchers acknowledged the cultural dimension of resilience. Culture constitutes the context of resilience by affecting "the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being" (Ungar, 2008, p. 225). Culture also informs how the individual's social environment provides resources in a culturally meaningful way (Güngör & Perdu, 2017; Theron et al., 2015; Ungar, Ghazinour, & Richter, 2013; Wright & Masten, 2015). For example, close relationships are major protective factors for positive adjustment but cultural groups vary in the value they attach to relationships as well as how and from where relatedness is cultivated (e.g., family vs. close friends) (Lykes & Kemmelmeier, 2014). Culture also provides meaning, belonging, and bonding to its members through shared values and practices in a way that people find solace and strength in times of loss and uncertainty (Castro & Murray, 2010). Thus, culture plays a central role for resilience processes; therefore, cultural differences can be both a risk and protective factor for internal migrants. For example, perceived discrimination is related to the ill-being of Latino/Latina families in the United States, but familism, which encompasses respect, loyalty, and appreciation of family values, is considered a protective cultural resource, beyond the positive effects of universally protective individual, relational, and communal factors. In addition, being bicultural (i.e., adopting a positive attitude towards the norms and values of the dominant culture while maintaining family values) strengthens family resilience among Latino/as (see Bermudez & Mancini, 2013, for a review).

Acculturation and Adjustment

When people come into contact with a different culture, they experience some changes in their attitudes, values, and behaviors, a process called psychological acculturation (Berry, 2005). Extending Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) stress and coping model to acculturation, researchers argue that acculturation is more stressful when the cultural distance is large and when the conformity pressure exerted on migrants by their own cultural community as well as by the broader society is high (Berry, 2005; Birman & Simon, 2014). Acculturative stress is manifested by psychological reactions ranging from depression due to homesickness to anxiety due to feeling out of place (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Vinokurov, Trickett, & Birman, 2016). The two main criteria that signify a successful adjustment to acculturative stress involve feeling comfortable and happy with respect to living in the new culture (i.e., psychological adjustment) and feeling competent in navigating the interactions and practical hassles of daily life (i.e., sociocultural adjustment). Hence, positive acculturative adjustment refers to feeling well and doing well during cross-cultural transitions (Güngör, 2007; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

To accomplish these acculturative tasks, migrants adopt various strategies that involve orientations to their own and destination cultures in varying degrees. Acculturation orientations refer to the degree of which people relate or are willing to relate to their heritage (i.e., culture maintenance) and host cultures (i.e., culture adoption). Culture maintenance is considered a collective strategy to cope with negative influences of ethnic discrimination and to benefit one's in-group's social position (Deaux, Reid, Martin, & Bikmen, 2006). Conversely, culture adoption is more of an individual strategy that underlines social-cultural learning, and as such, it is primarily adaptive for sociocultural adjustment (Dimitrova, Aydinli, Chasiotis, Bender, & Van De Vijver, 2015; Güngör, 2007; see for a review Ward, 2013). Generally, adopting a bicultural strategy (vs. a monocultural strategy by excessively assimilating into or separating from the dominant culture) maximizes positive adjustment in both psychological and sociocultural domains among international migrants (see Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013, for a meta-analysis). Similarly, in Gui, Berry, and Zheng's (2012) study with Chinese workers who migrated from a rural to an urban area, the bicultural strategy was the best predictor of increased life satisfaction and self-worth.

Acculturation also impacts social group identities such as ethnic/cultural identity. Cultural identity refers to feelings of belonging to a group based on a shared cultural heritage and is often a positive source of self-esteem, sense of continuity, and psychological well-being among migrants (Phinney et al., 2001; Verkuyten & Lay, 1998). Thus, from a resilience framework, acculturation orientations and identities can be understood as potential cultural resources for effective coping with challenging acculturation conditions. This resource perspective has only recently been explicated in acculturation research (Castro & Murray, 2010; Güngör & Perdu, 2017; Han et al., 2016). There is also an increased emphasis on the role of cultural context and resources in resilience research (Ungar, 2008; Wright & Masten, 2015). The present study exemplifies how these perspectives, collectively, help understand that the resilience of internal migrants is related to their acculturation.

Beyond acculturation orientations and cultural identity, acculturation provides opportunities for exercising new ways of being and living. Because migration is a process of "re-place-ment," identifications with groups associated with certain places (e.g., city and neighborhood identities) gain importance, or even take precedence to other social identities as a source of collective self-esteem and belonging both for internal and international migrants (e.g., Gui et al., 2012; van de Vijver, Blommaert, Gkoumasi, & Stogianni, 2015). City identity reflects the strength of one's bond with the larger society and its defining characteristics (Lalli, 1992); neighborhood identity is the feeling of belonging to and rootedness in one's neighborhood. A strong city and neighborhood identity emerge as migrants spend time in and develop an emotional bond with their place of settlement (Hernández, Carmen Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007). Acculturation researchers recently acknowledged city and neighborhood identity as important manifestations of identity acculturation and predictors of well-being (Göregenli, Karakuş, & Gökten, 2016; Gui et al., 2012; van de Vijver et al., 2015). In a study of inner-city immigrants of foreign origin in a metropolitan city of Belgium (Antwerp), Van de Vijver

et al. (2015) identified a distinct neighborhood identity characterized by feeling at home and being known and respected by others in one's neighborhood. Among internal migrants living in large cities in Turkey, a strong neighborhood identity reflected a perception that one's neighborhood is a safe, inclusive, and familiar place (Göregenli, Karakuş, Kösten, & Umuroğlu, 2014). Therefore, the acquisition of neighborhood and city identities is not only a manifestation of acculturative influences on identity, it also signals migrants' positive interaction with their new physical and social environments. The present study considers these identities as key communal resources signifying positive communal involvement and support in acculturation.

Turkish Internal Migration and Acculturation Stressors

Turkey has a long history of migration as both a sending and receiving country. Since the 1950s when massive relocations began from poor rural areas towards flourishing manufacturing city centers, the number of people living in rural areas decreased from 75% to 8% of the total population in 2017 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2017). Mass migration to urban cities resulted in the emergence of new neighborhoods, satellite residences, and shanty (gecekondu) towns with various degrees of ethnic heterogeneity and physical and social closeness to the sedentary populations. Parallel to population movements in other developing countries of the Global South, the majority of the current inhabitants of the metropolises of Turkey, especially Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, are migrants of rural origin (Umuroglu, Goregenli, & Karakus, 2015).

In transition from a majority-rural to a majority-urban society, migrants, as compared to sedentary populations, tend to experience greater difficulty in adapting to more culturally diverse, dynamic, and hybrid lifestyles that are emerging in Turkish urban cities. Gün and Bayraktar (2008) found that adolescents from a southeastern town of Turkey, Mardin, had lower self-esteem and more fragmented social networks as compared with their sedentary peers in the places of origin and destination and with their countryfolk who migrated to near cities. Similarly, Goksen and Cemalcilar (2010) reported sociocultural adjustment problems (low school attainment) among internal migrant adolescents in metropolitan cities of Turkey, implying that cultural distance was a risk factor. Similarly, in a study of a large sample of internal migrants living in the three largest cities of Turkey, Göregenli et al. (2016) found that assimilation, defined as low culture maintenance and high culture adoption, was the most preferred strategy in cultural transition, but only among mainstream ethnic Turks. Involuntary migration was related to a separational strategy, especially among migrants of ethnic Kurdish origin. Thus, cultural distance combined with involuntary migration appeared to increase the difficulty in integrating with the new, city culture and larger society and impaired positive acculturative adjustment.

Study Goals and Hypotheses

The present research evaluated the risks and resources linked with psychological and sociocultural adjustment, separately. The two research questions were: (1) How much do cultural distance and involuntary migration pose a threat to positive adjustment among internal migrants? (2) Which psychological resources were protective against these stressors? Accordingly, the hypotheses were: (1) Cultural distance and involuntary migration would be significant risk factors for psychological and sociocultural adjustment of internal migrants, and (2) migrants with more individual (i.e., self-efficacy), relational (i.e., satisfaction with close relationships), communal (neighborhood identity, city identity), and cultural resources (i.e., acculturation orientations: culture maintenance and culture adoption; cultural identity) would show better adjustment than those who may have less of these resources.

Method

Participants

Initially, a community sample of 583 participants who moved to and settled in Izmir agreed to participate in the study. Participants met two criteria to be included in the study: they moved to Izmir at or after the age of 15 and would be at least 20 years of age at the time of data collection. Due to a wide age range in the sample and also to eliminate the university students whose stay in İzmir could be temporary, only the data from those participants who were between 25 and 50 years of age were included in this study ($N = 431$, $M = 39.16$, $SD = 7.17$). Most participants had a higher secondary school (lise) diploma. The average age for migration to İzmir was 22.87 years of age ($SD = 6.96$) and the average length of residence in İzmir was 15.83 years ($SD = 8.58$). When the participants' length of residence in İzmir was divided by their age, in average, they were found to have spent more than one third of their lives in their city of settlement ($M = 0.39$, $SD = 0.18$).

The majority considered their migration as a voluntary one (72%) and the rest as an involuntary one (28%). The primary reasons for migration were as follows: employment opportunities (33%), job change or transfer (18%), marriage (18%), education (11%), city lifestyle (9%), willing to be close to relatives (7%), and security concerns (5%). Most participants were married (73%) and the rest were single (25%) or divorced (2%). Among parents with children, the average number of children was 2.00 ($SD = 1.70$). Most migrants were residing in a place that they owned (53%) and the rest were tenants (45%). Most participants were living with their partners and/or children (70%), some were living with parents and/or siblings only (13%), and few were living alone (10%) or with friends (3%). When asked how they evaluate their life standards taking into account their own or family income, most participants perceived their life standards as difficult (52%) or very difficult (24%),

while only a minority reported leading a comfortable life (8%). When asked their primary culture of origin, more than half of the participants (60%) reported an ethnic group (e.g., Turkish, Kurdish, Alevite, Azeri, Circassian, Yoruk, Georgian, etc.) and some (37%) identified a city or region as their culture of origin (e.g., Thrace, Black Sea, Urfa, Sivas, Kars, Adana, Trakya, Ordu).

Procedure

The data were collected after the approval of Yasar University ethical committee. Research assistants recruited participants during 2017 spring through snowballing or at frequent visits in public places such as coffeehouses or workplaces. Participants filled in a survey questionnaire; illegible ones ($n = 4$) were interviewed by the assistants. Respondents were ensured about their anonymity and their right to withdraw their participation at any time. An informed consent was collected from all participants.

Measures

Self-report questionnaires were used to collect data. All questionnaires, except for those already available in Turkish, were translated to Turkish using forward- and back-translation (Brislin, 1980).

Psychological Adjustment A 10-item scale (Demes & Geeraert, 2014) measures the level of comfort (vs. distress) participants experienced as a migrant. Respondents were asked to think about their lives in Izmir and to indicate on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *always*), "How often have you felt in last two weeks some specific concerns and other feelings as to living in İzmir?" (sample items: "Nervous about how to behave in certain situations." (reverse coded)). A high average score on the scale reflected a high level of psychological adjustment (Cronbach's alpha = .75).

Sociocultural Adjustment A 12-item scale was used to measure perceived easiness participants feel at navigating their way in adapting to Izmir (Demes & Geeraert, 2014). On a 5-point scale (1 = *very easy*, 5 = *very difficult*), participants responded to items such as, "Living (hygiene, sleeping practices, how safe you feel)." All items were reverse coded so that high average scores reflected a greater sociocultural adaptation (Cronbach's alpha = .91).

Perceived Cultural Distance A Brief Perceived Cultural Distance Scale (Demes & Geeraert, 2014) assesses the degree to which migrants perceive their cultures of origin and of settlement similar or different along a series of categories and their specific manifestations such as social norms (i.e., how to behave in public, style of

clothes, what people think is funny) and food and eating habits (i.e., what food is eaten, how food is eaten, time of meals). Participants were asked to "Think about people and life in İzmir and in your place of origin. In your opinion, how different or similar are people and lifestyles in these two places in terms of …" and then to rate the items on a scale from 1 = *very similar* to 5 = *very different*. The items were averaged so that a high score reflected larger perceived cultural distance (Cronbach's alpha = .90).

Self-Efficacy Five items from Sherer et al.'s (1982) Self-efficacy Scale assessed how much migrants felt themselves in control in dealing with difficulties they faced or would face (e.g., "I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). An average high score reflected high self-efficacy (Cronbach's alpha = .85).

Relationship Satisfaction A 5-item scale that assessed relationship quality based on satisfying and mutually supportive relationship was used (e.g., "I am generally satisfied with my personal relationships." and "People respect me."; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) (Güngör, Karasawa, Boiger, Dinçer, & Mesquita, 2014). Migrants who were more satisfied with their relationships scored high on this scale (Cronbach's alpha =.83).

City Identity Adapted from widely used national and ethnic identity scales (see Güngör, Bornstein, & Phalet, 2012), a 5-item city identity scale assessed the degree of identification with Izmirians (e.g., "Do you see yourself as an Izmirian?"; 1 = *not at all*; 5 = *very much*). A strong city identity was represented by an average high score (Cronbach's alpha = .88).

Neighborhood Identity A 4-item scale adopted from the Neighborhood Attachment Scale (Göregenli et al., 2014) was used to assess the level of identification with one's neighborhood (e.g., "I feel that I have taken root in this neighborhood."; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores reflected stronger identification with one's neighborhood (Cronbach's alpha = .83).

Cultural Identity In line with the definition of ethnic identity, participants were first asked what they called their culture of origin and next how strongly they felt they belong to this culture on two items: "I feel belong to this group." and "If someone criticizes this group I feel insulted." (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very strongly*). The intercorrelation of the items was moderate, implicating satisfactory internal reliability, $r = .51$, $p < .001$.

Acculturation Orientations Culture maintenance and culture adoption were measured by the Acculturation Attitude Scale, developed by Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki (1989) and used among Turkish internal migrants by Göregenli et al. (2016). Participants were instructed to think about their parental culture and the way of living in their hometown on the one hand and about how locals live in Izmir on the other. Next, they indicated how important it was for them to live their lives as in

their original culture (culture maintenance) and as "locals" do (culture adoption) in domains such as social activity, religious holiday celebrations, customs and traditions, food, friendship, and child-rearing values. Responses ranged from 1 = *never* to 5 = *always*, and internal reliabilities were high (Cronbach's alphas = .90 and.91, respectively).

Results

Descriptive Results

As seen in Table 7.1, most migrants perceived relatively large cultural distance but also high psychological and sociocultural adjustment. Migrants reported high levels of individual, relational, communal, and cultural resources, with relationship satisfaction and self-efficacy being the most and culture adoption and neighborhood attachment being the least used resources (yet meeting at least the midpoint of the scale).

Analytic Strategy

Hypotheses were tested via sequential regression analyses including psychological and sociocultural adjustment as predictors in two different analyses. Table 7.2 shows the zero-order correlations among demographic variables, adjustment variables, risk factors, and resources. Participants' gender and education level, the proportion of life spent as migrant, and perceived life standard were entered in Step 1 as covariates. Step 2 included the two risk factors – cultural distance and motivation

Table 7.1 Descriptive statistics for the psychological variables ($N = 431$)

	Mean	*SD*	Scale range	Observed range
Outcomes				
Psychological adjustment	3.58	0.65	1–5	1.40–4.90
Sociocultural adjustment	3.59	0.81	1–5	1–5
Risk factors/acculturation stressors				
Migration motivation	72% voluntary; 28% involuntary			
Cultural distance	3.54	0.93	1–5	1–5
Resources				
Self-efficacy	3.96	0.77	1–5	1–5
Relationship satisfaction	4.16	0.70	1–5	1–5
City identity	3.22	1.09	1–5	1–5
Neighborhood identity	3.25	0.98	1–5	1–5
Cultural identity	3.71	1.10	1–5	1–5
Culture maintenance	3.57	0.86	1–5	1–5
Culture adoption	3.00	0.90	1–5	1–5

Table 7.2 Correlations among the demographics, risk factors, resources, and outcomes ($N = 431$)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	Gender																	
2	Age	−.07																
3	Age of migration	−.07	.31***															
4	Length of stay	−.03	.61***	−.50***														
5	Proportion of life in İzmir	−.01	.36***	−.68***	.95***													
6	Education	.06	−.36***	−.08	−.17***	−.11*												
7	Perceived life standard	−.02	−.24***	.09	−.10*	−.11*	.30***											
8	Migration motivation	−.05	−.04	.09	−.10*	−.11*	.14**	.16**										
9	Cultural distance	.15**	.09	−.14**	.16**	.15**	−.18***	−.13**	−.20***									
10	Psychological adjustment	−.08	−.04	−.08	.07	.07	.17**	.26***	.19***	−.23***								
11	Sociocultural adjustment	−.10*	.01	.03	−.09	−.09	.23***	.26***	.24***	−.44***	.39***							
12	Self-efficacy	.05	.04	−.11*	.10*	.11*	.03	−.02	.03	−.07	.14*	.08						
13	Relationship satisfaction	−.10*	.03	.01	.03	.02	−.02	−.01	.10*	−.08	.08	.10	.53***					
14	City identity	−.10*	.02	−.21***	.22***	.24***	.14*	.09	.11*	−.28***	.45***	.28***	.17***	.13**				
15	Neighborhood identity	−.07	.16**	−.09	.21***	.19***	−.17***	−.03	−.02	−.03	.23***	−.02	.13**	.12*	.34***			
16	Cultural identity	.03	.08	.13**	−.02	−0.04	−.05	.04	−.06	.02	−.12*	−.08*	.06	.08*	−.05	.12*		
17	Culture maintenance	−.02	.16**	.03	.11*	.08	−.32***	−.16**	−.13**	.08*	−.34***	−.24***	.12*	.23***	−.09	.17**	.28***	
18	Culture adoption	−.02	−.01	−.21***	.16**	.19***	.10*	.10*	.04	−.16**	.32***	.16**	.11*	.09	.56***	.28***	−.01	.05

Note. Gender, *0* woman, *1* man; proportion of life spent in İzmir = length of stay in İzmir/age; education, *1* illegible, *2* some primary school, *3* primary school, *4* lower secondary school, *5* higher secondary school (lise), *6* undergraduate, *7* higher education; perceived life standard, *1* very hard, *5* comfortable; migration motivation, *0* involuntary, *1* voluntary
$*p < 0.05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

for migration. Step 3 involved psychological resources to see whether they predict positive adjustment, hence resilience, when the risk factors are taken into account. Multicollinearity analyses (based on VIF and tolerance statistics) were performed.

Predicting Psychological Adjustment As Table 7.3 shows (left panel), all steps explained a significant amount of variance (38% in total) in psychological adjustment. In Step 1, the proportion of time spent in Izmir and perceived life standard were positive correlates of the adjustment outcome. In Step 2, these two covariates remained significant predictors. In addition, greater cultural distance and involuntary (vs. voluntary) migration were related to poorer psychological adjustment. In Step 3, only perceived life standard was a significant covariate. Both the significant negative between cultural distance and psychological adjustment and the positive relation between voluntary migration and psychological adjustment in Step 2 become nonsignificant in Step 3. The significant predictors of positive psychological adjustment, in the order of importance, were low cultural maintenance, high city identity, high neighborhood identity, and high culture adoption.

Taken together, expectedly, cultural distance and involuntary migration were significant risk factors for psychological adjustment, after controlling for the covariates. In addition, the community and acculturative resources alleviated acculturative stress and predicted positive adjustment. Unexpectedly, low cultural maintenance predicted a better psychological adjustment.

Predicting Sociocultural Adjustment As displayed in Table 7.3 (right panel), gender, education level, and perceived life standard were significant predictors of sociocultural adjustment in Step 1, but only education level and perceived life standard remained significant correlates in Step 2. Higher levels of cultural distance and involuntary migration predicted lower levels of sociocultural adjustment in Step 2. With the resource variables being in the equation in Step 3, perceived life standard was still a significant covariate. Participants who perceived their life standards as high reported a high level of sociocultural adaptation. Although cultural distance and migration type were less strong predictors of sociocultural adaptation in Step 3 than in Step 2, they were still significantly related to sociocultural adaptation. In addition, a high city identity but low culture maintenance was associated with a high level of sociocultural adjustment.

As hypothesized, greater cultural distance and involuntary migration were risk factors for sociocultural adjustment, after controlling for the covariates. The expectation that psychological resources would act as a buffer against these risk factors was partly supported because only city identity was a positive predictor for high sociocultural adjustment. Unexpectedly, cultural maintenance was negatively related to sociocultural adjustment.

Table 7.3 Hierarchical regression analyses: predicting well-being from resilience risks and resources

	Psychological adjustment						Sociocultural adjustment					
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
Predictors	*B* (*SE*)	β	*B* (SE)	β	*B* (SE)	β	*B* (SE)	β	*B* (SE)	β	*B* (SE)	β
Gender	−.11 (.06)	−.08	−.07 (.06)	−.05	−.03 (.06)	−.03	−.17 (.08)	−.11*	−.07 (.07)	−.04	−.04 (.07)	−.03
Age	−.01 (.01)	−.06	−.01 (.01)	−.06	−.02 (.00)	−.02	.00 (.00)	−0.01	.00 (.00)	.00	.01 (.02)	.02
Prop. of life spent in İzmir	.49 (.20)	.13*	.61 (.19)	.16**	.07 (.18)	.00	−.21 (.24)	−.05	−.06 (.22)	−.01	−.17 (.23)	−.07
Education	.06 (.03)	.10	.04 (.03)	.06	.02 (.03)	−.04	.12 (.04)	.17**	.08 (.03)	.11*	.04 (.04)	.05
Perceived life standard	.19 (.04)	.24***	.16 (.04)	.21***	.14 (.03)	.18***	.19 (.05)	.20***	.15 (.04)	015**	.13 (.04)	.14**
Migration motivation			.18 (.07)	.12*	.11 (.06)	.07			.23 (.08)	.13**	.18 (.08)	.10*
Cultural distance			−.13 (.04)	−.18***	−.05 (.03)	−.07			−.33 (.04)	−.37***	−.29 (.04)	−.33***
Self-efficacy					.07 (.04)	.08					.02 (.06)	.02
Relationship satisfaction					.04 (.05)	.02					.09 (.06)	.08
City identity					.14 (.03)	.23***					.09 (.04)	.12*
Neighborhood identity					.11 (.03)	.16***					.01 (.04)	.01
Cultural identity					−.02 (.03)	−.04					−.02 (.03)	−.03
Culture maintenance					−.25 (.03)	−.33***					−.16 (.05)	−.16**
Culture adoption					.08 (.04)	.12*					.02 (.05)	.02

R^2 for block	.10***	.15***	.38***	.11***	.26***	.31***
$F(df)$	8.37(5, 383)	9.52(7, 381)	16.64(14, 374)	9.11(5, 383)	19.48(7, 381)	11.90(14, 374)
ΔR^2 change for block	.10***	.05***	.24***	.11***	.16***	.05**
$\Delta F(df)$	8.37(5, 383)	11.29(2, 381)	20.36(7, 374)	12.47(5, 383)	59.00(2, 381)	4.34(7, 374)

Note. Gender, *0* woman, *1* man; proportion of life spent in İzmir = length of stay in İzmir/age; education, *1* illegible, *2* some primary school, *3* primary school, *4* lower secondary school, *5* higher secondary school (lise), *6* undergraduate, *7* higher education; perceived life standard, *1* very hard, *5* comfortable; migration motivation, *0* involuntary, *1* voluntary

$*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

Discussion

Psychological studies on migration have primarily focused on international migrants and their adaptation processes. As a result, the term "immigrants" has been narrowly defined and conceptualized as foreign-born residents of a country, despite the fact that these immigrants comprised only one quarter (about 244 million) of population move while the rest were migrants, including displaced people, within their own country of birth in 2015 globally (World Migration Report, 2018). This disproportionate research trend has further strengthened a common yet false assumption that cultural differences pose a risk for only migrants crossing borders. However, bridging differences in language, religion, lifestyle, family structure, and values of home and host towns can be very effortful and stressful for internal migrants as well (e.g., Gui et al., 2012; Knight & Gunatilaka, 2010; Sioufi & Bourhis, 2018). In addition, internal and international migrants share to a great extent similar motives to migrate (e.g., in face of inequalities in opportunity structures, living conditions, and future prospects between and within nations) and difficulties to attain psychological health and well-being in the process of adaptation (Hendriks et al., 2016; Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996).

Furthermore, in the rapidly globalizing world which values, reinforces, facilitates, or even forces human mobility, migration is rarely a one-time or one-way process but may occur multiple times and in many forms in one's lifetime. For example, rural-urban migration often precedes international migration. Changing national borders and border policies further blur the dichotomy between national and international migration. Therefore, King and Skeldon (2010) asserted:

> …internal and international mobilities create an integrated system … To consider one form of migration without the other, as has so often happened in the past, is to look at only one part of the story, and results in a partial and unbalanced interpretation. (p. 1640)

Acculturation studies on the adaptation of internal migrants can provide unique and complementary insights in building psychological theories and advancing our understanding of immigrant resilience. Thus, the present study explored the role of individual, relational, communal, and cultural resources in coping with acculturation stress related to perceived cultural distance and involuntary migration in an internal migration context. Combining key concepts from resilience and acculturation literatures, the present study revealed that internal migrants benefitted from communal and cultural resources in coping with the stress associated with cultural differences and involuntary migration. Therefore, the acculturation processes were relevant to internal migrants (Göregenli et al., 2016; Gui et al., 2012).

Expectedly, psychological adjustment to internal migration benefitted from communal (i.e., neighborhood and city identity) and cultural resources (i.e., culture adoption). Communal and cultural resources explained 22% of the variance in psychological adjustment. However, most variance in sociocultural adjustment was explained by the risk factors (i.e., cultural distance and involuntary migration at 17%). Therefore, the combined acculturation – resilience framework adopted in the present study was more relevant to psychological well-being than to sociocultural

functioning. This is expected given that resilience is maintaining psychological well-being in the presence of adversity (Masten, 2001; Ungar, 2008). Sociocultural adjustment is integral to overall immigrant adaptation and it is often highly related to psychological adjustment (Berry, 2006; Ward, 2013). Therefore, future studies need to determine protective factors related to sociocultural adjustment. In the present study, a high level of city identity and low culture maintenance contributed positively to sociocultural adjustment, a finding that highlighted the importance of familiarity and belonging to one's new city for feeling efficient and competent in navigating there. From an acculturation perspective, sociocultural adjustment is related to cultural learning and facilitated by contact with local residents (Güngör, 2007; Ward, 2013). Hence, the quality of relationships with locals (a relational resource) or perceived accessibility to various parts of the city (a communal resource) can be potential protective factors, eventually contributing to resilience.

Unexpectedly, culture maintenance was a negative predictor of psychological adjustment, which contradicted the findings from international migration (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Dimitrova et al., 2015; Güngör, 2007). From a contextual point of view, culture maintenance can involve different processes in international and internal migration. Past studies on international migrants found that cultural maintenance and ethnic identity served as collective cultural strategies for positive identity construction and self-esteem in face of intergroup discrimination and exclusion (e.g., among Muslim migrants in West and North Europe, Güngör & Bornstein, 2008; Holtz, Dahinden, & Wagner, 2013). When examining psychological processes related to internal migration, cultural maintenance may reflect resistance against social change and social inequality, rather than a reaction against intergroup discrimination that is typically more salient in international migration contexts. In line with this speculation, Phalet and Hagendoorn (1996) found that normative collectivism – a notion closely linked with culture maintenance among Turkish migrants – was predicted by cultural distance among Turkish-Belgian youth but by social inequality among Turkish internal migrants in Istanbul. In the present study, cultural maintenance was associated with lower levels of education and affluence and higher levels of cultural distance. It is likely that these class differentials further the perception of cultural distance, contributing negatively to psychological adjustment. Alternatively, high cultural maintenance (dialect, customs, relations, etc.) may contribute to the feelings of alienation and being "out of place" due to cultural differences, and these feelings, in turn, override the protective effect of cultural maintenance (French & Chavez, 2010).

Contrary to expectations, psychological and sociocultural adjustment were not related to individual (i.e., self-efficacy) or relational resources (i.e., relationship satisfaction). One plausible explanation is that both factors can be related to other aspects of adjustment that were not considered in the current study, such as sociocultural adjustment in one's own cultural community (Dimitrova et al., 2015). In addition, self-efficacy may benefit wel-being globally – independent of migration status – contributing to dispositions such as self-esteem and optimism that were shown to enhance resilience (Luszczynska, Gutiérrez-Doña, & Schwarzer, 2005). Similarly, relationship satisfaction is closely linked with overall well-being, for

instance, with life satisfaction, especially in the Turkish culture of relatedness (Güngör et al., 2014). Therefore, not the presence but probably the absence of satisfying relationships could be decisive for well-being in a cultural context of relatedness where everybody is expected to be relational.

An important implication of the negative links between culture maintenance and adjustment outcomes is that encouraging cultural maintenance based on literature on international migrants (Berry, 2006; Ward, 2013) without fully understanding what it means for internal migrants may put them further at risk. Kagitcibasi (2005) asserted that the most positive adaptive strategy to social and cultural transition is to balance the cultural elements of traditional and new lifestyles while maintaining solely the traditional culture of interdependence complicates healthy functioning in modern settings that requires independence. Apparently, such a healthy transition is hindered by socioeconomic hardships and limitations. Thus, excessive culture maintenance might be stressful rather than helpful if it is enacted within a context of limited opportunities for physical and social mobility.

Identifying oneself as Izmirian was beneficial for sociocultural adjustment. Notably, cultural maintenance and city identity were competing forces for sociocultural adjustment, but they were not significantly correlated with each other. Thus, increased city identification, which was positively associated with both psychological and sociocultural adjustment, did not imply giving up one's cultural heritage values and practices. Note that the integration of culture maintenance and culture adoption (or with city identity for that matter) is expected to predict best outcomes in acculturation research (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Schachner et al., 2017).

Finally, women reported better sociocultural adjustment than men but this was not the case once the risk factors were taken into consideration. Migration challenges traditional gender roles by threatening male dominance in the private domain and rendering female participation in the public domain (Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Future analyses are needed to better understand the gender-specific routes and consequences of acculturative adjustment and to design adaptive ways of bridging cultural differences for men and women newcomers to the city.

A common limitation for these types of studies is the uncertainty in the direction of effects. As acculturation literature suggests, the relation between adjustment outcomes and antecedent conditions such as cultural distance can also be recursive. Psychologically well-adjusted people can see cultural distance less problematic or they can be more aware of and thus make use of multiple resources more effectively (Schachner et al., 2017). Longitudinal studies should address this directionality issue. Researchers should also consider different resilience and acculturation models. For instance, Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) reviewed various models in explaining resilience in at-risk groups. The present study was most in line with the compensatory model, in which risk and protective factors affect adjustment directly and independently. In an alternative, protective model, researchers should test whether psychological resources moderate the relations between risks and adjustment (Güngör & Perdu, 2017). For instance, cultural adoption can be more beneficial for those who perceive greater cultural distance. Such alternative models provide a more nuanced, theory-based understanding for how acculturative and

resilience resources intersect towards functional or dysfunctional outcomes across different contexts and are therefore recommended for future studies.

In conclusion, the current study provides valuable insight into the transaction between migrants and their environment in enhancing personal resilience, which, eventually, benefits the resilience of their rapidly changing, increasingly diverse multicultural society. Nearly three-quarters of the world population move occurs within nations and towards urban cities by changing and challenging the social structures, economic relations, and power hierarchies within societies and globally (World Migration Report, 2018). Bringing acculturation and resilience perspectives closer helps understand the context-specific risk and protective factors associated with adjustment to urban migration, and thus it is a promising avenue towards more complete understanding of human migration. Such a synthesis can also inform synergistic interventions across multiple resilience systems to maximize positive adjustment in all variants of migration.

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Chapter 8
The Role of Hope to Construct a New Life: Experiences of Syrian and Iraqian Asylum Seekers

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Since the beginning of the Syrian Civil War in March 2011, more than four million people were forced to leave their home country. While most refugees initially escaped to neighboring countries like Turkey, Jordan, or Lebanon (International Organization of Migration, 2019), some decided to continue their journey to European countries like Germany, Sweden, or Austria. It is assumed that complex psychological processes during pre-war, war, transit, and settlement periods characterize flight experiences and the involuntary migration that started in the war zone and continued until the asylum seekers reached a European country. Although research attention to this complex process is high (e.g., Laban, Gernaat, Komproe, Schreuders, & De Jong, 2004; Meyer, Meyer, Bangirana, Mangen, & Stark, 2019; Silove & Ekblad, 2002), studies adopting a holistic view to understand the migration process are limited. Therefore, the present study investigated the narrations of asylum seekers located in Austria applying the main ideas of the hope paradigm (Snyder, 2002).

As one of the main European target countries, Austria received approximately 150.000 asylum applications between 2015 and 2019; the majority of them were from Iraqi and Syrian asylum seekers who arrived in Austria as young families with children (The World Bank Data, 2019; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2017). However, not all asylum seekers were able to migrate together with their families. It is estimated that for every 100 accepted refugees, 38 family members need to be reunified with them (Kohlenberger & Buber-Ennser, 2017).

Hope and resilience are central abilities of individuals to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten system function, viability, or development (Bonanno, 2004;

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Masten, 2014). Resilience describes the capacity to remain well, recover, or thrive in the face of adversities (Yates, Tyrell, & Masten, 2015) and to effectively deal with difficulties (Margalit & Idan, 2004). Hope describes the capacity of individuals to identify pathways to realize desired goals and the agency to not give up (Snyder, 1994, 2000). Hope is especially important when dealing with difficulties because hope helps individuals to improve adverse life conditions (Ryff & Singer, 2003; Valle, Huebner, & Suldo, 2006) and to make dreams come true (Fromm, 1968). Individuals with high levels of hope are purpose-driven, and they are better able to manage stressful situations and to find sensible solutions (Irving, Snyder, & Crowson, 2008). According to (Snyder 2002), motivational thoughts are particularly important when goals cannot be achieved easily, because in this situation hope motivates people to find alternative pathways that are "not blocked." Therefore, hope is an important resource when dealing with difficulties, improving adverse life conditions, or making dreams come true (Fromm, 1968; Ryff & Singer, 2003; Valle et al., 2006).

People forced to flee encounter many risks and obstacles. Involuntary migrations are often described as "journeys of hope" (e.g., Bindiu, 2016) because hope is considered the driver that motivates refugees to find ways out of their troubling situations. Therefore, investigating the importance of hope during the migration process is necessary. The present study aims to gain an in-depth understanding on the use of hope (e.g., how asylum seekers set their goals, how they choose their pathways to realize them, and how these two processes are leading to their future aspirations) on the asylum seekers' migration experiences from a holistic view covering pre-migration, migration and post-migration experiences.

Conceptual Similarities Between Hope and Resilience

While resilience is conceptualized as a dynamic capacity for successful adaptability and good functioning in the face of adversities and risks (Masten, 2014), hope is considered a shield between adversity and good functioning (Snyder, 2000, 2002). Resilience inhibits ineffective or negative responses, thereby allowing the individual to choose from a set of effective behaviors (Genet & Siemer, 2011). Accordingly, resilience is an important predictor for the good adaptation and well-being of refugees and asylum seekers (e.g., Araya, Chotai, Komproe, & de Jong, 2011). Hope is a cognitive-emotional process that is activated during times of difficulty. Hence, hope and resilience are both positive resource capacities and recognized as fundamental components of individual adaptability (Russo, Murrough, Han, Charney, & Nestler, 2012).

People with high hope are more likely to perceive a situation as controllable and manageable; they usually find solutions quickly and are more persistent compared to individuals with low hope (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Hence, hope functions as an important resource to enhance their resilience and protects people from being beaten by obstacles. High levels of hope are also associated with lower levels of

psychological symptoms and increased psychological soundness (Besser & Zeigler-Hill, 2014; Snyder, 2002).

Hope is an important positive predictor of the posttraumatic development process (e.g., Ai, Tice, Whitsett, Ishisaka, & Chim, 2007; Zwahlen, Rajandram, & Jenewein, 2015). For example, determined pathway thinking – a subcomponent of hope – predicted lower posttraumatic stress disorder scores for cancer patients (Ho et al., 2011). Hope is also the basic source of recovery for women who experienced sexual trauma in young adulthood (Srivastava, 2015). Levi, Liechtentritt, and Savaya (2012) also found lower posttraumatic stress disorder scores for Israel soldiers with higher hope scores. Yet few studies examined the role of hope for asylum seekers or refugees. One of the few studies with refugees from South Sudan who resettled in Uganda indicated that refugees would not have left their home countries if circumstances would not have forced them to do so because of the distant hope of peace and security (Meyer et al., 2019). In another study, hope was found to be related to positive outcome perspectives in the life of migrants (Stone, 2018). Brough, Schweitzer, Shakespeare-Finch, Vromans, and King (2012) found that hope buffered the traumatic narratives of refugees from Burma who settled in Austria. The findings of a study with Kosovar war refugees also suggest that the perception that one has pathways to accomplish positive outcomes, independent of whether this perception is illusory or not, is an important motivator to strive to overcome the horrifying impacts of war (Ai et al., 2007). Lastly, hope indicated lower scores for traumatic severity for Iraqian refugees settled in the United States (Hakim-Larson et al., 2007). Therefore, hope, along with resilience, is understood as a shield against negative affect and as a promotive factor for an individual's positive affect (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000).

Holistic-Narrative View of Migration: Pre-migration, Migration, and Post-Migration

Refugees routinely confront challenges such as discrimination, unemployment, lack of housing and social support, limited access to health services, and exposure to violence before, during, and after migration (Purewal, 2018; Spiegel, Checchi, Colombo, & Paik, 2010), while their goal is reaching comfort through the possibility of permanent residence in a safer environment.

To apply a holistic view on migration, focusing on pre-migration, migration, and post-migration processes is important. Since most asylum seekers come from war zones, their pre-migration experiences are linked to the loss of relatives and physically, emotionally, and sexually traumatic experiences. Involuntary migration processes from war zones pose significant challenges for anticipatory refugees who calculated the danger and migrated earlier in a planned fashion via safer routes. Acute refugees who had to act fast to stay alive due to worsening conditions of the homeland were unprepared both psychologically and financially when

leaving their home country. Since they remained in the conflict zone much longer, many of them suffer from severe war or conflict trauma (UNHCR, 2017).

Traumatic experiences do not end with the end of the journey. Some researchers found that pre-migration factors have a greater effect on worsened mental health than post-migration conditions (Steel, Silove, Phan, & Bauman, 2002) and that mental health steadily improved following the initial period of emotional upheaval after resettlement (Silove & Ekblad, 2002). However, studies with Iraqian asylum seekers in the Netherlands and Somalian asylum seekers in Australia indicated that their mental health worsened during resettlement (Laban et al., 2004; Silove & Ekblad, 2002). Long waiting periods for processing the asylum application, the adversities caused by living in crowded camps and reception centers, the local populations' hostile attitudes, racism, difficulties arising from cultural differences, and having to live as outcasts are important stressors encountered by asylum seekers during resettlement (Burnett & Peel, 2001; Porter & Haslam, 2005). Asylum seekers often have difficulties in meeting their basic needs – work, security, shelter, and education – together with a loss of social support due to broken families. Asylum seekers also have psychosocial needs of integration, socialization, and psychologically normalization after the flight (Coutts, McKee, & Stuckler, 2013). Thus, for the majority of asylum seekers, the problems do not end with the end of their journey. On the contrary, the post-migration process means long waiting periods and being in the limbo (Boehnlein et al., 2004). The long postponing of a "rest and recovery" period, which is expected to regulate stress and PTSD levels of asylum seekers together with harsh conditions encountered, enhances the level of stress and the level of PTSD in return (Ai et al., 2007).

The Present Study

This study was conducted in Austria, where 88,340 persons applied for acceptance as refugees and 14,413 persons received a positive decision in 2015. Seventy-one percent of the persons seeking asylum in 2015 were fleeing the ongoing wars and violence in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. In 2016, 42,285 persons submitted an asylum application and 22,307 persons received a positive decision. A quota regulation has been in effect since 2017 with a maximum of 37,500 asylum seekers being admitted annually. Applications from Syrian citizens were decided positively in 89% of the cases. In Austria, the asylum application involves a lengthy process that can take up to 2 years. Applicants have no right to choose where to settle during the waiting period. They are assigned to a house by the government and live on governmental aid because they are not granted a work permit during the waiting period (AUT103656.E, 2011; UNHCR Help-Austria, 2019).

Greater focus on the processes of involuntary migration will provide insights about the resilience of asylum seekers who are to set new goals and pathways to reach them in the novel environment. Thus, examining the use of hope during the pre-migration, migration, and post-migration periods will help to develop a conceptual

model that will cover elements that are relevant for people who experienced war and migration. The new conceptual model will reveal the basic social and psychological processes that motivated Syrian and Iraqi refugees to escape from war and to continue their migration and resettlement later on to Austria. Thus, the first goal of the present study is to shed light on asylum seekers' experiences covering pre-migration, migration, and post-migration experiences. The second goal is to gain an in-depth understanding of their use of hope (e.g., how asylum seekers set their goals, how they choose their pathways to realize them, and how these two processes are related to form their future aspirations).

To summarize, the present study is centered around two questions: (1) How do Syrian and Iraqian asylum seekers narrate about their involuntary migration experiences starting from their home countries to their destination country (Austria)? (2) What is the role of hope in involuntary migration experiences during pre-migration, migration, and post-migration?

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited using a snowball sampling in a middle-sized Austrian town with the help of two NGOs serving asylum seekers and refugees. Upon receiving formal consent from the headquarters, the project was advertised by professionals in the shelters. The inclusion criteria for participation were being volunteers and older than 18 years; having applied for asylum; being from Iraq or Syria; having a pending asylum application; and being fluent in one of the following languages: Arabic, Turkish, German, Kurdish, or English.

Participants were 14 adults (10 males, 4 females). Four participants recently received a positive decision of their asylum application; the application of the other ten persons was still pending. The average waiting time since the submission of the asylum application was 21 months. The mean age of the participants was 39.23 years ($SD = 8.47$ years, age range was 19–52 years). All participants identified themselves as Muslim ($n = 14$): 2 were Shia and 12 were Sunni. Arabic was the common language of all participants even though five participants nominated Kurdish and two nominated Turkish as their first language. All respondents came to Austria after staying in Turkey as the transit country. Ten persons were married, three were single, and one was separated. Five participants were university, two were high school, and six were elementary school graduates. One participant was illiterate. Twelve persons worked in their homeland. Five participants identified themselves as part of the professional workforce in Syria and Iraq, and three were students. At the time of data collection, one of the respondents was granted asylum 1 month ago and was part of the workforce in Austria, while 13 persons were living on social welfare. The majority reported some level of difficulty understanding daily German; two persons stated that their German was fluent.

Measures

The interviews were conducted by the researcher with the help of a polylingual interpreter who was a Syrian refugee himself working for another NGO helping refugees to find jobs. The translator provided summative silent translation during the interviews as not to interrupt the flow of the discussions. On average, the interviews lasted 75 minutes (range) and were conducted in the shelters where the asylum seekers lived. The study used minimally structured interviews with open-ended questions to gain in-depth information. Considering time phases, the interview process followed a timeline and began with the pre-war period and ended with questions addressing the daily life in Austria and future aspirations (see Table 8.1).

Participants were informed that the study aimed to understand the migration process and the related psychological experiences. The interviewer and the interpreter were sensitive and familiar to the cultural background of the interviewees. All interviews ended in a positive atmosphere highlighting future aspirations.

Procedures

The central process for analyzing the data followed the recommendations of the thematic analysis to deconstruct, conceptualize, and reconstruct the data, thereby gathering key themes to obtain a comprehensive view of narratives and develop a core theme capturing the story (Aronson, 1995) with the assumption that social reality is multiple and processual and constructed by individuals (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). Hence, a constructivist approach for coding is useful to understand participants' reasoning about goal setting motives and pathways they use to enhance those goals. Snyder's hope paradigm (2002) was used as a sensitizing concept and a departure point for the analysis.

All interviews were audio-recorded, translated into English, and transcribed. Open coding was used to depict the key themes during the line-by-line reading of transcripts, and 220 "focus" codes were identified. Themes are structures bringing

Table 8.1 Example questions of the interviews

The timing of the events	Example questions
Pre-war period	How was your life in your country prior to the war?
Wartime	How did your life change with the war? How was your daily life in the war zone? When did you decide to leave? How did your journey begin? How was the journey?
Reaching the transit country	What was your aim when fleeing to Turkey? How was your life in Turkey? Why did you continue your journey? How was the journey?
Reaching Austria	What are the main difficulties in your daily life in Austria? What are your plans if your application is approved/rejected? What are your aims for the next 5 years?

together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone. As interpretation progressed with focus coding and constant comparison, analytic distinctions were established and comparisons at each level of the analysis were made (Charmaz, 2006, 2014) to further derive relationships among the themes based on the hope paradigm. Hence, emerging patterns were recognized. Further, key themes composing thematic maps around the core theme were chosen and adopted.

Theoretical codes provided the underlying logic on how to relate, organize, and integrate the concepts. They consist of ideas and perspectives that researchers import to the process as analytic tools and lenses from outside, from a range of theories. In this study, theoretical coding facilitated further refinement and development of multiple themes. Eventually, a core central theme emerged as the explanatory scheme of Syrian and Iraqi refugees' stories of migration.

Results

The core central theme emerged as goals emerging from constrained environments: The Importance of Hope to Construct a New Life. The core theme is embedded in the hope theory (Snyder, 1994) and reflects the complex storyline of five other themes that emerged via theoretical codes: Deathly Press, Escaping for a Life, Resting Base, Escaping for a Future, and Hoping Base.

The narratives revealed that the primary goal of the interviewees on the verge of the war had been staying in their own country. They had decided to wait for the end of the war there holding the belief that war would soon have an end. However, they had to change their original goal because of changing environmental conditions and then they escaped to the closest neighboring country. Later, they developed a new goal in a safe but constrained environment. Although they felt secure in the neighboring country, gradually they lost hope of constructing a new life there. In the process, significant changes in goals occurred over time due to encountered difficulties both in the refugees' homeland and in the novel environments. The participants stated that their original goal was to stay and settle but had to change their goal twice. They constructed a second goal, "Escaping for a Future," which was moving to a developed EU country, particularly to Germany, Austria, Great Britain, or other North European countries. Upon arrival in Austria, they obtained another goal "future aspirations," that is, to be accepted as a refugee and to construct a new life there.

The first theme, Deathly Press, refers to the change of the original goal to stay in the home country due to the fatality of the war. Despite trying to find ways to survive in the war zone with their family, the interviewees were not able to do so. They had to revise their primary goal believing that to leave is the only chance to survive because they came to understand that the war will have no end. The second theme, Escaping for a Life, characterizes the journey from Syria to Turkey (via Iraq when the border of Turkey was closed) and from Iraq to Turkey meaning fleeing to the

closest neighboring country. In Turkey, the third theoretical theme comes into play as a Resting Base. Yet interviewees also gradually lost their hope of a new life in Turkey and revised their goal again with the belief of having no future in Turkey. The fourth theoretical theme, Escaping for a Future, involves a dangerous journey over the sea and the Balkans to arrive in Austria, the destination country, which was containing "survival risks" in the dangerous journey. The fifth theoretical theme, Hoping Base, emerges in the last country, Austria. Focus codes here are the waiting process and the high agency of the interviewees sticking to their hope to be a part of Austria in the future. Table 8.2 shows all theoretical codes of each theme and underlies selected focus codes.

The First Theme: Deathly Press

Memories of the home country as having a balanced life before the war The stories begin with the participants' goal to live in the home country even during times of war as they had enough income for a stable life despite experiencing some forms of discrimination. The interviewees aimed to protect their social bonds and everyday living despite the war: "I was pleased with my job. I was pleased with my house. I was pleased with my family. I was pleased with my country. I had everything. I never took bribes. I was skilled and loved my job" (Male, Syria, Shia, Kurdish-Turkmen, 42).

The stories continued with participants' feeling of complicated balance of the country, which was two-folded. On the negative side, there were discrimination and oppression due to denominational and ethnic differences. However, participants never felt the threat of hostility and suppression but felt attached to their state. A Kurdish female participant (Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 19) stated that she always talked Arabic in school and she did not disclose her identity in social situations so as to protect herself from prejudice. A male participant said that "Shia people had always the priority for better jobs… everything was easier for them…" (Syria, Sunni, Arab, 39). Another participant stated that discrimination had become unbearable with war:

> I used to have a good job. I repaired the buses and trucks. I had a workshop. I was earning enough money for myself and my family. I tried to keep up my workshop but I bankrupt because of discrimination increased with war. (Male, Iraq, Shia, Arab, 42)

Relations with family were the strongest positive side of the complicated balance. All interviewees stated that they felt responsible for the extended family but also that they were supported by them. Moreover, participants accepted to take decisions jointly and women referred to their husband's family when referring to their family. In spite of narrated patriarchy, women also stated they had a business life and dreams about their careers. A Syrian Sunni woman (39) with four children stated that she was working and also doing her master's degree and feeling herself happy with her kids, but now as an asylum seeker she was stuck at home.

Table 8.2 Core themes and subthemes for core central theme emerged as goals from constrained environments: The Importance of Hope to Construct a New Life

	Key themes	Selected focus codes underlying themes
Core central theme: The Importance of Hope to Construct a New Life	1st phase: Deathly Press	Having memories of a balanced life before the war Keeping on living in the homeland despite difficulties Revising the goal from surviving in the war zone to escaping from there
	2nd phase: Escaping for a Life	Focusing on finding pathways to escape to the closest country Choosing to face the risks of migration as a pathway The protecting agency with the belief that escaping is the only way to survive Getting the support of family to escape Believing the only way to survive is to flee
	3rd phase: Resting Base	Feeling daily relief but losing hope for a future in the neighboring country Experiencing instability of social and financial means Not getting any kind of help in Turkey Developing a new goal: to reach a developed and stable country Believing there is no future in Turkey
	4th phase: Escaping for a Future	Finding different pathways to continue the dangerous journey Migrating in dangerous and inhumane conditions Wanting to give up at some parts of the journey Reducing risks by taking precautions Continuing with the help of other asylum seekers Hoping to reach the EU Focusing on the future
	5th phase: Hoping Base	Waiting with hopes for a better future despite difficulties Experiencing difficulties and feeling anxious while waiting for acceptance Trying to be part of the Austrian society Feeling secure and having stability Getting financial and social help from state and community Admiring to the system of the host country Living in isolated conditions by having no contact with society Triggering memories and feeling anxious for relatives left-back Having hope of a better future Having future goals for all aspects of life in Austria

Keep on living in the homeland despite difficulties Both the Iraqian and Syrian asylum seekers stated that they tried to survive in the war zone believing the war would end. Several participants experienced very concrete threats and dangers. The perception of the direct threat to life and family was common. A male participant from Iraq (Shia, Arab, 42) stated that extremists kidnapped his eldest son. He said, there was no livelihood and any future for them in the homeland. Another participant from Syria (Female, Sunni, 19) shared that opponents bombed their school when they were in the classrooms. She stated that the teachers helped them to run to their homes after the bombing. She added that if they were at the schoolyard at the time of bombing, all of them might have been dead.

Revising the goal from surviving in the war zone to escaping from there Upon realizing there was no way to survive until the end of the war, participants revised their goal and decided to escape from the country. This provided them with new options to flee from the war zone. Here, escaping despite high risks was chosen because it was perceived as the only option left.

> You can't live with bombs ...at first bombardment, I was on the road and coming back from work. It was like an earthquake and I lost the control of my car. Later on, the bombing was happening almost every day. We decided to go. We heard later that our house was destroyed. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 35)

The Second Theme: Escaping for a Life

Focusing on finding pathways to escape to the closest country With the revision of their goal of escaping from the war zone, the interviewees revised their pathways to reach their goals. Nine participants aimed to directly escape to Turkey; five stated they first went to Iraq and then to Turkey. Only two of these five stated that they aimed to enter the Kurdish part of Iraq and lived there for some time while the remaining three stated they shifted their route to Iraq because they could not pass the Turkish border. Most participants stated that they escaped with their nuclear family. One interviewee had to leave his daughter behind with her uncle and only one interviewee could reach a neighboring country with the whole extended family. Most had to leave their elderly in the homeland. Participants stated the elderly sacrificed themselves for their families. Moreover, in one case, an expatriate in the family supported the others in the war zone financially as part of their "duty."

> "My father is the most important person for me... I did not want to leave my parents. However, they insisted that we should go. They said: "go and survive… that is our only wish" ... they gave all their savings to as and they are living and hiding in a small village now. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 47)

Participants used shared taxi or pickup trucks if they could find one; otherwise, they walked barefoot with little property to reach the Turkish border. They used all kinds of transportation including illegal ways to pass the borders. A Syrian participant stated that they tried to pass the border but soldiers were shooting on them. So they continued their journey barefoot to pass Iraq (Male, Sunni, Kurdish, 48).

The Third Theme: Resting Base

Feeling a daily relief but losing hope for a future in a neighboring country To survive, seven interviewees said they chose Turkey because of cultural similarities and the open borders. An Arabian participant from Syria (Male, Syria, Sunni, 38) stated that his "only aim was to survive when escaping and [he] never thought to settle permanently in Turkey."

All participants stated that being in Iraq and Turkey gave them feelings of security and stability. Despite many important sociocultural similarities in Turkey and feelings of relief at first, they experienced unpleasant environmental conditions and difficulties in meeting basic needs. These were inhuman conditions of camps, not getting any official recognition, huge accommodation prices, and an illegal labor market. At some point, they lost their belief that they could settle down and construct a new future in Turkey. They developed a new belief that their only chance to build a new life was moving to another country. A Syrian participant (Male, Sunni, 38) resettled in Hatay (a Turkish city close to the Syrian border) stated that "living in Hatay was like living in Aleppo, but we had no money and no job." He also stated that "locals were renting flats to Syrians for much higher prices." Another participant (Male, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 39) also stated that their money was depleting and they had no future. Even if he never felt like a foreigner, he felt hopeless in Turkey because "friendship and other positive feelings were useless without money."

Hence, participants were using four pathways to continue their lives: networking with other migrants, finding accommodation, using resources of their extended family, and working illegally. All, including the five participants who stayed in camps for a while, stated they rented a place with their savings: "We rented a flat... but it was difficult. My family, my brothers' family, and my other sisters and brothers... My mother… each family was living in one room. Locals were demanding very high rent prices" (Male, Syria, Shia, Kurdish-Turkmen, 42).

Experiencing instability of social and financial means Instability of the labor market and financial difficulties caused a feeling of insecurity. Despite the absence of physical violence or abuse, most stated they were bullied and humiliated especially in the labor market. Moreover, they could not develop any perspective for their future. They were worried because they lost their appreciated social status in the new community. They also felt being left alone while finding their way of living. They were "not getting any kind of help from locals and authorities," because the state, the NGOs, and the local communities were all unprepared to handle their issue.

> We were working like slaves… seven days per week and a minimum of twelve hours per day... with lower wages than Turkish workers. They were giving our money in little pieces. Sometimes they didn't give our money and we couldn't demand our rights. (Female, Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 19)

Developing a new goal to reach a developed and stable country Participants lost their hope after their attempts to find a way to have a regular and stable life in Turkey and developed a new goal in the constrained environment in Turkey. They used new pathways and personal agency to reach their new goal**.** This was moving

to Germany, Austria, or another northern European country. Most interviewees stated that their second goal was to live in Turkey at least for a while during the war. However, they had to change their goals again.

> Turkey called us 'guests', opened the borders, and did not behave like Jordan for example… I feel gratitude for it… But that's all... No help to live… nothing to share with us...no hope for tomorrow. They didn't have enough bread to share. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 38)

The Fourth Theme: Escaping for a Future

Finding different pathways to continue the dangerous journey To escape from the home country to Turkey was the first migration phase. Believing that entering the EU would be the only way to have a future characterizes the second phase of migration. This phase was recalled as the most inhuman and dangerous period they had ever experienced in their lives. This included passing the sea by boat and walking long periods, sometimes starving.

Wanting to give up on some parts of the journey Despite being determined to reach the EU and being aware of the risks of this journey, refugees lost their hope and almost gave up on some parts of their journey from Turkey. Eight of the thirteen participants stated that they lost their courage and hope twice and wanted to give up and return to Turkey.

> I was ready to return even to Syria -- I knew they would execute me -- but I thought it was an easier way to die than to see dying children before my death. I shouted to the captain and begged to turn back because my daughter was already falling from the boat and drowning. I cannot forget that night. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 39)

> We were aware of the dangers of course, but we were desperate... What else could we do? There was no other future chance for us! I risked my life to gain a chance to live. I left my family and left my all history. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 46)

Participants stated that to be able to continue, they focused on their future hopes for their children and hugged them because one of the underlying reasons behind their decision to escape was to provide a future for their children. The basic phenomenon they use to continue in survival peril is hope. A Kurdish participant stated clearly that they continued with only hope (Male, Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 35). Moreover, hugging their children was a way of remembering their motivation and sticking to their decision. They stated that they also prayed especially when they felt desperate and hopeless to continue their journey.

> Knowing that you cannot do anything except waiting is so difficult. I leaned back to hope. I hugged my children and prayed to God for help. We sacrificed ourselves to find a future for them. My only hope is to protect them. (Female, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 39)

Upon finding a human trafficker to be able to pass the sea to reach Greece, participants set off and then continued their journey to the inner parts of the EU. All stated that it was easy to find a human trafficker because almost all Syrians and Iraqis use the same routes.

> We reached Istanbul and went to the hotel. I asked another Iraqi about a hotel and took the phone number of a human trafficker from them. Nearly all migrants have these pieces of knowledge and sharing with other fellow citizens. I paid some money and waited in Izmir for my transfer. (Male, Iraq, Shia, Arab, 33)

Other participants reported that they left most of their family behind in the war zone or Turkey because they could not find enough money to continue their journey with them. An Iraqian participant (Male, Shia, Arab, 52) stated "I had only 3000 Dollars left, which was not enough for all to pass the sea. But it was enough for the rest to live in Turkey for six months." Therefore, the participants migrated alone or only with a part of their family with the hope of taking advantage of the family reunification right after being accepted in a European country. An interviewee from Syria (Male, Sunni, Arab, 39) stated "I came with only one of my children. It is not only money. I hoped that if I can get acceptance, the rest of his family can take secure ways." He stated that he did not want to risk the life of all his family.

Collaborating with other asylum seekers whom they met on the road and sharing all the information about the journey and destinations were common. They also helped each other not to give up. Participants also stated that they took precautions to reduce some potential risks they were aware of. Even if they had limited chances to reduce such risks, they tried to find different ways to protect children traveling with them.

> I almost gave up. I am ill with peptic ulcer... We walk at night and hide all day. It was very difficult to walk 20 days in this way just eating some biscuits. They (other asylum seekers) helped me so much; they motivated me and helped me. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 47)

> I bought five liters of gas before the boat journey. Because I heard that sometimes, gas is ending in the middle of the journey because human traffickers were buying very little gas to gain high profit. And imagine what happened? Gas ran out and we completed the journey with the help of my gas. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 35)

The Fifth Theme: Hoping Base

Waiting with hopes for a better future despite difficulties Although reaching Austria meant that their goal of having a future in a developed country became closer, a new phase of life full of many obstacles started. Upon applying for asylum, a long waiting process including an unknown final decision about their acceptance began. For many interviewees, this waiting time represented a big obstacle by itself because they also realized that fast family reunification would not be possible.

> They kidnapped and captured me. I was already dead. My brothers ransomed money to rescue me. I couldn't find a way to bring all family and flee away with my youngest son but they kidnapped my son in Iraq while I am waiting here… I am waiting for 27 months, why are they still searching? (Male, Iraq, Shia, Arab, 52)

The uncontrollability of the process was described as unbearable. Participants reported that they do not have any right to choose their living conditions. Asylum seekers do not have the right to work and therefore they spend their time isolated

from their families. They stated that being unemployed was the source of many difficulties like not being exposed to the target language, not being adapted to the host community, and experiencing discrimination by locals.

> In the camp where I stayed, they were preparing the meals. But, I have a problem with my stomach; I wanted to cook by myself… They said "you can go if you don't like it." They did not let me prepare my meal or they send me to another camp where I can prepare my meal by myself. (Male, Iraq, Shia, Arabic, 52)

Participants explained that it was more difficult to learn the language and social rules in Austria compared to Turkey because they could not find a way to get in touch with locals. Combined with perceived discrimination and feeling of discomfort stemming from their low social status, they felt bored, lonely, and isolated. Furthermore, this feeling was triggered by sad memories. Rumination and chewing of memories were affecting them negatively. They called their relatives at home and used their family bonds to find emotional relief. They missed their former social relations and worried about their relatives living in the war zone, as expressed by a male participant from Syria (Sunni, Kurdish-Turkmen, 42): "The people here are very polite, but they do their jobs, then they go home. We are used to having lots of friends and relatives around. There is no-one here... we are completely isolated in the shelter." Another participant (Male, Iraq, Shia, Arab, 33) expressed similar concerns stating that "I have nothing to do… I help my wife with the housework, and then we are trying to learn German by ourselves... Then I watch the news...I get bored and I want to work even without money."

All the participants stated that they kept their agency by focusing on a better future. They still believed they would have a future in Austria after getting their acceptance. This helped them to keep their agency and continue waiting in isolated camps. They dreamed of working and believed they would overcome the difficulties. Acceptance was perceived as a boundary line after which they would be able to start over again. They believed that immediately after being employed, they could solve most of their problems. The social and public system including social welfare created stability and security in their lives. They perceived that they were in more secure hands and had a backup in contrast to their traditional family support that was disordered and exhausted with long periods of war and migration. Interestingly, they were reporting experiences of discrimination, social equality, and help from locals simultaneously. Charity workers and former migrants guided them. The most important thing was the regular support and the availability of NGOs.

> When I reached Austria, I was pregnant... I gave birth just after two weeks. I stayed in the emergency department complications developed due to road conditions of migration. They took care of me, took care of my children. They are paying our expenses… I feel secure and healed. (Female, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 39)

Having hope for a better future Despite their struggles, being isolated, and having many other problems, most interviewees were satisfied with the outcome of their goal, for which they were reluctant at the beginning, and continued to envision a future of hope while setting future goals they would like to achieve. The ones not satisfied with being in Austria did not regret their choice. They were aware of their

constrained environment in Syria, Iraq, and Turkey and felt self-exiled. In any case, they needed support from the refugee agency, healthcare professionals, community, and system policies.

> I am fed up with the war... This is a beautiful country... I want to be part of it... I want to learn their way of life... I want my wife to work wherever she wants…I am sick and tired of fundamentalism and racism…. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 35)

> I know that I won't be an Austrian... I will always be a foreigner… but my children may have a better life and I can live and die here with them… and they may be Austrian in the future. (Female, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 38)

Having future goals for all aspects of life in Austria As the final stage, participants tried to get prepared for the period after being accepted as a refugee. For the future, they tried to come up with new goals for which they were not reluctant anymore. Only three asylum seekers stated that they did not have a dream for their future in Austria because they wanted to return as soon as a chance would arise.

During the waiting process, participants developed short-term goals like starting to work or family unification. But when asked about their long-term goals, they mostly spoke about wishes and dreams:

> We spent our life for our children... I wish they will grow up here, have a good job and have a good family. I am full with the lifestyle of extremist ideological sects. I want my children to live in peace. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 38)

> I was doing my Ph.D. degree in Syria... I gave up everything... I hope I had a chance to continue in future years. I was working at the UN in Syria. Maybe I can find a similar job to help my fellow citizens. (Female, Syria, Sunni, Arab, 39)

In terms of long-term goals, participants also stated that they were trying to prepare themselves for their post-acceptance life period by learning German (the mainstream language in Austria) and social rules. They were also willing to contact locals to learn their lifestyle:

> I am sick of the fundamentalist/Islamist lifestyle... I want to work and live like Europeans. I want my children to be educated in secular schools and live like Europeans. I want my wife to work and feel free. I want to feel free. (Male, Syria, Sunni, Kurdish, 35)

Discussion

This study aimed to understand how asylum seekers perceived their involuntary migration process and how they responded to the difficulties applying concepts of hope and resilience (Bonanno, 2004; Masten, 2014; Snyder, 1994, 2000). A narrative approach was applied to capture asylum seekers' perceptions of their experiences according to the migration and resettlement process. The narratives revealed that hope was a highly important construct that asylum seekers showed during migration and resettlement processes.

The core theme of the study that emerged from the narratives indicated that refugees find new goals in restricted environments including better choices to live. They feel more control over their lives to shape their future if they can find pathways towards their goals. The narratives of the present study also showed that shift of goals that were formulated in constrained environments is developed by linking the future to the past and present. All interviewees were able to sustain their motivation by focusing on a better future belief for initiating and continually creating a plausible route towards their desired goals, even when the revised goals were not their most desired ones. More specifically, they narrated a pragmatic, goal-oriented attitude focusing on the future when recalling the different phases of their journeys.

Furthermore, participants narrated that they combined a goal-directed determination with the ability to generate the means of reaching their future-oriented goals in culturally meaningful ways. Thereby, they inhibited ineffective or negative responses, allowing them to choose from a set of effective behaviors in a given cultural context, which is the basic component of resilience (Genet & Siemer, 2011). Panter-Brick and Eggerman (2012) state that goal-directed determination gives a meaning-making existence to hope. This is the cultural essence of resilience and a fundamental component of individual adaptability (Russo et al., 2012). In their study with Afghan families dealing with war-related trauma, Panter-Brick and Eggerman (2012) found that having the ability to hang on to a sense of hope gives meaning and order to life and helps to articulate a coherent narrative to link the future to the past. Hence, hope was integral to resilience in this Afghan cultural context. Accordingly, Walsh (2012) stated that hope causes a shift in focus from problems to possibilities and thus serves as a guideline for ways of resilience.

The narratives of the present study were consistent with the study of Panter-Brick and Eggerman (2012) who uncovered the role of hope as a culturally embedded source of resilience among Afghan families. Hence, the present study contributes to an emerging literature that emphasizes the understudied role of dynamic interaction between individuals and their socio-ecology in resilience (Ungar, 2013; Wang, Liu, & Zhao, 2014). By constructing and revising the content of their hope in accordance with the conditions of and available resources in the socio-ecological context in which they lived and headed to, the Iraqian and Syrian asylum seekers managed to find new pathways towards their ultimate goal of a safe and secure place for themselves and their families.

Participants revealed that they had various paradoxical emotional experiences related to their daily life. Especially when the interviewees felt choiceless, it was more difficult for them to protect their agency. This result resembles the findings of a study by Hakim-Larson et al. (2007) who found hope to be an antidote to despair and the aftereffects of trauma such as anxiety and depression. Moreover, Umer and Elliot (2019) argued that agency is not always a precursor as classical hope theory insists (Snyder, 1994), but sometimes it is the consequence of hope including future-oriented goals for asylum seekers. Accordingly, participants in the present study found new pathways despite desperate emotions because hope served them to make new meanings and help them focus on their future.

Despite the multitude of perceived difficulties throughout their journeys, as revealed in the narratives, which started before the war but did not end when they reached the target country, Syrian and Iraqian asylum seekers protected their agency to navigate their ways to a better future. Similar to the experiences of Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Jordan (Mercy Corps, 2014) or the experiences of Mexican refugees in El Paso, Texas (Lusk & Chavez-Baray, 2017), however, none of the participants revealed relief and comfort during resettlement. On the contrary, employment problems, isolation, language barriers, and discrimination are part of their daily life, added to the difficulties of their journeys.

One implication of this research is that the attention should be given to refugees and asylum seekers' high resilience and hope levels (Watters, 2001), rather than perceiving them as passive victims suffering from war and an involuntary migration process. The present findings presented further evidence for refugees' high levels of resilience and ability to sustain hope (Dube, Bartels, Michael, & Michaelson, 2019). Researchers and policy makers, therefore, need to consider refugees' own experiences and expressed needs to recognize resources that help refugees to cultivate and actualize their hope in the broader social ecological contexts where refugees are placed.

The present study also has several limitations. To begin with, the sample was not representative of all Syrian or Iraqian refugees coming from different socioeconomic strata even if participants were selected from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Second, data were collected at the only one-time point. Using a male interpreter during the interviews could be a limitation especially when interviewing women. Overall, the underrepresentation of women is a limitation of the present study. Specific needs and obstacles of women should be studied in the future considering the role of patriarchal and conservative values in their lives and journeys of hope.

Future studies should also consider a longitudinal follow-up to see how stressors and strategies change over time applying both qualitative and quantitative research designs. There is a lack of research on refugees' resettlement in the post-migration phase; therefore, scientific knowledge to better understand the daily life challenges of refugees is very limited.

Conclusions

Studies inspired by the resilience and hope framework are needed, because their results might be able to empower refugees and to help to facilitate the transition, adaptation, and engagement in life, irrespective of previously experienced hardships and uncertainties. Moreover, by focusing on hope and resilience, it is possible to assess the asylum seekers' strengths and to determine how these strengths are utilized in finding pathways when achieving their goals. Being hopeful involves some feelings of uncertainty as one tries to anticipate the outcome and consequences of

the actions that have been taken towards achieving a goal. Findings from these studies can also help in developing explanatory models of both distress and resilience that are needed to design mental health and psychosocial interventions for refugees.

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Chapter 9
Conceptualizing Refugee Resilience Across Multiple Contexts

Jaime Spatrisano, Rebecca Volino Robinson, Gloria D. Eldridge, and Rosellen M. Rosich

Researchers agree that resilience is best conceptualized as a multilevel, dynamic construct influenced by an individual's cultures, perspectives, and experiences (e.g., Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips, & Williamson, 2011; Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009; Robinson, 2013; Ungar, 2012). Resilience involves successful navigation of the physical, social, and political environment and negotiation for the resources that sustain health and well-being within that environment. If resilience resides not only inside the individual but also within the individual's social ecology, then interventions aimed at promoting resources within particular environments may help promote resilience (e.g., culturally relevant services, provider education, and community involvement) for those living in challenging contexts.

Thus, resilience is an important concept for most groups of people; however, it is particularly applicable to populations known to have experienced a great deal of adversity (e.g., refugees). Refugees are people fleeing armed conflicts or persecution and residing outside the geographic boundaries of their country of origin. In 2016, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) documented 22.5 million refugees worldwide – the highest number of refugees on record (UNHCR, 2017). While the ultimate goal of many refugees and the UNHCR is repatriation to one's country of origin, this goal is infrequently realized. Protracted refugee crises are the norm rather than exception, and less than 1% of all eligible refugees are ever resettled in a third country (UNHCR, 2017).

Refugees experience various traumas beginning in their country of origin and continuing during displacement and after resettlement. This process has been referred

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to as the triple trauma paradigm (Center for Victims of Torture [CVT], 2005). Exposure to such vast adversity places refugees at risk for a wide variety of mental and physical health problems (Porter & Haslam, 2005), including problems related to the acculturation process (Rudmin, 2009). The present study was conducted to better understand well-being and resilience with refugees who fled Bhutan, lived for years in refugee camps, and then settled in the USA.

Worldwide, refugees have poorer mental health than non-refugees living in their resettlement country (Porter & Haslam, 2005). Immigrants who relocated voluntarily, as well as refugees resettled in third party countries, were found to have higher rates of some psychological disorders than individuals in the general population, with refugees experiencing more trauma (e.g., sexual violence, torture, and witnessing acts of violence) than immigrants prior to resettlement (Alpak et al., 2015; Murray, Davidson, & Schweitzer, 2010). High rates of trauma in refugee populations have been associated with increased occurrence of mental illnesses, including higher rates of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD; Alpak et al., 2015; Priebe, Giacco, & El-Nagib, 2016) and depression (Steel et al., 2009). Prevalence estimates range widely for common mental health concerns in refugees and asylum seekers, "4 to 40% for anxiety, 5 to 44% for depression, 9 to 36% for PTSD" (Turrini et al., 2017, p.8). Wide prevalence ranges may be influenced by research quality, with lower estimates produced by studies that used more rigorous research methods and representative sampling (Priebe et al., 2016).

Nepali Bhutanese Refugees

Nepali-speaking Bhutanese refugees, also known as Nepali Bhutanese refugees, or Bhutanese refugees, are one of many refugee groups worldwide. We focus on this population in this chapter as an example of resilience in a refugee group. The literature specific to Nepali Bhutanese refugees consists primarily of scholarly books, personal memoirs, reports released by international humanitarian agencies, and empirical studies that document a story of persecution based on ethnicity and culture that includes forced relocation, political violence, torture, rape, death, and human rights violations (Hutt, 2003; Ringhofer, 2002; Rizal, 2010; Tol et al., 2010). The literature suggests that many Nepali Bhutanese refugees have been exposed to trauma and have experienced mental health problems (e.g., anxiety, suicide, depression, and PTSD; Ao et al., 2012; Schininà, Sharma, Gorbacheva, & Mishra, 2011; Vonnahme, Lankau, Ao, Shetty, & Cardozo, 2015) that were not addressed through mental health services (Chase & Sapkota, 2017; Vonnahme et al., 2015). These studies highlight many disparities affecting Nepali Bhutanese refugees and demonstrate a need to identify ways to improve their accessing resources associated with better mental health and well-being (e.g., Ao et al., 2012; Chase & Sapkota, 2017; Schininà et al., 2011). To date, there has been little strengths-based research with this population and no research focusing on resilience from the Nepali Bhutanese refugee perspective.

Brief Nepali Bhutanese history The Kingdom of Bhutan is a small landlocked country situated in South Asia between China (Tibet) and Northeastern India. Due to government restrictions on research, the population of this nation remains a mystery with estimates in 1991, prior to the expulsion of the Nepali Bhutanese, ranging from fewer than 700,000 to 1,598,216. Nepali Bhutanese refugees speak Nepali and are ethnically Nepali. The official language of Bhutan is Dzongkha, which is the native language of the Ngalop cultural group who makes up Bhutan's ruling elite. Population estimates placed the Ngalop group between 10% and 28% and the Nepali Bhutanese around 28%. Most of the Nepali Bhutanese follow the Hindu religion, while the majority of other Bhutanese ethnic groups identify primarily as Buddhist (Hutt, 2003).

Historically, Nepali immigrants entered Bhutan during the first half of the seventeenth century and continued to migrate in fluctuation with the labor demands of Bhutan (Ringhofer, 2002). Many Nepali Bhutanese settled in the southern area of Bhutan to supply agricultural labor and remained there for generations, many gaining citizenship in 1958 (Hutt, 1996). This changed in 1988, when the government of Bhutan, led by the King, began conducting a yearly census that many Nepali Bhutanese viewed as a tool to remove their Bhutanese citizenship (Rizal, 2010). Between 1987 and 1992, the Bhutanese government instituted a five-year plan to unite the country under the slogan of "one nation, one people." The plan involved forced assimilation of the Nepali Bhutanese who were required to wear the traditional dress of the ruling group and were subjected to fines, imprisonment, and beatings if they were found wearing traditional Nepali Bhutanese clothing. The Nepali language was systematically removed from schools and government agencies (Hutt, 1996) and major news outlets and was replaced with the language of the ruling group (Rizal, 2010).

Resistance to these oppressive tactics, such as calls for humanitarian efforts, was met with backlash from the Bhutanese government, including revocation of citizenship, forced relocation out of the country, imprisonment, and torture (Hutt, 1996). The Nepali Bhutanese who were imprisoned faced inhumane conditions and were subjected to physical and emotional torture, including mind control (Rizal, 2010). The Bhutanese government forced the Nepali Bhutanese out of the country through intimidation such as "rape (even in front of whole families), burning of houses and books written in Nepali, arrest of not complying with the assimilation policy and release only under the condition to leave the country with their whole family" (Ringhofer, 2002, p.50). Some Nepali Bhutanese were forced at gunpoint to sign documents stating in the national language that they "voluntarily" left the country (Ringhofer, 2002).

During this forced migration, Nepali Bhutanese refugees set up makeshift settlements at Bhutan's border with India, but due to unsanitary conditions, lack of resources resulting in starvation and hypothermia, and rejection by the Indian government, the Nepali Bhutanese traveled through India to Nepal where refugee camps were eventually established. The government of Nepal allowed Nepali Bhutanese refugees to receive resources from humanitarian agencies (e.g., Red

Cross and UNHCR) and fashion nonpermanent domiciles (e.g., void of durable building materials such as concrete, bricks, and mortar) in areas designated as refugee camps, but refugees were not permitted to earn money outside the refugee camps, making them dependent on charitable agencies (Human Rights Watch, 2007). After about 20 years of refugees living in camps in Nepal, the USA began resettling them from the region in 2008 (UNHCR, 2015). When resettlement began, there were over 108,000 Nepali Bhutanese refugees living in camps in Nepal; since then, a large portion has been resettled to the USA, Canada, the Netherlands, Denmark, Australia, Norway, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom (Shrestha, 2015; UNHCR, 2015). Many Nepali Bhutanese refugees who relocated to other countries have been exposed to trauma and experienced one or more serious mental health problems (e.g., PTSD, depression, and suicide; Ao et al., 2012; Schininà et al., 2011; Thapa, Van Ommeren, Sharma, de Jong, & Hauff, 2003; Van Ommeren et al., 2001; Vonnahme et al., 2015).

Social Ecological Model of Resilience

While a robust body of literature on resilience has developed over the past several decades, contributing to an understanding of individual and relational dimensions of resilience, the role of culture and context has remained on the sidelines of resilience research (Boyden & Mann, 2005). Most resilience studies have been conducted by researchers in Western contexts, focusing on outcomes deemed positive by members of dominant social groups (e.g., educational attainment) and failing to account for heterogeneous cultural and contextual differences in the expression and experience of resilience (Ungar, 2012). However, alternative perspectives (e.g., those of minorities) must be included in the literature because there are multiple perspectives on resilience and the views of the dominant group are not always applicable to those outside of the mainstream culture (Ungar, 2012).

One of the first large-scale efforts aimed at addressing this gap in the resilience literature was the International Resilience Project (IRP). Using an iterative and participatory mixed-method model of research, the IRP brought together over 40 researchers across 14 research sites in 11 countries. After collecting interviews and life histories from children across the sites and interviewing adults across the communities, the group collaboratively developed the Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM) and then administered the CYRM to 1451 youth in those 11 countries (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011).

The IRP predicted that responses to the CYRM would sort into an ecological model (i.e., individual, relational, community, cultural) similar to that proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979), but the researchers were unable to produce a valid and stable factor structure across all cultures and contexts (Ungar et al., 2007). Based on analysis of the qualitative interview data with youth, Ungar (2008) concluded that the cultural context shapes how ecological components (e.g., family, community)

contribute to the expression of resilience. Ungar (2012) posed a social ecological model of resilience to inform future research and interventions aimed at promoting resilience in challenging contexts.

Ungar and Liebenberg's (2011) theory of social ecological resilience included individual (e.g., demographics, problem-solving, self-concepts, knowledge), relational (e.g., interpersonal relationships, family members, friends, neighbors), community (e.g., school, employment, service agencies, government), and cultural (e.g., values, norms, beliefs, traditions, celebrations, spirituality) levels. The theory highlights the complexity of the construct. Resilience is a process of navigating and negotiating for health-sustaining resources within a context of adversity. This process is embedded within the individual's social ecology and involves individual capacity, relational networks, community resources, cultural values, and physical resources. From this perspective, resilience is not considered a state of achievement but rather a process by which a state of well-being is regained or maintained in spite of adverse experiences.

The role of health-sustaining resources is central in this socioecological model of resilience. Health-sustaining resources (e.g., food and water, health care, education) reside in context (e.g., historical, sociopolitical, geographic) and are subject to cultural relativity (e.g., educational attainment may be considered a health-sustaining resource in one context and not in another). When taken into consideration, relational (e.g., social competence, quality of parental monitoring), community (e.g., rites of passage, safety, and security), and cultural (e.g., affiliation with a religious organization, life philosophy) resources have been found to exert as much influence on resilience as individual traits and personal factors (Ungar, 2012; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). Each of these factors resides within the broader context that impacts availability and access to health-sustaining resources, thus shaping the process of navigating and negotiating for those resources (Ungar et al., 2007).

The term *navigation* refers to a person's capacity to seek health-sustaining resources and the availability of those resources in the environment. Thus, a person can only navigate toward resources that are available and accessible (Ungar, 2008). For example, a refugee in a third-party resettlement country who obtains food from a grocery store shows successful navigation in the new environment. There are many paths an individual could take to obtain a resource such as food, including acquiring food through a social services worker, growing food in a personal garden, paying for food with employment income, using government-issued food vouchers, getting food shared by a family member, or receiving food as a donation from a community member. The term *negotiation* refers to the process by which individuals or groups engage gatekeepers to provide access to meaningful health-sustaining resources (Ungar, 2008). For a particular group, knowing the health-sustaining resources and processes that underlie resource acquisition is important for increasing access (navigation) to needed resources and identifying pathways to improve communication with gatekeepers to gain access to resources (negotiation) in particular contexts. This conceptualization of resilience is particularly germane to understanding resilience in the refugee context and promoting healthy adjustment in the country of origin, interim circumstances (e.g., refugee camps), and resettlement communities.

Refugee Health Risks

While the refugee experience is as varied as the contexts in which these crises arise, the *triple trauma paradigm* is a useful framework for considering the most commonly reported forms of adversity experienced by refugees (CVT, 2005). Trauma for refugees often begins with the reasons for flight from their home countries – persecution, rape, torture, and threats of imprisonment or death. Trauma continues as they seek safety, which commonly includes temporary living arrangements, unsanitary conditions, malnutrition, and witnessing and experiencing violence. Lastly, upon resettlement, refugees experience further trauma – separation from loved ones, anti-immigrant prejudice, economic hardships, precarious legal status, and cultural shock (CVT, 2005).

Barriers to accessing resilience resources (navigation) may be present in all contexts in the triple trauma model from flight to resettlement. For example, the circumstances, such as violence, in a refugee's country of origin leading to flight may physically block access to resources. Similarly, in refugee camps during flight, access to basic resources provided by humanitarian agencies may be blocked by natural disasters such as flooding that washes out roads. Upon resettlement, a refugee family could lack transportation (e.g., a car or bus pass) to gather resources in their new community. Parallel to challenges to navigation of resources, negotiation difficulties could arise in all contexts. In pre-flight, individuals negotiating or advocating to have rights restored by the government could be imprisoned. Individuals living in refugee camps may know where medical supplies are stored in the camp but be unable to persuade humanitarian agency workers to distribute medications for a medical concern. After resettlement in a new country, a refugee may have access to basic resources through a voluntary agency but may not have language skills to express culturally specific needs such as religious objects (e.g., prayer rug, religious texts, a place to worship, or a religious leader).

In addition, acculturation involves a process of adaptation that occurs when two or more cultural groups come into contact, with members of less dominant groups (e.g., refugees) experiencing more change (Berry, 1997; Bornstein & Cote, 2010). Berry (1997) identified four categories of acculturation (i.e., assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration). Integration is a more contemporary approach associated with a more positive outcome. It involves valuing multiple cultures simultaneously (i.e., culture of origin and resettlement culture) resulting in adapting to the receiving culture while retaining the heritage culture. This leads to a more favorable psychosocial outcome especially among younger immigrants (Coatsworth, Maldonado-Molina, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2005; David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009).

The process of acculturation exists in each context of the triple trauma paradigm. Refugees enter new contexts (e.g., refugee camps, resettlement communities) with previously formed beliefs about the world, values, and cultural practices that differ from the beliefs, values, and cultural practices of the people already living in the new context. Success in the new environment requires gaining an understanding of and adjusting to the systems in that environment (e.g., cultural norms, laws, and

social services). Those who maintain fundamental aspects of their culture of origin while gaining an understanding of how their new environment functions at individual, relational, and community levels experience increased capacity for well-being relative to their peers who struggle to adapt to "cultural mismatch" (Güngör & Perdu, 2017, p.2). This process of successful adaptation whereby both cultures are valued is facilitated by the identification and promotion of culturally specific resources (Güngör & Perdu, 2017). While acculturation stressors and associated mental and physical health problems are well documented in the literature (Rudmin, 2009), resilience within this process of acculturation is a less well understood and a particularly relevant construct for promoting successful adjustment and acculturation.

Overview of Current Study

Little is known about the ways Nepali Bhutanese refugees resettled in Western nations view well-being and experience resilience. The study presented in this chapter explored Nepali Bhutanese refugee perspectives on well-being to create a contextually based and culturally informed model of resilience. This social ecological conceptualization of resilience as an interactive process between individuals and their sociocultural context can be used by Nepali Bhutanese communities and resettlement agencies to better serve Nepali Bhutanese refugees and to promote their health, well-being, and resilience. To achieve this goal, we followed Ungar and Liebenberg's (2011) model for exploring resilience in specific cultural groups using semi-structured qualitative interviews. The model allowed for refugee voices to guide the development of the resilience model that revealed important differences between resilience-promoting resources across the refugee journey (i.e., pre-flight, mid-flight, and post-flight).

Method

Participants

Narrative data were collected from ten refugees (five men, five women) of Nepali Bhutanese heritage resettled in Anchorage, Alaska. This purposive sample was recruited through two Nepali Bhutanese cultural advisors who made initial contact with potential participants and introduced them to the principal investigator. Six participants were recruited from a group of Nepali Bhutanese community members who gathered weekly to study for the US citizenship test. Four participants were recruited through the cultural advisors from a pool of potential participants who were thought to be unrelated to previous participants and unrelated to the inter-

preter. One potential participant, an older woman, elected not to participate when she was informed that her son could not interpret for her during the interview. All participants were adult Nepali Bhutanese refugees who had been resettled in the USA 10 months or more prior to the interview and were receiving services from the local refugee resettlement agency. All participants were born in Bhutan; five grew up primarily in Bhutan prior to relocating to refugee camps in Nepal and the other five grew up primarily in refugee camps in Nepal. The amount of time living in a refugee camp ranged from 16 to 20 years ($M = 18.60$ years, SD = 1.26). Participants had lived in the USA between 10 months and 4 years ($M = 2.22$ years, SD = 1.16). Participants ranged in age from 21 to 69 years ($M = 39.00$ years, SD = 15.44). Seven were married and three were single. All of the women and two of the men were married. The six oldest participants had children and none of the four participants under age 30 (three men and one woman) had children.

All participants spoke Nepali at home as their first language. Similar to estimates in the refugee camps in Nepal (Ranard, 2007), the religious identities in the sample included Hindu (60%), Buddhist (20%), Kirat (an animistic religion; 10%), and both Hindu and Kirat (10%).

Procedure

Prior to beginning interviews, participants read the informed consent document in English or an interpreter read the informed consent document to participants in Nepali. The principal investigator answered all questions, and after the participant gave consent, recording devices were turned on. Participants gave demographic information prior to the interview questions. Interviews were conducted in English (or English through an in-person Nepali interpreter), using semi-structured open-ended questions with probes. Three participants conducted the interview in English, and the other seven participants completed the interview through a Nepali interpreter. Interviews lasted between 35 and 96 minutes depending on the participant's answers to the questions.

Interview Protocol

The interview protocol was based on seven "catalyst questions" with subsequent probes recommended by Liebenberg and Ungar (2009) following their research on resilience. They used these questions as the basis for the interviews conducted as the qualitative component of the CYRM construction (see Appendix A in Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011, for the full list of questions). Robinson (2013) adapted these questions for a study of resilience among adult Somali refugees. This adult adaptation with Somali refugees was altered in this study for relevance for the population being investigated (e.g., replaced "Somali refugee" with "Nepali-speaking

Bhutanese refugee"). Two cultural advisors and an English as a second language (ESL) teacher who worked with Nepali Bhutanese refugees helped revise the questions so the materials would be easily understood and culturally appropriate for this group.

The final semi-structured protocol consisted of 10 questions with prompts. For seven of the questions, interviewees were asked to share responses pertaining to three ecological contexts: Bhutan, refugee camps in Nepal, and the USA. Attending to these three contexts highlighted sociohistorical factors related to time and major environmental events and allowed for comparisons across the contexts of the triple trauma paradigm (Bhutan, pre-flight; refugee camps, flight; USA, post-flight). This revealed which concepts were consistent across contexts and which were context specific. The remaining three questions asked about their journey to the USA, hope for the future, and how best to disseminate findings. The protocol covered the domains of well-being (i.e., psychological, physical, social, and spiritual; Ungar et al., 2007). Some questions were asked initially using the first person followed by a third-person version of the same question to gather information about individual, relational, community, and cultural levels. The interview questions were:

1. To provide a context for your answers, tell me a little bit about life in Bhutan and your journey to the USA.
2. a. Explain what a Nepali-speaking Bhutanese person needs to know to live well in Bhutan? b. Question repeated for refugee camps in Nepal, and c. the USA.
3. a. How do you describe a person who lives well in Bhutan despite the many problems they face? b. Question repeated for refugee camps in Nepal, and c. the USA.
4. a. What does it mean to you when bad things happen? b. Question repeated for refugee camps in Nepal, and c. the USA.
5. a. What kinds of things were the most challenging for you living in Bhutan? b. Question repeated for refugee camps in Nepal, and c. the USA.
6. a. What do you do when you face difficulties in your life? [How do you make meaning of difficulties in your life?] b. Question repeated for refugee camps in Nepal, and c. the USA.
7. a. What does being healthy mean to you? [What does being healthy mean to your family or community?] b. Question repeated for refugee camps in Nepal, and c. the USA.
8. a. How do you keep healthy (mentally, physically, emotionally, and spiritually)? [How do others you know keep healthy?] b. Question repeated for refugee camps in Nepal, and c. the USA.
9. Describe what gives you hope for the future.
10. Before we finish the interview, can you think of any ways that this information could be made useful for you and the broader Nepali-speaking Bhutanese community? [How would you suggest sharing what we learn with the Nepali-speaking Bhutanese community?]

Data Analysis

All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and proofread for accuracy. After all identifiable information was removed, the interviews were imported into NVivo10 for qualitative data analyses (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2012). Entire interviews containing participant answers to all 10 questions were coded using thematic analysis. Two coders created a codebook from a subsample of three interviews (MacQueen, McLellan, Kay, & Milstein, 1998). The data were analyzed using a combination of thematic analysis following a priori codes representing social ecological levels (e.g., individual, relational, community, and cultural) and inductive thematic analysis, which allowed for an iterative process whereby unique codes emerged from the data. A priori codes were also created for contexts: Bhutan, refugee camps, interim or temporary placements, and the USA. Further, a priori codes were incorporated to capture other aspects of the social ecological resilience model including navigation and negotiation; health, which was subdivided into physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual; and health in relation to environmental conditions. In addition to these a priori codes, others such as technology, transportation, normalization, personal skills, rules and laws, persecution, and positive thinking emerged through analysis of the data.

For each interview, the two coders first coded the document independently. They then merged the two coded documents to compare and review each code with both coders present to discuss discrepancies. All discrepancies were resolved between the two coders without the need to consult the designated arbitrator. This method of double-coding ensured inter-rater agreement for all codes. This method of data analysis resulted in codes that were organized into broad categories and subcategories, which allowed for the emergence of themes pertinent to Nepali Bhutanese refugee well-being and a model for resilience across contexts (i.e., USA, refugee camps, and Bhutan).

Results

The model of resilience that emerged from these data is comprised of three parts: (1) a culturally grounded definition of well-being, which includes health-sustaining resources, (2) shared and individual adverse experiences, and (3) the processes by which health-sustaining resources are acquired and used to increase or regain well-being (i.e., navigation and negotiation). Each part of this model is detailed below with illustrative quotes. Figure 9.1 presents a visual aid to support the narrative description of the data. We first present a note on how the data emerged across the three contexts of inquiry (pre-flight, flight, post-flight).

Part one of the model, the definition of well-being, was described consistently across the three contexts. Specifically, the core elements that make up well-being, including physical health, psychological health, social support, and spirituality, did

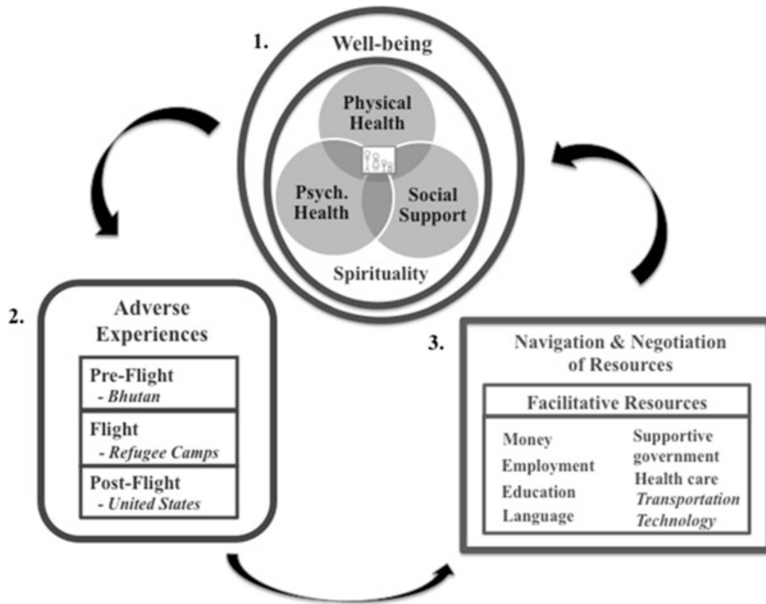

Fig. 9.1 A contextually based model of Nepali Bhutanese resilience

not change across the three contexts of pre-flight, flight, and post-flight. However, the second and third parts of the model regarding adverse experiences and processes of navigation and negotiation were context-dependent (e.g., growing their own food, food becoming available through humanitarian agencies, receiving cash, food stamps, or gift cards).

Definition of Well-Being

As Ungar and Liebenberg (2011) described, part one of this model includes a conceptualization of Nepali Bhutanese well-being. The Nepali Bhutanese well-being was comprised of four distinct, inter-related domains. The first three domains, physical health, psychological health, and social support, were signified by the three overlapping circles (see Fig. 9.1). Pseudonyms are used throughout this document to preserve participant anonymity.

Physical health The most commonly described physical health resources by the participants were freedom from disease and disability (i.e., proper nutrition, hygiene, and access to health care) and material resources (i.e., shelter and clothing). Participants described how these particular resources contribute to a life free from disease and disability, which was conceptualized as an essential component of well-being.

> I understand about healthy means like a healthy body, like our body should be [with] no diseases, no sick[ness]. Our whole body is healthy. I know healthy means to be strong, physically. (Bishal, male, 69 years old)

> Staying clean, eat food on time and eat healthy food. Like fresh food, like fresh vegetables and also cleanliness, taking bath[s], washing clothes and wear[ing] clean clothes. (Hira, male, 48 years old)

Psychological health For the purpose of organizing responses that focused on psychological health, we created two categories to capture the most frequently discussed concepts: cognitive functioning (e.g., cognitive abilities and emotional intelligence) and "positive thinking." For example, participants described positive thinking as encompassing a positive world outlook, hope for a brighter future, and not dwelling on past harms. Comments such as "healthy means like everywhere, I should be positive thinking" (Bhim, male, 24 years old) were common. Shirisha (female, 38 years old) described psychological health as "…if their brain is properly working that is a mentally healthy person."

Social support The categories that emerged as distinct aspects of social support included family support, community support, cultural acceptance, and social services. Interpersonal and community connection is essential to Nepali Bhutanese well-being. As Ram (male, 27 years old) explained:

> Community means like we are from Bhutan, but we have many religions here [in the USA]. Some of them are Buddhist, some are Hindu and if we try to cooperate with each other and if [we] try to make a good community and we try to help each other, we can solve many problems. Catholic Social Services is helping right now, but still CSS can't solve all problems in my sense okay. So, that's why to solve some problems and to promote our own religion [we] have to recognize a kind of brotherhood, okay, sisterhood. We need to have a really nice kind of good community and community means--we've got many communities here, so in order to have a nice community we need to cooperate, collaborate with them. Otherwise nobody will identify us and other people will not identify-they will just-not hate, but we will feel like without a community. We will feel without any, what do you call? Child without parents, okay, like that. Like a flower without fragrance.

Amita (female, 28 years old) commented on the importance of interpersonal interactions, "To stay healthy I smile at people. I make people happy and I will be happy. I'll keep dancing, keep singing, keep talking to people. Make good relationships."

Spirituality Ram's statement also reflects his views on spirituality, which is the fourth domain of well-being (indicated in the figure as a ring encompassing the other three domains of well-being). Spirituality emerged as an integral aspect of well-being that influenced and encompassed the other three domains. The concept of spirituality presented as a ubiquitous construct that included the concepts of balance, religious tolerance, and normalization of dire circumstances. Examples of coping through normalization were frequently mentioned as participants described negative experiences. "Life in the refugee camp was not really good. It was miserable…" (Santa, male, 21 years old). These statements were often followed by

descriptions of the camps as mediocre, not good or bad. "…We stayed in refugee camp with not really good facilities, but not really bad too. We stayed for 18 years" (Santa, male, 21 years old).

We depicted each of the four facets of well-being as overlapping with each of the other domains, symbolizing the holistic nature of Nepali Bhutanese well-being, and indicating the interconnections and interdependence among domains. A symbolic image of a family was located at the center of the well-being illustration as participant descriptions of well-being were rarely based on the individual. Rather, family emerged as the unit of analysis for Nepali Bhutanese well-being, not viewing themselves as healthy when their family members were unwell.

Exposure to Adversity

Participants reported a variety of adverse experiences that were in line with the triple trauma paradigm (CVT, 2005). The salience and types of adverse experiences were primarily determined by the context in which they occurred. Participants shared how the vast majority of adverse experiences that occurred in Bhutan (pre-flight) were precipitated by the Bhutanese government's "one nation, one people" policy of forced assimilation of individuals from outside the dominant culture (including the Nepali Bhutanese) and the subsequent removal of many Nepali Bhutanese from Bhutan.

> I left Bhutan when I was two and a half. I heard [it was] because of the religion, because of the national language, because of the food, culture and the religious celebrations. The Bhutan government forced Nepali people to [leave]. (Bhim, male, 24 years old)

Acculturative stress (e.g., diminished language access and clothing restrictions) was a large contributor to why the Nepali Bhutanese became refugees. While living in Bhutan (pre-flight), cultural persecution, discriminatory laws, and acts of violence toward the Nepali Bhutanese were the most commonly cited forms of adversity described by participants. In refugee camps in Nepal, acculturation was not a primary concern expressed by respondents, as they were all ethnically Nepali and shared similar cultural practices (e.g., religions, clothing, and language). The most salient adversity described during the refugee camps (flight) included challenges in meeting basic needs (e.g., food, clothing, shelter, health care); local laws forbidding permanency, which contributed to insurmountable barriers to any form of upward mobility (e.g., citizenship, stable employment, higher education); and safety concerns due to unsanitary living conditions, poorly constructed structures, and interpersonal violence.

> [In] the refugee camp there was a bad time when something happened with the organizations and they stopped providing us the food. They stopped providing us the health facilities. That was a really bad time because some people got really sick and... many people died of waiting for medicines in Nepal. (Bhim, male, 24 years old)

Once in the USA (post-flight), the primary forms of adversity pertained to adjustment or acculturation stress. Participants described barriers to learning the English language and challenges in understanding laws and cultural practices in the USA. These acculturation stressors created barriers to accessing needed resources such as employment and citizenship. As Bishal (male, 69 years old) explained, "The most challenging thing in the U.S. for me is English... Sometimes I want to buy something by myself. Sometimes I want to share my feelings with my friends, family, or even kids, but I couldn't explain what I want, how I feel." Acculturative stress, although most salient in participant responses related to the resettlement context, was also mentioned in the pre-flight context in relation to the ruling group of Bhutan forcing Nepali Bhutanese people to assimilate into their culture. However, in general, participants did not mention acculturation related to language or daily living while in Bhutan or refugee camps in Nepal, perhaps because they were living in communities where others spoke their language and were accepting of their cultural practices. For example, Dilu (female, 34 years old) stated, "The people from Nepal also speak Nepali so that was not a difficult life there."

Navigation and Negotiation of Resources

The third and final component of this resilience model pertains to the ways participants described navigating (or finding) and negotiating (advocating for) health-sustaining resources. Navigation and negotiation involve processes, circumstances, and objects that facilitate acquisition of health-sustaining resources. During the "pre-flight" context, participants described ways to remain in the country and live well, for example, assimilating into the dominant Bhutanese culture.

> My family, my mom's sister is still in Bhutan and my dad's uncle is still in Bhutan and they are also from Nepal like us, but the thing was like they went to school and they speak Bhutan language and when the people from Bhutan government came to their house they speak Bhutan and [they] told [the government] "no we are not Nepali, we are Bhutanese, we were born in Bhutan. So, I can do Bhutan stuff. I celebrate Bhutan festivals. What do you want us to do to stay in Bhutan?" Like they asked like that and they, the Bhutan government thought "oh yeah they are Bhutanese they speak good Bhutan language they do wear Bhutan clothes." Also, they see the people wearing Bhutan dresses and they just leave there. For like the same reason, they [the Bhutanese government] came to my family and they ask us with the Bhutan language and my parents couldn't speak Bhutan language so that is like the main reason they figure out that no you are not Bhutanese because you don't even speak the Bhutan language. You should go back to Nepal. (Bhim, male, 24 years old)

In the "flight" context (refugee camps) wherein participants discussed lack of access to basic necessities (e.g., food, clothing, shelter), a participant described how to access (navigate) basic necessities by working illegally outside the camps.

> They [international agencies] provided us some small amount of food, a small amount of rice, a small amount of vegetables for 15 day, but it was not enough for us so we had to go outside the refugee camp in the village, in the peoples' house to work at their house as a farmer, as like slave also sometimes and earn a small amount and buy some food, some

> vegetables. We stayed at their house and work 5 days, 10 days, earn a small amount and buy like everything we need to buy even clothing, even food, everything. (Bishal, male, 69 years old)

An example of advocating for access to resources (negotiation) such as information in the "post-flight" context (USA) included a participant who could not read or write in English asking her children for assistance.

> I am proud of my kids. I am glad they are going to school and they will have a good future here [USA]. Even though my kids went to school in Nepal, they never speak English, but here, they at least understand English. They can reply [to] whatever phone calls come and whatever the letter that comes in the mailbox. I don't know anything, but they can still reply. They can still explain [to] me what is going on. (Sita, female, 45 years old)

Participants also discussed a second category of resources that allowed for the acquisition of other resources. This category emerged from the data and was termed facilitative resources, which included the most frequently described circumstances and objects involved in the acquisition of resources that contribute to well-being: money, education, employment, supportive government (e.g., religious freedom and citizenship), language, transportation, and technology. Most facilitative resources were mentioned by all participants as essential to well-being (i.e., money, education, employment, supportive government, language, and health care), while two (i.e., transportation and technology) were only described by the three youngest male participants.

A few examples of facilitative resources include money as a direct link to health, "Everywhere, in Bhutan, Nepal and the United States if I have money, I will be healthy" (Hira, male, 48 years old); education as a contributor to well-being, "the people who were educated and went to school had a good life in the refugee camp despite the problems" (Maya, female, 56); employment to obtain money and contribute to the family, "...have a good job is a healthy person ...because if I don't have a job, I can't have money. I can't complete my family" (Bhim, male, 24 years old); and language contributing to well-being.

> The main kind of bad thing for us is language, English language, but also our family, our members, our kids, they speak English so they are working. So, our life is really good, so much better than in the refugee camp, enough food, enough of everything, so it is better even we are going to school and learning English so it is good for us. (Bishal, male, 69 years old)

Discussion

Historically, the concept of resilience has focused on individual factors associated with positive outcomes in the context of adversity. In contrast, the present study supports theory and research (Robinson, 2013; Ungar, 2012) suggesting that social ecology is critical to understanding resilience and its complex multilevel factor structure. From this perspective, resilience is not considered an individual attribute or a state of achievement, but rather the process by which a state of well-being is regained or maintained in spite of adverse experiences.

This study extended Ungar and Liebenberg's (2011) model of resilience to the Nepali Bhutanese population and added greater insights by differentiating between pre-flight, flight, and post-flight contexts. These ten Nepali Bhutanese refugees showed that the process of resilience is embedded within an individual's social ecology and involves individual capacity, relational networks, community resources, cultural values, and physical resources to deal with adverse experiences and negotiate and navigate resources. Consistent with Ungar and Liebenberg's findings, participant responses reflected the four broad categories of resources (i.e., physical, psychological, social, and spiritual domains) that make up their unique holistic and family-based definition of well-being – sustaining health when faced with the adversities experienced in pre-flight, flight, and post-flight environments. Their responses also described the individual and shared adversities and struggles they encountered and how they navigated and negotiated health-sustaining resources to increase or regain well-being within each triple trauma context (i.e., pre-flight, flight, and post-flight). Participant descriptions of adversity during pre-flight, flight, and post-flight contexts were consistent with the triple trauma paradigm (e.g., CVT, 2005).

Aspects of adaptation or acculturation were described for each of the three contexts. In Bhutan, participants viewed adaptation as successful through the process of assimilation into the dominant Bhutanese culture. However, assimilation requires rejecting practices related to an individual's culture of origin in favor of those of the dominant culture, which negatively impacts the individual (Sam & Berry, 2010). Consistent with past research, participants viewed assimilation practices in Bhutan as destructive to well-being with a preference for settings where they were free to engage in their own cultural practices (e.g., refugee camps and the USA). This study also supports research using more contemporary approaches to understanding the acculturation process of more recent cohorts of immigrants. Adapting to the receiving culture while retaining one's culture of origin is a more favorable outcome and leads to better psychosocial adjustment (Coatsworth et al., 2005; David et al., 2009).

Navigation and negotiation for resources proved difficult as the government systematically restricted their access to health-sustaining resources. Successful acculturation between the broader Nepali culture and that of Nepali Bhutanese refugees in camps in Nepal was easily attainable as the two cultures were similar in many respects (e.g., religions, traditions, dress, and language). However, resources were scarce, and Nepali Bhutanese refugees were often forced to seek illegal routes to resources (e.g., working outside of the camps to buy food and clothing). Following resettlement in the USA, participants discussed acculturative stress related to adjustment to language, customs, and traditions. Health-sustaining resources were often obtainable but could not be accessed without an understanding of the country and community systems for receiving goods and services. Further, communication between Nepali Bhutanese refugees and resource gatekeepers was necessary for ensuring that the resources received were culturally meaningful. Generational differences emerged as the three youngest participants, who were all single men,

expressed the importance of understanding the latest technology and having reliable transportation to promote access to health-sustaining resources.

The idea that family was the most appropriate unit of analysis is consistent with cultures such as those originating in the East and Middle East (e.g., the Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Turkish cultures) that view the concept of self as interdependent, extending beyond the individual (Kağitçibaşi, 2007). For the Nepali Bhutanese, and perhaps other collectivist cultures, individual contributions to the family and community are essential, while individual-level well-being and resources were not discussed because resources are viewed as belonging to the family rather than to the individual.

The methods used in this study proved fruitful for identifying the pathways to resilience for Nepali Bhutanese refugees, which suggests that future research with other refugee populations would produce useful information for promoting resilience.

Limitations

This research produced rich data that are directly applicable to those working with Nepali Bhutanese refugees. Nevertheless, there are several limitations to the findings. Recruiting the sample through cultural advisors may have influenced the data in unknown ways such as excluding potential participants with differing views and experiences. Including only Nepali Bhutanese refugees living in Alaska may have limited the applicability of the results to Nepali Bhutanese refugees living in other parts of the USA as well as other resettlement countries. However, the vast majority of themes discussed by participants were not unique to rural communities, cold climates, or Alaska. Therefore, it is anticipated that the findings of this study will generalize to Nepali Bhutanese communities outside of Alaska and perhaps other refugee communities. Despite apparent saturation of the data with the inclusion of ten participants, this relatively small number may not have provided for the identification of all pertinent themes pertaining to Nepali Bhutanese resilience.

Although measures were taken to reduce biases, using an interpreter may have embedded personal biases into participant responses. An additional potential limitation is that there were two potential female participants who declined to participate after the researcher requested they use an interpreter who was not related to them. It is unknown how the inclusion of these two individuals' perspectives would have influenced the data. A final limitation stems from the inherent biases that may have resulted from Western researchers conducting a study with a culture outside of their own. Several steps were taken to reduce these biases, such as frequent consultation with cultural advisors throughout the research process and periodic discussion of personal biases. However, as with all research of this nature, there are myriad ways for potential subtle biases to become enmeshed with the data.

Conclusions and Future Directions

In conclusion, this study supports the conceptualization of resilience as a combination of individual and situational factors which embody cultural, contextual, and process variables (i.e., social ecology), each varying in importance and magnitude. From descriptions of well-being contextually bound and defined through shared adverse experiences to navigation and negotiation and facilitating resources to regain and maintaining well-being through changing situations (pre-flight, flights, post-flight), the human spirit never ceased to exist. In addition, this study lends further support to a better understanding of important health and psychosocial outcomes associated with navigation and negotiation utilized by refugees to maintain overall well-being in the face of adversity, something that few studies have looked at.

Findings from this study were used to develop recommendations for direct service providers working with refugees (contact the first author for more information). Applied approaches to research that directly translate to practice are needed to break down barriers between academics and direct service. Future research is also needed to reveal more nuanced connections between resilience and acculturation to help promote resilience for refugees and immigrants across generations and at all stages of resettlement (i.e., pre-flight, flight, and post-flight).

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Part III
Promotive and Preventive Approaches

Chapter 10
Using Basic and Applied Research on Risk and Resilience to Inform Preventive Interventions for Immigrant Youth

Steven M. Kogan and Sophie D. Walsh

A unique set of stressors affect adolescents in immigrant families, particularly when youth are in low-resource contexts and were born in or spent significant time growing up in the host country (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2009). In these cases, youth often have been exposed to and adopted more elements of the new culture than their parents do and can envision a life within mainstream society (Rothe, Tzuang, & Pumariega, 2010). When parents and youth differ greatly in their understanding of, and attachment to, host and heritage cultures and in their levels of cultural competence in the new environment, risk of conflict and alienation between parents and youth is heightened (Lui, 2015). This may leave many young people with little parental support for navigating complex and, at times, hostile or disadvantaged school and community environments. As a consequence, immigrant youth with these risk profiles can experience a range of problems including educational failure (Portes et al., 2009), substance use, internalizing problems (Peña et al., 2008), and delinquency (Bui, 2009).

Despite the risks that immigrant youth experience, the majority will avoid mental health and behavior problems and evince positive life trajectories. Accumulating evidence documents naturally occurring processes in personal, family, school, and community domains that promote positive development and protect young people from risk factors associated with immigration (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). Resilience-based investigations such as those found in this volume and elsewhere provide a foundation from which to conceptualize preventive intervention programs for immigrant youth (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). Informed by a prevention

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science perspective, the purpose of this chapter is to (a) present a heuristic framework for intervention with immigrant youth that specifies the protective processes associated with resilience and positive development and (b) provide prevention recommendations for providers and program developers based on this framework and select evidence-based programs implemented in the United States. We first present a brief overview of the mandate in prevention science to ground programming in developmental research followed by a discussion of the need for prevention among immigrant adolescents. We then discuss the heuristic model of developmental processes associated with positive outcomes among immigrant youth. In conclusion, we provide recommendations for prevention implementation based on existing family-centered prevention models implemented in the United States.

Using Research Evidence: The Foundation of Prevention Science

Based on seminal sources (Coie et al., 1993; Kellam & Rebok, 1992; Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994), prevention science is the application of scientific methods to prevent or moderate human dysfunctions. Whereas historically prevention has been concerned with disease and, more recently, with mental disorders, its targeted outcomes are broad and include many problems that affect personal, familial, and societal well-being. Moreover, most theorists agree that positive development and wellness promotion are consonant with the prevention science framework, using similar conceptualizations and methods (O'Connell, Boat, & Warner, 2009). Because preventive efforts occur, by definition, before an illness or problem is fully manifested, it is critical to examine systematically a problem's precursors. Documenting the risk and protective factors that forecast a problematic outcome is central to identifying population-level needs and designing efficacious interventions.

Risk factor research emerges from epidemiology, the study of the distribution in time and space of a disease or health condition (Susser & Stein, 2009). Risk factors are variables associated with a high probability of onset, greater severity, or longer duration of a specific problem. Understanding who is at risk, for what, and at what times in their lives is fundamental to mounting a prevention response.

Gordon (1983) proposed a threefold classification of preventive interventions based on risk status. *Universal prevention* programming includes strategies that can be offered to all members of a population without any screening for risk status. For example, middle schools often provide programming to prevent substance use or bullying to all students in the school (Kopasz & Smokowski, 2005). The scope of universal interventions tends to be modest, representing a small investment in terms of overall cost and time required per individual, but compounded over the large numbers of people who may benefit from it, the population health impact can be substantial if the intervention is effective (Catalano et al., 2012).

Selective prevention refers to strategies that are targeted to subpopulations identified as being at elevated risk for a problem. Selective interventions are usually more customized and focus on specific profiles of risk. Given the at-risk nature of the target population, selective programs are often more intensive than universal programs in terms of the time and resources required for delivery. For example, immigrant youth comprise a population with elevated risk for emotional and behavior problems (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, & Van de Vijver, 2016). Although the disorder is not inevitable, the probability of problems occurring during adolescence is elevated due to possible exposure to immigration-related risks. For example, in response to the recognition of unique risk profiles among Latino youth, several programs have been developed to prevent behavioral and emotional problems among immigrant youth (see Gonzales et al., 2012; Martinez & Eddy, 2005; Pantin et al., 2009).

Indicated prevention includes strategies that are targeted to individuals who are identified as being at heightened vulnerability for a problem based on some individual assessment or screening but who are currently largely asymptomatic. An example would be a family reported to Child Welfare Services for potential abuse or neglect but for whom no finding was made. The family, however, is deemed at risk due to other factors such as parental mental health, family dysfunction, or extensive youth needs. In many cases, families such as these are referred to receive intensive parent training or other services designed to stabilize their households.

Research documenting risk factors tends to focus on why problems occur in a specific population. Protective factors, in contrast, refer to processes that improve youth's resistance to risk factors and disorder; these are factors explaining why youth at risk evince positive rather than problematic development (Rutter, 1985). The systematic study of both risk and protective processes facilitates the identification of (a) risk status and intervention needs in a given population and (b) malleable risk and protective processes that can be changed through intervention (Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994).

Life-course developmental perspectives on risk and resilience are of particular interest to intervention developers (McLaughlin, 2014). Central tenets of these perspectives include:

- Problems emerge from person–environment transactions in which an active individual affects the environment, and factors in the ecological context shape individual behavior.
- Risk and protective factors operate at multiple levels, including macrosocial, individual, family, community, school, and biological contexts.
- Understanding the emergence of a problem requires investigation of the mediating mechanisms linking risk factors to the emergence of a problem.
- Developmental deviations from earlier periods are carried forward and have consequences for the successful accomplishment of life-course-relevant developmental tasks in successive phases.

These tenets provide prevention researchers with insights into the importance of the timing of risk exposure. They sensitize program developers to the potential for different factors to affect problem onset, escalation, and offset and the ways in

which normative transitions can affect vulnerability to a problem. Further these principles underscore the need for targeting multiple levels of influence in the ecology of the developing child.

An influential report from the United States' Institute of Medicine (IOM; Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994) outlined challenges for preventing mental health problems among youth and established a paradigm for prevention research in general. Including updates (O'Connell et al., 2009), this model has sponsored a heightened focus on the value of longitudinal developmental research on intervention development and adaptation (Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994). Effective prevention requires an adequate knowledge base of developmental research from which to identify those youth at risk and to derive an evidence-based model of the risk and protective processes associated with outcomes of interest. Specifically, we first provide an overview of the acculturation risks experienced by immigrant youth, particularly those who are more acculturated than their parents. We then discuss a heuristic model derived from existing developmental research which specifies targets for intervention with this population.

Prevention Needs of Immigrant Youth

Accumulating evidence points to immigrant youth as a population at risk for a host of maladaptive outcomes (Dimitrova et al., 2016). Significant diversity, however, has been observed in the quality of adaptation of immigrant youth, contingent on a variety of economic-, educational-, and acculturation-related factors. Portes et al (2009) research provides useful insights into how acculturation processes among immigrants with little human capital affect youth development (Portes et al., 2009). For immigrants with little education and few economic resources, Portes and colleagues defined two acculturation pathways with varying behavioral outcomes among immigrants in the United States. In the *selective acculturation* path, children of immigrants attain middle-class status through educational credentials. Success is supported by parents and neighbors in working-class occupations who form a strong ethnic community network. This network supports effective parenting and youth development. Children of immigrants maintain parental language and culture in addition to learning the host language and adopting prosocial aspects of host country lifestyles (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

In contrast, in the *dissonant acculturation* path, there is evidence of disruption in family and community systems. Children of immigrants reject parental culture and language and may feel ashamed of their ethnic origin. Parents with limited proficiency in the host language may live in disorganized and isolated ethnic enclaves (Roosa et al., 2009). These challenges make it difficult to monitor their youth's whereabouts and set age-appropriate limits. Consequently, youth have little adult support when confronting discrimination and the intricacies of schooling and do not receive any messages countering deviant peer attitudes and lifestyles. As a result, many of these youth have difficulty in navigating the educational system and are at

risk for mental health problems or antisocial lifestyles centered around gangs and drugs, leading to delinquency, school dropout, and teen pregnancy (Portes et al., 2009). The challenge for prevention scientists is to promote individual, family, and community protective processes that facilitate youth's selective rather than dissonant acculturation trajectories.

A Resilience-Based Framework for Intervention with Immigrant Youth

A heuristic framework based on empirical studies can serve as a foundation for developing, selecting, or adapting prevention programs for immigrant youth. That is, we specify the processes based on the research literature on which intervention programs should focus to achieve positive change. Per the IOM report, effective programs are based on evidence from developmental research that specifies how *malleable* and *causal* risk and protective factors combine to forecast intended outcomes. Malleable factors are those that can vary as a consequence of intervention. Causal factors are those that, when changed through intervention, can be expected to result in change in the targeted outcome. Multiple malleable and causal risk and protective factors may be associated with change in a particular outcome. Those with robust effects in terms of consistency and magnitude in the literature are the most desirable targets for an intervention.

Informed by ecological developmental perspectives and research on immigrant youth development, Fig. 10.1 presents a heuristic model of processes associated with positive development among immigrant youth. Consistent with efficacious design principles, we consider pathways linking multiple ecological levels of influence that include intrapersonal, family-level, community-level, and peer processes, which singly and in combination forecast positive development. In this model, intrapersonal processes are associated with the selection of more or less risky peers and indicators of adjustment. These intrapersonal processes are influenced proximally by family and community contexts. Below, we describe this model and the intervention targets that it suggests.

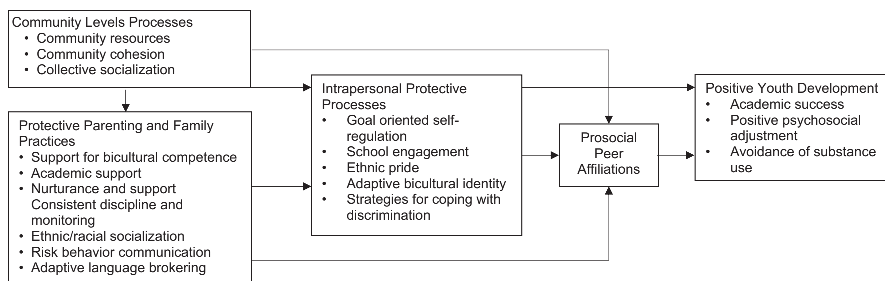

Fig. 10.1 Heuristic model of protective processes associated with youth adjustment

Immigrant youth intrapersonal protective processes Acculturation stress refers to the mental and emotional challenges of adapting to a new culture (Lueck & Wilson, 2011). For many youth, experiences with discrimination, a sense of marginality (not "belonging" in either host or heritage community), and family relationship distress as a consequence of poverty, isolation, and dissonant acculturation (Portes et al., 2009) can undermine immigrant youth's positive acculturation and development (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2009). These stressors affect emotional well-being; they also render youth vulnerable to antisocial peer influences and orient youth toward the short-term, immediate gratification that risky behavior provides rather than toward goal setting for the future and investment in education (Sirin, Ryce, Gupta, & Rogers-Sirin, 2013; Yowell, 2002). To counter these risks, empirical evidence suggests enhancing a set of intrapersonal protective processes that includes goal-oriented self-regulation, school engagement, ethnic pride, adaptive bicultural identity, and coping strategies for dealing with discrimination (Gonzales, Dumka, Mauricio, & Germán, 2007).

Goal-oriented self-regulation includes learning to set goals for the future, to develop plans for attaining them, and to persist despite obstacles. Immigrant youth who develop goal-orientated self-regulation are more likely to succeed in school and avoid the dangers that can characterize low-income communities (Coatsworth, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2002; Gonzales et al., 2007). These skills support youth school engagement, which includes valuing education as a path to future success and participating actively in curricular and extracurricular activities (Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Zarate, Bhimji, & Reese, 2005). Self-regulated, academically engaged youth are at low risk for mental health and behavioral problems and are likely to affiliate with like-minded peers who, in turn, provide few opportunities and little support for problem behavior and risky activities (Shin, Daly, & Vera, 2007; Svensson, Burk, Stattin, & Kerr, 2012).

Immigrant youth in isolated enclaves may reject their parents' culture and language, even feeling ashamed of their ethnic origin. Such feelings increase risk for gang involvement and substance use (Le & Stockdale, 2008). In contrast, successful youth from immigrant families evince ethnic pride and maintain parental language and customs (Schwartz et al., 2009). Interventions that promote ethnic pride and valuing traditional customs and language deter behavior problems (Brody et al., 2011). Ethnic pride is the foundation of an adaptive bicultural identity that involves retaining one's heritage and cultural identity while establishing a positive relationship with the host culture (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2009; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Bicultural youth access and integrate resources from both cultural systems. An adaptive bicultural identity protects youth from acculturation stress including discrimination (Umana-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia, & Gonzales-Backen, 2008) and is linked with academic competence and avoidance of conduct problems (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2009; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Research also suggests the importance of coping skills for dealing with discrimination that immigrant youth experience (Davis et al., 2016; Walsh, Fogel-Grinvald, & Shneider, 2015). Effective approaches focus on proactive styles of coping (an active stance in which one discusses, disproves, or uses self-affirmation to deal with

discrimination) rather than passive (denying stress) or aggressive (lashing out) styles and on personal goals in response to unfair treatment (Edwards & Romero, 2008; Fennelly et al., 1998; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Proactive coping strategies are linked with a high level of psychological well-being and low levels of externalizing problems among immigrant youth (Edwards & Romero, 2008; Padilla, Cervantes, Maldonado, & Garcia, 1988; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Protective parenting and family practices Researchers have reported that powerful factors that protect youth from acculturative stressors originate in family environments, particularly in parenting practices (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Smokowski, Rose, & Bacallao, 2008; Stein & Guzman, 2015). Protective parenting processes in the research literature include parental support for youth's bicultural competence, academic support and communication with school, warmth and support, developmentally appropriate monitoring, consistent discipline, ethnic socialization, risk behavior communication, and support for adaptive language brokering. As seen in Fig. 10.1, these processes, individually and collectively, affect youth adjustment by promoting intrapersonal protective processes and encouraging youth to affiliate with low-risk peers.

Many immigrant parents grew up in communities with vastly different expectations for parenting and youth development than they have encountered in a new country (Gonzales et al., 2007; Orpinas et al., 2014). These parents may have little information about contextually informed age-appropriate expectations for their youth that will facilitate youth's success in a bicultural context. Studies suggest the importance of parental support for youth's bicultural competence, which encompasses several domains of youth development. These domains include (a) embracing the importance of success in school, (b) developing vocational and educational goals for the future and plans for attaining them, (c) delaying sexual activity in early and mid-adolescence and engaging in protective sexual behavior in late adolescence and adulthood, (d) understanding the dangers of substance use, and (e) avoiding antisocial peers and gang involvement (Coatsworth et al., 2002; Gonzales et al., 2007; Orpinas et al., 2014).

In the communities in which many immigrant parents grew up, education may have been considered optional and the school system an institution with which parents should not interfere (Coatsworth et al., 2002). The cornerstone of successful youth acculturation in the United States and many other countries in which immigrant families are integrating, however, is academic achievement. Academically successful youth receive academic support from their parents, which includes active monitoring of homework and acquisition of skills for communicating with teachers and school staff (Plunkett, Behnke, Sands, & Choi, 2009). Effective parents communicate that, through educational success, youth can define goals for the future and actively pursue their career choices. This communication and support foster academic motivation and self-regulation in immigrant youth (Plunkett et al., 2009; Suárez-Orozco, Onaga, & de Lardemelle, 2010). Effective parents also communicate actively with youth about adolescent risk behavior, including explicit expectations regarding substance use, sexual activity, and affiliation with antisocial peers

(Schwartz et al., 2012). Such communication teaches youth about the dangers of risky behavior, encourages prosocial norms, and protects youth from the influence of antisocial peers (Coatsworth et al., 2002). Above all, knowing parents' expectations enables youth to comply with them.

Studies of immigrant families, in diverse countries, have identified aspects of authoritative parenting that are important in youth's adjustment (Driscoll, Russell, & Crockett, 2008). In general, research suggests that successful immigrant youth who reported that they experienced high levels of warmth and support from their caregivers were also provided developmentally appropriate monitoring and consistent discipline (Driscoll et al., 2008). Thus, the combination of warmth and support, close monitoring, and consistent discipline protected youth from dangerous surroundings and involvement with antisocial peers (Wang, Kim, Anderson, Chen, & Yan, 2012). These parenting practices also promoted their youth's development of self-regulation and academic achievement (Martinez et al., 2004; Prado et al., 2010; Schwartz, Mason, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2008).

Empirical datum also suggest that parenting interventions require specific content to address a common issue in immigrant families, "language brokering." In some immigrant families, youth's language abilities lead them to assume responsibility for translating and negotiating on their parents' behalf with community members and school personnel who speak the language of the host country (Martinez, McClure, & Eddy, 2009; Weisskirch, 2005). Although potentially adaptive for the family, these responsibilities can compromise parental authority and place a practical and emotional burden on youth (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014; Oznobishin & Kurman, 2009). Studies suggest that language brokering may be adaptive for some youth, particularly in contexts where parents continue to set age-appropriate limits and monitor the potential for brokering to be burdensome to children (Morales & Hanson, 2005).

Adaptive ethnic socialization instills pride in one's heritage and encourages youth to maintain ethnic customs, language, and traditions. Such socialization builds self-esteem and is essential for youth to develop a positive bicultural identity (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2009; Schwartz et al., 2008). Youth who receive ethnic socialization are less likely to internalize negative stereotypes or experience feelings of shame and alienation when encountering discriminatory treatment (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). One approach to ethnic socialization includes teaching parents actively to help their children deal with discrimination, encourage youth to disclose such events and acknowledge the pain they cause, formulate responses that help youth meet their personal goals, and support adaptive responses (DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Community empowerment processes The influence of community disadvantages, including crime, disorder, and poverty, poses unique risks to youth in general and to immigrant youth in particular (Portes & Hao, 2004). In low-resource environments, risk factors for adolescent problem behavior proliferate, few models for success are available, and opportunities for engaging in deviant behavior are prevalent (Pong & Hao, 2007). Such environments undermine caregivers' ability to engage in

protective parenting. They also provide frequent opportunities for affiliations with peers who engage in deviant behavior and reinforcement for substance abuse and delinquency (Gonzales et al., 2011; Liu, Lau, Chen, Dinh, & Kim, 2009). Stressful community environments tax personal coping efficacy, increasing negative emotions and decreasing support for beneficial life pathways for youth and parents (Wolff, Baglivio, Piquero, Vaughn, & DeLisi, 2016).

Many immigrant parents have left communities in their countries of origin in which communal values emphasized the needs of the family over the individual and included complex, cooperative networks that provided extensive support for child-rearing (Coatsworth et al., 2002; García Coll, Meyer, Brillon, & Bornstein, 1995). These parents may experience feelings of marginalization, isolation, and separation that can negatively affect parenting practices and parent–child relationship quality (Gonzales et al., 2007). Stress and isolation decrease parents' opportunities, and perhaps willingness, to learn culturally appropriate parenting techniques (Pantin et al., 2007). Without friends, family, or other sources of support and facing cultural and financial stressors, parents may not have the emotional resources necessary to remain invested in their adolescents' lives.

Researchers have found that preventive interventions can combat this social isolation by targeting the accessibility of community resources and enhancing community cohesion and collective socialization processes (Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Qin, 2006). Immigrant parents may struggle in identifying and accessing resources in the community, including social service providers and classes for learning English (Orpinas et al., 2014). Community cohesion refers to a sense of bonding and social support among neighbors; it has been linked to youth well-being (Xue, Leventhal, Brooks-Gunn, & Earls, 2005). Collective socialization refers to the influence of neighborhood adults on young people who are not their children (Pong & Hao, 2007). Effective control and socialization of children require social networks in which parents know their children's friends and their friends' parents as well as the other neighborhood children and adults (Simons, Simons, Conger, & Brody, 2004). Parents can then help each other with the task of controlling and socializing neighborhood children. As seen in Fig. 10.1, these community processes are expected to facilitate adaptation-promoting parenting practices, youth self-regulation, and ethnic pride while minimizing the influence of antisocial peers (Brody et al., 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2006).

Figure 10.1 specifies affiliation with prosocial peers in school and community contexts in early adolescence as a proximal link to positive adjustment and low levels of problem behavior (Dishion, French, & Patterson, 1996). Young people tend to seek like-minded peers who, in turn, reinforce peer group norms, for better or worse (Kandel, 1985). For immigrant youth who experience a clash between cultural systems at home and hostility and discrimination at school, antisocial peers and gangs may seem an attractive option for creating a sense of belonging and support (Le & Stockdale, 2008). In contrast, selection of friends who embrace ethnic pride and goal-oriented self-regulation provides support for positive developmental trajectories. Intervention programming can exert influence over these peer selection

and socialization processes (c.f., Eddy & Chamberlain, 2000). Enhancing collective socialization and parental monitoring reduces opportunities for antisocial behavior in the community and is associated with reductions in antisocial peers' influence (Berkel et al., 2009; Simons et al., 2004).

Recommendations for Implementing Preventive Interventions

The heuristic model specified malleable protective processes that promote well-being and deter adolescent problems among immigrant youth. Interventions that target these processes have the potential to deter problem behavior and support development among immigrant youth. As providers consider implementation of a program for immigrant youth, specific decisions should be made in light of the available evidence on existing programs as well as interactions with stakeholders, using interviews and focus groups to understand better the desirability of different formats and the feasibility of diverse intervention practices and techniques (Hawkins et al., 2008; Wandersman & Florin, 2003). Intervention implementation decisions include the kinds of intervention formats, types of activities, and the settings that may comprise a specific program. In this section, based on a selective review of existing programs and examples from the prevention implementation literature, we recommend a general intervention approach.

Family-centered prevention Given the central role protective parenting processes play in the adjustment of immigrant youth, we advocate a family-centered approach to intervention. Unlike the individual-based programs that are common in school settings, family-centered approaches engage caregivers in the intervention process and seek to change directly parental as well as youth behavior. The goals of these programs include transforming the ways in which parents manage and monitor youth behavior, teaching families effective ways to negotiate conflicts and solve problems, and helping families to maintain positive home environments. Of particular importance, family-focused interventions provide an ideal setting for addressing resilience mechanisms that attenuate problems related to dissonant acculturation and the alienation it can induce between youth and parents (Castro et al., 2006; Gonzales et al., 2007). Family-centered prevention also allows interventionists to guide parents' and youth's interactions with others in their communities, including youth's peer affiliations and parents' relationships with neighbors (Gonzales et al., 2012; Hogue & Liddle, 1999; Pantin et al., 2007). A considerable research base documents the efficacy of family-centered programs in deterring behavioral and mental health problems among adolescents (Van Ryzin, Kumpfer, Fosco, & Greenberg, 2016). In some cases, evidence suggests that family-centered programming may exert influences that are more enduring than those of programs that target individuals or nonfamily contexts (Fosco & Van Ryzin, 2015; Foxcroft, Ireland, Lister-Sharp, Lowe, & Breen, 2005).

Empirical evidence further supports the feasibility and efficacy of a particular modality of intervention termed *family skills training* (Foxcroft, 2006; Kumpfer, Scheier, & Brown, 2018). The family skills training approach integrates individual youth skill building, parenting skills training, and family interaction training (Kumpfer & Alvarado, 2003). Universal family skills programs typically use a format in which approximately eight to 12 families attend weekly meetings, ranging from five to 12 sessions. Parents and youth participate in separate, concurrent skill-building sessions, followed by a family session in which parents and youth jointly practice the skills they learned in their separate sessions. Evidence suggests that the integration of youth, caregiver, and family curricula may produce better outcomes than does targeting only youth or only caregivers in prevention programming (Foxcroft, Ireland, Lister-Sharp, Lowe, & Breen, 2003; Spoth, Redmond, Trudeau, & Shin, 2002). The family skills format also has outperformed parent-only interventions in facilitating protective caregiving (Spoth, Redmond, & Shin, 1998).

The family skills training format has a number of strengths for implementation with immigrant families. Meeting in a multiple-family group format is consistent with the collectivist orientation of many vulnerable parents' home countries and can increase social support and decrease isolation among parents. The use of a structured curriculum and detailed manual allows implementation by lay facilitators rather than clinical staff without sacrificing adherence. This allows respected community members and organizations who are trusted by families to implement the program rather than formal social service or mental health providers, increasing trust and engagement (Kogan et al., 2016). Programs also can be offered in the community at locations convenient and familiar to families. In this respect, a group-based family intervention implemented within a community setting may affect community-level processes such as interfamily cohesion and collective socialization.

For providers and researchers interested in addressing the vulnerabilities of immigrant youth, family skills training is a promising modality. Well-established and validated universal family skills training programs include the Strengthening Families Program (SFP; Kumpfer, Molgaard, Spoth, Peters, & McMahon, 1996; https://www.strengtheningfamiliesprogram.org) and the SFP for Parents and Youth 10–14 (SFP 10–14; Redmond, Spoth, Shin, & Lepper, 1999; https://www.extension.iastate.edu/sfp10-14). These are universal prevention programs that were designed for general populations of adolescents in the United States. They address many of the protective factors described in Fig. 10.1. During the parent training sessions, parents are taught effective means of clarifying expectations based on child development norms, using appropriate disciplinary practices, managing strong emotions concerning their youth, and communicating effectively with their youth. The youth sessions include content parallel to that of the parent sessions, as well as skills for dealing with peer pressure (such as refusal skills) and other personal and social interactional skills (e.g., management of stress, goal setting). During the family sessions, family members practice family conflict resolution and communication skills and also engage in activities designed to increase family cohesiveness and positive involvement of the child in the family.

Family skills training programs for diverse youth The aforementioned programs have been implemented extensively with ethnic minority youth in the United States and subsequently translated into a variety of languages for use with international populations (Kumpfer, Pinyuchon, de Melo, & Whiteside, 2008). Initial evidence suggests that universal prevention programs such as SFP and SFP 10–14 are effective with a variety of ethnic minority populations (Kumpfer, Alvarado, Smith, & Bellamy, 2002), although trials comparing culturally adapted with generic versions of programs are rare. Other data suggest that cultural and ecological tailoring or even a thorough redevelopment of a generic program is needed to (a) address unique risk factors in immigrant families and (b) increase program engagement and attendance (Castro, Barrera, & Martinez, 2004). For example, Orpinas et al. (2014) explored the experiences of recent Mexican immigrants who attended a Spanish language version of SFP 10–14. They found that while the program was feasible and satisfactory, important topics needed additional attention. These included a need for content that addressed (a) how to manage parent–child conflict arising from language brokering, (b) how to communicate about substance use and risky sexual behavior, (c) how to enhance ethnic self-esteem, and (d) how to support school engagement.

Two programs of research culminating in evidence-based family skills interventions have addressed several of these issues with immigrant or minority youth. Bridges/Puentes is a family skills training developed specifically for urban Mexican immigrant families in the United States (Gonzales et al., 2012). The parent curriculum addresses cultural conflicts that affect family cohesion and targets increasing youths' valuing of traditional aspects of Mexican culture (Gonzales et al., 2007). The parent component encourages parents to use the strengths of their family to act as a bridge to help their children overcome barriers to school success. Adolescents are encouraged to view their effort and success in school as one way to help the family stay strong during stressful times. Structured opportunities for positive parent–child interactions are implemented such as constructing a family tree together, sharing family stories, and reflecting on familial and cultural strengths aimed to enhance family pride and bicultural understanding. Engagement with school is addressed by including a school liaison in the intervention design. The school liaison is available for consultation by families wanting additional help with school-related difficulties. Meetings with the liaison are focused on increasing parent and adolescent efficacy by coaching them to use the skills taught in the intervention. This intervention proved efficacious in a randomized prevention trial with 516 Mexican American adolescents. The program significantly increased school engagement and reduced internalizing symptoms, substance abuse, and school dropout at a 5-year follow-up (Gonzales et al., 2014).

The Strong African American Families (SAAF) and SAAF-Teen (SAAF-T) programs are family skills training programs developed for rural African American early and middle adolescents (Brody, 2016). Although not an immigrant population, these programs are noteworthy due to specific content for enhancing racial/ethnic pride and dealing with discrimination that have heuristic value for immigrant youth (Brody, 2016). For example, in SAAF, families play an interactive game regarding

important figures from Black history and identify the contributions of key members of their own communities. SAAF-T includes a structured activity where parents and youth discuss and describe the strengths and weaknesses of different responses to instances of everyday forms of racial discrimination (Kogan et al., 2012). SAAF-T also includes a structured support process to encourage each parent to make a school visit to increase parents' connections with teachers and school staff, a proximal predictor of youth school engagement. These programs were proven efficacious with rural African American youth in randomized prevention trials, reducing substance use, internalizing problems, and conduct problems (Brody, 2016).

Adapting family skills training for immigrant youth Ideally, efficacious prevention programs targeting factors described in Fig. 10.1 would be available for a wide range of immigrant groups with content in appropriate languages and reflecting cultural norms and values. Due to the costs of program development and evaluation, however, this is rarely the case. Inevitably, providers must adapt existing evidence-based models to their needs. This can be problematic if adaptations affect core components of the intervention. Studies suggest that attempts to adapt evidence-based programs may undermine their potency (Gottfredson et al., 2006; Kumpfer et al., 2018). Using planned adaptation strategies (Kumpfer, Magalhães, & Xie, 2017; Lee, Altschul, & Mowbray, 2008), local providers collaborate with program developers to encourage local and cultural adaptation with the goal of preserving core content (i.e., the themes and structure of program sessions). This can be considered a middle ground between preserving fidelity to the original intervention and accommodating the needs of local providers and families.

Planned adaptation approaches combine current knowledge about program effectiveness, such as the need to adhere to core program components, with the practical needs of service providers. Core components are those elements of a program that fundamentally define its nature and account for the program's effects, as determined by theory, a logic model, or from supporting empirical evidence. Planned adaptation directs researchers to facilitate the process of program adaptation by requiring that they identify core program components as part of research dissemination (Kumpfer et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2008). Adaptations are informed by the expertise of original program developers, past experience with similar populations, key stakeholders (e.g., funding project officers, members of local service delivery organizations), and members of the community. The use of formative research methods such as focus groups and interviews, as well as formal outcome evaluations of the culturally adapted intervention, is crucial.

In general, the adaptation process begins with partnerships between a provider and the developer of a program that most closely matches the targeted risk and protective processes and implementation needs (program duration, complexity, resources needed). A cultural adaptation team composed of stakeholders and local experts is constituted to coordinate the translation of the program into the appropriate language(s) and identify local community providers to implement the translated program in a pilot test. Group leader and participant feedback are solicited throughout implementation to identify content that works poorly for the targeted group and

to identify cultural and ecological differences that impact the utility of specific curriculum content and activities. Next, experts, such as community leaders and social service providers, and family stakeholders from the immigrant group are engaged to redevelop and refine curriculum content. In ideal circumstances, this process preserves the efficacy of the original program while enhancing the ecological and cultural fit of the program to the new group.

Summary

Immigrant youth are vulnerable to a number of developmental and acculturation-related stressors with the potential to derail development and promote problem behavior and poor mental health. Despite these risks, the majority of immigrant youth will avoid serious problems during adolescence. An accumulating evidence base of basic longitudinal and prevention studies documents naturally occurring factors that protect development and yield resilient outcomes. Powerful processes that protect youth development originate in family environments, particularly in parenting practices. Based on prevention science principles, these naturally occurring protective processes form the core targets for intervention programs designed to protect the development of vulnerable youth. Family skills training is a prevention modality with unique potential to protect the development of vulnerable youth. This modality has been used extensively with minority youth in the United States, international settings, and immigrant and migrant families. Planned adaptation processes allow providers and program developers to adapt models for local needs.

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Chapter 11
Inclusion in Multicultural Classrooms in Norwegian Schools: A Resilience Perspective

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Inclusion is essential for human dignity (UNESCO, 1994) and is the most effective means of building strong learning communities among diverse pupils (Wenger, 1998). An important aim of Norwegian education policy, as in the rest of Europe, is to create inclusive schools for all pupils (Education Act, 2019; UNESCO, 1994). In Norway, inclusive schools are understood to be schools that provide training to all of the pupils living near the school and where pupils feel a sense of belonging to the class community both socially and academically. Previously, several international studies have investigated inclusion in classrooms using indicators such as feelings of belonging, trust in others, safety, friendship, participation, and shared collaborative activities (e.g., Furman, 1998; Osterman, 2000; Wenger, 1998). Unfortunately, little attention was given to inclusion among immigrant pupils (Hilt, 2016; Jortveit, 2015; Solbue, 2013) in lower secondary schools in Norway, especially using a resilience perspective.

Resilience may be understood as both an outcome of the interactions between each individual and the environment and the processes that contribute to this outcome (Rutter, 2012; Ungar et al., 2007). In the school context, teachers and the class environment are critical protective factors for fostering resilience (Bondy, Ross, Gallingane, & Hambacher, 2007). Henderson and Milstein (2003) identified three critical school factors which were (1) the development of caring relationships with adults and peers (e.g., stable relationships between teachers and pupils, creating an emotional climate where students can take risks and build trust among each other), (2) high and clear expectations for academic performance and classroom behavior (i.e., communicating an expectation that pupils are capable of a high level

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of academic performance), and (3) providing opportunities for meaningful participation in learning (i.e., linking the curriculum to pupils' background to increase educational engagement and participation in prosocial interactions). Ni, Li, and Wang (2016) reported that when these protective factors were evidenced in classrooms (e.g., teachers promoting relationships through shared collaborative activities), immigrant pupils felt as included as did their native peers. More specifically, how these pupils can be viewed as a resource rather than a barrier may contribute to building high-quality learning communities. The goal of this chapter is to address these issues to inform how teachers can increase immigrant pupils' experiences of inclusion in multicultural classes.

Inclusion and Immigrant Pupils

Like other European countries, Norway has experienced increased ethnic diversity because of immigration over the past few decades. Currently, the immigrant population in Norway is 17.7%, and the three biggest immigrant groups are from Poland, Lithuania, and Somalia. The immigrant group that increased the most in 2016 and 2017 was the Syrian group. The immigrants are settled in all 16 counties in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2019). This diversity challenges the stereotypical notion of Norwegians as a homogeneous group of people in terms of culture and ethnicity.

In previous Norwegian school policies, inclusion was often related to special education only, but the inclusion of immigrant pupils has recently become a greater focus in both official documents and research (e.g., Hilt, 2016; Jortveit, 2014; Solbue, 2013). However, no consistency exists between the intentions of inclusive school policies and teachers' everyday working practices in multicultural schools (Jortveit, 2014). In addition, the Norwegian school system does not sufficiently recognize pupils' diversity in general, and the ethnic diversity of pupils is not reflected in the curriculum (Jortveit, 2015). Thus, practicing multicultural education and helping immigrant pupils to feel included are the responsibility of their teachers, which may result in large differences between schools and classes depending on the level of awareness of each individual teacher and his/her knowledge.

Immigrant pupils might find it challenging to participate on an equal basis primarily because of acculturative stress (Berry, 1997; Pastoor, 2016). Acculturative stress refers to adaptation problems when confronted with another culture and can result in psychological problems, such as depressive symptoms (Berry, 1997; Fandrem, Sam, & Roland, 2009). Having depressive symptoms may complicate connecting with other people as depressed people exhibit more withdrawn behavior. Another challenge is that immigrant pupils may have different expectations because their cultural backgrounds differ from those of the other members of a class. For example, a pupil originally from Africa may place greater emphasis on the social and emotional environment than would Western children do and may therefore expect teachers to have and show emotions (Bondy et al., 2007). Furthermore, whether diversity is recognized by teachers, the extent of this recognition, and how

teachers focus on immigrant status and/or cultural background remain unclear. Since individuals' identities consist of many dimensions (Fandrem, 1996), aspects other than migration and cultural background should be considered since unilaterally focusing on these dimensions may be stigmatizing.

Booth and Ainscow (2002) define inclusion as the act and state of being part of something larger. Furthermore, inclusion often refers to conditions for participation established by a system (Hilt, 2016), while inclusive education refers to learning together as a community in regular classrooms (e.g., Loreman, 2007). The term "community" refers to a relational unit (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) whose members feel important to each other, with a focus on the quality or character of human relationships and shared emotional connections (e.g., friendships).

The concept of belonging is central to many definitions of community (Osterman, 2000). According to Furman (1998), community is not present until the members experience feelings of belonging, trust in others, and safety. Furthermore, Wenger (1998) states that a community of practice is established through relationships among the people in a group who share collaborative activities. Thus, participation, common engagement in tasks, and learning together in a class community are important aspects of inclusion. A more recent approach uses the concept of inclusive pedagogy and focuses on teaching and learning practices that help teachers respond to individual differences between learners while avoiding the marginalization that can occur when some students are treated differently (Florian, 2014). Collectively, the term "inclusion" cannot be defined in a strict manner. The concept can be described through factors such as belonging, trust, safety, friendship, participation, and shared collaborative activities. In addition, "inclusion" refers to goals, processes, and experiences. Feeling included is also a subjective experience that is assessed at a personal level (Booth & Ainscow, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2015).

Diversity is an important quality of what is considered "normal" (Emanuelsson, 1998). Acceptance of diversity (i.e., whether being different is viewed as positive) is an important aspect of community building and pupils' feeling of inclusion in a class, especially in multicultural classes where immigrant pupils may be viewed as peculiar because of their migration statuses and different cultural backgrounds. Additionally, the concept of community of disagreement (Iversen, 2014; Runco, 2010), which refers to acceptance of different opinions among the members of a community, might enhance the understanding of diversity. Therefore, opinion diversity, in addition to general, migration, and cultural diversity, is a focus in the present study.

According to the resilience developmental perspective (Motti-Stefanidi, 2018), a class characterized by inclusion of all pupils will also be inclusive of immigrants. This perspective is used in the present chapter to define teachers' and native pupils' perception of a class as inclusive and immigrant pupils' experiences. Moreover, in the present study, the resilience perspective also includes how teachers and pupils consider immigrant pupils as a resource for the whole class (i.e., how immigrant pupils are active contributors in the learning community). This idea refers to how teachers encourage immigrant pupils to contribute to the

class using their experiences and especially how the cultural dimension of their identities is perceived, emphasized, and used by teachers to influence immigrant pupils' experiences of feeling important in the class and thus feeling as a member of the class community. To be viewed as a resource for a community is a basic element of being included.

Belonging, Safety, and Friendships as Important Indicators for Inclusion

A sense of belonging is one important factor for experiencing inclusion. The need to belong may be defined as a pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Thus, pupils' need to belong can be satisfied by acceptance from classmates and friendships at school (e.g., Osterman, 2000). The acceptance from or feeling of belonging to others may however also be a result of negative behaviors (i.e., having a common enemy may strengthen a relationship). Research from different countries (Norway, Austria, and Cyprus) showed that immigrant boys excluded others to feel affiliation or accepted by co-aggressors (Fandrem, Strohmeier, & Roland, 2009; Strohmeier, Fandrem, Stefanek, & Spiel, 2012; Solomontos-Kountouri, Strohmeier, & Demetriou, 2016). Thus, excluding behaviors may be used as a strategy to experience affiliation. Focusing on what allow immigrant boys to feel a sense of affiliation may also prevent exclusion and thus promote inclusion of others.

Osterman (2000) reported that when immigrant pupils were accepted by peers and also themselves accepted peers in a class, they were more willing to help others, which fostered a sense of belonging and community. Osterman (2000) also found in her international review that distinguishing between peer acceptance, friendship, and popularity was important. Experience of peer acceptance and classroom peer status were more strongly associated with school perceptions, involvement, and performance than friendships. However, in Solbue, Helleve, and Smith's (2017) study on multicultural classes in Norway, both safety and friendships were important indicators when pupils described a good learning environment.

Research shows that culture may play an important role in the nature of friendship (Chen & French, 2008; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). For example, in Western cultures, socially withdrawn behaviors were perceived as social incompetence (Coplan, Prakash, O'Neill, & Armer, 2014), and this type of behavior, especially among boys, often led to lower peer acceptance (Chen & French, 2008). In addition, these boys often received fewer positive responses from their peers. However, a review of studies across different cultures (Fandrem, 2015) suggested that in some studies, the role of culture, such as cultural background of a pupil, may be overestimated with respect to the formation and quality of friendships. Factors other than culture should be considered because why and how individuals interact with their peers and form friendships are the results of a multifaceted and complex set of factors. As Howes (1996) found, friendship and

relationship developed through multiple and repeated interactive experiences that required social and emotional regulation skills. To be able to form friendships, an individual must recognize a potential friend as a social actor and be aware of the reciprocal nature of the interactions (Howes, 2009).

Thus, an important question is the extent to which and how teachers address these issues and how they emphasize the cultural dimension of the pupils' identities. Solbue et al. (2017) found that acceptance of cultural diversity and acceptance of diversity related to several other dimensions of identity were important for inclusion of immigrant pupils in upper secondary schools. Whether this finding also applies to younger pupils is unknown, and hence, the present study explores this condition in lower secondary schools.

Studies are needed to gain more knowledge regarding how teachers can foster friendships in their classrooms to improve the social and educational environment (Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). The role of culture in this environment and how pupils' cultural background may play a role in teachers' work toward increased inclusion should also be investigated. For example, it is important to explore the extent to which teachers focus on immigrant pupils' cultural background as one of several dimensions of diversity while attempting to provide pupils with a sense of belonging.

Culturally Responsive Teaching, Diversity, Participation, and Collaborative Activities

Culturally responsive teaching (CRT) is a pedagogical approach that recognizes the importance of including pupils' cultural references in all aspects of learning (Ladson-Billings, 1994). This link between culture and classroom instruction is derived from research emphasizing that cultural practices shape thinking processes, which serve as tools for learning within and outside school (Hollins, 2015). Thus, CRT uses pupils' cultural identities and backgrounds as resources for creating good learning environments (Nieto, 2000). CRT practices provide a learning environment in which pupils are encouraged to engage in respectful relationships and meaningful learning activities with others, develop a sense of belonging, and achieve academically (Dickson, Chun, & Fernandez, 2016).

However, there are different ways to practice CRT in classrooms depending on how teachers understand the concept and view diversity. Teachers might use CRT from a limited or narrow perspective in which the focus is unilaterally on the pupils' nation of origin, while the other aspects of their identity are viewed as less important. Such a limited understanding and practice of CRT may contribute more to stamping a pupil as "different" than to inclusion. In contrast, teachers can use a broad perspective and recognize, respect, and use pupils' identities and backgrounds as meaningful resources to create optimal learning environments by ensuring that their teaching is responsive to the pupils' general backgrounds rather than only to their cultural backgrounds (Hollins, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 2000).

Sen (2006) claims that people's identities are formed not only by their community and cultural traditions but also by their way of thinking, their choices, and their ability to influence their own life. In a world where diversity is the increasing norm more than the exception, some researchers have also questioned whether the concept of culture should continue to be used (Fandrem, Haus, & Johannessen, 2015; Johannesen & Haus, 2011; Prieur, 2007). Nevertheless, if immigrant pupils are to be included, they must be socialized into the culture of the current community of practice (Wenger, 1998) and experience full-fledged participation in class. Mainly through communication and collaboration related to the topic of teaching, pupils will have experiences defining the quality of their participation (Solbue, 2013).

Norwegian classrooms contain a diverse group of pupils in terms of culture, religion, socioeconomic background, interests, and special needs. All of the social and cultural aspects of each pupil, not only his/her national background, should be considered by the teacher. Thus, there is a need to investigate whether and how teachers use CRT to encourage pupils to feel belonging and, moreover, under what conditions culturally responsive teaching is or should be used. It is, thus, important to explore how teachers generally view diversity in a class.

Aims of the Study

The main aim of this study is to explore inclusion in multicultural classrooms in secondary schools in Norway. Our first research question is: How do pupils and teachers describe and focus on indicators of inclusion (i.e., belonging, trust, safety, friendships, participation, and collaborative activities in classes), and how do these items relate to class membership? Our second research question is: What are teachers' and pupils' opinions of diversity, especially the cultural dimension of identity, as a potential important factor for increased experiences of inclusion? The understanding and use of culturally responsive teaching represent an important aspect of the second question. We use a resilience perspective to study the outcomes of interactions between individuals and their environment and the processes that contribute to these outcomes. With this approach, we aim to determine how the notion of diversity, specifically the cultural dimension of a pupil's identity, is used as a resource for teaching in the class. Multicultural classrooms are used to extract the viewpoints of immigrant boys, native boys, and their teachers.

Methods

Study Design

To investigate how different indicators of inclusion are perceived and described in multicultural classes in Norway, a qualitative design with semi-structured interviews for data collection was chosen. To determine whether the class was

characterized as inclusive, a multisource approach was used. The participating schools were selected because of their convenient accessibility. The informants came from three different mainstream secondary schools and six different regular classes. The participants were recruited through the head teachers at the schools. In each class, one teacher, one immigrant pupil, and one Norwegian pupil were interviewed. Only one pupil from each subgroup was chosen because in most available classes, only one immigrant satisfied our selection criteria, and we wanted to obtain a balanced sample from each class. In addition, the resources in the project limited the number of informants, and we wanted several classes; thus, we could interview only a few pupils from each class. We wanted to investigate classes as units; therefore, we interviewed the teachers responsible for the classes who may also have an opinion of whether they consider their classes inclusive. The class teacher is also an important contributor to building and leading the class as a learning community (Loreman, 2007).

Procedures

The researchers contacted the head teachers by telephone and email and explained the purpose of the study and the importance of participation of pupils from the same class with different ethnic backgrounds. The lower limit for the time living in Norway was set to two years as we wanted the immigrant pupils to have finished introductory classes (a maximum of two years) to ensure that they could understand and speak Norwegian. Four years was set as the upper limit as we wanted our informants to have recent experiences of attending a new class. The head teachers received a written information sheet, which included the ethical guidelines from the Norwegian Data Protection Official. The pupils, their parents, and the teachers were informed about the research, including how the data would be collected and how this information would be anonymized and used later by the researchers. The head teachers also received the contact details of the researchers so that further details about the study could be obtained. Consent forms were obtained from the participants themselves.

When the researchers met the participants, they again explained the ethical guidelines to ensure that the informants understood the purpose of the study and to ensure that they did not feel obliged to participate. The researchers also ensured that the pupils and teachers understood that their participation was given freely and that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any time without adverse consequences. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in spring of 2017 by two researchers. For each interview, one interviewer and one informant were present. Each participant was interviewed once. The interviews lasted between 17 and 41 minutes. All interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed by external transcribers.

Participants

A sample of six immigrant boys, six native boys, and six class teachers participated in the study. Only boys were selected to limit the complexity and avoid gender-related issues (e.g., social exclusion associated with the need to belong is more common among immigrant boys; Fandrem, Strohmeier et al., 2009; Strohmeier et al., 2012; Solomontos-Kountouri et al., 2016).

All of the immigrant boys were in grade ten (15–17 years old). They came from six different countries (Kenya, Syria, Lithuania, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Somalia), spoke different first languages, and had different reasons for immigrating. The immigrants had lived in Norway for 2–4 years. All of the boys spoke Norwegian, although none spoke Norwegian fluently, and they lived with their families. The native boys were in grade ten (15 years old) and had all attended the class since the eighth grade. All teachers were class teachers in the six chosen classes. One teacher had been the class teacher for her class for 1 year, another teacher had performed this function for 2 years, and the remaining teachers had been class teachers for 3 years at secondary school.

Instruments

Different guides were constructed for pupils and teachers. The interview guide for the pupils included some initial questions about the pupils' demographic and immigrant backgrounds and their class situations (e.g., how long they had been members of their classes). The main themes were belonging, membership in the class community (including questions about diversity), trust, safety, friendship, and well-being in the class. Then, we asked about cooperation in the class and participation and the teachers' practices.

The interview guides for the immigrant and native pupils were identical, except for some additional questions for the immigrants. More specifically, regarding the theme of membership in the class community, all pupils were asked the following question: In which way is being a part of the class important to you? The following additional question was asked to the immigrants: how important is it that everybody knows where you come from? Regarding diversity, the following question was asked to all pupils: What is positive/negative about being different? Other questions specifically addressed opinion diversity (e.g., how do others react to your suggestions?). The themes on trust and safety were queried using the following question: can you trust people in your class? Regarding the theme of friendship, we asked all the pupils to describe a good friend. Well-being in class was queried with questions, such as "Is it important for you to attend this particular class? Can you describe it?" The question to all pupils regarding the pupils' cooperation in the class was: Is it easy to ask for help from others in the class? The questions to all pupils about the teachers were as follows: Do the teachers have time to listen to the pupils when they want to talk to them? Do you think that the teacher treats pupils differently? If so, in

what way or based on what? In this part, the following additional question was posed to the immigrants: do you think that the teachers understand how it is for you to be new in the class?

The teachers' interview guide included initial background questions, followed by the questions regarding the following five different themes: the class community, diversity, teacher's engagement and involvement, pupils' learning and engagement, and teachers' planning of teaching. Regarding the theme of class community, the questions included, "what do you think creates fellowship (community) in a class?" We also asked questions about diversity, such as "Is there room for being different in this class? What do you think about treating pupils differently?" The theme of teacher's engagement and involvement involved questions, such as "What expectations do you have for your pupils for creating a learning community? How do you communicate this to the pupils?" The questions regarding the theme of pupils' learning and engagement included "What do you do to promote cooperation among pupils in the class?" The teachers' planning of their teaching is important; thus, we asked them the following questions: "How much do you think about creating experiences of belonging when you prepare educational programs? How much do you emphasize the pupils' cultural backgrounds and in what way?"

Data Analysis

The analysis started by reading through all of the interviews to obtain a sense of their entirety. In the next step, a thematic data analysis approach was used. Thematic analysis is a method of identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns, or themes, within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Experiences, meanings, and the reality of the participants are thus reported. A theoretical rather than an inductive approach was used in this phase of the analysis; thus, we attempted to fit the data into preexisting coding frames (i.e., in our case, the abovementioned indicators of inclusion). At this stage, each group—the immigrant boys, the native boys, and the teachers—was analyzed separately. A more semantic rather than latent approach was used in this phase of our analysis. Thus, the themes were identified within the explicit or surface meanings of the data; what a participant said was more important than going beyond the semantic content of the data to identify or examine underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations. The next step was to examine each of the three informants from one class together. At this stage, the researchers as simply as possible restated the themes that dominated the three informants' natural units, and the themes of all three interviews were tied together into a descriptive statement. This made it possible to view each class as a whole to some degree. The last step was to classify or group the transcribed data in relation to the class as a unit, to analyze the six descriptive statements, and to tie them together in terms of the specific purpose of the study. This approach to analyzing qualitative data is called meaning condensation and is an appropriate way to analyze complex interview texts (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

For this analysis, we used NVivo 11, which is a qualitative data analysis software. We used NVivo to store and sort our data and to categorize and classify the data into different themes. During the analysis process, we used the program to help us discover new paths and connections among the themes in our research (e.g., membership in class vs. groups and diversity as the norm appeared as new themes). The program afforded us the ability to quickly return and redefine the topics and conduct new analyses. First, all interviews were read by all four researchers in the team. Then, the researchers worked together in groups of two, with each pair focusing on three class units. Finally, all four researchers were involved in the final step. Any disagreement regarding the interpretation of the data during working in groups of two was discussed with all four team members.

Results

In the following section, the specific results are presented in relation to our two research questions. We first focused on belonging, trust, safety, and especially friendship as important indicators of inclusion in multicultural classes. These indicators are certainly not strictly distinct, and the relationship among these indicators is reflected in the presentation. Furthermore, community membership became evident through the informants' opinions of class membership vs. group membership, which received specific attention in relation to participation and collaborative activities. Second, the aspect of diversity in teacher's community building is considered.

Descriptions of the Indicators of Inclusion

As a main finding, most pupils reported that they felt that the classrooms were safe and trustful learning environments. Furthermore, trust and safety were reported by the pupils as important aspects of good friendships. Half of the classes could be categorized as inclusive based on how the pupils and teachers described the presence of the indicators of inclusion in their classes, indicating that resilience seems to have been fostered in these classes. However, in three classes, the feeling of membership in a subgroup was stronger than the feeling of membership in the class. Most of the native boys described strong membership in the class and had best friends both in and outside the class. In contrast, half of the immigrant pupils reported that their best friends were not in their classes; thus, membership in a subgroup than membership in the class seemed to be more common for immigrants than for natives. Some teachers exerted some effort to build relationships with and between the pupils, engaged with them, and promoted collaborative activities. Moreover, some teachers expressed how the creation of safety in the class is related to building a community of practice.

Experiences of Trust, Safety, and Friendship To be accepted and respected for who you are is a prerequisite for the formation of friendship. One of the native pupils expressed the following: "We must include them (...) make them chat so we get to know each other, and he (the immigrant) has been very good at chatting and including himself. So, it's very good; we are connected." However, one immigrant boy thought that understanding social interactions among his nonimmigrant peers was difficult. He had this reflection: "I stood in the back and looked at the Norwegians, how they behaved (...). Should they start talking to me? Because I did not understand how they (the Norwegians) were thinking." He said it was difficult to understand Norwegians and that it takes time to know them; thus, he was waiting for the peers to contact him.

All the pupils were asked to describe a good friend, and they all mentioned the reciprocity in friendship or togetherness. Furthermore, good friends were described as follows: "They can talk together; they trust each other." More precisely, one immigrant boy said, "I want friends who can be like a safe place." These expressions show how trust and safety are related to friendship. Some of the pupils said that friendship was connected to the place that a person came from because many already were part of a group when they came to the secondary school. One immigrant pupil often referred to his friends in his country of origin when he talked about good friends. Thus, the cultural aspect seemed to be important in the formation of friendships for this pupil. However, most of the pupils seemed to focus on aspects that reflect mutual emotional connections, such as the same sense of humor and considering each other's perspective. More specifically, one native pupil said: "One who understands your opinion. One who helps when you need help." One immigrant boy explained what occurred when he was new in the class as follows: "Many classmates, when I was new, asked me: Do you want to be friends with me? I just said, no, no, no, but they came repeatedly. I just said, no, thank you." This boy had many thoughts about friendship, and he said that he had several "class friends" with whom he could play games and work together. He defined a "best friend" as someone with whom he could share time and interests outside school. Another immigrant pupil emphasized that building a friendship requires time.

Belonging, Class Membership, Participation, and Collaborative Activities Almost all the pupils reported that they felt belonging to the class in general. Both native and immigrant pupils also said that it was easy to ask classmates for help and that they helped their peers if asked to do so. For example, one pupil said, "I think we are a nice group, and I am very happy because I am in this class." However, when their explanations were examined specifically, the picture seemed more complex. Two of the immigrant pupils were not sure how to answer the question, and one of them expressed that "Even if his peers tried to include him, he did not feel like a member of the class." He said, "I get a little tired of them (classmates); they look after me when I do not understand." The other immigrant boy had his best friend in another class and would rather have attended his/her class. These cases indicate that the feeling of belonging to the class was not very strong among some immigrant pupils.

In the classes in which the pupils felt stronger membership in a subgroup than in the class, the class teacher seemed well aware of these sentiments. For example, one class teacher said, “The pupils are very inclusive towards each other in small groups but rather lost regarding inclusion in the class.” This observation indicates even more strongly that inclusion in the class as a community is relatively low in these classes. One immigrant did not feel that he belonged either to the class or to any group outside the school. Another immigrant said that he had some friends outside the school but that he did not belong to a special group in his class or school. Thus, the class played less of a role in where he felt membership. Most of the group communities were built on interests, sense of humor, and friendships established before starting in the class; thus, many had friends outside of their own classes. Most immigrant pupils’ best friends were outside their classes.

In half of the classes, class membership could be considered present according to the teachers as they expressed that the solidarity or cohesion among the pupils was strong and good. In two of these classes, the teachers explained that groups also existed in the class; for example, the girls constituted one group, and the boys constituted another group, while some groups comprised students of mixed gender. These groups, however, did not hinder class membership, as the pupils in these groups worked, talked, and participated in activities together across the group constellations both in school and in their leisure time. The following quotation is representative of the teachers in these classes: “The pupils are very nice, open and safe. The class climate is very good (…); they stick together.” In two of the classes, both the teachers and the pupils said that they had fun together. It seems that the pupils in these classes had a strong feeling of belonging to the class and to their friends in different subgroups. Friendship to some extent crossed the line between school and the different interests and activities in which the pupils participate in their leisure time. In a way, the class and group friendship seemed to reinforce each other. Furthermore, this finding indicates that the pupils in these classes felt a sense of belonging to the class community and a community of practice. This feeling was expressed by one native pupil as follows: “It is important for me to go to this class because it is about making each other better, cooperating with each other, and always having someone to work with.” It seems that the feeling of membership is shaped by their willingness both to help each other and to cooperate within the lessons.

When the pupils were asked whether the class was important to them, most did not know how to answer the question. This finding indicates that this aspect was not something that the pupils in our sample were aware of. However, five pupils, including both immigrants and natives, easily described how they were important to the class. One immigrant pupil said: “They need me because I am the fastest, so I am important when we run relays; I am smart and from a different culture. I think my classmates think it is good to have me in the class.” One of the native pupils explained why he thought that he was important to the class in the following way: “Yes, because things that I suggest are respected by my classmates.” These statements show how diversity and different opinions may be respected and even considered resources for the rest of the class.

Most teachers were aware of the importance of building relationships between themselves and each pupil; one teacher said: "I went to a football match, … saw them playing yesterday,… it's natural that we know" [about their interests]. The teachers were also aware of the importance of making the class a safe learning community. They worked with the class community through the subjects that they were teaching, in the way that they organized learning activities, and in different social activities.

Some teachers used a lecture named "The Class Hour" or "Forum Time" as a social activity. Others mentioned learning partners as a method to learn different subjects and at the same time build relationships between peers, which increases the feeling of trust and security in the class. One teacher said: "One must create security in the class so that they (pupils) feel safe and familiar with each other. We have some group work and project work because it increases the sense of community in the class. We have to find different teaching methods depending on the pupils in the class." This citation showed a clear awareness of the importance of building relationships between pupils and creating safety through a community of practice. However, only two teachers particularly noted their role as community builders in the class, aiming for each pupil to feel membership in the class. One teacher explained that she arranged "Activities that binds them together, gives them shared memories, reading experiences, film experiences, hiking, etc.; it can also be academic experiences." In addition, she said, "I try to be positive all the time, drag them with me, make the teaching safer." The other teacher said, "the fewer relationships I manage to build with these pupils [i.e., the immigrant pupils], the more difficult it is to get the other pupils to build relationships with them …." Thus, she seemed to be aware of how her own role and behavior may affect how the pupils interact with each other, especially the newcomers.

Reviewing the six teachers' statements and analyzing them in relation to their roles as community builders for the class is one aspect of how to achieve inclusion in practice. This approach addresses how teachers encourage pupils to contribute, including how they accept and encourage diversity and even the migration experience. "Inclusion is important but not easy to achieve" is a representative quotation for many of the teachers. However, one also said, "To work for integration is not my task; I'm teaching." Furthermore, she said that "It was more important to focus on language"; thus, she emphasized academic achievement more than social aspects. Even though this teacher claimed that she wanted to have a professional relationship with her pupils, she also compliments the pupils' nonacademic aspects as follows: "Nice hairstyle today." Furthermore, she said: "… see if he/she is in a bad mood or is tired. But I'm not a teacher who is too amicable towards my pupils."

Diversity and Cultural Aspects Related to Inclusion

Our informants viewed diversity as the norm. Most teachers and pupils in all six classes agreed that it is good to be different and that diversity contributes to participation and learning. However, the teachers' focus on whether the immigrant

pupils represent a resource for building a high-quality learning community was not obvious or very visible in the data. Thus, being a migrant or having a different cultural background seemed to be accepted but was not used largely to build relationships or in teaching. Furthermore, the teachers did not seem to express any expectations of the pupils regarding how diversity can contribute to community building. Some of the teachers thought that community of disagreement was positive. The pupils seemed to regard the cultural dimension as important to highlight more often than the teachers, but only in "natural" contexts; however, the immigrants wanted to be viewed as individuals and not only as representatives of their cultures. This latter finding may be viewed as an especially critical factor in fostering resilience in classes.

Diversity and Participation As a main finding, the teachers said that being different was generally welcomed in the classes. Simultaneously, their expressions did not indicate that diversity was valued and encouraged as a resource while teaching in the class. Thus, diversity seemed to be perceived as an element that may influence the overall class environment in a positive way only to a certain extent.

More specifically, when the teachers' and pupils' expressions were examined, most of them generally spoke positively about differences in their classes and viewed overall diversity as a positive feature. The teachers also agreed upon the right to be different inside the class community; as one teacher said: "I think it is important to be allowed to be oneself but at the same time to be accepted in the group and in the class. That's my opinion; none of us are the same. We are all different." The teachers also thought diversity was important for learning in the class; one said: "It opens it up to bring in new aspects." Another said: "To have the opportunity to be different … that makes one more free to learn." All the pupils seemed to agree that similarity should not characterize the class. "That (difference) is what makes it nice to be in this class; if you are different, then you are yourself; and if we were similar, we would not have anything to talk about; it would be boring" are statements that are representative of what most of the pupils said. However, regarding how they experienced their own classes, some pupils expressed that acceptance of diversity is limited: "You can be different, but then you don't get so many friends" is how one immigrant pupil expressed it.

Regarding differences in opinions or disagreement, one teacher said, "It is all right to express different opinions," while an immigrant pupil said, "In Norway, you can state your opinion." It seemed, furthermore, that arguing and thinking together in the class provided a feeling of participation: "(We) work out how we can agree to disagree without being bad," another teacher said.

Regarding conditions for participation and reasons for treating pupils differently, the teachers seemed to be well aware of the pupils' different needs in the class. "They cannot be treated similarly, because they are different" is a quotation that may reflect the opinion of most, if not all, of the teachers. While the teachers took for granted that the pupils had to contribute both to aspects of the planning and to what occurs in the lessons, it seemed that the immigrant pupils were more uncertain about their participation and how they could contribute.

The Role of Culture Overall, most teachers did not seem especially aware of how using CRT could contribute to both inclusion and learning, while pupils expressed both positive and negative experiences regarding teachers' focus on cultural background as a component of diversity.

Regarding pupils' positive experiences, several nonimmigrants said things such as; "It is exciting to learn about different cultures." In addition, some immigrant pupils perceived their own cultural backgrounds as positive and important because they could contribute to learning in lessons: "They wonder where I come from, what I did in my country, how our schools are, what we eat … they like to get to know about it." One immigrant pupil did not seem to care that he has a different cultural background: "I think that they answer me like any other pupil."

Some of the pupils, both native and immigrant, seemed to think that the teachers should ask for and use the immigrant pupils' cultural backgrounds (CRT) more in their teaching. However, one of the immigrant pupils said: "Only if they ask, I tell where I come from." Moreover, most immigrant pupils had some negative thoughts and experiences regarding their migration from another country; one pupil expressed his experience as follows: "I thought that everybody was afraid of me because I am a foreigner... They think that I do not say much because I am a foreigner." This pupil also said, as did his native peer, that his cultural background was emphasized when culture was a topic in their lesson. The teacher of this class reported that she used his cultural background in this manner.

The following is an example provided by one teacher of how culture could be used as a resource in teaching: "I like that people are different; it makes it exciting and interesting... if they are going to present a country, and they have a mother or a father from a certain country, they write an application about it." Another teacher who did not seem to seek opportunities to focus on culture said that she used culture sometimes "... when it fits." A third teacher seemed to have another broader focus as she said: "Sometimes I use it (culture) so that he can feel proud of the country he is from, and I used to ask for permission: Do you want to tell about this since you are a Catholic? It is more interesting for the class if you tell about it than if I do." This citation shows an even broader use of aspects related to background and opinions and also indicates why the teacher implements culture in teaching. However, in summary, a common attitude among many teachers regarding culture seemed to be the following: "... do not make much of it."

Discussion

Growing up in a multicultural society and attending multicultural schools are becoming increasingly common for children and youth; therefore, managing cultural diversity in schools is one of the most important current and future educational challenges. The main objective of the present study was to explore inclusion in multicultural classrooms in secondary schools in Norway through investigating (1)

pupils' and teachers' descriptions of indicators of inclusion and how these relate to class membership and (2) pupils' and teachers' opinions of diversity, especially in terms of cultural differences.

Regarding our first research question addressing indicators of inclusion and class membership, the pupils more often reported feeling a stronger sense of belonging to smaller group communities than to the class community. When these pupils talked about friendship and belonging, it seemed that almost half of them had a stronger membership in other group communities than in the class community, even if they had friends in the class and talked about their classes as safe and secure. The class was important as a unit if a pupil had good friends and classmates whom he or she could ask for help and with whom he or she could work together. This finding is in line with Solbue et al. (2017); even if different friendship groups existed in the class, they did not hinder contact across the groups. The pupils' answers about friendship establishment further implied that friendship must be considered a two-way mutual relationship of being liked, develops through multiple and repeated interactions, and requires social and emotional regulation skills (Howes, 1996). Our finding also shows that the lack of cultural references may hinder the establishment of positive interactions, similar to Chen and French (2008) and Coplan and colleagues (2014). To form friendships in the class, cultural references seem to be a particular barrier according to one immigrant pupil in our study, reflecting a class environment in which resilience was not fully fostered with respect to friendship establishment. However, most pupils seemed to be aware that forming a friendship takes time, involves a multifaceted and complex set of factors, and becomes established when both parties talk and listen to each other and help and support one another when needed (Howes, 1996).

Similar to Solbue et al.'s (2017) study on upper secondary schools, the pupils in the present study emphasized trust and friendship as the most important elements in an inclusive classroom. McMillan and Chavis (1986) claim that in an inclusive community, members feel that the group cares for them, they are important to the group, and the group is important to them, which is supported by our findings. Additionally, all pupils in these classes mentioned that they liked to collaborate and work together; thus, a community of practice seemed to be present to some degree, reflecting a class environment that fosters resilience. The ways in which the teachers adjusted their lectures and social activities to various extents also show that they supported all the pupils' participation. Osterman (2000) found similar findings, and thus, this may be regarded as an important protective factor for fostering resilience in multicultural classes. Some teachers expressed how the creation of safety is related to building a community of practice. However, they seemed to be only somewhat aware of their important role as community builders and therefore an important factor for fostering resilience.

The second goal of this study was to investigate diversity, especially the cultural dimension. The teachers in the present sample talked about diversity in general in their classes as the norm, but a gap emerged between the teachers' general opinions regarding diversity and their practices because the items that they emphasized and their reported actions in their practices were inconsistent. The teachers accepted and in some ways praised general diversity, but they did not encourage more diversity.

All teachers expressed that it was important to address controversial issues and conflicts to create a community of disagreement (Brown, 2004; Iversen, 2014; Runco, 2010) and to facilitate an inclusive school environment to prevent situations of intolerance in their everyday educational practices. The teachers' role is building the class as a community in such a way that creates conditions optimal for participation (Hilt, 2016; Mitchell, 2014; Bondy et al., 2007). Community building takes time, and each pupil in a class will require individual inclusion processes.

Regarding culture, the teachers used CRT to some extent but mostly in a limited way and used the immigrants' foreign background only when it directly applied to a lesson. Nieto (2000) calls this form of CRT a "band-aid approach," as the difference is taken out of context. The teachers' citations also indicated a more passive or limited awareness of the opportunities that CRT could provide in inclusive teaching. It might be seen as appropriate to use when the topic for the class is themes such as culture, language, geography, politics, or history but without more reflections on its benefits or why it is used. Thus, most teachers did not seem to act sensitively in relation to using CRT.

Sensitivity should be emphasized as an important aspect of the CRT pedagogy, which aims to promote self-esteem and a feeling of belonging in the class. Thus, not only if but also how one uses CRT is crucial. One teacher argued that she had a minor focus on cultural differences. She believed that focusing on pupils' different cultural backgrounds would emphasize the differences between them rather than being something that she could use as a positive opportunity in her teaching to cause the pupil to feel belonging, as in CRT (Hollins, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Such an attitude may be related to the approach of Florian (2014) regarding inclusive pedagogy, which focuses on teaching and learning practices that help teachers respond to individual differences between learners while avoiding the marginalization that can occur when some students are treated differently. This perspective must also be viewed as a relevant protective factor for fostering resilience.

One expression from an immigrant pupil was consistent with Pastoor (2016), who noted that unaccompanied refugee minors in Norwegian secondary schools desired more active interest from teachers regarding their ethnicity, culture, and educational background. In a class in which the immigrant pupils feel very different and have no friends in the class, less attention paid to cultural backgrounds might be interpreted as teachers denying that the pupils are from other countries with varying cultures. This attitude may have a highly negative influence on pupils' ability to feel a sense of belonging as the cultural dimension of their identities is not confirmed, which, in turn, may lead to alienation (Pastoor, 2016). In contrast, if teachers use such knowledge, it must be used as a relevant part of teaching and not as something special that stigmatizes the pupils.

Another immigrant student seemed to believe that the other aspects of his identity were as important as the cultural aspect; this belief is consistent with the notion that the individual dimension is the most important part of one's identity (Fandrem, 1996). Furthermore, some citations from the pupils show an even wider interpretation of the concept of diversity; in the present study, the concept of community of disagreement (Baumann, 1996; Iversen, 2014; Runco, 2010) might be understood as the presence of a common feeling of belonging to the class, even if the members

of the class community disagree. This view of diversity focuses on allowing different opinions rather than differences regarding the cultural backgrounds of the pupils in the class and on providing opportunities for meaningful participation in general, which is considered an important protective factor for fostering resilience (Bondy et al., 2007). The teachers and most pupils in the present sample seemed to appreciate different opinions as an aspect of a good learning community.

Implications for Practice and Future Research

For immigrant pupils as well as their native classmates to experience inclusion, meeting other pupils, making friends, and building social networks are crucial. In other words, they need a class environment that fosters resilience. Furthermore, one must take some initiative to be included by peers and include peers in friendly conversations. Some of our findings indicate that cultural differences were present in how friendships were built. Thus, teachers should direct more effort toward developing friendships across cultural groups in their classes and building communities of practice considering cultural and individual differences. One can argue that CRT either increases or limits pupils' sense of belonging to the class community; the effect depends on how CRT is understood and used. A developmental resilience perspective in teaching must consider all dimensions of pupils' identities and the possibility that CRT can contribute to increased participation in the class community and thus increased inclusion. Teachers must look for the strengths of the pupil; what does he or she want? How can I make them feel safe and give them faith in themselves? Fandrem et al. (2015) and Sen (2006) found that in addition to focus on culture, it was important to ask pupils about the resources that they consider themselves to represent for the class.

Future research should investigate the levels of awareness of the important link between cross-cultural friendship and inclusion in schools. A more latent approach to thematic analyses of the topic investigated in the present paper is also needed to achieve a deeper understanding of how teachers work to be community builders in classes with immigrant pupils. Future research should also examine teachers' opinions of the concept of inclusion and how they practice inclusion in their teaching in relation to a resilience perspective.

Methodological Limitations

One limitation of this study is that there were few informants from each of the six classes. Information from more than two pupils and from both girls and boys class would have made it possible to gain more in-depth information and thus a deeper understanding of the situation in each class. However, our priorities in the selection of informants were established as a compromise between the desire to obtain a wide perspective and the desire to study this field in depth. In addition, all of the data

were collected through interviews; thus, there is a risk of social desirability bias. The teachers and pupils might have reported what they wanted to be the case and not what actually occurred. Observations in addition to interviews would improve the design and would provide more reliable data on practices in classrooms. Moreover, some of the pupils' language skills in Norwegian were quite poor, which could have caused misunderstandings during the interviews. To address this challenge, interpreters could have been used to ensure that the pupils understood the questions and to improve the quality of the dialogue.

As in qualitative research in general, one cannot generalize the findings from this investigation. The sample was convenient, and the views of 12 young boys and their teachers from six different classes in three different schools might not be representative of other young boys and their teachers. Despite these limitations, the interviews were a rich source of data, and the results may identify important areas and provide in-depth information that can be used to improve and develop inclusive education for all children and youths and thus create an equality-conscious school for all pupils.

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Chapter 12
Fostering Cross-Cultural Friendships with the ViSC Anti-bullying Program

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Young people with international migration experiences constitute an increasing proportion of the population in many European countries (International Organization for Migration, 2017). Immigration, which is a temporary or permanent movement from one country to another country, creates an intercultural contact situation that causes acculturative processes among non-immigrant and immigrant youth in schools around the world (Berry, 1997). There is ample evidence that youths' sense of school belonging is associated with good academic achievement and psychosocial functioning (Osterman, 2000; Schachner, Schwarzenthal, van de Vijver, & Noack, 2019) and that cross-cultural friendships are related to increased social competence and improved out-group attitudes (Ülger, Dette-Hagenmeyer, Reichle, & Gaertner, 2018). Thus, cross-cultural friendships are beneficial for both immigrant and non-immigrant youth because they promote their positive development and prevent prejudice and negative intergroup behavior (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). However, except for some metropolitan areas like London (Bagci, Kumashiro, Smith, Blumberg, & Rutland, 2014), same-cultural friendships are still more common than cross-cultural friendships, even in culturally diverse classes (e.g., Chan & Birman, 2009; Munniksam, Scheepers, Stark, & Tolsma, 2016; Stefanek, Strohmeier, & van de Schoot, 2015).

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Promoting cross-cultural friendships in multicultural classes is a promising method for teachers to foster resilience within a whole-school ecology (Theron, 2016). Cross-cultural friendships might be especially beneficial for immigrant youth because immigrant status is a risk factor for good academic and psychosocial functioning in European countries (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, & Van de Vijver, 2016). Researchers have reported that culturally diverse classes have a high cross-cultural friendship potential when certain contact conditions such as equal status or common goals are met (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). However, to create these "ideal" contact conditions in real-life settings remains challenging (Ülger et al., 2018), and intervention studies that provide teachers with information on how to promote cross-cultural friendships in school settings are scarce (Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014). This chapter discusses the potential benefits of cross-cultural friendships in culturally diverse schools, introduces the ViSC Social Competence program, and reports data on its effectiveness to increase cross-cultural friendships among non-immigrant and three groups of immigrant youth aged 12–14 years.

Cross-Cultural Friendships in Culturally Diverse Schools

Friendships between adolescents with different cultural backgrounds (i.e., cross-cultural friendships) are beneficial for enhanced social and intercultural competences and socio-emotional functioning (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2009; Lease & Blake, 2005; Reinders, Gniewosz, Gresser, & Schnurr, 2011). Moreover, cross-cultural friendships are known to reduce prejudices and negative attitudes against members from other cultural groups (Pettigrew, 1998; Ülger et al., 2018).

In immigrant contexts, cross-cultural friendships are considered important because they are related with the acculturation process for both immigrant and non-immigrant youth (Berry, 1997, 2001). This acculturative process is based on two main dimensions: (a) cultural maintenance and (b) contact and participation (Berry, 1997). Thus, to what extent aspects of the heritage culture are maintained and cross-cultural relationships are sought are the defining questions of the acculturation process. According to the acculturation framework, forming cross-cultural friendships is one indicator for the successful mastery of cultural contact situations (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). Research has found that cross-cultural friendships were related to better sociocultural adaptation of diaspora immigrant adolescents in Germany and Israel (Titzmann, Michel, & Silbereisen, 2010).

Forming friendships depends on two main mechanisms: homophily and availability. Homophily refers to the tendency of forming friendships with similar others. Similarity can be based on gender, race, ethnicity, or personal characteristics (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Thus, friends are often chosen based on cultural similarity. In the Netherlands and Austria, non-immigrant adolescents were found to show a higher preference for same-cultural friendships compared to immigrant adolescents (Baerveldt, van Duijn, Vermeij, & van Hemert, 2004; Spiel, 2009;

Strohmeier & Spiel, 2003). However, friendship choices are not only a result of personal preferences but also of contact opportunities (i.e., the availability of same- versus cross-cultural peers) (Strohmeier, 2012).

Schools and classes typically differ regarding the availability of same- versus cross-cultural peers, and they also vary regarding their numbers of different cultural groups (e.g., cultural diversity). In highly diverse classes consisting of many cultural groups, usually, fewer same-cultural peers are available who could be chosen as friends compared with classes comprising of few cultural groups. In Austria, immigrant youth showed a higher same-cultural friendship preference compared to non-immigrant youth, even when taking the availability of same- versus cross-cultural peers in classes into account (Stefanek et al., 2015).

When investigating same- versus cross-cultural friendships, it is important to differentiate between reciprocal relations (i.e., two peers choose each other mutually as friends) and unilateral relations (i.e., one peer nominates another peer as friend without receiving a nomination back). While unilateral friendship nominations also express a desire for a friendship with a particular peer, reciprocal friendship nominations represent actual friendships between two peers (Scholte et al., 2009). Thus, the differentiation between a desired and an actual friend is important to better understand peer relations of immigrant and non-immigrant youth. While unilateral cross-cultural friendship preferences are an indicator for positive intercultural attitudes (see Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2011), reciprocal cross-cultural friendship preferences are an indicator for the presence of actual intercultural relations.

Intergroup contact theory offers important insights which factors on the school and class level are able to foster cross-cultural friendships (Pettigrew, 1998). Intergroup contact theory argues that equal status, support from authorities, cooperation, and common goals are important conditions for positive cross-cultural interactions (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). According to Schachner, Noack, Van de Vijver, and Eckstein (2016), *equal status* is realized in a class when both immigrant and non-immigrant youth are able to equally contribute to class activities and when the teacher gives them equal opportunities to perform well. *Support from authorities* describes a school climate in which head teachers, teachers, and other authority figures have positive attitudes toward diversity and actively promote positive relationships of non-immigrant and immigrant youth. *Cooperation* is realized when teachers implement settings in which immigrant and non-immigrant youth are able to work together and to collaborate on different tasks. *Common goals* are present when school tasks can be achieved best when working on them collectively rather than individually.

Overall, these four conditions define the friendship potential of a contact situation (Pettigrew, 1998), because they encourage the formation of cross-cultural friendships. When these four conditions are present in a class, plenty of opportunities are offered to non-immigrant and immigrant youth to become friends (Jugert, Noack, & Rutland, 2011). However, these ideal contact conditions need to be actively developed by teachers because high levels of ethnic diversity on class level do not automatically lead to high levels of cross-cultural friendships (e.g., Chan &

Birman, 2009; Stefanek et al., 2015). Therefore, it is important to better understand how these ideal contact conditions can be created in real-life settings. It is interesting to investigate whether a whole-school anti-bullying program that fosters common goals, equal status, cooperation, and support by authorities is able to increase same-cultural friendships among non-immigrant and immigrant youth in culturally diverse classes.

The ViSC Social Competence Program

The ViSC (Viennese Social Competence) program is a school developmental, socio-ecological anti-bullying program that aims to foster social and intercultural competence and to reduce aggressive behavior and bullying among youth aged 11–15 years (Strohmeier, Hoffmann, Schiller, Stefanek, & Spiel, 2012). The program defines social competent behavior as the ability of reaching important personal goals while maintaining positive relationships with others (Rubin & Rose-Krasnor, 1992). The program assumes that social competent behavior is the result of social cognitive processes that are activated in social situations. These processes are often nonconscious and depend on previous experiences such as knowledge of norms, values, and social expectations leading to certain behavior (Crick & Dodge, 1996). Intercultural competence is understood as a subform of social competence that is needed in intercultural situations (Strohmeier & Spiel, 2016). When cultural signs are salient and prompt individuals to shift their frame of reference, a social situation changes from interpersonal to intercultural (Barrett, 2013). Thus, every interpersonal situation is potentially an intercultural situation when salient group memberships lead people to respond to each other as cultural group members and not on the basis of their individual characteristics. Therefore, intercultural competence becomes relevant in all intergroup situations to deal with the tasks, difficulties, or challenges presented by them (Strohmeier, Gradinger, & Wagner, 2017). As Barrett (2016, 2018) explains, intercultural competence consists of 14 components that can be organized in 4 broader categories (e.g., values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge). An intercultural competent youth is able to mobilize, orchestrate, and deploy subsets of these components in a dynamic, fluid, and adaptive manner in order to meet the fluctuating demands, challenges, and opportunities of intercultural situations (for more details see Barrett, 2018).

It is important to understand that the ViSC program defines the promotion of social and intercultural competence as a school developmental process and a whole-school task. Therefore, the program consists of a variety of measures on the school, class, and individual level, and the implementation lasts one school year (for more details, see Strohmeier et al., 2012; Strohmeier & Spiel, 2019). To promote the cross-cultural friendship potential in the classes, the ViSC class project has a structure that puts into practice equal status, common goals, cooperation, and authority support. The four ideal contact conditions are created via the program structure and

Table 12.1 ViSC class project

Units	Content
Unit 1	What is the class project, and why are we participating? Why are rules important in our lives, and what rules do we want in our class?
Unit 2	How can we recognize critical social situations, and what can we do to help improve the situation?
Unit 3	How can we recognize the emotions of others, and what can we do to help them feel better?
Unit 4	How can we recognize our own emotions, and what can we do to cope with them to feel better?
Units 5–6	What can we do if we are treated in a mean and unfair way by others? What is the best thing to do in such situations, and why?
Units 7–8	What can we do if we don't understand the behavior of our classmates who come from another country? What is the best thing to do in such situations, and why?
Unit 9	What have we learned during the project so far, and what do we want to learn in the remaining units? Which common activity do we want to carry out during our project day? How can we plan and organize the common activity in a way that every classmate is able to make a valuable contribution?
Units 10–13	Carrying out the common activity by creating a process that leads to the experience of a common success

the didactical methods, while the concrete skills and knowledge are operationalized via the program content (see Table 12.1).

During units 1–8, the students are trained in various social skills (see Table 12.1), while during units 9–13, they work together to realize a small class activity. To train the competences outlined in Table 12.1, materials are provided in the teacher manual. Each unit is designed for a two-hour lesson and consists of worksheets for individual students, sheets for small group work, summary sheets, and a detailed implementation plan. During the units 1–8, the teacher is encouraged to foster exchange and discussions among the students and to use interactive games, role-plays, and other interactive pedagogical methods. The teacher is advised to make sure that both immigrant and non-immigrant youth are able to equally contribute to the class activities (equal status) and to frame the tasks to be achieved with the contribution of the whole class (common goals). Furthermore, the teacher is asked to support the positive exchange of non-immigrant and immigrant youth (support from authorities) and to implement group settings in which immigrant and non-immigrant youth are mixed (cooperation). During unit 9, the focus of the class project changes. During units 9–13, the class is assigned to find a common, positive, and realistic activity that can be carried out together during a project day. The role of the teacher is to create a group process that enables the experience of a common success. Thus, the teacher helps the students to find a cooperative structure and supervises them as they plan and carry out the activity. Different activities have been carried out during the ViSC project days. Some classes produced photos, short films, songs, or

newspapers. Other classes conducted interviews with people on the street or local politicians. Still others organized parents' meetings during which they wrote a performance to demonstrate what they had learned during the class project.

To date, the ViSC program has been implemented in four countries (i.e., Austria, Cyprus, Romania, and Turkey). In each country, large-scale evaluation studies have been conducted, and the program effectiveness regarding the reduction of aggressive behavior and bullying was investigated in depth (Arënliu, Strohmeier, Konjufca, Yanagida, & Burger, 2020; Doğan et al., 2017; Gradinger, Yanagida, Strohmeier, & Spiel, 2014, 2016; Solomontos-Kountouri, Gradinger, Yanagida, & Strohmeier, 2016; Trip et al., 2015; Yanagida, Strohmeier, & Spiel, 2019). However, no study investigated whether the program is also able to promote cross-cultural friendships.

The Present Study

The main goal of the present study was to investigate whether the ViSC program was effective in promoting cross-cultural friendships. To this end, a longitudinal cluster randomized intervention control group design was implemented. Within such a design, program effectiveness depends not only on the change between pretest and posttest in the intervention group but also on the change between pretest and posttest in the control group. Therefore, program effectiveness is either indicated by (1) a steeper decrease or (2) a lower increase of unilateral and reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences over time when comparing the intervention to the control group. We expected that the ViSC program would be effective in promoting cross-cultural friendship preferences and in decreasing same-cultural friendship preferences, because teachers utilized the four ideal contact conditions when implementing the program units. Unilateral and reciprocal friendship preferences were differentiated to find out whether the program is able to improve actual cross-cultural relations (e.g., reciprocal friendships) or attitudes toward peers from other cultural groups (e.g., unilateral friendships). Cultural diversity, class climate, percentages of girls, and class size were included as control variables on class level (Chan & Birman, 2009; Stefanek et al., 2015). The cultural diversity of the student body in a class creates the opportunity for intercultural contact and is therefore a precondition for cross-cultural friendships. Because we explored whether the program effectiveness differs between non-immigrant and immigrant youth, separate analyses were conducted for non-immigrant, Turkish, Serbian, and other-immigrant youth.

Method

Participants and Procedures

All secondary schools located in Vienna were invited to take part in a one-year intervention study with program participation free of charge. Out of 155 available secondary schools, 34 schools applied for participation from which 26 schools fulfilled the necessary requirements (e.g., they were willing to participate in the evaluation study). Thirteen schools were randomly assigned to the intervention group, with five schools agreeing to serve as control schools. In the 13 intervention schools, the program was implemented with a cascaded train-the-trainer model between September 2009 and June 2010. To keep the data collection month constant, we collected the pretest in May 2009, when adolescents were at the end of Grade 5 and the posttest in May 2010, when adolescents were at the end of Grade 6. All necessary permissions from the relevant bodies were obtained to conduct the intervention study and longitudinal research. Active parental and student consents were obtained. Data were collected with an online survey, by trained research assistants (for details, see Yanagida et al., 2019).

Social network data were collected in 11 out of 13 intervention schools (56 classes) and in 5 control schools (32 classes). Because only three students participated in two classrooms from the control schools, these classes were deleted. Furthermore, friendship nominations where the chosen best friends did not provide data as they were not present at the day of data collection were removed from the data set because it was not possible to assess whether this friendship was reciprocal or unilateral. This procedure resulted in the removal of three classes from intervention schools and three classes from control schools because less than four students provided data. In total, 719 students nested in 53 classes of the intervention group, and 338 students nested in 27 classes of the control group were included in the current study.

The sample comprised 48.34% girls with a mean age of 11.64 years (SD = .80 years, Min = 10, Max = 14). Concerning the first language, the sample was highly diverse; only 43% of the students nominated German, the official language in Austria, as their first language. The other students nominated 29 different languages as their first language. The biggest groups consisted of students who indicated Serbian (16%), Turkish (16%), Albanian (4%), Croatian (3%), or Bosnian (3%) as their first language. The majority of the remaining 15% of students nominated non-European languages as their first language. Therefore, participants were divided into four groups on the basis of their first language: 43% of the students were non-immigrant Austrians, 16% were students with Serbian, 16% with Turkish background, and 25% were students speaking languages from other countries.

Intervention and control groups were compared on pretest demographic characteristics using a series of Pearson's chi-square tests and a two-sample *t*-test. Results indicated that the four immigrant groups were not equally represented in the intervention and control groups, $\chi^2(3) = 13.12$, $p = .004$, $C_{corr.} = .16$. Austrian students

were underrepresented and students from Serbia were overrepresented in the intervention group. There were no significant differences for gender ($\chi^2(1) = .08$, $p = .782$) and socioeconomic status ($\chi^2(3) = 1.12$, $p = .772$, $C_{corr.} = .05$) between intervention and control groups.

Program Implementation Fidelity

The quality of program implementation was carefully monitored in the intervention schools during the whole school year. Schultes, Stefanek, van de Schoot, Strohmeier, and Spiel (2014) assessed several indicators of implementation fidelity and participant responsiveness and demonstrated that they were related with proximal program outcomes among teachers. For instance, teachers' self-efficacy to stop aggressive behavior among students was significantly more enhanced in schools where the ViSC program had been implemented with high fidelity.

Measures

Demographic Variables Youth reported their gender, age, country of birth ("What is your country of birth?"), and first language ("What is your first language?").

Intercultural Friendships A standard sociometric method was applied. Youth were asked, "Who are your best friends in your class?," providing up to three names from a class list that appeared on the computer screen. Youth were considered to have a reciprocal friendship when the nominator and the nominee choose each other as best friends. They were considered to have a unilateral friendship when only the nominator, but not the nominee, indicated this friendship. An intercultural friendship is given when the nominator and the nominee have two different first languages based on their self-report demographic data.

Same-Cultural Friendship Preferences To correct for the availability bias, Strohmeier (2012) developed an index (*OI*) that was modified from Joyner and Kao's (2000) index. The *OI* is the proportion of same-cultural friends out of all nominated friends in class and controls for the availability for same-cultural peers in the class. Furthermore, it takes into account that a particular adolescent cannot choose himself or herself as a friend. The *OI* ranges between −1 and +1, with a positive value indicating preference for same-cultural friends, values close to zero indicating no preference, and a negative value indicating a preference for intercultural friends. The *OI* is calculated as follows:

$$OI_{ij} = \frac{a_i}{b_i} - \frac{c_{ij} - 1}{d_j - 1}$$

where subscript i denotes individuals with $i = 1,\ldots,N$, and subscript j stands for classes with $j = 1,\ldots,J$ for the number of classes participating in the study. For each individual i in each class j, the opportunity index is calculated by dividing the number of same-cultural friends (a) by the total number of friends (b) minus the number of same-cultural peers in the class j (c) minus 1, divided by the total number of peers in class j (d) minus 1.

This index controls for the opportunity structure on class level because it corrects the simple percentage index for the cultural composition of the class. In a class with many same-cultural peers present, it is much more likely that the percentage of same-cultural peers in the friendship network is high compared with a class with few same-cultural peers present. Thus, a numerical identical percentage (e.g., 25%) describes very different situations depending on the class opportunity structure, and this bias is corrected with this index.

Cultural Diversity in Class To measure cultural diversity in classes, we used Simpson's (1949) index. The index takes the number of different cultural groups in the class and the relative representation of each group into account and is calculated as follows:

$$D_c = 1 - \sum_{K}^{k=1} {p_k}^2$$

where D_c represents the cultural diversity of a classroom c and p_k is the proportion of students in the classroom who belong to cultural group k. The p_k^2 is summed across k groups in a classroom. The possible range of this index is between 0 (i.e., all students within a classroom are from the same-cultural group) and 1 (i.e., every student in the class stems from a different cultural group). In our sample, we calculated the cultural diversity index for each classroom based on seven groups: Austria, Turkey, former Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe, other Western Countries, Africa, and Asia.

Class Climate We used three items from the class climate scale – LFSK 4–8 – from Eder and Mayr (2000). Based on a four-point Likert-type scale (0, not true at all; 3, exactly true), the items were as follows: "In our class all students work together well and help each other," "In our class it is important for everyone that we all get along well, " and "In our class having a good class community is important to all of us." The scores for the three items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach $\alpha = .85$). To assess class climate at the class level, average scores for each class were calculated.

Class Size The percentage of girls in the class was assessed from data provided in the school records.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The means and standard deviations of unilateral and reciprocal same-cultural friendship nominations were analyzed (see Table 12.2). Mixed ANOVA with within-subject factor time (pretest vs. posttest) and between-subject factors intervention group (intervention vs. control) and immigrant group (non-immigrant, Serbs, Turkish, other) and subsequent alpha-corrected Bonferroni posttests were conducted.

Unilateral Same-Cultural Friendship Preference The mixed ANOVA revealed significant main effects for intervention group, $F(1, 938) = 4.28$, $p = .039$, $\eta^2 < .01$, and immigrant group, $F(3, 938) = 17.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 < .05$. The interaction between intervention group and immigrant group was also significant, $F(3, 938) = 3.38$, $p < .018$, $\eta^2 < .01$. Unilateral same-cultural friendship preference was higher in youth with Turkish and Serbian immigrant background compared to non-immigrant youth and youth with other immigrant backgrounds in both the intervention and the control groups.

Results also revealed significant interaction effect between time × intervention × immigrant group, $F(3, 938) = 3.45$, $p = .016$, $\eta^2 < .01$. The other effects were non-significant. At wave 2, youth with Turkish immigrant background showed higher unilateral same-cultural friendship preference in the control group compared to youth with Turkish immigrant background in the intervention group. There was no significant interaction effect in the other immigrant groups.

Reciprocal Same-Cultural Friendship Preference Results of between subject factors revealed a significant main effects on immigrant group, $F(3, 938) = 55.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 < .15$. The interaction intervention x immigrant group was also significant, $F(3, 938) = 3.22$, $p < .022$, $\eta^2 < .01$. Reciprocal same-cultural friendship preference was higher in youth with Turkish and Serbian immigrant background and youth with other immigrant backgrounds compared to non-immigrant students, who showed a preference for cross-cultural friendships in both the intervention and the control groups. Results revealed a significant main effect time, $F(1, 938) = 6.53$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = .007$. Reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences were higher at wave 2 compared to wave 1. The other effects were nonsignificant.

Program Effectiveness

Multilevel growth modelling (level 1, time; level 2, student; level 3, class) was conducted with SPSS Version 24 to test program effectiveness. Maximum likelihood was used as estimation procedure. This analysis adequately considers the nested data structure, where time is nested in students, and students are nested in classes

Table 12.2 Means and standard deviations same-cultural friendship preferences

	Unilateral same-cultural friendship preference				Reciprocal same-cultural friendship preference			
	Intervention group		Control group		Intervention group		Control group	
	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 1	Wave 2
	(*N* = 640)	(*N* = 640)	(*N* = 306)	(*N* = 323)	(*N* = 691)	(*N* = 682)	(*N* = 329)	(*N* = 325)
Whole sample	.08 (0.29)	.09 (0.30)	.09 (0.29)	0.10 (0.30)	−.08 (0.35)	−0.16 (0.42)	−.09 (0.36)	−.07 (0.38)
Non-immigrants	.05 (0.31)	.08 (0.31)	.06 (0.31)	.05 (0.28)	−0.21 (0.43)	.05 (0.34)	−0.23 (0.39)	−0.23 (0.37)
Turkish immigrants	0.14 (0.33)	0.12 (0.34)	0.22 (0.30)	0.34 (0.33)	.04 (0.30)	.05 (0.34)	.09 (0.29)	0.22 (0.36)
Serbian immigrants	0.16 (0.35)	0.17 (0.35)	0.19 (0.35)	0.18 (0.34)	.01 (0.33)	.01 (0.33)	.07 (0.37)	0.13 (0.37)
Other immigrants	.03 (0.16)	.04 (0.19)	.03 (0.16)	.03 (0.18)	.00 (0.12)	.02 (0.18)	.00 (0.15)	−.00 (0.17)

Note. The same-cultural friendship preference values range between −1 and + 1, with a positive value indicating preference for same-cultural friends, values close to zero indicating no preference, and a negative value indicating a preference for cross-cultural friends

Table 12.3 Individual- and class-level variables predicting unilateral same-cultural friendship preferences

	Non-immigrants		Turkish immigrants		Serbian immigrants		Other immigrants	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Individual variables								
Intercept	−.010	.102	.033	.171	.034	.176	−.068	.124
Intervention	−.012	.127	−.205	.205	−.124	.205	.049	.147
Time	−.063	.075	.347*	.141	.028	.159	.019	.115
Intervention x time	.166	.095	−.396*	.169	.028	.182	.030	.136
Class variables								
Class climate	.000	.034	−.033	.063	.167*	.064	−.047	.046
Cultural diversity	.134	.065	.034	.075	−.059	.077	.011	.059
Percentage of girls in class	−.121	.062	−.043	.090	−.006	.082	−.124*	.060
Class size	−.018	.047	.059	.075	.158*	.076	−.052	.055

Note. *$p < .05$. Reported regression coefficients are standardized

taking into account the dependencies between observations (i.e., design effect; see Snijders & Bosker, 2012). The data met all necessary statistical conditions for all the analyses that we conducted. Program effectiveness was investigated based on the cross-level interaction *intervention x time* (see Tables 12.3 and 12.4). On the individual level, time, intervention, and the cross-level interaction term were included. On the class level, cultural diversity, class climate, percentage of girls, and class size were included. Models were run separately for the four immigrant groups: non-immigrant Austrian, Turkish, Serbian, and other immigrants.

Unilateral Same-Cultural Friendship Preference On the individual level, the interaction effect intervention x time ($b = -.396$, $p < .05$) was negatively related to unilateral same-cultural friendship preferences in Turkish immigrant youth (see Table 12.3). This result indicates that the program was effective in youth with Turkish immigrant background who showed higher unilateral same-cultural friendship preference in the control group compared to youth with Turkish immigrant background in the intervention group (see Table 12.2).

On the class level, class climate ($b = .167$, $p < .05$) and class size ($b = .158$, $p < .05$) were significantly positively related to unilateral same-cultural friendship preferences in Serbian immigrant youth. Among other immigrant youth, the percentage of girls in a class was ($b = -.124$, $p < .05$) significantly negatively related to unilateral same-cultural friendship preferences (see Table 12.4).

Reciprocal Same-Cultural Friendship Preference On the individual level, time ($b = .397$, $p < .05$) was significantly positively related to reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences in Turkish immigrant youth (see Table 12.4). Because the interaction effects time x intervention did not reach the significance level, the program was not effective in changing reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences in any of the groups investigated.

Table 12.4 Individual- and class-level variables predicting reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences

	Non-immigrants		Turkish immigrants		Serbian immigrants		Other immigrants	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Individual variables								
Intercept	−.63	.083	.004	.164	.118	.189	−.076	.131
Intervention	.061	.104	−.168	.198	−.180	.222	.030	.155
Time	−.020	.083	.397*	.155	.253	.171	−.018	.124
Intervention x time	.124	.105	−.335	.187	−.214	.196	.155	.146
Class variables								
Class climate	−.003	.034	−.063	.064	.157*	.070	−.006	.049
Cultural diversity	.354***	.050	.000	.071	−.058	.082	−.021	.060
Percentage of girls in class	−.110*	.048	−.042	.084	.084	.090	−.123	.064
Class size	−.019	.041	.112	.073	.132	.083	−.011	.058

Note. $*p < .05$, $***p < .001$. Reported regression coefficients are standardized

On the class level, ethnic diversity ($b = .354$, $p < .001$) was significantly positively and the percentage of girls in a class ($b = -.110$, $p < .05$) was significantly negatively related to reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences in non-immigrant students. In Serbian immigrant youth, class climate ($b = .157$, $p < .05$) was significantly positively related to reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences (see Table 12.4).

Discussion

In times of increasing cultural diversity in schools all over the world, the question of how teachers are able to promote friendships between students from different cultural groups (e.g., cross-cultural friendships) is of high importance. Research showed that cross-cultural friendships are beneficial for the acculturation and positive development of immigrant youth (Motti-Stefanidi, 2018, 2019; Spiel & Strohmeier, 2012), but that same-cultural friends are much more common even in highly diverse classes (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003; Jugert et al., 2011; McPherson et al., 2001; Stefanek et al., 2015; Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2009). Culturally diverse classes have a high cross-cultural friendship potential when certain contact conditions are met (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Schachner et al., 2019). However, how teachers are able to integrate these contact conditions in their everyday teaching remains challenging (Ülger et al., 2018). Promoting cross-cultural friendships is in line with a socio-ecological understanding of resilience that focuses on the qualities of dynamic and interacting socio-ecological systems (Ungar, Ghazinour, & Richter, 2013). A socio-ecological perspective on resilience aims to create environments that provide meaningful resources that are accessible by

individuals. Certainly, advantaged environments are characterized by a multitude of promotive socio-ecological processes allowing more individual potential to be realized including cross-cultural friendships. As Ungar (2008) explained, "in the context of exposure to significant adversity, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to *navigate* their way to psychological, social, cultural, and physiological resources that sustain their well-being, and their capacity individually and collectively to *negotiate* for these resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaningful ways" (p.225). Thus, Ungar (2011) suggested shifting the focus from understanding resilience only as an individual capacity to understanding resilience also in terms of the quality of the individual's social and physical ecologies.

The present study examined whether a whole-school anti-bullying program in which the four ideal contact conditions – equal status, common goals, support from authorities, and cooperation – were built in the program structure and didactical methods was able to change same-cultural friendship preferences among non-immigrant and three groups of immigrant adolescents. The analyses revealed that immigrant groups differed regarding their unilateral and reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences already at baseline. While Turkish and Serbian immigrant youth had higher levels of unilateral same-cultural friendship preferences, non-immigrant Austrian youth had lower levels of reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences compared with the other groups. These results highlight the importance to differentiate between these two kinds of friendship measures and indicate that they might have different functions between non-immigrant and immigrant youth.

Most importantly, our analyses regarding the program effectiveness revealed that the program buffered the emergence of unilateral same-cultural friendship preferences among Turkish immigrant youth over time. While same-cultural friendship preferences among Turkish immigrant youth who participated in the ViSC program remained stable, same-cultural friendship preferences increased among those Turkish immigrant youth who did not participate in the ViSC program. Unexpectedly, the program was not effective in changing the unilateral friendship preferences in non-immigrant, Serbian, and other immigrant youth. Furthermore, no program effects were found for reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences in none of the groups. Because a recent meta-analysis on the effectiveness of antibias programs delivered in schools showed that teacher-led contact interventions were not even effective in reducing out-group attitudes (Ülger et al., 2018), it is important to keep in mind that unilateral and reciprocal same-cultural friendship preferences are strong behavioral indicators of program effectiveness.

Although the program implementation fidelity was monitored (Schultes et al., 2014), more data should have been collected to better understand what teachers actually did to put the ideal contact conditions into practice. Although the teachers worked with a very structured program manual, it is possible that there was variability between classes. Unfortunately, these potential nuances and differences in program implementation were not collected. Therefore, it was not possible to include implementation quality as a variable in the present analyses.

Future Directions

Although teacher-led contact interventions in schools represent an example of an everyday way how school ecologies are able to facilitate resilience in non-immigrant and immigrant youth (Theron, 2016), the present study shows that their effectiveness is rather modest. Therefore, factors contributing to the success of real-world interventions need to be better understood (Ghate, 2016) and more effective approaches need to be developed in the future.

In the ViSC program, the four contact conditions were indirectly implemented via the project structure and didactical methods. In order to increase program effectiveness, even clearer didactical guidelines for teachers should be formulated. Importantly, the implementation of these guidelines should be closely monitored. Furthermore, some project units that directly communicate the value of cross-cultural friendships should be added. Because the program was conducted when stable friendships might have already been established, program implementation immediately after the school transition could be useful. As suggested by the Council of Europe (Barrett, 2016), intercultural competencies need to be promoted in the whole educational system as teacher-led contact interventions are not effective enough to promote cross-cultural friendships.

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